



The Key Reporter

VOLUME XXXXI □ NUMBER THREE □ SPRING 1976

EXPANDED VISITING SCHOLAR PROGRAM FOR 1976-77

A major expansion of the 1976-77 Visiting Scholar programme will mark the Phi Beta Kappa Bicentennial year. Over one hundred campus visits will be made by an outstanding panel representing a wide range of academic and professional fields.

Both from the institutions visited and from the Scholars themselves, Phi Beta Kappa receives frequent indications that this is one of the most valuable programs sponsored by the United Chapters. Professor Renée Fox of the University of Pennsylvania has summarized her experiences as follows:

As a Visiting Scholar in 1973-1974, and again in 1974-1975, I carried with me a "kit bag" of lecture materials based on the sociological research that I have conducted in the United States, Continental Europe and Central Africa.

Those two peripatetic years were among the most interesting of my teaching career. Students responded vigorously to lectures on "Is There a 'New' Medical Student?" and on the ethical and existential problems associated with modern medicine that have surfaced in American society during the past decade. They found pleasure and mystery in the distinctive "intelligence behind the mask" features of Central African culture, and pondered the dilemmas and difficulties that developing societies like Zaire face in trying to achieve a more modern, but still "authentically African" polity and economy. They were intrigued by what my account of "An American sociologist in the land of Belgian medical research" revealed to them about the inner world of the social researcher as well as of the social system that she was exploring. And, in this era of crises of identity and commitment, on the one hand, and renewed feminism, on the other, my person, my professional history, and my sense of vocation interested young faculty and students alike.

This opportunity taught me a great deal about the rich pluralism of American institutions of higher education, the diversity of their history and of the locales in which they are rooted,

and about how extensively excellent they are. The questing field worker in me was pleased by the chance to spend time in communities with which I had never before had contact—Tuscaloosa, Alabama, for example, and Orono, Maine. The religious origins of many of the now secularized colleges and universities that I visited came alive for me in the enthusiastic discussions about bioethical issues that my lectures evoked on various campuses, and through the unexpected number of faculty members who turned out to be children or grandchildren of Protestant missionaries, and who were especially responsive to the lectures on Zaire.

In the end, as is the case with all meaningful teaching under whatever auspices it occurs, I learned most from the willingness of students everywhere to share their ideas, opinions and feelings with me.

The nineteen Scholars for the coming academic year are:

HARVEY BROOKS, Benjamin Peirce Professor of Technology and Public Policy at Harvard University, is president of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

JUDITH BLAKE DAVIS serves on the Population Advisory Committee of HEW. She is professor of demography at the University of California,

(continued on back cover)



(Byrd Allen)

Visiting Scholar Francis T. P. Plimpton with students at Colby College.

BICENTENNIAL COUNCIL

The thirty-first Council of the United Chapters, marking the Bicentennial anniversary of Phi Beta Kappa, will convene at Williamsburg, Virginia, December 3-7, 1976. The Alpha of Virginia Chapter at the College of William and Mary will be the host of the Council meeting. Most of the sessions will take place at the Colonial Williamsburg Conference Center.

In honor of the Society's founding a stimulating program of special events has been planned. Included will be the anniversary banquet, the première of the oratorio, "To Form a More Perfect Union," and the presentation of the Phi Beta Kappa Award for Distinguished Service to the Humanities. Another important feature will be two symposia centering on the theme, "The Liberal Arts and the Values of a Free Society," with participants from government and academic life. Winners of the Phi Beta Kappa Bicentennial Fellowships will also take part in the panel discussions.

Chapters and associations are now selecting their representatives to the Council. Dr. Kenneth M. Greene, Secretary of the United Chapters, urges that the names of delegates be reported to the Washington office as soon as possible so that detailed information about the program and accommodations may be sent to them. It is expected that there will be a full representation of all chapters at this historic meeting.

Council business will include a review of the activities of the United Chapters during the past triennium, recommendations for new chapters, proposed amendments to the Constitution and By Laws of the United Chapters and the election of officers and Senators for the coming triennium.

Members of the Society will be welcome at many of the festive events during the anniversary week-end. Information about reservations and accommodations may be obtained by writing to the Bicentennial Arrangements Committee, 1811 Q Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

The publication of Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman's *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* was one of the literary sensations of the spring of 1974. Ordinarily so specialized a work might have won the notice only of a few scholars. Advance publicity and the book's bold claims were important sources of interest. The study promised an "entirely new portrayal of slavery's past," challenging prevailing assumptions about the severity of bondage and affirming the achievements of black servants amid adversity. A volume of vivid text and another of documentation discredited what the authors termed the traditional interpretation of the peculiar institution. That interpretation consisted of five propositions. It depicted slavery as generally unprofitable, or drawing very limited profits from slave sales or the high productivity of newly opened, fertile cotton lands. The slave economy was moribund. Slave labor and agriculture were inefficient. Slavery caused the southern economy to stagnate, or at least to lag in growth. Finally, slaves endured painfully harsh lives. The methodology of *Time on the Cross* also countered older scholarship. It denigrated traditional literary sources to depend on the methods and summarize the findings of two decades of the "new economic history," known as econometrics or Cliometrics because it wedded the muse of history, Clio, to rigorous quantitative and statistical techniques and a reliance on computer analysis.

