the **IFF** reporter

volume xxxiv • number four • summer 1969

A New Program to Channel Student Creativity

We bring to the attention of readers an experimental program which may be of interest to members of the Society because of its innovative nature.

The Institute for Creative Studies in Washington, D. C. is a unique summer program for imaginative, talented and motivated young people. Now in its third year of operation, the Institute is sponsoring this summer thirty Fellows from two secondary schools and twenty-one colleges and universities in research projects meant to help solve real-life problems that are of interest to society. The unique part of the program is that the young Fellows are not assistants or observers, but rather they are the prime analysts with full responsibility for the formulation of methodologies, for the collection of data, for the execution of the studies,

for the preparation of reports to the sponsoring agencies, and for the ultimate submission of papers to professional societies and journals.

A principle concern to the Institute is the opportunity to encourage the development of creative potential in talented youth and to observe these motivated young people in the formulation of innovative concepts. The Institute, in conjunction with the Smith Richardson Foundation of Greensboro, North Carolina, is engaged in the design of experiments to identify parameters of creativity and to correlate those parameters with characteristics and behavioral patterns of the creators. These experiments may obtain reasonable statistical significance when they are performed in similar systematically controlled programs that are expected to emerge elsewhere in the United States and around the world.

www.pbk.org 🛓



by Joseph Eichenholz

Another primary concern of the Institute is the development of channels other than the conventional educational systems for the recognition of creative potential in youth. In progress are efforts by the Institute to promote the identification of creative youth in the ghettoes and in remote communities.

The Institute began its program in the summer of 1967 with six students. During the summer of 1968, it operated on the campus of the American University in Washington, D. C., with twenty-three Fellows from 19 universities. Projects undertaken included the following: 1) "A Preliminary Air Freight Flow Model," done for the National Bureau of Standards. The goal of the project was to develop a mathematical model for air freight transport in the northeast corridor. The results of this study have been integrated into the long-range plans of the Department of Transportation for the development of efficient air freight movement; 2) "Pre-training Vocational Orientation Through Job Rotation," conducted for the Department of Labor. This project was organized to investigate the high dropout rates from manpower training programs. The impact of the report, now nine months old, is just beginning to be felt, in what is hoped will be continuously falling dropout rates; 3) "A Man-sized Job for Youth," sponsored by the Institute itself, developed methodology and organizational structures for youth participation in national and local policy matters. Other projects were of a more technical and theoretical nature and were not designed to have immediate social implications.

This summer the Institute is sponsoring seven teams of Fellows working on the following projects: 1) An investigation (continued on back cover)

Informal discussion among Fellows at the library of Dunbarton College.

THE REFORMER AND THE POLITICIAN

by Otis A. Pease

During the past decade of political turmoil, many Americans have come to believe that the republic is in deep trouble. Their anxiety centers, I think, on something more disturbing than the discouraging character of our national problems. The nation is still at war, but we have been in wars before, wars more serious and costly and no less unpopular than the one which still preoccupies us. Poverty haunts our back streets and our country roads, but the poverty of the 1890's and the 1930's cut more terrible scars on the social map of our land. The tensions of race have exploded in violence: the smashed windows and tear gas, the armed patrols, the men and women lynched in a forest clearing or mugged in interracial schools. Violence assaults our senses, but we have had a long history of it. We have seen it all before, in the clashes of working men and sheriffs in Homestead, or in Cincinnati, in Ludlow, or at Republic Steel, or in Chicago, 1919, in a week of terror which left scores dead, mostly blacks. War, poverty, social cleavage distort the world we live in, but they have distorted it for over a century.

What appears especially disturbing to many, especially those who are under thirty and who want to shape the world they will live in, is our politics. They find more the matter than soggy rhetoric and the sham ceremony of conventions. It is traditional politics itself which they find troublesome. They insist that the traditional politics is no longer capable of resolving the strains in our culture. In the year just past, such a politician professed to be speaking from the Center, but though he gave voice to discontent and promised change, he said little about reform, and the position he defended seemed to be Dead Center. For the numbers of Americans who wanted reform, only Eugene McCarthy and, for a moment, Robert Kennedy, seemed to practice the old magic which has so often led numbers of ordinary people to commit themselves decisively and with passion to the politics of radical reform. For a nation so solidly caught in contradictions and compromises, was it not time to honor real reformers, men who, in repudiation of political bargains, promised to revive the ideals by which all of us ought to live, and so give the nation back its soul? Today, the American political tradition, which tends to celebrate the Center, continues in low repute among most of that portion of us who have been through college, or hope to be.

I am not equipped to say why this is so, or to predict what may come of it, or to ask that we celebrate it or deplore it. As an historian it is possible for me to suggest that while we have tended to honor — and also distrust — both politicians and reformers for what they separately stand for, yet in the face of social disorders more severe than those which now confront us, it has been the tension — or interaction — between the reformer and the politician which has called forth our most imaginative acts as a self-governing and fundamentally political people.

Otis A. Pease is chairman of the department of history at the University of Washington, Seattle. He was a Phi Beta Kappa Visiting Scholar this year. American political history has generally come to us as a series of stories involving an endless struggle between people bent on change, and those others, usually more skilled in the arts of politics, who aimed to keep things the way they found them. We have been taught to cherish as the essence of this story two contrasting images, the reformer and the politician. These images are as old as the republic itself, and until about two generations they were eloquently unflattering. This should not surprise us, for the reformer and the politician were each mainly responsible for creating the image of the other.

