

## reviews

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP IN MARYLAND, 1790-1840: A Comparative Analysis of Power in Society. By Whitman H. Ridgway. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1979. \$19.50.

This case study of what sociologists call the "power structure" of four economically and culturally diverse Maryland counties from 1790 to 1840 rests upon dual methodological pillars: on the one hand, the "decisional approach" whereby leadership is identified on the basis of who actually made decisions; on the other, the concept of "strategic elites"—that is, groups of individuals with a potential power resource, such as great wealth or political position, who have a vested interest in community affairs. "A comparison of the overlap between membership in such strategic elites and those who actually made community decisions," Ridgway explains, "helps to clarify the distribution of community power" (xviii).

In what is a major contribution to our knowledge of the socio-political structure of the United States between the Revolution and Civil War, Ridgway finds through a detailed prosopographical analysis of some 1,300 persons who held leadership and/or elite positions that while a relatively narrow oligarchy managed to keep control throughout the period in static and homogenous areas, growing communities underwent a shift toward an increasingly pluralistic structure of power. "American political society," he concludes, "was democratic, egalitarian, and pluralistic by the end of the second party era" (193).

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PURITAN BOSTON AND QUAKER PHILADELPHIA: Two Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Class Authority and Leadership. By E. Digby Baltzell. New York: Free Press and Collier Macmillan. 1979. \$19.95.

Baltzell starts by asking why Boston's upper class has been far more successful than its Philadelphia counterpart in producing men of distinction. He finds the key to the answer in the "different religious ethics" (x) of the founders of each city. While "the egalitarian and anti-authoritarian principles of Quakerism produced a confusion in class authority" in Philadelphia from the start, "the hierarchical and authoritarian principles of Puritanism" insured in Boston "a tradition of class authority and leadership" (20).

One may question how much the Quaker ethic was responsible for the laggard performance of the Philadelphia elite when a large proportion of its members had shifted—and at an early date—to Episcopalianism. But his basic point—though sounding like a truism—warrants restatement. Different cultural values do result in different behavior. And we should ponder his warning about the link between "the high value we place on *equality* today and our lack of leadership" (4).

University of Nebraska-Lincoln

John Braeman

SHAYS' REBELLION: The Making of an Agrarian Insurrection. By David P. Szatmary. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1980. \$14.00.

This is a remarkably informative book, crisply written. David Szatmary's achievements include a precise definition of the traditional, near-subsistence mode of life shared by the agrarian rebels; a persuasive view of the economic dislocations plaguing the region and the nation during the years 1783-1786; an illuminating view of debtors' movements in other states, and, where there was insurgency, the official response; and a broad view of the rebellion's political and constitutional ramifications. Szatmary does not explain why market-oriented farmers in Rhode Island organized against merchants, but in Massachusetts supported the mercantile East against the Shayites. Nor is he curious as to why Bowdoin, Hancock, and other eastern leaders were at first so determined to crush the rebellion, and afterwards so lenient with most of the rebels. One should read Marion Starkey's *A Little Rebellion* (New York, 1955) to become acquainted with Daniel Shays himself. But this is a valuable and stimulating account.

University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Robert McColley

**REHEARSAL FOR REPUBLICANISM: Free Soil and the Politics of Anti-Slavery.**

By John Mayfield. Port Washington, N. Y.: Kennikat Press. 1980. \$17.50.

Mayfield describes the rise and fall of the Free Soil Party through an examination of antislavery politics in New York, Massachusetts and Ohio. His chapters on political in-fighting during and after the campaign of 1848 are particularly useful. A statistical appendix and maps of voting patterns provide a useful reference source for information on antislavery political strength in 1844, 1848, and 1852. Unfortunately, this book reads like a barely revised dissertation. It is marred with careless errors, such as the assertion that John Van Zandt was *convicted* in the *civil* case of *Jones v. Van Zandt* (convictions are only possible in criminal cases). The book has no bibliography, the notes at the back of the book are often cryptic and the author has failed to consult, or confront, important works by Sewell, Foner and others. Finally, there is much useful information hidden away in this book, but the the two page index, little more than a list of names, makes it impossible to locate it quickly.

