

reviews

education

IN HOC SIGNO? *A Brief History of Catholic Parochial Education in America.* By Glen Gabert, Jr. Port Washington, N.Y. Kennikat Press. 1973. \$6.95.

THE CULTURE FACTORY: *Boston Public Schools, 1789-1860.* By Stanley K. Schultz. New York. Oxford University Press. 1973. \$11.50.

The schools, it is charged, are unresponsive to the local community, discriminate against Black children either by segregating them or by providing inferior facilities and teachers, fail to teach necessary skills to many, are plagued by a shocking drop-out rate, are staffed by inadequately trained teachers who use ineffective techniques, and throughout are dominated by an opaque, impenetrable bureaucracy. These are standard accusations made by critics such as Charles E. Silberman, Jonathan Kozol, Herbert R. Kohl, Edgar Z. Friedenberg and by many others. Such criticisms are believed to point out grave deficiencies, easily documented, of urban schools in contemporary society. Schultz demonstrates that they were directed at schools of Boston between one hundred and one hundred seventy-five years ago. That they should sound so contemporary is less a commentary on how little social problems change than a criticism of an inherent deficiency of conventional narrative history, the tendency of historians to deal with certain social phenomena only when they have been conventionally identified as social problems.

Blacks are ordinarily mentioned first in traditional American history books as slaves brought to this country in 1619. They are dropped until the treatment of early nineteenth-century abolitionists. The topic is dropped once more until mention of slavery as a factor in the Civil War and then in a discussion of Reconstruction. Blacks disappear entirely until the writer deals with Martin Luther King, *Brown vs. Board of Education* and so on in 1954. The same pattern is evident also in the treatment of Jews: Jews are briefly mentioned—a sentence or two—as part of the Colonial picture. They are dropped until discussion of immigration of 1880-1920, dropped again and brought up once more—usually for the last time—as victims of Hitler in 1939.

Blacks and Jews, then, impinge upon the consciousness of history writers only when they disturb the social arrangement. This means, of course, that students who read school history textbooks know of both minorities only as victims or as implicated somehow in pathologies. It means that few students—even, as I discovered recently, American history majors—know anything about significant Black and Jewish scientists,

philosophers, artists, musicians, inventors. Their knowledge of Blacks and Jews is superficial and truncated, for the history books are so written as to predispose to superficiality. So it is with our grasp of American educational history.

Despite the overwhelming importance of schools in our history, despite the fact that schools have always been the battleground on which ideological struggle has taken place, most of us—including, I suppose, the Ph.D. in American history—have little awareness of the history of education. Schools have not impinged upon our consciousness, except that as all of us know, urban schools are in deep trouble. From whence the trouble derives, we do not know. We even think, again, that our urban school problems are recent.

In fact, the troubles originated with the very inception of public schools in the late eighteenth century. The early history of the Boston school system, described with meticulous scholarship by Stanley Schultz, is largely repeated in New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Chicago and other large metropolitan areas.

Most urban school boards have been dominated, as Schultz describes Boston in the 1790's, by a social and economic elite, overtly racist, which believed that Blacks were simply incapable of profiting from schooling. Leaders were joined in this opinion by their lower class white working constituency, people who did not want their children associating with Black children. City boards therefore consigned Black children to the shabbiest schools with the least well-trained teachers. Of special significance is the educational bureaucracy which, in the standard accusation, strangles teachers and students in red tape, opposes innovations, protects mediocrity, worships ritual and dehumanizes everything. Boston's first superintendent ". . . knew that effective administration depended upon effective organization. Just as reformers and other educators had argued for the reorganization of schools on a factory model, so did Bishop. A school could and should be rationalized along the lines of business experience. Bishop was certain that in organizing a system of popular education, the same practical judgment is to be exercised in making special adaptation of means to ends, as in any manufacturing or other business."

Thus began the equation of schools with factories. Students became "products," schools "plants," and administrators slipped into the jargon of industrialists. Education was centralized, curriculum prescribed in advance, licensing directed training, textbooks were adopted on a regular basis, and data gathering assumed something like its modern significance.