Take first the politician. Even before the rise of the city boss, the reformer and his partner the journalist had attacked the politician for his instinct to manipulate compromises, for his use of patronage and spoils, for his pipeline to the public treasury, for his coarse personality, his belching manners, his swollen appetite, his sixth grade grammar, and for the fact that all his friends were like himself. These images took life and shape in Thomas Nast's cartoons. They have endured in the picture middle class America has generally held of Tammany Hall, or the Senate cabal which was supposed to have given Harding to the nation, or of Mayor Richard Daley, with the jowls and the gravelly voice, welcoming the nation to Chicago not long ago.

The image of the reformer for a long time rivalled the image of the politician in its caustic simplicity. Brand Whitlock was to define it as a man or woman who feels "a deep and abiding responsibility for the shortcomings of others." Whitlock was a reformer who did not wish to be known as one. George W. Plunkett revealed the patient self-assurance of a Tammany professional when he remarked, "A reformer can't last in politics. He can make a show for awhile, but he always comes down like a rocket." Politicians and journalists alike pictured the reformer as a humorless fanatic, a political innocent loyal to a principle, contemptuous of party and fearful of compromise, a man who would prefer no loaf to a half loaf.

The reformer was not merely a disagreeable sort, a snob and a puritan; he was a menace to the order and predictability of things, a foe of organization. Against the "here-and-now" certainty of daily politics, he would intrude the "hoped-for" certainty of his untested ideals. There he stood, as Whitlock and others saw him, attempting by law to deprive the workingman of his drink or to insist on penurious efficiency in the conduct of city hall, the type who believed that you strengthened the social order by weakening the political order, or the businessman so ignorant of politics as to insist on throwing fifty dedicated precinct workers off the payroll of the garbage department and hiring in their place ten sanitation experts by competitive examination.

I have said that these unflattering images of reformer and politician flourished until about two generations ago. They were too starkly drawn and too simplistic to endure much beyond the beginning of the new century. The city boss, for one thing, appeared to be the only man in America willing to use power to befriend the immigrant poor, the workingman, those who suffered discrimination in middle class urban



life, and this fact strongly appealed to a generation of journalists, political commentators, and historians who, between 1910 and 1940, revised and refined the picture of political power functioning in large cities. Ultimately, it was perhaps the novelist who crowned the American politician in literary triumph. Note the blend of detachment and warmth of Edwin O'Connor's *The Last Hurrah*, and the power and brilliance of Robert Penn Warren's study of the hurt, flawed courtiers of Willie Stark in *All the King's Men*.

Their picture is by now a familiar one. In a nation subscribing to majority rule but where urban growth outstripped the capacity to distribute political power, the political boss flourished by attempting to build a government partly independent of the official government in order to do what numbers of people wanted to have done but could not get done through ordinary channels. Business and upper-class groups in need of governmental favors patronized machines for mutual profit. Machines took in money and patronage from their clients and distributed them to their members in return for their loyalty and their votes. These votes insured control of the government, to the long-run advantage of the original client and to the apparent short-run advantage of the working-class voter, who, in return for his vote, received recognition, status, membership in a social system, as well as a job and more intangible favors. These favors constituted the heart of the politician's function. It was his job to keep his door open to all who needed personal help, advice, or just someone to talk to. It was his job to serve as a model for children coming of age in ethnic communities; to provide relief in an emergency, with no questions asked-the free legal counsel, the word to the judge in court, the organization to belong to, the rituals, the camaraderie; for Christmas, the half ton of coal, the free turkey. Here was politics made personal and individual. Out of it came a social system which provided a sense of political community for those who essentially had no other experience of political community in America.

The boss system, of course, cost something, and a balanced judgment is not easy to make. For one thing (to risk an unblocked metaphor) the turkeys at Christmas were chicken feed compared with the gravy which was coming in. The personal psychic gain to each member of the organization was undoubtedly greater than the apparent costs to each, since the costs were generally hidden. The costs, nevertheless, were substantial: the take from saloons and brothels, the numbers game, the crooked butcher scales, all of the ingenious ways which permitted the organization to extract millions of dollars from the very people who believed that the organization was helping them. Nor did the politician greatly concern himself with democracy, in theory or in practice. His organization characteristically was run from the top; hierarchy was sanctified, and few of the beneficiaries at the bottom ever participated in decisions. The organization was conspicuously indifferent to the rights of those who failed to cooperate with them. The social price which the working community often paid for its political power was considerable and it never disappeared.

Even as journalists, novelists, and historians transformed the nation's understanding of the politician, so did they reshape the image of the reformer. George W. Plunkett's "reformer" was, after all, something of a straw man. By 1915 the public had become familiar with a different sort: the man from professional or business life, adequately educated, politically shrewd and resourceful, knowledgeable about government (or at least quick to learn), who entered politics to beat the boss at his own game. There was Joseph Folk as Lincoln Steffans presented him, crusading rural attorney who destroyed the political influence of Ed Butler, boss of St. Louis, and became governor of the state. Others quickly gained national reputations: Tom Johnson, Henry Hunt, Samuel Jones, Brand Whitlock in Ohio; Francis Haney and Hiram Johnson in California; Robert La Follette and Dan Hoan in Wisconsin; Hazen Pingree in Michigan.