University of Texas at Austin

Paul Finkelman

**AMERICAN ETHICAL THOUGHT.** By Guy W. Stroh. Chicago: Nelson-Hall. 1979. \$17.95.

This is a generally competent and ably written account of the main theories in moral philosophy in America since the mid-eighteenth century. Some attention is also paid to recent philosophical discussions of the relationships between morality and the law. The author's strategy is to classify these theories into historical types (Puritan, Enlightenment, Transcendentalist and so forth), then summarize and assess versions of the theories advocated by their most important adherents. Philosophers discussed include Edwards, Jefferson, Emerson, Thoreau, William James, Royce, Santayana, Dewey, C.L. Stevenson, C.I. Lewis and more recent figures such as John Searle, James Feibleman, Joseph Fletcher and John Rawls. Some applications of these theories to issues of the day are considered, though this is not a history of political and social ethics, religious ethics or of popular ethical movements in America. It is primarily a discussion of moral theory. As such the book would be quite useful to those outside of the discipline of philosophy who need to review some of the significant developments in American moral philosophy but lack the time or opportunity to read the original sources. Students of American Studies should be aware, however, of the following: Stroh leaves the impression that contemporary American moral philosophy is still mired in the quagmire of "analytic" or "metaethical" controversies. The actual situation is much less gloomy; philosophy in the grand manner is alive and well, though it has been cleansed by "analysis" and is currently taking several paths toward the good life.

Oregon State University

Peter List

**HUMAN SCIENCE AND SOCIAL ORDER; Hugo Münsterberg and the Origins of Applied Psychology.** By Matthew Hale, Jr. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1980. \$17.50.

Hugo Münsterberg (1863-1916) was a world famous German psychologist who went to Harvard to teach in 1892. There he changed from pure experimentalist to a popularizer of applied psychology, especially in the areas of criminal justice, psychotherapy and vocational guidance. Münsterberg represented an unassimilated German idealism that contrasted with, complemented and elucidated social and intellectual trends in the Progressive America in which he operated. This broadly conceived study is well researched in both archival and printed sources.

The Ohio State University

John C. Burnham

**JUDICIAL REVIEW AND THE REASONABLE DOUBT TEST.** By Sanford Byron Gabin. Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press. \$15.00.

This small (107 pages) book brings to the continuing debate over judicial review a re-emphasis on James Bradley Thayer's seminal article, "The Origin and Scope of the American Doctrine of Constitutional Law" (1893), called "The most important single essay" on American Constitutional law by Felix Frankfurter. Thayer had argued that the legitimate dimensions of judicial judgment are best defined by a reasonable doubt test. Gabin reinforces this argument and extends it. He concludes that much of recent constitutional jurisprudence is flawed because it ignores that test. Quite appropriately, a prime target of his criticisms is the famous footnote 4 in *United States v. Carolene Products Co.* (1938), unquestionably the foundation stone of the judicial perspective usually associated with the Warren Court. Gabin's book, while it probably does not represent a majority view today, renders an important service by reminding us of the continuing value of the views of Thayer.

FHH

## education

**SCHOOLED TO ORDER: A Social History of Public Schooling in the United States.** By David Nasaw. New York: Oxford University Press. 1979. \$14.95.

Based entirely on published sources and secondary works and taking as his premise that public schools reflect changes in capitalist society, Nasaw argues that the reform of the common schools before the Civil War, the development of secondary education at the turn of the century and the expansion of higher education after World War II were designed and supported by educational and business leaders to "better maintain social order and increase material productivity." Not completely successful in achieving these social purposes, public schools throughout their history have continued to reflect a tension between democratic rhetoric and the reality of class divisions and thus have remained "contested institutions with several agendas." Nasaw's overly schematic analysis does not prove the one-to-one relationship he asserts between school and society, but the book is useful in being a potential text for social or intellectual history classes and in presenting challenging hypotheses that may be tested by future historians of education.

Concordia College-Moorhead, Mn.

Carroll Engelhardt

**THE SEPARATE PROBLEM: Case Studies of Black Education in the North, 1900-1930.** By Judy Jolley Mohraz. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1979. \$14.95.

A fascinating study of the responses of educational authorities to the expansion of black enrollment in three northern cities, Chicago, Philadelphia and Indianapolis, this volume examines the introduction of testing, ability grouping, differentiated curricula (vocational and domestic science courses) and particularly policies designed to restrict the access of black children to segregated institutions during the early twentieth century. Based primarily upon local newspapers and personal accounts, this study does not convincingly distinguish among issues of race, class, and ethnicity. Mohraz fails to demonstrate, for example, that the innovations noted above were either introduced especially for blacks or that the experience of blacks differed funda-

mentally from that of lower-class white immigrants, a serious lack of clarity in a book which argues that the education of blacks comprised a "separate problem."

Northwestern University

Michael W. Sedlak

**A CITY AND ITS UNIVERSITIES: Public Policy in Chicago, 1892-1919.** By Stephen J. Diner. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1980. \$18.00.

In this skillful and lucid study of the public-service activities of Chicago's first generation of academic professionals, Diner traces back the phenomenon of the symbiotic relationship between government and the nation's universities to the turn of the century. The effort of academics during those years to demonstrate the utility of their expertise for the solution of practical problems was, according to Diner, motivated by their ambition to establish their professional status and enhance their influence. He argues that the alliance forged during these years by academic professionals with business and professional elites who shared their vision of "a bureaucratically rationalized social order" (8) laid the basis for the future growth and influence of the universities and the professorate, and he suggests that as a result of their setbacks at the local level, "in the 1920s and thereafter, Chicago's elite reformers increasingly looked to the federal government and its bureaucracy as a means of implementing the changes they sought. Further removed from the electoral power of lower-class urban populations, the federal government proved the most suitable agent for the bureaucratic rationalization to which professors and other elite reformers were so committed" (175).