It now becomes increasingly clear that little is going to be done to change schools, for school administrators habituated to think in terms of efficiency and educational psychologists who have unconsciously adopted a mechanistic model of man and of learning are imprisoned by their assumptions. The problem is that schools do not exist in any sense apart from the culture and participate completely in the philosophical assumptions which the culture accepts. When schools were equated with factories, when school people borrowed virtually all the premises of industrialists, students were fitted to a procrustean bed from which there has been no escape.

Audio-visual materials, M.A. degrees in education, inspired critics, curriculum designed for the "culturally different" and the "reluctant reader" will not make any appreciable difference. For such palliatives

are irrelevant. Given the model of schools, given the learning theory¹ which teachers absorb rather than learn, given the testing and measurement process, it is predictable that neither now nor in the future will the basic problems identified by prominent critics—the origins of which are described in *The Culture Factory*—be solved.

We cannot in any sense “solve” problems, for the problems are essentially a function of a hodge-podge of cultural assumptions of which we are barely conscious. To the extent that historians become concerned with education and to the extent that they can relate educational practices to the culture we will be enlightened. Otherwise we are condemned, as Santayana warned, to repeat the same mistakes.

Much the same generalization can be extracted from Glen Gabert's *In Hoc Signo?* At first glance, the history of Catholic parochial schools seems only a history of conflict between civil libertarians and the Catholic hierarchy. On the one hand stand those who construed the constitutional separation of Church and State to be absolute, final and definitive; on the other, those who complained that Catholics were doubly taxed and that it was generally unfair for Catholic children to be deprived of federal moneys, funds that were going to public schools. For the most part, the courts have held that deprivation of public support was the price that Catholics had to pay for insisting on separate education. For the most part, but not always, for the “child benefit” theory held, at least for a while, that it was all right to give federal money to Catholic schools because really it was the child and not the church that benefited.

Gabert locates two tender areas in his slim and readable summary of Catholic education. First, as immigrants to Protestant America, and knowing of Protestant hostility, Catholic educational leaders (and not just the hierarchy, as Gabert points out) saw parochial schools as a way of guaranteeing that Germans and Irish preserved the faith. Second, the papacy couldn't understand the United States, which failed to fit European models. From the particular insights of cultural anthropology, it now appears that the Parochial vs. secular conflict was but a subset of the larger issue of Protestant monolithism in an allegedly pluralistic society, one in which Jews and Catholics sometimes feel they can live only at the sufferance of the Protestant majority. From the very first Protestants eyed Catholics suspiciously, wary of their ritual, uneasy about “allegiance to a foreign leader,” implacably opposed to a separate educational system in which children were likely to be taught un-American doctrine.

The notion that the issue centered about constitutional opposition to support of religion is, I believe, simply untrue. It is not that the populace is opposed to federal support for religion because such support is prohibited by the constitution. Despite court rulings, at thousands of school functions, principals and ministers finish their prayers with the hope that all is asked in Christ's name, oblivious of the sensibilities of atheists, Jews and others. The problem, then, is one more variation on Tocqueville's continuing conflict between minorities and the majority.

We acquired in the nineteenth century theories of learning and of school administration and curriculum that were philosophically mecha-

¹ A learning theory which, evidence suggests, is almost precisely the same as that held by the layman. In effect, it is arguable that the teacher's grasp of teaching and learning is not a whit more sophisticated or complex than that of the parents of the children he teaches. Parents believe that children learn by a combination of discipline impressed from without and repetition. So, apparently, do teachers.

nistic and which doomed us to school problems which we seem not to be able to solve. We have in a sense prayed ourselves into a pluralistic position, verbalizing our faith in tolerance and accommodation to minorities while, at the same time, really suspecting that deviance is threatening.

Purdue University

E. Samuel Shermis

AMERICAN EDUCATION: The Colonial Experience, 1607-1783. By Lawrence A. Cremin. New York: Harper and Row. 1970.

Education, says Lawrence Cremin, is "the deliberate, systematic, and sustained effort to transmit or evoke knowledge, attitudes, values, skills, and sensibilities." Using this definition as his historiographical plumb line, Professor Cremin has constructed the foundation of his projected three-volume study of the history of education in America. The first volume, which carries the story to the last decade of the eighteenth century, will be followed by a study of the nineteenth century and a final work on education in metropolitan America.