Reviewers rushed to praise *Time on the Cross*. *Time*'s critic solemnly advised that Fogel and Engerman had demolished earlier treatments of slavery. Southern historian Comer Vann Woodward authoritatively pronounced their work the start of a new period of slavery scholarship and a searching revision of a national tradition. He cautioned, however, that the two writers had not established a clear relationship between their findings for the South as a whole and the life of any particular slave. Many of their generalizations appeared to be vulnerable. Their book deserved "the most thorough and unsparing criticism by the best qualified experts. . . ." Controversy swirled around it through the end of 1975. A growing mass of criticism reversed the study's initially favorable reception. These remarks will consider its main findings and

methods, comment on its place in the historical literature about slavery and the intimately related problem of the role of slavery in the precipitation of the American crisis — the Civil War, and close with some brief general observations.

I

Black slavery was the great contradiction and the great embarrassment in the American experience. As such it has remained a peculiarly insistent problem. Its awful salience has generated a huge, provocative literature and enduring interest, which the civil rights crusade and advent of black militancy in the 1950's and '60's enlarged. The impact of *Time on the Cross* drew as much on these factors as on the book's findings and method. Fogel and Engerman injected an added note in offering their two volumes as a model of the application of scientific techniques to the study of the past. They did concede that social science was not yet able to produce a general integrating theory or findings comprehending the totality of human experience that was the distinctive concern of history. Where the data were limited they had been "obliged to invoke assumptions which, though plausible, cannot be verified at present, and to rely on traditional evidence which is too fragmentary to be subjected to statistical tests." They admitted as well to lapses from strict objectivity in their prologue and epilogue and granted that interpretation held less authority than findings. The two authors nevertheless sounded an unmistakable note of triumph for scientific history, brandishing references to corps of research assistants and batteries of computers.

In rebutting all five elements of the "traditional" view of slavery, *Time on the Cross* emphasized two. It sought chiefly to show that slavery and slave agriculture were economically efficient, and that slavery was benign. Slaves had responded to incentives, rewards, and opportunities, and their productive achievements in bondage were the true historical basis for black pride. Critics have focused on these points, the writers' methods, and their conceptual apparatus.

Fogel and Engerman found that the annual rate of return on the market price of slaves averaged about 10 percent. This record compared favorably with those of the most successful New England textile mills and southern railroads. Southern agriculture as a whole was 35 percent more efficient than northern farming

in 1860, and slave farms were 40% more efficient. The authors claim economics of scale, "achieved only with slave labor," were responsible. Far from stagnant, the southern economy was flourishing and faced brilliant prospects in 1860. Per capita income had for 20 years risen more rapidly than in the north. Per capita income and industrial development ranked the South fourth among the nations of the world.

The mildness of the slave regime, provision of ample incentives and rewards for labor, and a stable family system were major sources of slave productivity. Through them planters inspired assimilation of the work ethic and Victorian morality. Slave diet in calories exceeded that found for free whites in an 1879 study. The yearly pecuniary income of a prime field hand surpassed by 15 percent what he might have earned as a free farm laborer. Planters expropriated only 12 percent of a slave's earnings. Industrious bondsmen enjoyed considerable opportunities to become artisans and overseers. Discipline was mild. The records of one Louisiana plantation showed the incidence of whippings to be but 0.7 per slave per year. A study of slave sales in 8 Maryland counties established a yearly rate of only 1.97 percent or 1 for each 22 masters. Five-sixths of the slaves who migrated west, 1810-1860, accompanied their masters, families intact. Of the remainder, New Orleans sale record showed that 84 percent were unmarried. Interregional sales thus disrupted no more than 2 percent of the marriages of slaves moving west. There was no evidence of forced slave breeding; late marriage and motherhood also affirmed the stable family.

In two penetrating technical articles, Paul A. David and Peter Temin cast doubt on the larger argument by undercutting several important economic findings. They showed that Fogel and Engerman's calculations of southern farm efficiency had understated labor inputs, disregarding the longer southern growing season and that families toiled with field hands. The authors likewise erred in computations of land inputs. David and Temin made corrections which cancelled the apparent advantages of southern agriculture. They also discovered that Fogel and Engerman had actually measured revenue-securing capacity rather than physical efficiency. In doing so the latter had failed to adjust suitably for the incommensurability of southern and

♦BK Senator Steeples is professor of history at Earlham College.

northern crops, the effects of the South's climatic advantage, and price differences caused by regional transportation cost differentials. The superior efficiency of slave labor, which they had based on that of southern agriculture, had vanished.

David and Temin detected flaws in *Time on the Cross*' portrayal of slave life, too. Discussion of slave diet had drawn on an unreliable source, failed to consider caloric adequacy for heavy field work, and omitted comparison of dollar value of slave and white diets. Claiming to compare pecuniary incomes of field hands and free white farm laborers, the authors had really made incomplete comparison of incomes of slave and free farm families. They had not noted that more members of slave families worked more, nor that labor secured only 58 percent of free farm families' incomes and land the rest. A 12 percent expropriation rate resulted from incorrect accounting that assigned to slave families the cost of borrowing to rear children and discounted the value of future earnings. Corrections yielded a 49 percent expropriation rate.