An illuminating study. My only caveat is that Diner perhaps exaggerates the extent to which status ambitions consciously motivated this first generation of academic professionals. Pursuit of a scholarly career was, given the prevailing standards of the day, a form of deviance—and the case can be made that the same personality characteristics responsible for that choice probably predisposed such persons to a particular outlook.

University of Nebraska-Lincoln

John Braeman

## arts

**TWENTIETH CENTURY LIMITED: Industrial Design in America, 1925-39.** By Jeffrey L. Meikle. Philadelphia, Temple University Press. 1979. \$17.50.

This is the third book on the industrial design of the 1930s to appear within the past five years. The author, who is a professor of English and American Studies at the University of Texas, has a reasonable justification for this excessive plowing of a rather limited ground. Of his two predecessors, Martin Grief (*Depression Modern*, 1975) provides little more than an introductory essay focused chiefly on architecture, and Donald Bush (*Streamlined Decade*, 1975) considers mainly streamlined vehicles from the art historian's perspective. Professor Meikle was more ambitious: he aimed to write not only the history of the pioneer phase of modern industrial design as a form of visual art, but its broad cultural, social and psychological implications as well. Within the bounds he set himself, he has given us an illuminating monograph; the question is whether the subject is important enough to warrant a more penetrating examination.

By restricting himself to the dates of his title, Professor Meikle must of necessity be concerned with the four leading pioneers of the movement, Norman Bel Geddes, Raymond Loewy, Henry Dreyfuss and Walter Dorwin Teague, whose handiwork, ranging from pencil sharpeners to locomotives, and whose pronouncements, philosophizings, and visions of utopia were once known to all who regarded themselves as the sophisticates of modern art. The title of the book and the illustration on the wrapper, as a matter of fact, were derived from Dreyfuss's design for the motive power and rolling stock of the once-celebrated train. The author's first two chapters set the socio-historical and artistic stage, so to speak. The first offers a condensed analysis of the economic, technological and cultural basis of the consumer society that became dominant in the 1920s, with its ever-expanding emphasis on the role of advertising and the

concept of fashion. The second covers the immediate background to the industrial designer's own *métier*—the rise of Art Deco architecture, the Paris exposition from which it takes its name, and the machine mystique fostered by Le Corbusier, Hugh Ferriss, the Bauhaus propagandists and other apostles of the new artistic order. The author, however, misses some of the less exciting but nonetheless important contributions, namely, the prior work of engineers and designers in the styling of automobiles, electric railroad motive power and railroad coaches. The succeeding five chapters comprise a thoroughgoing account of the rise, the techniques, the office organization, the grandiose aims of these remakers of the visual world, their careers and doctrines, and above all, the relation of their work to the depression-ridden industries they sought to rescue. For all their claims, the author is probably close to the main target when he writes of their pre-occupation with "traffic flow, gadgetry, and presentation of superficial images" (124).

The ultimate triumph of the universal streamlined style came with the New York World's Fair of 1939, an extravaganza which Professor Meikle recognizes as the embodiment to a great extent of the designers' high-flown visions. The model cities and superhighway networks of Geddes's *Futurama* and Teague's *Democracy*, set off by giant locomotives in Raymond Loewy's sensational dress—these brought to a climax the multiple implications of streamlining that the author explored in his penultimate chapter. The new mode was regarded as a national style, an art in itself and a vast symbolization of a controlled, smooth-running, problem-free society. The movement dwindled away to its demise during the years of World War II, but the question remains, have the historians said the last word on this phenomenon? I do not think so. What we need is a more extensive historical investigation aimed at understanding it as one more attempt to come to spiritual terms with modern industry. Efforts to establish aesthetic control over its physical consequences through the visual arts have never borne lasting fruit. In short, we have yet to produce a genuine artistic style organically consonant with the urban industrial experiences of our age.

Northwestern University

Carl W. Condit

**NATURE AND CULTURE: American Landscape and Painting 1825-1875.** By Barbara Novak. New York: Oxford University Press. 1980. \$35.00.

Art historian Barbara Novak, using a multidisciplinary approach to American painting and photography of the mid-nineteenth century, uncovers the cultural context—philosophical, spiritual and scientific—which "formed and gave sustenance to the art." This is a well-written and well-documented study which shows the history of ideas "flowing freely through . . . the various disciplines comprising a culture." She uses contemporary letters, periodicals, journals and criticism to shed light on the importance of American art as embodying initially the search for a new Eden in the wilderness and finally as the repository of images of the passing of that edenic wilderness.