Students of educational history will recognize immediately that Professor Cremin has occupied a moderate position between traditionalists who tend to concentrate on formal schooling and advocates of a "new" history of education who equate education with enculturation or socialization. He also stations himself between those who wish to celebrate the contribution of public schools to the development of American freedom and their critics who hope to demythologize the American belief in schooling. Therefore Cremin's book will fail to satisfy many scholars. Yet moderation has its rewards. In this first volume Cremin successfully establishes the centrality of education in the complex process by which a diverse collection of colonial settlements was transformed into a self-conscious nation-state. Not only schools and colleges, but families, churches, the press, apprenticeship systems, voluntary associations, town meetings, libraries, revivals, youth groups and the law played a significant role in the deliberate and sustained effort to transmit and create culture in colonial America. This location of education in the mainstream of colonial development also allows Cremin to illuminate education's contribution to the failures of American culture as well its successes, its restriction of freedom and its coerciveness as well as its liberating qualities. For these insights, Cremin deserves high praise.

Even so, Cremin's most provocative and original ideas are to be found in those sections of the book where he expands his definition of education to include unconscious educational processes. His discussions of the "ecology" of education and the importance of modeling as an educative force are especially valuable and suggestive. Finally, the excellent, ninety-page bibliographical essay is a major contribution to the field. In short, this book is a sound beginning for what will no doubt be a landmark in the historiography of education and culture in America.

University of Kansas

N. Ray Hiner

black detroit

BEFORE THE GHETTO: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century. By David M. Katzman. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1973. \$10.00.

No aspect of the black experience other than slavery has received as much attention from historians over the past decade as the process of urbanization. Spurred on by the contemporary urban crisis, historians

have examined the origins of black life in America's major cities in an effort to delineate the roots of urban racial conflict and of black community organization. Several common conclusions have emerged from these studies: (1) systematic racial discrimination against blacks antedated the great World War I migration; (2) blacks faced discrimination different in kind from that experienced by white ethnic minorities; (3) in the face of white hostility, blacks developed their own organizational and institutional structure designed to provide those facilities and services denied them by the general community; (4) the emergence of black institutional life was accompanied by the decline of the old nineteenth-century integrationist-oriented black elite and the rise of a new middle class with roots in a separate black community.

In this excellent study, David Katzman generally finds these conclusions as valid for Detroit as for New York, Chicago, Washington or Cleveland. Detroit had a smaller black community than the other cities that have been studied, yet patterns were essentially similar. Although there were only four thousand blacks in Detroit at the turn of the century, they confronted what Katzman describes as a "caste-like" social system in which "prejudice and discrimination seemed inescapable." (p. 81) Hence the old notion that severe racial proscriptions arise only where there is a large racial minority is thoroughly discredited; there was no "golden age" of race relations in Detroit or any other American city in the years prior to World War I when urban blacks were few in number. Nor did the small size of Detroit's black population necessarily promote cohesion within the black community. Building upon conceptions of class division developed by August Meier and by me, Katzman finds black Detroit a deeply divided community with an institutional structure that "served more to divide than unite the city's blacks." (p. 135) A small elite, banded together into a few exclusive churches and clubs, dominated the social and political life of the community and used its economic status and its connections with whites to escape the most onerous aspects of the caste system. Not until the end of the century were they replaced by a "new middle class [which] showed more interest in status and success within the black community than in prestige among and interaction with whites." (p. 165)

Katzman's book is a model study of an urban black community. While much of his conceptual framework is drawn from earlier works, his analysis is by no means totally derivative. His use of manuscript census data—available for almost every individual in the community—allows him to detail the class structure with far more precision than has been done in the past. He is also astute in placing black Detroit within the context of the larger community. He realizes that even more than the blacks, white Detroiters were divided along class and ethnic lines. He demonstrates how the black community was part of the city's ethnic amalgam, yet at the same time different in important respects from other ethnic groups. Particularly insightful is Katzman's analysis of the failure of black leadership to develop the ethnocentric self-defense of the immigrant groups. "Fatally, they stressed individualism and self-help, thus failing to unite . . . in the interests of all blacks." (p. 210)