These reformers varied widely among themselves in style and tactics, but they tended to share basic goals. Most of them spoke for the powerful interests of a rapidly growing middle class, the independent businessmen, the white-collar professionals, the families who resided in the outer wards of the industrial cities. In an absolute sense these people were losing neither status nor economic power, but urban machines were gaining political power, and the newer middle class was now attempting to compete for that power. They did this in two ways. First, they sought to restructure the requirements and the basis of politics so as to allow their greater influence in politics. They often did this by eliminating party politics from city affairs. In non-partisan elections, traditional political machines lose influence while newspapers, civic associations, and other reform-minded institutions gain influence. Second, they demanded, in the name of efficiency, that government be entrusted primarily to people of administrative training, of white-collar education and outlook, to people with rational attachments to the job in place of loyalty to the organization.

The principal consequence of all this was to permit the new middle class to gain and preserve substantial political power for themselves and their success constituted one of the main themes in the story of political reform which a generation of perceptive journalists contributed in the writing of our history.

Their description of the political process still dominates our thinking. These writers picture two traditions: the political boss, corrupt, limited in vision, but serving an organizing function in a chaotic social order; and the political reformer, uncorrupt, broad of vision, periodically contesting with the boss for control of the government. Seen in this way, the two traditions have little to do with each other, for they represent two widely divergent interests, two cultures: the inner city, the ethnic community, the working class; the outer city, the suburban middle class, the entrepreneurs of power, the owners of America.

There is something to be said for this image of our political past. There were in fact two cultures, and until recently neither could bring itself to accept the political style of the other. Reformers and politicians often did play musical chairs around city hall, and perhaps the most which could be said for such a game was that the act of replacing one set of winners with another probably gave life to the political system.

But it may also be that by picturing reform and professional politics as distinct movements, each following the other in a series of victories, many Americans of good will and a commitment to reform have concluded that the political process is fundamentally as devoid of meaning as an athletic contest, or at least devoid of progression, and that politics seldom confronts the intelligent citizen with much more than an historical charade, a procession of masks.

I think that what has actually taken place in our century is a process rather more subtle than the one just described.

It is one in which each tradition heavily influenced the other and so blurred the distinctions between them. Each tended to appropriate elements of the other's style, and both came in time to be accepted by the two cultures they once separately represented.



The history of Tammany Hall since 1890, for example, suggests strongly that there were a number of successive Tammany Halls, each differing from its predecessor in ways to be explained partly by the pressures which reform forces exerted in the act of campaigning against Tammany or in the act of governing the city.

Between 1890 and 1903 the once fearsome Tammany organization had lost three city elections, partly on account of its increasing inability to provide a growing middle class with an effective government, but also because some working class individuals no longer believed the government was serving them. Tammany boss Croker was forced into retirement, and the quieter and more astute Charles Murphy replaced him. Tammany then ran as its candidate for Mayor George B. McClellan, Jr., from an honored family of Democrats, a respectable party man who looked like a reformer. Murphy, McClellan, and the organization immediately offered the city a number of dramatic concessions to reform: a new water system, street repair, subways, training of police, and substantial improvements in the budgeting, accounting, and general structure of city management.

Murphy soon came to rely on newer, younger advisers who, like Al Smith and Robert Wagner, were liberal and knowledgeable, whose proposals for advanced social legislation were more in keeping with the needs of urban working people than were the proposals of the reformers themselves. Tammany lost control of the city government in 1914, but by then it held power in Albany, which it used for measures of major interest to low-income city dwellers, like the regulation of interest rates and the price of ice, fish, coal, and gas. Three years later Tammany recaptured New York City and retained control until 1933. During half of that long period the organization behaved itself, partly because Al Smith, its greatest vote getter and now governor of the state, managed to moderate his politician's instincts with the perceptions of a reformer.

I would not leave the impression that reform came easily or willingly to Charles Murphy or his organization. Graft, kickbacks, and favors to business continued. The "machine" still took in revenue and paid out patronage. By 1930 the misbehavior of Mayor James Walker was a scandal. For this, the dapper mayor had an answer. "There comes a time in politics," he is supposed to have said, "when a man must rise above principle." But fundamentally between 1900 and 1933 Tammany Hall and New York's reform politicians had interacted in such a way as to create a new tradition in American urban life: a record of social concern for the working ethnic population, reinforcing a middle class revolution in the effective governing of a city. No one embodied this tradition more aptly than Fiorello LaGuardia, who possessed the professional political flair to take New York away from Tammany and the reformer's imagination to govern it so well that by 1945, when he retired, Tammany's dominant role in New York politics went into permanent decline.

As with Tammany, so with others in urban America. Historians have documented this complex interaction for Chicago, Brooklyn, New Haven, for Cincinnati, Toledo, Cleveland, Milwaukee, and Rochester, for Memphis and Kansas City, for Los Angeles and San Francisco. It forms as well a part of the political story of a dozen states.

The point is that during this period, when our political process took its present shape, reformers and politicians learned to operate along a continuous spectrum of policy which blurred distinctions normally emphasized in the rhetoric of the two groups, and that the characteristic public leader by the second half of this century was apt to be both reformer and politician, a man who could adapt his reform temperment to the demands of organizational politics and who was equally skillful at adapting his political talents to the service of reform.