Herbert Gutman in a 180-page essay attacked other points. The authors had used a single slaveholder's discipline records, hardly an adequate evidential basis from which to generalize for the whole South, to answer the wrong question. Viewed in terms of the frequency of whippings on the plantation and the resulting visibility of corporal punishment as a means of control, rather than in terms of whippings per hand per year, the picture looked much grimmer. On the establishment cited, one male slave received a whipping each 4.5 days, a female somewhat less often. The most productive servants were the most frequent victims, rascality and slovenly work the most frequent offenses. The status of the slave family was questionable. Literary evidence of planters' financial interest in the natural increase of bondsmen abounded. Plantation records detailed births, deaths, and sales, but rarely marriages. Census and literary sources revealed an early, casual initiation into sex and that up to half of the female slaves were mothers before they were 20. New Orleans slave market records were inadequate. The same Maryland study used differently to answer the right question, which concerned the incidence and impact of sales on the slave population rather than its annual rate per planter, meant the sale of 50,000 servants a year or 2 million between 1820 and 1860. Fogel and Engerman had

seriously understated the number of slave families split by sale, confusing marriages with families and mishandling the effect of transactions involving nearly grown children. Plantation conditions did not provide incentives for internalization of the Protestant ethic, nor was there much evidence that bondsmen had done so.

Conceptual flaws also marred the book. It was ahistorical and hardly revolutionary. Representing 1820-1860 as typical, it offered a static view of slavery. It presented the standard picture of Negro socialization: black servants responded passively to their circumstances. It inferred individual motives from macro-economic conditions, not recognizing that a given situation was consistent with a wide range of individual behaviors. It failed to show the salience of its findings for individual slaves. It argued as if economic impulses alone generated human behavior, casting black slaves in the dubious mold of *homo economicus*. Last, it assumed the propriety of considering slavery without measuring the social optimality of the institution or its resource allocation, which is the basis of modern welfare economics. Had it considered the welfare efficiency of bondage, recognizing that welfare economics united economics with morality at the point of excluding coercion, it would have been "less arresting and . . . less misleading. . . ."

II

"Damn me if I ever love another country," exclaimed a grizzled Confederate veteran as he stacked his arms at Appomattox. This emotion-filled scene, recounted to open a classic study of the origins of the Civil War, serves to remind that behind the enigmatic figure of the slave loomed the image of national crisis. Part of the fascination of slavery lies in its relationship with the tragedy of 1861-1865. Those who fought the war, whether they were northerners who spoke in terms of union, liberty, or national destiny or southerners who uttered the language of states' rights or constitutional guarantees of property, recognized that their claims were somehow inseparable from the question of slavery. Studies of the origins of the conflict have recurred constantly to the problem, just as those of slavery have shown or implied connections. Fogel and Engerman recognized as much when they concluded that the "slave system was not economically moribund on the eve of the Civil War. There is no evidence that economic forces alone would have soon brought

slavery to an end without the necessity of a war or some other form of political intervention."

To establish fully the nature of *Time on the Cross*' contribution to the literature of slavery requires consideration of the work in historiographical context. To do so is to discover, again, its limitations. Only by ignoring the tendencies of studies of slavery since about 1940 could the authors claim to have demolished a traditional interpretation. No single writer ever embraced all of the elements of that view as they summarized it. Ulrich Bonnell Phillips' 1918 volume, *American Negro Slavery*, which dominated the field for a half century, probably came closest. Phillips depicted slavery as fundamentally unprofitable, inefficient and a significant brake on southern economic development. Yet as a white supremacist determined to refurbish the progressive image of the South he argued that bondage was at bottom a benign instrument of racial adjustment that functioned to educate and protect child-like and recently savage blacks. Beginning in the late 1930's and continuing through the next two decades Phillips' interpretation experienced a major revision and repudiation. Kenneth Stampp's *The Peculiar Institution* (1956) overturned it at every point, asserting that slavery was profitable to masters, the result of deliberate decisions founded on economic motives, and brutal. Within a year Alfred H. Conrad and John R. Meyer's "The Economics of Slavery in the AnteBellum South" had launched the Cliometric revolution through a rigorous statistical analysis showing that slavery was profitable to the southern economy as a whole as well as to planters. In 1959, Stanley Elkins' *Slavery* widened the limits of discussion. Building on comparative studies by earlier writers, he described North American slavery as singularly oppressive. He proceeded to construct a model of the characteristic slave personality type, the self-effacing Sambo, which he explained in terms of the harshness of American servitude, social psychology, and a concentration camp analogy. Other writers challenged his interpretation during the following decade. Philip Curtin's *The Atlantic Slave Trade* in 1969 enriched understanding by introducing a more sophisticated use of demographic evidence that suggested that slavery in the United States was comparatively mild after all. By the 1970's studies of slavery displayed a complexity and variety

that rendered stereotypes irrelevant while anticipating many of the findings that Fogel and Engerman later offered as novel.