Before the Ghetto is not without weaknesses. Its organization presents some difficulties. After an introductory chapter on black Detroit before 1870, Katzman divides the rest of his account into topical chapters. As a result, the work sometimes seems more static than it should and the sense of development and change that was obviously a part of

black Detroit during these years is frequently lost. Katzman also seems uncertain about when to end his study. The title indicates a terminal date of 1900, yet some of the discussion carries the story down to the more logical terminal date of 1915—the eve of the great migration. Finally, he makes much of his use of the concept of caste, and chides other researchers in the field for ignoring it. Without it, he maintains, it is impossible “to convey the essential meaning or systematic nature of the subordinate status of Negroes in a northern urban environment.” (p. 213) Yet it is difficult to perceive what he has conveyed about the subordinate status of blacks in Detroit that Gilbert Osofsky has not done for New York or I for Chicago. He calls it caste—which, as he admits, is hardly a new concept—but he is talking about the same thing.

These are minor criticisms, however, for this is a fine book. Katzman’s research is thorough and resourceful, his writing clear and his analysis subtle and sophisticated. He reinforces the findings of earlier studies of black urban communities while at the same time contributing new insights that add to our knowledge and understanding of this important aspect of Afro-American history.

University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

Allan H. Spear

THE SHADOW OF SLAVERY: Peonage in the South, 1901-1969. By Pete Daniel. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1972. \$7.95.

Peonage in the South was a vicious system which in many ways bore a striking similarity to American slavery. Its existence represented part of a hideous record of American failure, an inability or unwillingness of law officials to end a practice which was unjust and inhumane. “In the end,” writes Professor Daniel, “federal, state, and local institutions failed to guarantee some workers a most basic right: the freedom to move about and seek higher wages, to rise from grinding debt to a better life.” Why did peonage exist (and continues in certain areas of the United States) and who should bear responsibility for it? These are the questions central to the author’s work. Daniel has carefully combed the available primary and secondary documents in producing this readable study. Unfortunately, he was not able to research the records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which remain closed. The availability of those documents will no doubt ensure a definitive history of peonage.

JLF

BLACK BUSINESS IN THE NEW SOUTH: A Social History of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company. By Walter B. Weare. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1973. \$10.95.

Weare’s subtitle suggests the major thrust of this highly perceptive study of one of the country’s most successful black enterprises: less business history than a social and intellectual study of a black business. The important thesis is that the significance of the company resides in its ethnic rather than in its economic identity, for its creation and growth attests less to the financial progress of a single black business than it does to the ideology of racial advancement inherent in all black institutions. The writer has ably balanced narrative history with judicious interpretation. His research is thorough, although a paucity of materials on certain phases of the company’s history complicated his task. Weare’s style is lucid and only suffers from the usual shortcomings attendant to the writing of business history and the effort to cast it into the proper social mold. *Black Business in the New South* deserves high marks and serious attention by specialists in the field.

JLF

historians

AMERICAN HISTORICAL EXPLANATIONS: A Strategy for Grounded Inquiry. By Gene Wise. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press. 1973.

This provocative contribution to American historiography examines the “explanation-forms”—that is, the conceptual frameworks—which American historians have used in dealing with their materials and seeks to provide an explanation “of how they are put together, of how they respond to stress, of how and when they may change, of

how they respond to this situation and that." After a discussion of "four general historical forms—the *idea*-form, the *reality*-form, the *document*-form, and the *explanation*-form—which draws heavily upon literary criticism and psychological theory, Wise analyzes in a series of case studies "three explanation-forms used by historians in twentieth-century America—the Progressive, the counter-Progressive, the New Left—" in an attempt to show "how one form cracks open under pressure and another comes to replace it."

JB

NEW LEFT DIPLOMATIC HISTORIES AND HISTORIANS: The American Revisionists. By Joseph M. Siracusa. Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press. 1973. \$6.95.