We have seen a number of these men emerge in the twentieth century to grasp hold of the opportunity for greatness available to anyone who desires to apply political leverage to his world. Some of these men, like Smith and LaGuardia, may have entered politics to escape obscurity and exercise power. Others, like the two Roosevelts and John F. Kennedy, chose to be politicians in a society where few men with their ability, their power, wealth, education, and social standing, ever choose to be politicians. Seniors from good universities choose to be editors, lawyers, physicists, historians, investment bankers, civil servants, engineers, advisers to politicians. They seldom choose to be politicians. The two Mr. Roosevelts and Mr. Kennedy did choose to be politicians, not the part-time amateurs serving on the school board or in foreign service, or helping out the party with a single shot at office. They chose to be professionals. They were reformers who committed themselves to professional politics as a way of life in a day when it took intelligence and courage for a reformer to become a politician.

Is this so special a virtue in our life? I believe it is, and I am certain that it always was. It is special because of what it asks an intelligent man to do. A politician must not only want an office. He must want to run for office. He must speak for it, angle for it, make deals for it. He must want power, and yet he must seem not to want it. He must compromise his ideals under conditions so ambiguous that his idealistic friends will never fully understand him and will probably desert him. A politician must seem warm when he is cold, and cold when he is deeply moved. He must remain silent when other more righteous men are free to speak, free to run up banners, or free to charge the enemy. He must seem to follow while leading and must seem to lead while listening. A politician who desires reform must put party ahead of principle often enough to be certain that he has a party strong enough to act for principle, yet he must not allow his ability to stand for principle to become rusty from disuse, for in, perhaps, one decision out of every five or ten he must have the intelligence and courage to decide wholly on the basis of principle. What does this mean in politics? It means that any politician who would command our respect must be willing to settle for the possible -- plus ten percent.

This was the distinction of Abraham Lincoln. To the despair of the radicals, Lincoln compromised on slavery. To the anger of the conservatives he issued the proclamation ending slavery. He was derided for playing party politics, deplored for not seeming to lead, criticized for seeming all things to all men. But in most ways that counted, and still count, he was more right than his critics were: he continually settled for the possible — plus ten percent.

In our own day this has been the distinction of a few other men. They blended the best of political tradition with the best of the reform tradition. As politicians they made it possible for men to continue to talk to one another and to deal with one another in a divided and sometimes bitter land. As reformers they kept clearly before the nation a vision of the good society, a constant reminder of the distance traveled and of the distance still to go. They settled for the possible plus ten percent. That, it seems to me, is what the American political center at its best has been all about.



reading recommended by the book committee

humanities GUY A. CALDWELL, ROBERT B. HEILMAN, FREDERICK J. CROSSON social sciences Leonard W. Dood, Anderson Gyorgy, Lawrence H. Chamberlain, andrew Gyorgy, LEONARD W. DOOB, FREDERICK B. ARTZ, EARL W. COUNT, ANDREAS M. KAZAMIAS, LOUIS C. HUNTER, RICHARD BEALE DAVIS natural sciences MARSTON BATES, KIRTLEY F. MATHER

FREDERICK B. ARTZ

A History of Warfare. Field Marshal Montgomery. World. \$15.

From prehistoric times to the present; based on best authorities, readable; has fine illustrations.

History of Medieval Europe. Maurice Keen. Praeger. \$6.50.

A brief history for the general reader. Very well done.

The Early Church. H. Chadwick. (The Pelican History of the Church, Vol I.) Penguin. p. \$1.45.

Now the best survey of the first six centuries of the church.

Makers of Arab History. Philip K. Hitti. St. Martin's. \$6.95.

Thirteen illuminating studies of the most important Islamic leaders of the Middle Ages.

The Medieval Papacy. Geoffrey Barraclough, Harcourt, Brace & World. \$5.95. A short but comprehensive treatment with fine illustrations.

Henry VIII. J. J. Scarisbrick. California. \$10.95.

Will take its place as the standard life of Henry VIII.

The Letters of King Henry VIII. Edited by M. St. Clare Byrne. Funk & Wagnalls, \$7.95. One of an excellent series of volumes of English royal letters that include those of Elizabeth I, Charles I, Charles II, Queen Anne and George III.

The Shaping of the Elizabethan Regime. Wallace MacCaffrey. Princeton. \$10. An illuminating restudy of the first fifteen years of Elizabeth I's reign.

Private Wealth in Renaissance Florence: A Study of Four Families. Richard A. Goldthwaite. Princeton. \$8.50.

A fundamental study based on family archives.

Napoleon: From 18 Brumaire to Tilsit, 1799-1807. Georges Lefebvre. Columbia. \$7.50.

A translation of a French masterpiece.

Arakcheev: Grand Vizier of the Russian Empire. Michael Jenkins. Dial. \$5.95. First biography of a powerful Russian bureaucrat who served Catharine, Paul, and Alexander I.

Dearest Mama, Letters between Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia. Edited by Roger Fulford. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. \$6.95.

Charming and intimate picture of two unusual women.

LAWRENCE H. CHAMBERLAIN

The Strength of Government. McGeorge Bundy, Harvard, \$3.75.

The qualities that have characterized Mc-George Bundy as a writer, university administrator and foreign affairs analyst ---penetration, frankness, lucidity ---- are here demonstrated in the Harvard Godkin Lectures for 1968. Directed to a university audience, with particular attention to the undergraduate sector, Bundy argues that America's well-being demands stronger government and that a greater participation in that government - in all divisions and at all levels - is essential if this country is to remain effective and free.