Concurrently, writing about the origins of the Civil War underwent sweeping changes, many of them connected to perceptions about slavery. In the 1920's and 1930's Civil War scholarship reflected important currents at work in American culture at large. Prominent among them were propensity of early twentieth century reformers known as Progressives to downplay moral motives and to emphasize the economic roots of behavior, and the pacifistic mood that many shared in the disillusionment following World War I. Charles W. Ramsdell in 1929 made the crucial move. Elaborating the Phillipsian view that slavery was inefficient and unprofitable, he argued that by 1850 it was dying. Sales of chattels from the Upper to the Lower South showed its infirmity. Confined by a cool climate on the north and insufficient rainfall west of central Texas, plantation culture had reached its natural limits and was doomed. For Ramsdell and his successors, the irrepressible conflict had become thoroughly repressible.

The revisionist view of the Civil War as needless assumed definitive form with the publication of Avery Odell Craven's *Coming of the Civil War* in 1942. A work of consummate scholarship, Craven's book displayed a rare balance in its treatment of intangible, emotional, and psychological as well as economic and political roots of conflict. Craven agreed that slavery by the 1840's was declining in the Upper South and near its geographical limits. It returned 10-15 percent to planters, to be sure, yet it was only incidental, as a labor system, and rested lightly on the bondsmen themselves. The great fact was that southern society was agricultural. The condition of agriculture determined southern well-being, and the South was prosperous in the 1850's. Viewed objectively, there was reason neither for the South to leave the nation with which it shared more than it differed, nor for attacks on what was a declining slave system. The struggle over the admission of Missouri to the Union as a slave state, 1819-1820, however, had awakened southern defensiveness. In the 1830's and 1840's the claims of evangelical Protestantism as voiced by radical abolitionists, the rhetoric of Revolutionary ideals, and the exploitation of the slavery

question by politicians attempting to manipulate it for personal advantage had converted it to a sectional and moral issue. It was no longer susceptible of rational disposition. The determination of southern fire-eaters and the inability of Lincoln to compromise without shattering his party led to the tragically needless hostilities in 1861.

Only in 1966 did there appear a major new view of the sources of the Civil War, Eugene Genovese's *The Political Economy of Slavery*. The first of several works by the brilliant Marxian scholar, who alone rivalled Phillips in his command of the sources and displayed formidable quantitative skills as well, it pointed the way toward combining traditional methods, a rigorous theoretical framework, and elements of cliometric approach. Genovese showed how the aggregative regional treatments of the Cliometricians often misled, illustrating again the importance of asking the right question. That planters profited from slavery was obvious, and unilluminating. The key question involved the impact of slavery on southern civilization. Examining counties that were exporters and importers of slaves, Genovese concluded that the agricultural diversification of the Upper South depended on the sale of surplus slaves to new cotton districts for the requisite capital. Quantitative evidence about planters' reluctance to invest in expensive tools and livestock, the condition of their fields, and related matters corroborated literary evidence that slave agriculture was inefficient.

Genovese was at his best in considering slavery in the context of what Alexis de Tocqueville termed "the world the slave-holders made," southern civilization. Chattel servitude was the basis of a social ideal, in respects precapitalist and aristocratic, to which southern leaders were devoted. Their determination to preserve that ideal, and the expansive dynamic inherent in the fact that economic reform in the Upper South rested on slave sales to the Lower South and thus compelled southern territorial expansion to secure new cotton lands, cast secession in a new light. Far from irrational, it was a calculated gamble to obtain outside the Union lands inaccessible within it but needed to perpetuate the southern system. In later works, especially *Roll, Jordan, Roll* (1974), Genovese made masterful use of literary

(continued on back cover)

the American Scholar

A leading general quarterly for discerning readers with a wide range of interests . . .

Literature
Current Affairs
Psychology
History
Science
Politics
The Arts

The Spring issue features thoughtful, provocative articles which . . .

- **examine** the growth of the booming "discontent industry" in America
- **probe** the reasons for the widening rift between intellectuals and government
- **analyze** some of the weaknesses in our present college instruction systems
- **review** effects of and up-date results from integration
- **present** a sound case for encouraging "amateurism" in the arts and sciences
- **reappraise** the works of writer/poet Paul Valery

in addition to a variety of other interesting, informative articles, poems, and reviews of important new books.

Take advantage of the opportunity to receive a *free* copy of the Spring issue by entering your subscription now.

the American Scholar

1811 Q St. N.W., Dept. S-9
Washington, D.C. 20036

Please send me the Spring 1976 issue — without charge — and enter my subscription for the term checked.

- ☐ 1 year \$6.50 ☐ 3 years \$15.00
☐ 2 years \$11.00
☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Please bill

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Please allow 6 to 8 weeks for delivery.

reading recommended by the book committee

humanities

social sciences

natural sciences

GUY A. CARDWELL, ROBERT B. HEILMAN,
FREDERICK J. CROSSON
EARL W. COUNT, RICHARD BEALE DAVIS,
LEONARD W. DOOB, ANDREW GYORGY,
MADELINE R. ROBINSON, VICTORIA SCHUCK,
JAMES C. STONE, ELLIOT ZUPNICK
RUSSELL B. STEVENS, RONALD GEBALLE

RUSSELL B. STEVENS

Antivivisection and Medical Science in Victorian Society. Richard D. French. Princeton. \$20.00.