Siracusa's historiographical study hypothesizes that the New Left diplomatic historians call into question much more than twentieth-century U.S. diplomatic failures which only mirror the malaise of an overly expansionist capitalistic society. This is convincingly shown of William Appleman Williams, the patriarch of these historians. But too little is written on the neo-Beardian Williams' impact, especially on his young protégés at the University of Wisconsin in the late 1950's and 1960's. In turn, what influence did Fred Harrington and others have on Williams? After tracing the New Left diplomatic literature from late nineteenth-century expansionism through the Cold War, Siracusa concludes with a summation of the traditional historians' estimate (mostly critical) of New Left history. This work is too thin, too dependent upon the perusal of the major books of the New Left (What about the journal *Studies on the Left?*) and too lacking in internal criticism. Robert James Maddox's recent *The New Left and the Origins of the Cold War* provides a more sustained critique of revisionism.

Southwest Missouri State University

James N. Giglio

THE NEW LEFT AND THE ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR. By Robert James Maddox. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1973. \$7.95.

Examining seven leading New Left or revisionist writers on the origins of the Cold War—William Appleman Williams, D. F. Fleming, Gar Alperovitz, David Horowitz, Gabriel Kolko, Diane Shaver Clemens and Lloyd C. Gardner—Maddox does a superb job of documenting their biases, distortions, misuse of historical evidence and even sheer intellectual dishonesty. My only regret is that he did not explore more fully the intellectual climate out of which their work emerged and, even more importantly, the factors responsible for its acceptance by so large a part of the historical profession.

JB

HISTORY AS APPLIED SCIENCE: A Philosophical Study. By William Todd. Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1972. \$11.95.

A professor of philosophy examines twelve distinct types of historical writing—e.g., Parkes on *British Battleships*, Huizinga on *The Waning of the Middle Ages*—for their techniques and assumptions, then systematically analyzes historical methodology to arrive at the conclusion that history is unique among the social sciences in seeking to use (rather than to discover) laws that govern human behavior and institutions.

Iowa State University

Barton C. Hacker

ADMINISTRATION: The Word and the Science. By A. Dunsire. New York: John Wiley & Sons. 1973. \$8.75.

A curious little book by a British political scientist who traces the notion of "administration" from Cicero and Chaucer to the theories and practices of the present day. Although the subject is probably not central to American Studies, the book documents interestingly the impact of American thought on the development of the "science" of administration.

University of Kansas

Francis H. Heller

religion

A RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. By Sidney E. Ahlstrom. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1972. \$19.50.

Ahlstrom's massive study will long stand as a landmark in American religious historiography. In the first place, Ahlstrom recognizes the centrality of "the moral and spiritual development of the American people" in the shaping of the United States. Second, without scanting the role and importance of so-called mainstream Protestantism, he shows the "radical diversity of American religious movements."

He defines religion broadly "to include 'secular' movements and convictions, some of which opposed or sought to supplant the churches." Third, he avoids the parochialism of treating American religious developments as a self-contained phenomenon; rather, he gives due weight to "the continuing impact of diverse and sometimes contradictory European influences." Fourth, he not only describes the institutional structures growing out of the different religious movements, but also examines their belief and value systems. Fifth, he traces the interactions between theology and religion, on the one side, and ethical, philosophical and scientific developments, on the other. Last, but not least, he places religious developments in their larger "social context—including its demographic, economic, political and psychological dimensions." Its lucid style, monumental scholarship, comprehensiveness and balance make this work indispensable reading for all students of American civilization.

JB

RELIGIOUS AND SPIRITUAL GROUPS IN MODERN AMERICA. By Robert S. Ellwood, Jr. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall. 1973. \$8.95 (cloth); \$3.95 (paper).

Although the author, an associate professor of religion, does range more widely in time and space, the core of this book is a cult-by-cult survey of current religious and philosophical movements in southern California. The approach is more descriptive than analytic, each group being first sketched, then allowed to speak for itself through an excerpt from its writings. The style is lucid and scholarly, the tone detached and sympathetic, the material utterly fascinating.

Iowa State University

Barton C. Hacker

AMBASSADORS FOR CHRIST: Seven American Preachers. By Edward Wagenknecht. New York: Oxford University Press. 1972. \$8.50.