The Case Against Congress. Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson. Simon & Schuster. \$5.95. Traditionally, congressional ethics has not been a subject to arouse enthusiasm. Its treatment here is not an exception. Nor is there much here that will surprise anyone who keeps abreast of events. However, this book serves a useful purpose. By bringing together such a wide range of abuses of congressional power, the impact upon the reader is sufficiently powerful to produce a serious desire to do something. Since Congress cannot or will not police its members, perhaps a citizens watchdog commission, empowered and staffed to investigate and initiate legal action, might be in order.

August Belmont. Irving Katz. Columbia. \$10.

Subtitled a political biography, this book is an interesting complement to the portrait of the German-American financier set forth in Stephen Birmingham's Our Crowd. Political scientists will be grateful to Mr. Katz for bringing together many useful and heretofore little know items concerning Belmont's political activities.

Democracy in a Revolutionary Era. Harvey Wheeler. Praeger. \$5.95.

The neutral title of this book gives no hint of its stirring contents. Wheeler ranges from antiquity to the nuclear era, from classical political theory to pragmatism in building his argument. His conclusion that a democratic world order is not only imperative but practicable is both exciting and convincing. Few recent books carry such impact.

The Presidents' Men. Patrick Anderson. Doubleday. \$6.95.

Comparative politics may take various forms. This particular one - focusing upon presidential assistants from FDR to LBJ - provides many useful and revealing insights into contemporary American government. Because Patrick Anderson's eye is sharp, his knowledge of government sound and his concern analytical rather than sensational, his judgments command respect.

Frontiers of Civil Liberties. Norman Dorsen. Pantheon. \$8.95.

A generation from now a retrospective survey of civil liberties in the United States will find Norman Dorsen's role critical and salutary. This compendium, embracing most of the basic issues, is a notable achievement. Because of its wide range and its compression without dehydration, the book combines current appeal and reference utility. It will become an increasingly important guide and source in this volatile field.

Eisenhower: The President Nobody Knew. Arthur Larson. Scribner's. \$5.95.

Although by no means the definitive work on President Eisenhower, this small book should be required reading for those who wish to appraise his presidency. Larson strives for objectivity and in a measure, succeeds. His book is not without bias but on the whole his judgments are temperate and fair. In addition to providing a fascinating assessment of Eisenhower's operational concepts, his treatment of more fundamental aspects of the man himself is singularly effective.

LOUIS C. HUNTER

The Social Order of the Slum: Ethnicity and Territory in the Inner City. Gerald D. Suttles. Chicago. \$8.95.

Poverty, Planning and Politics in the New Boston: The Origins of ABCD. Stephan Thernstrom. Basic. \$5.95.

The Rehabilitation Planning Game: A Study in the Diversity of Neighborhood. Lanley C. Keves, Jr. M.I.T. \$10.

The Study of Urban History. Edited by H. J. Dyos. St. Martins. \$12.

The Social Order of the Slum is a revealing and for those concerned with urban affairs an absorbing account of human relations and behavior in slum communities, with particular reference to ethnic groupings, in Chicago. The Thernstrom and Keyes studies both deal at different levels with the immense and imaginative effort under way in Boston during the 1960's seeking to join physical renewal and rehabilitation with measures designed to alleviate some of the major human and social conditions in the city. Thernstrom combines narrative description of the origins of the movement and of the early stages of overall planning and analysis of the problems faced, the approaches and methods tried, the frustrations met and the end results. It covers several years work by the central planning agencies under the influence or direction of the numerous philanthropic, social and political agencies concerned. In The Rehabilitation Planning Game, Keyes carries the account further, dealing with the character and course of the planning process at the neighborhood level, with specific reference to three Boston neighborhoods. The two studies spell out in concrete terms a number of the conditions and elements contributing to the baffling



complexity of the urban problem. With The Study of Urban History we can go out to the hammock and relax in the contemplation of the irreparable past, free from concern and responsibility. This volume consists of the proceedings of a conference of chiefly British historians, concerned chiefly with British cities. Combining papers on a wide variety of subjects with informal discussion with others of overall review of the field and appraisal, supported by nearly a hundred photographs, maps and charts, The Study of Urban History provides an excellent view of the varied approaches to and treatment of the subiect.

The Crafts of the Modern World. Rose Slivka, Aileen O. Webb, and Margaret Merwin Patch. Horizon. \$17.50.

The New World Dutch Barn: A Study of Its Characteristics, Its Structural System, and Its Probable Erectional Procedures. John Fitchen, Syracuse. \$12.50.

Rushton and His Times in American Canocing. Atwood Manley, with the assistance of P. F. Jamieson, Syracuse \$14.

The Handloom Weavers: A Study in the English Cotton Industry During the Industrial Revolution. Duncan Bythell. Cambridge. \$12.50.

Hand work is the link which joins these several volumes; each in its way is a contribution to economic and technological history. Except for The Handloom Weavers, the contribution depends about as much upon the numerous and admirable illustrations as upon the text. The study of the Dutch barn, based on extant specimens in central New York, is a useful contribution to the history of "architecture without architects" and to an important aspect of the technology of wood. Falling within this same technology, the biography of Rushton provides also an interesting example of the once widely prevalent stage of manufacturing intervening between individual craft work and mill or factory production. Without experience, the quondam Adirondack sawmill hand and store clerk during the 1870's built up a nationwide business from a shop eventually employing some twenty hands but almost no power equipment. The varied types of canoes combined extreme lightness with strength and beauty of line and form. With introductory essays and brief country commentaries, Crafts of the Modern World presents photographs of some 350 craft objects, representing more than sixty countries in all parts of the world and covering a wide range of present day handicrafts from the near-primitive to the highly sophisticated. The objects speak for themselves with varying degrees of clarity, nearly always arousing interest and frequently great admiration. The Handloom Weavers is the first full and adequate treatment of a class of British workers whose condition and fate have long been legend. In the lives of these weavers there was precious little of creativeness or craftsmanship. Caught in the transition between the traditional craft and factory production, they found themselves pitted in a futile struggle with the machine, rewarded with progressively deteriorating incomes and standard of living.