The Healing Hand. Guido Majno. Harvard. \$25.

It is in a measure anticlimactic to include Majno's work in this context, in view of the fact that it received front-page treatment in the Winter KR — and its author a well-deserved monetary award. Yet these volumes need to be considered together, for several reasons. French has taken a topic that continues to be of intense interest in the modern world and to consume the time and emotions of substantial numbers of people. At various levels of strife, the struggle goes on between those who employ animals — especially warm-blooded vertebrates — in biomedical research and those who deplore and seek to prevent this activity. Nationally, and internationally, it is a live issue indeed. In so doing, the author weaves in an analysis of the political and social forces that bore on the antivivisection movement, both pro and con. But, to be entirely candid, the whole is done in a generally dull and pedantic way. In utter contrast is the delightful prose of Majno's book, withal it handles a topic inherently far less topical and less promising. Majno has taken a near-dull subject and, in a language not his own, made it decidedly fascinating. What might the latter author have managed with the former topic!

Humanizing Health Care. Robert F. Rushmer. MIT. \$13.50.

This volume is both concise — 200 pages — and eminently readable; a combination of qualities virtually unheard of in books dealing with the medical profession. One might surmise that this happy circumstance is in part because the author is a bioengineer rather than a physician. Be that as it may, the message is both interesting and provocative, as the author examines many of the traditions of the health care system and suggests ways of meeting future needs.

In the Human Interest. Lester R. Brown. Norton. \$6.95.

The Food in Your Future. Keith C. Barrons. Van Nostrand Reinhold. \$7.95. Everyone, perhaps, should read at least two books dealing with the issue that occupies center stage in the national consciousness at this particular time. Where the risk lies is in reading only one,

for the issues are complex and the points of view vehemently expounded. Brown finds himself deeply troubled by the world of the future as he sees it; Barrons reminds us how exceptionally fortunate is North America and how ill-understood by today's urban society are the facts of life for the modern farmer.

Eskimo Boyhood. Charles C. Hughes. Kentucky. \$12.75.

Hughes has set himself an odd and difficult task in trying to show through a first-person account, a detailed reminiscence by a young Eskimo, the fabric of culture within which that people live. He subtitles it "An Autobiography in Psycho-social Perspective," and provides a beginning and an ending chapter that examine the issues in detail. The bulk of the book, some 350 pages, is set forth in the words of the young man himself. The volume is perhaps too long for the objective sought and the account perhaps over-analyzed by the author, yet it has an attractive immediacy that is rewarding. Dwellers in milder climes and in more affluent circumstances would do well to face, albeit vicariously, the privations here reflected.

The Weather Machine. Nigel Calder. Viking. \$14.95.

It is easy to be put off by the rhetoric of the dust cover and downright offended by the promotional fliers that accompany this book. Once past that, Calder makes an interesting case for the importance of new research methods in meteorology and provides stimulating suggestions as to the implications of recent insights.

ROBERT B. HEILMAN

Advent at the Gates: Dante's Comedy. Mark Musa. Indiana. \$6.95.

Persuasive new readings of five Dante cantos, each gradually worked out in a clear and well-controlled style.

C. S. Lewis: A Biography. Roger Lancelyn Green and Walter Hooper. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. \$6.95. A low-key but interesting chronicle of the visible experiences rather than the inner development of the brilliant medievalist and romancer who surprisingly developed from an atheist into a skillful and witty Christian apologist.

Isaac Babel: Russian Master of the Short Story. James E. Falen. Tennessee. \$9.75. Falen combined a brief record of a striking life with an excellent study of

Odessa Tales and Red Cavalry, the master-works of an original writer who was arrested in 1939 and disappeared permanently.

The Poetry of Surrealism: An Anthology. With Intro., critical notes, and new translations by Michael Benedikt. Little Brown. \$12.95.

Fourteen well known French poets, 250 translations, mostly by the editor, the rest by a dozen other poets. Useful biographical and bibliographical aids. The works: surprising at first, sometimes moving, but more often machine-made, innovative by recipe.

Soul and Form. George Lukacs. Trans. Anna Bostock. MIT. \$12.50.

These 1910 essays, often on forgotten figures, reveal the young writer's quest for ultimate, all-embracing, often paradoxical concepts. Sometimes lyrical, sometimes laborious, Lukacs is most effective in his treatment of Sterne: a dialogue lets him present Sterne from two perspectives, "form" and "life."

Samuel Johnson and His World. Margaret Lane. Harper & Row. \$18.50.

Samuel Johnson. John Wain. Viking. \$12.50.

Two excellent biographies by established English writers. Lane's substantial account is more compressed, and it has almost 100 illustrations, including color reproductions of contemporary portraits. Wain combines an unpedantic scholarly thoroughness with a warm imaginativeness of Johnson's character and personality as they appear in private life, professional work, and numerous relationships.