Iowa State University

Loring Silet

**CHICAGO'S FAMOUS BUILDINGS.** Edited by Ira J. Bach. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1980. Paper, \$4.95.

Demolition makes each subsequent edition of this notable and sophisticated guide poorer; new inclusions enrich it. But Carl Condit concludes his 1980 preface, ". . . one finds it difficult to escape the conclusion that the high tides of Chicago building rose long ago, particularly in those two marvelous decades that began respectively in 1890 and 1920." Arthur Siegel, editor of previous volumes, has died.

SGL

**THE SHAKER SPIRITUAL.** By Daniel W. Patterson. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1979. \$65.00.

Quality scholarship without compromise characterizes Patterson's labor of love and care. Readers seeking maximum benefits will need an extensive technical vocab-

ulary, knowledge of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century communal groups—sacred and secular—plus a thorough background in American folklore, music, social currents and political events from the same period. The use of personal pronouns may disturb some. Students of Shaker life will have difficulty reconstructing all the stylistic nuances of Shaker dance from the material given. The songs, as presented, are transcriptions of historical examples, most useful for scholarly study.

Baker University

John M. Forbes

UN Sung: A History of Women in American Music. By Christine Ammer. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press. 1980. \$22.95.

Though a biographical approach, Ammer offers the first survey of women's role in American music. The overriding theme for nonspecialists is the important contribution women have made to the development of musical culture in the United States. Nearly two-thirds of the book treats the twentieth century.

University of Kansas

Miriam Stewart-Green

## literature

L'HUMOUR AMERICAIN, DES PURITAINS AUX YANKEES. By Daniel Royot. Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon. 1980.

The most complete study yet made of the development of "native" American humor from the colonization of New England to the middle of the nineteenth century, Daniel Royot's book synthesizes the work of previous scholars who have covered parts of this period, and contributes original research in filling in the gaps. Royot's thesis is that the dominant impulse in American humor comes from New England Puritanism, with other influences such as English literature, popular journalism and Southern folklore contributing. But the greatest importance of the book is in the mass of material—often in little known humorists—that he brings together in meaningful form. The book ought to be translated into English, with the quotations (which are kept to a minimum and skillfully translated) expanded and put back into their native American.

Southern Illinois University-Edwardsville

James C. Austin

AMERICAN HIEROGLYPHICS: The Symbol of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics in the American Renaissance. By John Irwin. New Haven, Yale University Press. 1980. \$19.50.

Citing Champollion's decipherment of hieroglyphic writings as a central concern of the American Renaissance, Irwin shows how American Romantics used the symbolic hieroglyph to derive meaning from outward shape or physical outline. While Irwin's discussions of Emerson, Thoreau, Melville, and Hawthorne attest to the pervasiveness of this symbol, Poe was most clearly influenced by Champollion's model of scientific intuition. Poe's *Arthur Gordon Pym* emerges as a crucial hieroglyphic text from which Irwin derives a unique theory of doubling, matching Poe's writing self and his written self, the fictive narrator Pym. A brilliant combination of practical criticism and literary theory, this study, which ranges among such diverse topics as cultural history, linguistic origins, aesthetics, cosmology and mythology, constitutes a major reinterpretation of American Romanticism and deserves wide exposure among students of American studies.

Worcester Polytechnic Institute

Kent Ljungquist

AARON BURR AND THE AMERICAN LITERARY IMAGINATION. By Charles F. Nolan, Jr. Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press. 1980. \$22.50.

Nolan argues that in the stories, novels and plays based upon events in Aaron

Burr's career American writers have explored elements of American life that are "profoundly disturbing," discovering in these works imaginative renderings of Burr that symbolize the nineteenth-century dread of "traitorous conspiracy" and "dark spoliation of women" and the twentieth-century anxiety about "terrifying victimization." In addition to providing a readable and balanced account of the major events in Burr's life, Nolan devotes chapters to the legendary Burr, to Burr as he appears in novels and plays, and to society's continued fascination with Burr's story.

The book is most convincing—and most valuable—in the chapters dealing with the legendary, fictional and dramatic Burr. Here Nolan's search has led him to a number of forgotten works—some quite deservedly so. These chapters illustrate the historical value of works of slender literary merit. Nolan is somewhat less successful in his attempts to establish relationships between the Burr literature and his catalogue of masterworks of modern American literature. And one could wish for more in the way of clarification and support of what makes the aspects of American life Burr symbolizes so "profoundly disturbing." Even so, this is worthwhile study: carefully researched and documented, thoughtfully argued and written in a readable, even interesting style.

Lafayette College

David R. Johnson

**ROBERT FROST HANDBOOK.** By James L. Potter. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1980. \$14.95.

Because of Frost's unusual popularity and value in interdisciplinary courses, a guide to his work and the criticism of it, along the lines of Walter Harding's *Thoreau Handbook* (1959) would be most welcome. Unfortunately, the present volume is simply another of many monographs about Frost, with a limited and idiosyncratic bibliography.