The seven preachers are Lyman Beecher, Henry Ward Beecher, William Ellery Channing, Phillip Brooks, Dwight L. Moody, Washington Gladden and Lyman Abbott. This book is not intended as a study of American religious history. It is about the men themselves, i.e., their emotional and intellectual characteristics and their professional style. Each biographical sketch is accompanied by a useful bibliography. The book will be most useful for those who are trying for the first time to develop a feel for the intellectual and emotional qualities which have shaped the mainstream of American Protestantism.

University of Northern Iowa

Theodore R. Hovet

leaders

LEADERSHIP IN CRISIS: FDR and the Path to Intervention. By Gloria J. Barron. Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press. 1973. \$7.95.

Barron argues that FDR was "far in advance of most statesmen of the world in coming to an early appreciation of the Nazi menace," praises him for displaying in his approach to foreign policy "a rare understanding of what leadership is all about," contends that his "appearing to lag behind public opinion and to have been goaded into action by an impatient citizenry" was a deliberate "technique" designed to win popular support for "the course he felt necessary to chart for the general well-being of the country," and even claims that he realized "full well, by mid-1940, that the entrance of the United States into World War II was inevitable" but was forced to follow a "devious" policy because of the "strong political opposition." Robert A. Divine's picture of Roosevelt, in his *Roosevelt and World War II* (1969), as beset by the same ambivalent feelings, doubts and hesitations as most of his fellow countrymen is more convincing than this hero-worshipful account.

JB

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS. By Robert W. Johannsen. New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. \$19.95.

While presenting little that is startling new, this monumental work is not only the most thorough and complete biogeography of Stephen A. Douglas now available or likely within the foreseeable future, but is, since Douglas was at the center of national politics from 1848 to 1861, a welcome contribution to the larger political history of the time. Johannsen is sympathetic to Douglas, though more judiciously so than George Fort Milton in his *The Eve of Conflict: Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War* (1934).

JB

RIGHTEOUS CONQUEST: Woodrow Wilson and the Evolution of the New Diplomacy. By Sidney Bell. Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press. 1972. \$10.95.

Influenced by Charles A. Beard, Bell argues that Wilson's so-called new diplomacy reflected not a disinterested idealism, but his conception of American "national interest" as requiring "an economic empire abroad to replace continental manifest destiny"—a highly debatable thesis that has been previously advanced and elaborated by, among others, William Appleman Williams, N. Gordon Levin and Arno J. Mayer (the last two of whom are surprisingly not listed in his bibliography).

JB

WOODROW WILSON: The Politics of Peace and War. By Edmund Ions. New York: American Heritage Press. 1972. \$4.95.

The most noteworthy feature of this British historian's brief biography of Woodrow Wilson, focusing upon his presidency, is its extensive and handsome illustrations.

JB

PRIVATE PRESSURE ON PUBLIC LAW: The Legal Career of Justice Thurgood Marshall. By Randall W. Bland. Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press. 1973. \$9.95.

This description of the distinguished advocate's positions on the issues of the civil rights cases in which he has been involved, coupled with brief reviews of the cases themselves, unfortunately suffers from an absence of in-depth discussion. Though it is true that the author did not have access to detailed information on Marshall's activities, he need not have foregone an opportunity to analyze either the legal and political issues, or Marshall's own social and legal philosophy. And Bland contributes little that is new to our understanding of the cases. The work will nonetheless be of interest to the layman.

Eastern Illinois University

Laurence C. Thorsen

THE LINGUISTIC ATLAS OF THE UPPER MIDWEST, Volume 1. By Harold B. Allen. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1973. \$17.50.

Done in the classic tradition of the *Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada*, this volume sets forth the procedures, questionnaires, informant and location backgrounds, and presents the lexical variations found in the Dakotas, Nebraska, Minnesota and Iowa. (Volume 2 will present the phonological data.) Northern and Midland dialect boundaries are extended into the Upper Midwest but with considerably more admixture of features than adjoining states farther east. Carefully and honestly presented, featuring useful inset maps, this work is a major contribution to linguistic geography and the study of cultural development in the United States.

University of Kansas

James W. Hartman

THE REVOLUTION IN THE NEW YORK PARTY SYSTEM, 1840-1860. By Mark L. Berger. Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press. 1973. \$8.50.