The Rape Observ'd. Ed. Clarence Tracy. Toronto. \$12.50.

This attractive edition of Pope's *Rape of the Lock* features many historical illustrations — of scenes, buildings, costumes, furnishings, objects; portraits, art works, maps — that encourage an appreciation of Pope's "visual imagination."

I At the Keyhole. Colin Middleton Murry. Stein & Day. \$8.95.

The troubled childhood and adolescence of Middleton Murry's son, who portrays without hostility a well-meaning, dream-befogged father, inept in family life.

A History of Italian Literature. Ernest Hatch Wilkins. Revised by Thomas G. Bergin. Harvard. \$15. Additions and revisions enhance an already indispensable history.

An Exceptional Friendship: The Correspondence of Thomas Mann and Erich Kahler. Trans. Richard & Clara Winston. Cornell. \$12.50.

Two distinguished refugees corresponded illuminatingly from 1931 to Mann's death in 1955. They write formally but with growing ease, intimacy, and revelation of personality. Their subjects are the Nazis, the state of Europe and America, literature generally, their own writing, their families and various Europeans and Americans.

ANDREW GYORGY

Can America Win the Next War? Drew Middleton. Scribners. \$8.95.
One of America's most distinguished senior military correspondents contributes a lucid and exceptionally well-written review of American chances in waging the hopefully hypothetical "next war." The author is not a simple cold warrior or warmonger but broadens his perspectives to include politico-military problems in the current detente relationships between the USA and the USSR. Although generally rather pessimistic, the book is a perceptive and realistic review of future rounds of diplomatic warfare.

New States in the Modern World. Ed. Martin Kilson. Harvard. \$15.
This broad-gauge symposium of several authors and interesting contributors will be of particular use to students of nationalism and party politics in Third World countries. This reviewer was especially impressed by the essays of Drs. James Coleman, Willard Johnson, Inis Claude, and Stanley Hoffman. Professor Karl Deutsch contributes a memorable essay on "The Fragile Sanity of States: A Theoretical Analysis."

The Nationalization of the Masses. Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars Through the Third Reich. George L. Mosse. Howard Fertig. \$14.
George L. Mosse, Bascom Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin has contributed yet another major study to the understanding of the politics of his native country. Born in Berlin, Mosse has a tremendous feel for the incredible cyclic ups-and-downs of the political evolution of modern Germany. Beautifully illustrated, the book is particularly interesting in its long chapter on "Public Festivals" during the Nazi regime, not to speak of "National Socialist Theatre and Mass Movements."

Intervention or Abstention: The Dilemma of American Foreign Policy. Ed. Robin Higham. Kentucky. \$14.75.
Ablly edited, this collective venture presents a broad but incisive panorama of two contrasting phenomena in American foreign policy, Intervention and Abstention. Both concepts are lucidly analyzed, particularly in the Editor's own introduction and in the chapters contributed by Professors Graebner, Coulombis, Kriebel and Richter. A worthwhile and serious study in both U.S. diplomacy and recent developments in international law.

ETHNICITY, Theory and Experience. Eds. Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan. Harvard. \$15.
This volume is a particularly significant contribution to the better understanding of the so-called "ethnic factor" in both domestic and world politics. The general theoretical chapters are more useful than the individual country studies. This reviewer was impressed by the brilliant introductory studies of Harold Isaacs, Talcott Parsons, Milton Gordon and Daniel Bell. Worthwhile studies have also been contributed by Martin Kilson and

Lucian W. Pye. Aimed primarily at the specialist in the new field of "Ethnicity."

Resignation in Protest. Political and Ethical Choices Between Loyalty to Team and Loyalty to Conscience in American Public Life. Edward Weisband & Thomas M. Franck. Grossman. \$10.
Watergate made this a particularly timely study in terms of historically surveying the political phenomenon of resignation with special emphasis on "Resignation," "British Style," and "Resignation in Protest." A useful study of a hitherto neglected political phenomenon.

LEONARD W. DOOB

Against Our Will. Susan Brownmiller. Simon & Schuster. \$10.95.
An angry, repetitious, unsubtle, melodramatic, but convincing denunciation of rapists and hence, more or less indiscriminately, of men throughout the ages by an avowed, merciless feminist. All possible gore and agony are extracted from each incident or set of statistics, particularly in connection with gang rapes. Homosexual rapes and the violation of children are also portrayed or dissected. The fact that the author herself has had an "Adlerian analyst" (p. 320) may help explain but does not invalidate her contention that the essential ingredient of most heterosexual rapes is not sexual satisfaction but the urge of men to express and demonstrate symbolically their power over women.

The Geography of Modern Africa. William A. Hance. Columbia. \$17.50.
A thoroughly revised, monumental presentation of the basic geographical facts concerning all of Africa, including even the offshore islands in the Pacific, and with more than a compelling dash of history. The emphasis is upon basic economic factors and upon the most recent changes in a continent not favored, by and large, with many natural advantages. Between a lengthy, pithy Introduction (about 14 percent of the book's text) and a very helpful, insightful Conclusion stressing the factors facilitating and especially hindering development, the presentation concentrates upon the seven great regions of Africa, within which framework each country is examined. Virtually every page has an interesting photograph or — the laudable tool of the geographer — an excellent map displaying relevant data most intelligibly.