GUY A. CARDWELL

White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812. Winthrop D. Jordan. North Carolina. \$12.50.

Superficial thinking and slipshod writing or editing mar most recent books about the Negro. Mr. Jordan's large volume was not, however, hastily launched to catch the tide of fashion but is the carefully composed, subtly argued product of extensive research. Rightly the winner of several awards.

The First Circle. Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn. Translated by Thomas P. Whitney. Harper & Row. \$10.

Cancer Ward. Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Translated by Nicholas Bethell and David Burg. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. \$10.

These two powerful novels remain unpublished in Russia, although Solzhenitsyn is often spoken of as the greatest living Russian novelist. Readable, rather old fashioned in their realism, they are grounded in the experiences of the author as an exile and forced laborer during the period 1945-1956. There is little in them to encourage hope for the relaxing of controls among the Soviets.

Mosby's Memoirs and Other Stories. Saul Bellow. Viking. \$5.

Six virtuoso stories by one of the most talented of American writers. Speculative, questing, conscious of absurdity, beautifully textured — these are *echt* Saul Bellow.

His Toy, His Dream, His Rest: 308 Dream Songs. John Berryman. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. \$6.50.

The general air of these excellent poems is one of robust individuality. The wryly inventive poet has a wide emotional range that includes wit, comedy, whimsy, satire, irony, and pathos.

Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins. André Grabar. Bollingen Series XXXV. Princeton. \$15.

An authoritative study (with 346 well chosen illustrations) of the origins of Christian iconography in Greco-Roman images and its early development in portraits, historical scenes, single images, and juxtaposed images. The process of assimilation will be suggestive to students of literature.

The Disciplines of Criticism: Essays in Literary Theory, Interpretation, and History. Edited by Peter Demetz, Thomas Greene, and Lowry Nelson, Jr. Yale. \$15.

Twenty-six original essays honoring Professor René Wellek on his sixty-fifth birthday. Among the most rewarding of the essays are ten by Mr. Wellek's colleagues at Yale.

Lost in the Funhouse: Fiction for Print, Tape, Live Voice. John Barth. Doubleday. \$4.95.

Richly experimental stories on the plight and pleasure of being an artist — an observer, not a participant. Mr. Barth speaks eloquently in many voices.

Mystery and Manners. Flannery O'Connor. Selected and edited by Sally and Robert Fitzgerald. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. \$6.95. Several essays by the late Miss O'Connor lationship which she saw between religious vision and art. Supplied as *lagniappe* are pieces containing witty, sensible remarks on teaching and writing.

Pictures of Fidelman: An Exhibition. Bernard Malamud. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. \$5.95.

Six related, typically Malmudian stories, compact of Jewish humor and misery. These parabolic, erotic, fantastic tales treat such things as charity, aspiration, failure, art and love.

A Manual of Style. Prepared by the Editorial Staff of the University of Chicago Press. Twelfth edition, completely revised. Chicago. \$10.

As the jacket says, "Since 1906 the standard working tool of editors, authors, advertisers, typographers, proofreaders, and printers."

KIRTLEY F. MATHER

Through Rugged Ways to the Stars. Harlow Shapley. Scribner's \$6.95.

An autobiography that only a Harlow Shapley could write; informal, chatty, candid, with much interesting information about his own rich, full life and about many of the persons whose lives have been significantly influenced by his, more than a hundred of whom are mentioned by name, its crisp style laced with characteristic humor at the rate of a punch line every two or three pages.

The Story of Quantum Mechanics. Victor Guillemin. Scribner's. \$8.95.

The "mission impossible" of explaining the development of quantum mechanics and describing its significance on the far frontier of modern science in terms appropriate for readers with little formal training in physics and mathematics is here accomplished. Even those who care little about neutrinos, quarks, and Feynman diagrams will be interested in the author's philosophical comments on causality, determinism, and free will.

Lands Beyond the Forest. Paul B. Sears. Prentice-Hall. \$7.95.

The importance of open grasslands in the early development and more recent history of mankind is here presented in an informal and highly attractive style by one whose distinguished career has been primarily concerned with what is now known as human ecology. Numerous bits of factual information are interspersed with perceptive comments concerning their bearing on man's present predicament and his future as an inhabitant of the earth.

Minerals and Man. Cornelius S. Hurlbut, Jr. Random House. \$15.

A lavishly illustrated and truly beautiful book, with 160 of its photographs of minerals reproduced in full color. The text, written with the nontechnical reader in mind, covers admirably the origin, occurrence, associations, and uses of the world's principal minerals, including those used as jewels for ornamental purposes and those upon which modern industrial development depends. The Conquest of Energy. George Russell Harrison. Morrow. \$6.95.

With his usual skill and customary clarity, the widely honored Dean Emeritus of M.I.T. presents a vivid account of what physical scientists have learned about the various available forms of energy, their behavior and control, and relates elementary theory to the practical results which affect our daily lives and will have much to do with the future of mankind. He is more optimistic about that future than are the contemporary prophets of doom.