WF

**ROBERT A. HEINLEIN: America as Science Fiction.** By H. Bruce Franklin. New York: Oxford University Press. 1980. \$18.95. Paper: \$4.95.

**THE SCIENCE FICTION OF H. G. WELLS.** By Frank McConnell. New York: Oxford University Press. 1980. Paper: \$4.95.

Academic consideration of science fiction is only a bit more than thirty years old, if one considers J. O. Bailey's *Pilgrims Through Space and Time* (1947), or a bit more than twenty, if one considers Kingsley Amis' *New Maps of Hell* (1960). But the first academic press interest in science fiction was expressed by Oxford University Press when it published H. Bruce Franklin's study of American science fiction in the nineteenth century, *Future Perfect*, and I. F. Clarke's study of the future-war novel, *Voices Prophesying War: 1763-1984*, both in 1966.

Now it seems appropriate that Oxford should inaugurate an ambitious series of single-author studies, under the general editorship of Robert Scholes, with Franklin's study of Robert A. Heinlein and Frank McConnell's study of H. G. Wells, the men who have been called, respectively, "the dean of science-fiction writers" and "the father of science fiction." The studies are solid, but they represent markedly different approaches. Franklin's, although it reveals some previously unknown aspects of Heinlein's life and relates them to significant aspects of the author's later writings, eventually tells the reader as much about Franklin as about Heinlein in its determinedly Marxist (or Maoist) interpretation of what Heinlein has been about. McConnell's traditional study of Wells is less political (or perhaps the political issues, heated as they were in Wells' time, are those we no longer feel militant about) as he goes about analyzing Wells' novels in terms of the intellectual currents of the times as well as Wells' own background, urges and ideas.

University of Kansas

James Gunn

LOVE AND THE QUEST FOR IDENTITY IN THE FICTION OF HENRY JAMES. By Philip Sicker. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1980. \$16.00.

This book studies the contradiction between James' solipsism and his need for love, hoping to find an issue in James' self-sacrificing and telepathic women. Sicker's basic formula—love serves to aid one in “questing for his true self” (a phrase taken very seriously)—reveals his narcissistic approach to love. As scholarship, the book is weak: a developmental study shouldn't rely on the New York Edition for James' early novels; the chapter “The Requirements of the Imagination” doesn't mention Weinstein's good book by the same name and on the same subject. Each use of the word democratic (57, 69) is pejorative.

University of Kansas

Alfred Habegger

THE LITERATURE OF FACT: Literary Nonfiction in American Writing. By Ronald Weber. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 1980. \$15.00.

Weber provides a meticulous but pedestrian analysis of the principal examples of the “queer genre” (Diane Johnson's term) that has been variously called the “nonfiction novel” or “the new journalism,” but he sheds no new or provocative light on the subject. The subtitle is too sweeping since Weber considers nothing before John Hersey's *Hiroshima* (1946). Given the limits, readers may find Tom Wolfe and E. W. Johnson's *The New Journalism*, a 1973 textbook, still a more satisfactory introduction.

WF

THE MAKING OF TOCQUEVILLE'S *DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA*. By James T. Schleifer. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1980. \$26.00.

As a result of his painstaking examination of Tocqueville's notes, drafts, letters, essays and working manuscript of the *Democracy*, Schleifer breaks new ground by showing the circumstances under which Tocqueville wrote the different parts of the work, what persons, books and events influenced him, and how he wove his different themes into a single fabric.

Tocqueville shifted his focus from what had started out as a work of institutional description to a philosophical inquiry into the nature of mass society. Schleifer explains how and why: “A process of broadening out, of always expanding dimensions,” Schleifer points out, “was crucial to the making of the *Democracy*. . . . In 1835 Tocqueville's journey was still fresh; his reflections were more or less grounded in specific conversations, experiences, impressions, and information. . . . But by 1840, the whole American experience had become something of a recollection; by then it was intimately intermingled with new lessons of all sorts. . . .” (285).

Schleifer skillfully delineates the most distinctive aspect of Tocqueville's approach—his perception that the key factor in understanding a nation's institutions lay in what he called the “*moeurs*” of its people, or what we would call its attitudes and values. “Whenever Tocqueville reached for the most profound causes, meanings, or influences,” Schleifer concludes, “he went not to physical, economic, legal, or even to intellectual features, but almost always to the intangible motivations of human belief and behavior . . . . One of the lasting contributions of his book was the importance bestowed on *moeurs*; the *Democracy* was one of the earliest extended statements of their crucial role in society” (286).

University of Nebraska-Lincoln

John Braeman

## native americans

SLAVERY AND THE EVOLUTION OF CHEROKEE SOCIETY, 1540-1866. By Theda Perdue. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press. 1979. \$12.50.