The Psychology of Sex Differences. Eleanor Maccoby and Carol Nagy Jacklin. Stanford. \$18.95.
An incredibly encyclopedic, almost completely objective, lucidly presented, brilliantly reasoned, cogently critical survey of studies among human beings (though mostly Americans) and, necessarily to a lesser degree, among animals. The book offers 14 pages of references, an annotated bibliography of 232 pages, synthesizing tables, and a sensible exposition. Many of the data reveal "no consistent tendency," some explode "unfounded beliefs," others leave the problem "open," but a few suggest that some differences

are "fairly well established," at least in our society. To explain them, although more than perfunctory tribute is paid to biological bases, cultural factors are assigned the leading responsibility. We know much and too little.

Valuing the Self. Dorothy Lee. Prentice-Hall. \$2.95.

A collection of sensitive, provocative, largely humanistic papers and a talk by an anthropologist best known for her investigation of the language of the Wintu Indians of California. She herself obeyed and here illustrates her own dictum: "The study necessary to penetrate into another symbolic world requires years of intensive and incisive work." She attempted to go beyond cultural relativity, not necessarily to discover universals but, to quote the subtitle of this posthumous book, diffidently or indignantly to suggest "what we can learn from other cultures." At the end she in effect issued a challenge in personal terms to which every searching individual must respond: "I want to be known, to be recognized, to generate joy or outrage or disgust; but I don't want to be understood" since, if understood, "my very integrity is molested."

Cross-Cultural Universals of Affective Meaning. Charles E. Osgood, William H. May, and Murray S. Miron. Illinois. \$20.
A highly technical, largely statistical presentation of research based upon the reaction of carefully selected samples of male high-school students in 25 countries (having languages ranging from American English to Yoruba) to a list of 100 nouns (each rated in 50 ways), a device the senior author has been calling for many years the "semantic differential." Usually the analysis reveals that these verbal connotations, the "subjective culture," cluster about three factors heuristically called potency, evaluation, and activity. It is perhaps significant to learn, if only through such a constrained analysis and in spite of staggering differences, that mankind may well be not so diverse emotionally as it is politically and socially. The book is definitely not bedside reading, rather it symbolizes a painstaking attempt to grasp an essential human property in yet another manner.

Gypsies: The Hidden Americans. Anne Sutherland. Free Press. \$13.95.
An anthropological (i.e., factual, non-romanticized) analysis of a subcultural group in California which continues to retain its own ethnic identity and hence, deliberately and skillfully, avoids assimilation. Careful field work over a two-year period enabled the author to diminish sufficiently the suspicion gypsies feel toward outsiders and thus to ferret out their intricate social structure as well as their central values and taboos. Yes, they steal and bilk welfare agencies. They also have a wide-ranging concept of purity and pollution enabling them to keep their personal and social boundaries intact. They have their own courts enforcing standards considered essential to their conception of a gratifying existence. Wouldst throw a stone?

RICHARD BEALE DAVIS

The Puritan Origins of the American Self. Sacvan Bercovitch. Yale. \$15.

Ann Bradstreet: The Worldly Puritan. Ann Stanford. Burt Franklin Co. \$14.50.

The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest. Francis Jennings. North Carolina. \$14.95. Three very different books about the Puritans will attract students of literature, early history, and the Indian problem. Stanford's is a quietly perceptive analysis of a colonial poet by a contemporary one, with emphasis on the secular aspect of Bradstreet's verse. Bercovitch and Jennings, though they are not attempting to explain anything like parallel or similar qualities of the early New Englander, do arrive at what are in many respects contrasting conclusions. Bercovitch proceeds from the old assumption that the Puritan's is the early American mind from which the nation's derives, buttressing or supporting his original assumption of a chosen people by a brilliant analysis and extrapolation of Cotton Mather's biographical sketch of John Winthrop, the American Nehemiah. The author will persuade or convert only those already persuaded, but every colonialist should read his exposition. Jennings in a fact-and-intuition based ethno-history traces the hypocritical, ruthless, and immoral policy of "New England gentlemen's" treatment of the red men, in its final effect a devastating and convincing reappraisal of early American Puritan history, including the personal characters of the Winthrops. Jennings and Bercovitch might be read together.

Virginiana in the Printed Book Collections of the Virginia State Library. Ed. Donald Haynes. Va. State Library. \$100.

The Papers of James Madison, Vol. 9, 1786-1787, with Supplement. Eds. R. A. Rutland and W. M. E. Rachal. Chicago. \$18.50.