The New Brahmins: Scientific Life in America. Spencer Klaw. Morrow. \$6.50.

A carefully documented dissection of the American scientific community, presented in a vigorous style, well calculated to stir up its more complacent members; the author, a keen, hard-nosed investigator, reports not only "its confidence and euphoria" but also "certain currents of apprehension and guilt that flow just beneath its surface."

New Perspectives in Archeology. Edited by Sally R. and Lewis R. Binford. Aldine. \$9.75.

A well-integrated collection of 16 papers, most of which were read and discussed at a symposium of archeologists and cultural anthropologists in November 1965. The apt title suggests the departure from conventional studies that has characterized recent investigations in localities as widely scattered as France and Mexico, New York State and Iran. It also encompasses various theoretical approaches toward the solution of problems in a discipline that "is neither history nor anthropology," but is concerned with the cultural information that may be gleaned from archeological materials.

EARL W. COUNT

The Origins and Growth of Archaeology. Glyn Daniel. Crowell. \$8.95.

The First Civilizations: The Archaeology of Their Origins. Glyn Daniel. Crowell. \$8.95. The histories of those sciences whose quest is the recovery of what happened but once in time, along with what they have found, are doubly gripping. The first title heads lengthy quotations from the makers of archaeology, and the author cements them with guiding interlocutions. The second title retails elementally what has been found, in Old and New Worlds.

Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia. Richard S. Ellis. Yale. \$12.50.

Over the centuries, the builders deposited within their walls a wide inventory of non-utilitarian objects. What meant they? T.

The Exaltation of Inanna. William W. Hallo and J. J. A. van Dijk. Yale. \$10.

A magnificent Sumerian hymn; photographed, copied, transliterated, translated, edited with notes. T.

A History of Egyptian Architecture: The Empire or the New Kingdom. Alexander Badawy. California. \$22.50.

The successor to a study of the earlier history. Domestic, religious, funerary, military architecture; their sociocultural reflections. The illustrations and plan-drafts are satisfying. T. Dawn of the Gods: Minoan and Mycenean Origins of Greece. Jacquetta Hawkes. Random House. \$17.95.

A gracious scholar has composed a beautiful book. We may indulge her persisting theme of predominantly "feminine" and "masculine" cultures — for maybe she is right. And if she depicts these origins as pervadingly gracious, why, that is indeed what they were.

The Greek Adventure. Pierre Lévêque. Translated by Miram Kochan. World. \$12.50. In toto — From pre-Hellenes through the Great Age to the extremes of the ancient spatial oecoumene. Archaeology braced appropriately with historical accounts; illustrations and maps, plus very helpful synchronic-diachronic charts. A boon to us votaries of Hellas who remain unpriested.

The Chariot of the Sun, and Other Rites and Symbols of the Northern Bronze Age. Peter Gelling and Hilda Ellis Davidson. Praeger. \$7.50.

Sun-worship dominated the Scandinavian Bronze Age world-view; as ironware, agriculture, villages, seafaring filled out, other (and to us more familiar) cults eclipsed it. The pictography is eloquent. Both Greece and the northland gain from some crosscomparisons.

Pre-Columbian Literatures of Mexico. Miguel León-Portilla. Translated by Grace Lobanov and M. L.-P. Oklahoma. \$5.95. From the worse-than-sad annihilation of those literatures, a remnant happily was saved — Mayan, Aztec, Mixtec: poetry of myths and legends, hymns, lyrics, sacred drama, prose chronicles, "wisdom". Here are samplings; much more awaits any scholar's explorations.

The Maya Chontal Indians of Acalan-Tixchel: A Contribution to the History and Ethnography of the Yucatan Peninsula. France V. Scholes and Ralph L. Roys. Oklahoma. \$9.50.

A unique Chontal text was found (by Dr. Scholes) in Seville, 1933. It is reproduced in facsimile, with Spanish and English translations; and affords this invaluable study of otherwise very ill-known people. T.

Man's Rise to Civilization As Shown by the Indians of North America from Primeval Times to the Coming of the Industrial State. Peter Farb. Dutton. \$8.95.

A worthy overview, despite the handicap of its chesty title. A knowledgeable sweep, skillfully compact; the author's empathy rides on an even keel.

American Indian Mythology. Alice Marriott and Carol K. Rachlin, Crowell. \$7.95.

The unassuming title wraps about an exquisite bundle of lately-told narratives, each of which the collectors introduce with gentle explanations. Ancient themes are perdurable as they confront the real present; the upshot is naively profound and pathetically noble.

Ojibwa Religion and the Midéwiwin. Ruth Landes. Wisconsin. \$7.

After several decades, a very competent restudy from living material of one of aboriginal Americans' most remarkable socioreligious ventures. T.

www.pbk.org 🛓

(T: relatively technical in character.)

- SCIENCE POLITICS MUSIC • ECONOMICS • PAINTING • RELIGION LITERATURE • HISTORY
- FOREIGN POLICY
- SOCIAL RELATIONS •

Richard Rovere Kenneth Keniston Jacques Barzun Alfred Kazin Oscar Handlin Robert Heilbroner **Douglas Bush** Loren Eiselev William Shannon Phyllis McGinley Paul Sears Louis Simpson **Dudley Fitts** B. H. Haggin R. Buckminster Fuller Walter Kerr **David Riesman** Henry Wallich Marston Bates George Boas

Outstanding scholars and writers bring you their ideas on a broad range of topics in each quarterly issue of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR. In addition, you'll find reviews of important new books, poetry, and Joseph Wood Krutch's popular column on men and mankind.