Using effectively the limited primary source material that is available, the author

analyzes the nature of slavery among the Cherokee Indians for over three centuries. She notes the major differences between Indians held as slaves and Africans kept in slavery by the Cherokees, and she evaluates the influence of African slavery upon factionalism within the tribe. Factionalism was particularly evident in decisions for western removal and for allegiances during the American Civil War. Further study is still needed on the complex problem of factionalism among the Cherokees.  
University of Kansas W. Stitt Robinson

**THE NEW DEAL AND AMERICAN INDIAN TRIBALISM: The Administration of the Indian Reorganization Act, 1934-45.** By Graham D. Taylor. Nebraska: The University of Nebraska Press. 1980. \$14.50.

Paralleling the official attention given to self-determination for U.S. Indian tribes since the late 1960's has been an effort by historians and anthropologists to examine critically the era of the 1930's and early 1940's when the same problem was recognized, but an antithetical solution was reached—that of rapid assimilation of Indians on an individual basis. Two particularly insightful books on this subject which were published during the 1970's were *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination, 1928-1973* by Margaret Szaz (University of New Mexico Press, 1974), and *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1954* by Kenneth R. Philp (University of Arizona Press, 1977). To these we may now happily add Graham Taylor's well-researched, careful analysis of the trials and tribulations of developing and administering the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.

Taylor states that “. . . the Indian New Deal left a mixed legacy. Its economic programs . . . did not permanently improve Indian living standards. . . . Its political programs produced institutions and arrangements that survive, but the goal of genuine Indian self-determination remains. . . .”

Taylor concludes more positively with the observation that the Indian Reorganization Act created a new sense of cultural pride among the members of many tribes, and established an atmosphere in which pan-Indianism could develop, thus leading to the growth of national Indian pressure groups. He might have added that the presence of powerful Indian lobbies represents an absolute difference between the self-determination of the Collier era and that of the present day. The 1934 Act was almost entirely conceived and administered by non-Indians, whereas the Self-Determination Act of 1975 was essentially an Indian creation. Its implementation is in the hands of the Indians who now control the principal administrative positions within the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The University of Arizona

James E. Officer

## the government

**THE FIRST AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONS: Republican Ideology and the Making of the State Constitutions in the Revolutionary Era.** By Willi Paul Adams. Translated by Rita and Robert Kimber. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1980. \$23.50.

This study by a West German scholar is a welcome contribution to the reassessment currently underway because Adams brings to the topic the perspective of a sympathetic though not uncritical European. No one has done a fuller or more incisive analysis of the sources and meaning of such key concepts as constitutionalism, republicanism, popular sovereignty, liberty, equality, property, representation, “mixed government” and federalism.

Adams gives the founding generation high marks for their sophisticated admixture of principle and pragmatism in translating these conceptions into a workable framework of government. “. . . the theoretically inclined,” he points out, “were not allowed to become doctrinaires fighting mainly for the purity of their principles, and those with a taste and talent for the mere exercises of power were not enabled to throw all principles overboard simply because they made the politician's life more difficult.

It was this tempered combination of adherence to ideals and pragmatism in concrete situations that made possible the comparatively quick, smooth, and successful founding of the American constitutional system" (98).

At the same time, he devastatingly rebuts the view so dear to "progressive" historiography of the new Federal Constitution as counter-revolutionary. That document represented, Adams concludes, "simply the extension of centralizing tendencies that had existed since the beginning of the war for independence. . . . The Federalists of 1787 created political institutions on the national level that were firmly based on a pattern already existing on the state level. The combination of government on both levels, the American variant of federal government, largely fulfilled their idea of a modern nation-state founded on the principles of free republican government. . . ." (290-91).

University of Nebraska-Lincoln

John Braeman

**A RESPECTABLE MINORITY: The Democratic Party in the Civil War Era, 1860-1868.** By Joel Silbey. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. 1977. \$12.95. Paper: \$3.95.

Joel Silbey's *A Respectable Minority* is the first systematic analysis of the Democratic party during the lean years when it was, first, fragmented by secession and, then, regularly defeated in national elections throughout the war and Reconstruction. Yet, by the mid-1870's, the party revived dramatically. Consequently, Silbey's main task is to account for this remarkable resurgence. This he does by pointing out that the party embodied and represented a set of fundamental political beliefs and social values which most voters cherished deeply, namely cultural diversity and local autonomy, but which the Republicans' penchant for conformity and governmental activism directly threatened.