This study traces the disintegration of the Democratic and Whig parties during the 1840's and 1850's and the triumphant rise of the new Republican party in New York state under the impact of personal rivalries, the slavery question and such "cultural" issues as nativism and temperance. Because of New York's importance, Berger's pioneering work is a valuable contribution to our understanding of the forces at work leading to the breakdown of the second party system and the emergence of a new set of political alignments in the years before the Civil War.

JB

LABOR AND SOCIALISM IN AMERICA: The Gompers Era. By William M. Dick. Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press. 1972. \$10.95.

Dick denies that the "'business union' mentality" of American organized labor, and that of the American Federation of Labor in particular, was the inevitable result of "the dominant middle class psyche of the nation." Rejecting such "environmental determinism," he argues that "decisions taken by labor leaders at critical occasions determined the outcome." And though he credits Gompers with broader social aims than many pro-socialist critics, he still sees him as "the pivotal figure" in preventing the AFL from providing "the mass base which the labor movement lent democratic socialism in other countries."

JB

FRANCE IN AMERICA. By W. J. Eccles. New York: Harper & Row. 1972. \$8.95 (cloth); \$4.45 (paper).

Although also dealing with Acadia, Louisiana and the French West Indies, this lucidly written volume focuses sympathetically upon Canada before the British conquest. In contrast with many students of French Canada, Eccles stresses the greater importance of military expenditures than of the fur trade in the economy of New France, the role of the military establishment at the top of the social pyramid and the existence of a refined and civilized society.

JB

FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND THE CONSTITUTION. By Louis Henkin. Mineola, N.Y.: The Foundation Press. 1972.

Professor Henkin's work impressively fills the void left by books on the American Constitution and American foreign relations. Citing contemporary and controversial foreign policy decisions and debates, the author calls for a renewed interest and examination of how foreign policy is made vis-a-vis the Constitution. While the major constitutional questions and cases are covered, this volume is not a casebook in the constitutional law tradition. This is one of its strong points, for Henkin weaves throughout history discussing the different roles played by the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial branches of government in an area neither clear by judicial or historical precedents nor well established in the Constitution. A strong concluding chapter cites the need for a greater concern, awareness and expertise in the formation of policy decisions, free from the secrecy and mediocrity that has often accompanied decisions in the past. Hopefully this work will receive attention.

Southwest Missouri State University

John H. Culver

EADWEARD MUYBRIDGE: The Man Who Invented the Motion Picture. By Kevin MacDonnell. Boston: Little, Brown. 1972. \$12.50.

When a horse gallops, do all four hooves leave the ground at once? California governor and horse fancier Leland Stanford commissioned pioneer photographer Eadward Muybridge (1830-1904) to come up with the answer, and his experiments with motion-sequence photography and their aftermath are an important episode in the prehistory of the motion picture. This handsome volume is of interest to American social historians as well as to historians of the cinema, photography and art. Besides an introduction to Muybridge's life and career and materials from his decades of work with figures in motion, it contains many large, clear reproductions of his photographs of nineteenth century America, especially the West—Alaska, the Yosemite Valley, the Modoc Indian War, San Francisco, etc.

RC

ANOTHER LOOK AT THE TWENTIETH-CENTURY SOUTH. By George E. Mowry. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1973. \$4.95.

In this published version of his Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History at Louisiana State University, Mowry challenges the prevailing notions about Southern uniqueness by showing "a remarkable similarity" between "the western Middle West" and "the region comprising the Old Confederacy," contends that most so-called "conservative" Southern lawmakers supported first Wilson's New Freedom and then F.D.R.'s New Deal except on issues that threatened existing racial and socioeconomic patterns in the South, and stresses the success of the "southern elite" in not only maintaining their local control but in blocking unwanted federal action.

JB

FRONTIER ELEMENTS IN A HUDSON RIVER VILLAGE. By Carl Nordstrom. Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press. 1973. \$9.95.

This attempt to test Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis by examining economic and social relations in Nyack, New York, from its settlement through the nineteenth century tends to succumb to mere antiquarianism. And Nordstrom's conclusion that the growth and increasing heterogeneity of population, the rise of economic specialization and the impact of the industrial revolution led to "the development of social patterns inherently antithetical to the frontier" and to a slower and less complete transformation of "frontier attitudes" is hardly novel.