Subscribe now at a special introductory rate—\$4.00 for a full year's subscription (four issues). You save 20% of the regular subscription price.

The American Scholar

1811 Q St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009

Please enter my subscription to the Scholar for a full year (four issues) for just \$4.00.

Payment enclosed	📋 Bill me
------------------	-----------

Name			_
Street		·	_
City	State	Zip	

THE INSTITUTE FOR **CREATIVE STUDIES**

(continued from page one)

of services to students of the Environmental Science Services Administration (ESSA), and an appraisal of the manner in which young people respond to the services of ESSA, and other federal agencies (Department of Commerce); 2) A study of recruitment and turnover in the Commissioned Officer Corps of the Coast and Geodetic Survey (of ESSA), and formulation of recommendations for improving recruiting practices, lowering turnover rates, and defining the role of an elite service (Department of Commerce); 3) A subjective look at urban transportation in the year 2000, with the objective of formulating views on what the center city can and should be like, and what modes of transportation such a city would require (Department of Transportation); 4) An investigation of the opportunities existing in the use of television broadcasts from a satellite to better the lives of American Indians (or any other isolated group) in the central and western United States (NASA): 5) An empirical study of the effect of government transfer payments (i.e. welfare, unemployment, social security, veterans payments, etc.) on labor force participation of various segments of the population. The goal is to determine factors affecting and motives behind decisions made to work or not to work (Manpower Administration, Department of Labor); 6) An investigation of the relationship of the community to the criminal justice system in an adjoining area east of the Capitol. Recommendations will be implemented as experimental programs in community action with the hope that successful programs can be implemented elsewhere in the United States (sponsored by the Institute itself); 7) A study to identify creative potential among mildly delinquent black male adolescents in the inner-city social environment, (Washington Urban Coalition).

Throughout the summer the teams work on their projects and subject themselves to periodic quality control by the entire group. There are also interim and final reports (oral and written) to the sponsors, and a final "murder board" review, during which the team's work is examined critically by professionals.

The Fellows for this summer's program, who are quartered at Dunbarton College in Washington, D. C. include, in addition to two high school students, twenty-two undergraduates and six graduate students. Three are from Cornell and three from Yale; two from Duke, George Washington, Harvard, Pennsylvania, and Princeton; and one from each of the following institutions: Antioch, Boston, Brown, Bryn Mawr, Carleton, Chicago, Georgetown, Goucher, Northwestern, Radcliffe, Virginia and Wellesley.

The Fellows were chosen on the basis of evaluation of creative potential. Samples of the students' writings and creative efforts were examined for imagination and insight. Three references, and personal interviews were required. In addition, an examination devised by the Institute was administered to most of the candidates. The selections were made by the head of the Institute, Dr. Theodore J. Wang, and by its administrative director, Edward B. Glassman. Dr. Wang was formerly Professor and Director of Operations Research at the American University, and is Educational Chairman of the Washington Operations Research Council. Mr. Glassman is a member of the "Washington Internships in Education" program and teaches at the Catholic University of America.

At present, the Institute projects are funded by contracts from federal agencies, and by a grant from the Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer Foundation. It is hoped that during the coming months support

for the Institute will be obtained from industry and private foundations. A plan is also being discussed with several embassies for an international exchange of Fellows.

In addition to involving young people in dealing with the problems of society, the Institute also provides the opportunity for young people from differing backgrounds to learn to live together in a spirit of cooperation and understanding.

Mr. Eichenholz, an Institute Fellow, will begin graduate studies at Brown University in the fall.

There will be a conference on October 23-24, 1969 on "The Role of the Humanities in Urban Affairs" at Carnegie-Mellon University. Speakers, panelists, and conference participants will consider such topics as the existential problems of man in the city, the humanist and the growth of the city, urbanism as a cultural concept, and the city as sense experience. The keynote speaker will be Ralph Ellison. The conference is being run under a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. For further details, write Erwin R. Steinberg, Carnegie-Mellon University, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213.

	1811 Q Street, N.W. Washington, D. C. 20009 Please send information and or- der forms for the items checked	
	 below: 1. keys, tie tack, and tie chain [] 2. membership plaques and certificates [] 	
Name		
Address		
City		



volume xxxiv • number four • summer 1969

Editor: Evelyn Greenberg

Consulting Editor: Carl Billman

Editorial Committee: Irving Dilliard, William F. Hahnert, Robert H. Irrmann, Raymer McQuis-ton, Mary F. Williams.

ton, Mary F. Williams. Published quarterly (Autumn, Winter, Spring, and Summer) by the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa at the Garamond/Pridemark Press, Baltimore, Maryland. Send all change-of-ad-dress notices to *The Key Reporter*, Phi Beta Kappa, Editorial and Executive offices, 1811 Q Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20009. No responsibility is assumed for views expressed in articles published in articles published.

In articles published. Advertising rates upon application. Single copies 20¢, ten or more copies 10¢ each. Subscription \$1.00 for one year, \$2.00 for two years, \$3.00 for five years. Second class postage paid at Washington, D. C. Copyright © 1969 by the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa. All rights reserved.



THE KEY REPORTER PHI BETA KAPPA 1811 Q Street, N.W. Washington, D. C. 20009 Return Postage Guaranteed

www.pbk.org 🛓

Second class postage paid at Washington, D. C.