Because voter loyalty was secured by this attachment, the party's support was, throughout the sectional crisis, persistent and relatively stable. Most important, its support never fell much below a majority. Even the internal feuds between the Copperheads and the faction which endorsed the war—a fight which Silbey analyzes perceptively as a function of differences over electoral strategy between Purists and Legitimists—could not reduce the party to a hopeless minority. Although perhaps the argument is excessively elaborated and insufficiently developed and expanded, this is an important book. It offers a cogent interpretation of the Democrats' appeal and tenacity, although the reader may be left wondering how the Democrats' cause could be so consistent and stable and therefore so impervious to the profound dislocations engendered by the Civil War itself.

University of Illinois-Chicago Circle

Michael Perman

**CONGRESS AND THE BUREAUCRACY: A Theory of Influence.** By R. Douglas Arnold. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1979. \$20.00. Paper: \$5.95.

It is a common generalization that Congressmen and bureaucrats develop mutually supportive linkages or coalitions. Arnold examines the geographic distribution of federal benefits by the bureaucracy and the reasons for discernible patterns. He concludes that "bureaucrats appear to allocate benefits strategically in an effort both to maintain and to expand their supporting coalitions." Strategies, however, differ: in some instances the allocation of benefits rewards members of Congress for their support of the department or agency; in other situations the strategy seeks to strengthen or broaden existing coalitions. As party leadership in Congress has declined in effectiveness the trend has been increasingly toward coalitions formed around single programs. This trend, so Arnold argues, applies not only to bureaucratic decisions about project allocations—which his study documents—but to Congressional-bureaucratic relations on a wider scale. This excellent study is also relatively free of the jargon and pretensions that often deter the non-specialist reader.

FHH

**REPEALING NATIONAL PROHIBITION.** By David E. Kyvig. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1979. \$21.00.

The successful campaign for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment has attracted little scholarly attention. Thus, Kyvig's study of the activities of the major organizational expressions of that campaign—the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment (AAPA) and its allies, the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform and the Voluntary Committee of Lawyers—is a welcome contribution to the history of the liquor question in American politics. Unfortunately, his work only partially fills the gaps in our knowledge about the process of repeal. Though Kyvig is on sound ground in pointing out that repeal was not simply an inevitable response to growing popular dissatisfaction with prohibition, he tends to downplay the significance of basic social changes brought on by the Depression because of his focus upon the organizational side of the repeal movement. Kyvig argues that the "ineffectiveness and unpopularity of national prohibition heightened consciousness of the limits of what could be achieved by legislative edict, especially at the federal level" (xviii). Except in the tautological sense that prohibition was a dead issue, however, the evidence indicates otherwise. Although its application was tempered by Roosevelt's pragmatic power-broker approach, the New Dealers retained the same faith in government-directed social engineering that had underlain the prohibition experiment. No group was more aware of this fact than the former antiprohibitionist leaders. The hostility to an activist federal government regulating people's lives and behavior that had animated their fight against the Eighteenth Amendment would lead most into bitter opposition to the New Deal. That the American Liberty League was virtually a reincarnation of the AAPA was neither accidental nor surprising.

University of Nebraska-Lincoln

John Braeman

## foreign policy

**JOHN ADAMS AND THE DIPLOMACY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.** By James H. Hutson. Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky. 1980. \$13.00.

This rather slender volume represents another round in the attack on Felix Gilbert's interpretation of the diplomacy of the American Revolution that James Hutson first launched in a thoughtful and provocative article a couple of years ago.

Basically, Hutson argues that "the foreign policy of the American Revolution was not revolutionary" (1). On the contrary, it was supposedly based solely on interest and balance of power calculations. The questions Hutson raises are important ones, and he advances a good deal of evidence that could support an argument that there was an American revolutionary psychology (or even a revolutionary psychosis) that tended to have unhappy consequences when it came to the conduct of foreign policy. But he has not yet provided the analysis in depth that would enable us to understand why in the American case a revolution could occur without the concomitant development of the type of approach to the conduct of foreign policy that revolutionary states have customarily manifested.

University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

William C. Widenor

**FOREIGN POLICY BY CONGRESS.** By Thomas M. Franck and Edward Weisband. New York: Oxford University Press. 1979. \$15.95.

The voluminous literature on the making of foreign policy in the United States has, for over thirty years, predominantly been concerned with the seeming superiority in the process of the President. Franck and Weisband provide a detailed account of the nearly revolutionary change in the last decade by which Congress has assumed significant control over the making of foreign policy. With the advent of a new administration in Washington (and a change in party control in the Senate) the ques-

tions raised by this book take on added importance: can Congress become an effective, positive factor in foreign policy or will it, by inaction and irresolution, do more harm than good? The several factors that are likely to influence the outcome of this dilemma are carefully and lucidly set forth. The authors favor the open process which Congress could provide but are not sanguine about Congress' ability to discharge this high responsibility.

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**RESPONSE TO IMPERIALISM: The United States and the Philippine-American War, 1899-1902.** By Richard E. Welch, Jr. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1979. \$17.50.