JB

DEMOCRACY'S RAILROADS: Public Enterprise in Jacksonian Michigan. By Robert J. Parks. Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press. 1972. \$12.50.

Parks expands upon the earlier work of Louis Hartz, Oscar Handlin, Carter Goodrich and Milton Heath in showing the extent of government involvement in economic

affairs in pre-Civil War America by examining in depth the state financing of railroad construction in Michigan during the 1830's and 1840's. He refutes the view advanced by Albert Fishlow and Robert Fogel that states construction of railroads was "necessarily premature"; rather, he finds that the state-built railroads in Michigan not only "exerted important influences on Michigan's agriculture," but that most of the projects were not failures even in the more narrow business sense.

JB

THE ONEIDA COMMUNITY: The Breakup, 1876-1881. By Constance Noyes Robertson. Syracuse: University of Syracuse Press. 1972. \$9.95.

For students of American utopian movements this book provides an indispensable account of the decline and dissolution of one of the most successful experiments in communal living in the United States.

Iowa State University

Dorothy Schwieder

IDEALS & POLITICS: New York Intellectuals and Liberal Democracy, 1820-1880. By Edward K. Spann. Albany: State University of New York Press. 1972.

Spann examines the "interplay of human personalities and clash of attitudes" within the group of New York Jacksonian intellectuals centered around poet and New York *Evening Post* editor William Cullen Bryant. Although "all seemingly agreed on fundamentals" and considered themselves "as working within an already established liberal democratic tradition," Spann shows how they differed among themselves on the leading issues of the time. As a result, his study illuminates the differing responses that emerged out of a common liberal democratic ideology to "the growing complexity and diversity of American society" in the years between 1820 and 1880.

JB

THE SEAMY SIDE OF DEMOCRACY: Repression in America. By Alan Wolfe. New York: David McKay Company. 1973. \$6.95 (cloth); \$3.95 (paper).

Using a Marxist point of view, Wolfe has written a fairly extensive study of the causes of repression and its history in the United States. He defines repression as "a process by which those in power try to keep themselves in power by consciously attempting to destroy or render harmless organizations and ideologies that threaten their power," and amply documents it as a pervasive element in both its violent and ideological forms on the American scene. As could be expected in a Marxist study, this book devotes attention largely to economic factors and gives inadequate concern to others such as ideology. Wolfe infers a close association between repression and capitalism, and therefore between both conservative and liberal traditions as alternative forms of capitalism; he reserves his most scathing criticism for liberalism, and contends that it correlates highly with repression. His prescription is for a socialistic state that arises from and transcends liberalism. Although Wolfe's analyses and conclusions are not thoroughly convincing, he provides a thought-provoking examination of the less laudable underside of American political practice.

MJS

books received

(*American Studies* does not, as a general rule, review paperback reprints, anthologies or collections of scholarly essays.)

A RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. By Sydney E. Ahlstrom. Yale University Press. 1972. \$19.50.

A LINGUISTIC ATLAS OF THE UPPER MIDWEST, vol. 1. By Harold Allen. University of Minnesota Press. 1973. \$17.50.

AMERICAN TRANSCENDENTALISM: An Anthology of Criticism. By Brian M. Barbour. University of Notre Dame Press. 1973. \$10.95; paper, \$4.95.

LEADERSHIP IN CRISIS. By Gloria J. Barron. Kennikat Press. 1973. \$7.95.

HITLER'S SHADOW: American Nazism. By Leland Bell. Kennikat Press. 1973. \$7.95.

RIGHTEOUS CONQUEST: Woodrow Wilson and the Evolution of the New Diplomacy. By Sidney Bell. Kennikat Press. 1972. \$10.95

REVOLUTION IN THE NEW YORK PARTY SYSTEM, 1840-1960. By Mark L. Bergen. Kennikat Press. 1973. \$8.50.

THE STRIKE IN THE AMERICAN NOVEL. By Ray M. Blake. Scarecrow Press. 1972. \$7.50.

PRIVATE PRESSURE ON PUBLIC LAW: The Legal Career of Justice Thurgood Marshall. By Randall W. Bland. Kennikat Press. 1973. \$9.95.