While this volume is a thorough, detailed and fair reexamination of American reaction to the Philippine-American War (1899-1902), the author has neither discovered any new information nor has he advanced any new hypotheses. As in most such studies, the Filipinos are the "objects" of American imperialism and play only a peripheral role. The complexity of what became an American effort to suppress Asia's first truly nationalist revolution requires a different kind of book, but the significance of such a narrative for both lay readers and scholars in the United States is very great indeed. Perhaps that will be Welch's next work.

University of Kansas

Grant M. Goodman

## presidents

**HERBERT HOOVER.** By Wilton Eckley. Boston: Twayne Publishers. 1980. \$10.95.

This is a volume in Twayne's United States Authors Series. Thus it deals with the life of our thirty-first president only as a backdrop to an evaluation to his efforts as an author. Hoover's publications range from *Principles of Mining* (1909) and a translation of Georgius Agricola's *De Re Metallica* (1912) to *The Ordeal of Woodrow Wilson* (1958) and *An American Epic* (1959-1965), a total of twenty-two volumes. Eckley uses much of this literary output to provide a panorama of Hoover's ideas, stressing the constant strains throughout. This is a convenient—and well done—introduction to the thought of Herbert Hoover.

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**THE PUGNACIOUS PRESIDENTS: White House Warriors on Parade.** New York: The Free Press. 1980. \$17.95.

In a scant preface Professor Thomas H. Bailey, the dean of American Diplomatic historians, states that he undertook this book to determine whether there is any basis in fact for the often-heard generalization that the Democrats are the party of war and the Republicans the party of depression. Toward this goal he provides a sketch of every President and every Presidency from Washington through Carter, stressing each incumbent's "pugnacity," i.e. his tendency to resort to the force of arms. Not surprisingly to anyone reasonably knowledgeable about American history, Bailey reaches the conclusion that there is no valid correlation between party membership and involvement in war. Bailey provides no documentation and only a minimal bibliography because, he maintains, the subject-matter he deals with is a matter of general knowledge. His conclusion (all of 2½ pages) tells us only that Jackson and Theodore Roosevelt were "probably the most pugnacious personally" but offers no evaluation of each President's "pugnacity level." Both in method and in style the book may well be most useful for those who do not have the general knowledge which the the author states he assumes in his readers.

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**PRESIDENTIAL POWER: The Politics of Leadership from FDR to Carter.** By Richard E. Neustadt. New York: John Wiley & Sons. 1980. Paper: \$8.50.

Eight of the eleven chapters of this book originally appeared in 1960 and at once established the author as a highly regarded and influential student of the presidency. Chapter 9, prepared in 1968, extends the original work's analysis to the presidencies of Kennedy and Johnson. In its present form the book carries the inquiry, in two new chapters, slightly past the halfway point of the Carter Administration. The three chapters added since 1960 differ from the original work in that they appraise rather than prescribe. Neustadt's objective in 1960 was to tell a future President how to make best use of the office. As he looks at Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford and Carter his question is, how well have they done?

Neustadt sees the presidency as essentially a weak office. The power it exudes derives from the abilities (and exertions) of the incumbent, not from institutional characteristics. The challenge to a new President in 1981 is, therefore, basically no different than that which faced Kennedy in 1961: presidential leadership is to be found in the person, not the office.

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**THOMAS JEFFERSON.** By William K. Bottorff. Boston: Twayne Publishers division of G.K. Hall & Co. (Twayne's United States Authors Series, No. 327). \$8.95.

Though he rarely attempted, and never distinguished himself in extended forms, Thomas Jefferson was a master of the personal letter, the public address, and the polemic. Bottorff quotes extensively from these, but does not attempt sustained criticism of Jefferson's style or content. Indeed, as so often happens, the Sage of Monticello seems to take over and make this a book not about a body of writing but about himself, amply describing and praising his talents in science, philosophy, politics, architecture and aesthetics. Bottorff resumes command to scold Jefferson for failing to transcend his time and place with respect to blacks, Indians and women. Bottorff also states as fact the plausible but unprovable legend that Sally Hemings was Jefferson's mistress, and then promotes her to the dignity of common-law wife! In a series designed for the classroom, Bottorff expertly balances comprehensiveness with brevity. This is one of the best short books on Jefferson available.

University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Robert McColley

**TRUMAN'S CRISES: A Political Biography of Harry S Truman.** Contributions in Political Science, No. 33. By Harold F. Gosnell. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press. 1980. \$35.00.

As the first scholarly attempt to view Truman's entire political career, Gosnell's work does make a contribution. Part I constitutes the fullest account available of Truman's pre-White House years. Yet even this segment is hardly definitive: although Gosnell has utilized newspapers, personal interviews, and oral-history memoirs, his research in manuscript sources is thin. Relying as heavily as he does upon contemporary journalistic accounts and published government documents, he largely retraces here what has become familiar ground.

University of Nebraska-Lincoln

John Braeman