George Mason, Gentleman Revolutionary. Helen Hill Miller. North Carolina. \$18.95. **American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia.** Edmund Morgan. Norton. \$11.95

These four volumes of early Virginiana are interesting and valuable. The Virginia State Library catalogue, though outdated even as it appeared, will be immensely useful in other libraries. The editors of the **Madison Papers** have in volume 9 covered deftly a crucial and significant period just before the Constitutional Convention. Helen Hill Miller presents what is primarily a political rather than personal biography, handsomely illustrated, but suffering like all else on Mason from a dearth of extant primary materials. Edmund Morgan has directed his enormous talents to one of the most absorbing and challenging questions of American history. Despite some obvious unfamiliarity with certain details of Virginia history, Morgan has argued more or less convincingly that slavery helped rather than hindered the development of the colony toward a leadership in republicanism and the championing of liberty. He gives a fairly new twist to his old subject,

with argument based on certain fresh statistics and interpretations. The colonial and social and racial historian must read this book.

Slavery, Race, and the American Revolution. Donald J. MacLeod. Duke. \$11.75. **Middle-Class Blacks in a White Society: Prince Hall Freemasonry in America.** W. A. Muraskin. California. \$14.95

The Booker T. Washington Papers, Vol. 4: 1895-98. Ed. Louis R. Harlan. Illinois. \$17.50

MacLeod addresses himself to somewhat the same problem, though with different emphasis, as does Morgan in the book noticed above, the relation of slavery to the surge toward political independence. The author sees the Revolution as a crucial step in the debate over the nature and significance of black servitude. Muraskin's study of a black middleclass fraternal order and its character and influence is interesting reading on a relatively untouched subject. The latest volume of the Booker T. Washington **Papers** shows especially his growing fame and general public acceptance, with interesting sidelights on such other men as George Washington Carver and Walter Hines Page.

FREDERICK J. CROSSON

Husserl and the Search for Certitude.

Leazek Kolakowski. Yale. \$6.95.

Inaugurating the Ernst Cassirer Lectures, this slim volume surveys the life-long effort of Husserl to establish philosophy as a strict science. Unlike many interpreters, Kolakowski sees no turning away from absolute idealism in Husserl's last writings, and indeed he views the idealism as inseparable from the quest for certitude. Clearly written, responsible in its judgments and critical in its assessment. Recommended for the general reader as well as the specialist.

Twentieth Century Ethics. Roger N. Hancock. Columbia. \$10.

It is only British and American ethical theory which is addressed, but this is still a useful charting of the arguments from Moore to Rawls. Exceedingly cautious in the grammar of its formulations, it defends — or rather, with disarming modesty, urges the logical coherence of a moderate naturalism. Noteworthy is its emphasis on the increasingly clear untenability of a firm distinction between meta-ethics and normative ethics, a distinction which has characterized most of the century's ethical writing in English.

Voltaire and the Century of Light. A. Owen Aldridge. Princeton. \$20.

Dense with citation from the one hundred volumes of Voltaire's correspondence, this new and very readable biography keeps close to a chronological order, only briefly delving into thematic discussions. More admiring than critical, it finds justifications for his faults and foibles in the mores of the time, but presents him faithfully, warts and all: a genius at satire who saw himself as a great tragedian, an unswerving monarchist and elitist who fought (toward the end of his life) for the civil rights of the common people.

Mystical Dimensions of Islam: Annemarie Schimmel. North Carolina. \$14.95.

An ambitious and largely successful attempt to provide a balanced historical treatment of Sufism in a single volume. Tracing the genesis and transformations of the Sufi movement up to the twentieth century, its stages of spiritual development, the religious orders it begat and especially its expression in Islamic poetry, this is a work of impressive and sympathetic scholarship.

Shen Pu-Hai: A Chinese Political Philosopher of the Fourth Century B. C.

Herlee G. Creel. Chicago. \$14.50. Reconstructed from some forty fragments quoted by later writers and interpreted out of metaphorical and allusive language, the lost work of this Chinese chancellor was, as Creel analyzes it, a philosophy of administration, concerned with the techniques and rationale of governing a ministerial bureaucracy. It is discussed in the political context of the Warring States period and contrasted with the Confucian emphasis on virtue and character as sole requisites for office. An interesting essay for the comparative study of government.

Leibniz: An Introduction. C. D. Broad. Ed. C. Lewy. Cambridge. \$14.95, p. \$4.95.

Posthumously published at his request, these are Broad's written-out lectures at Cambridge. They are exceptionally clear, pedagogically organized and exhibit Broad's effort to understand Leibniz on the latter's own terms, finding supplementary arguments where necessary and presenting his own comments at the end of each section.

Hegel and After. Richard Schacht. Pittsburgh. \$15.95.

Essays on aspects of Hegel, Marx, Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Husserl and Heidegger, plus transitional and background discussion. Not a history, even of these thinkers, but a collection of intelligent examinations of selected central themes. The studies on Hegel and Kierkegaard are best, the latter getting rescued from some basic but common misinterpretations. Nietzsche is dealt with only in terms of criticizing Danto's book, an unfortunate limitation. But the work as a whole is well-done and quite accessible to the general reader interested in the history of ideas.

In November of 1976 the Committee on Qualifications will begin its study for the 1976-1979 triennium of institutions under consideration for a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa. Leaflets describing the committee's procedures and copies of the preliminary application form, which is to be submitted before November 15, 1976, are available from the office of the United Chapters, 1811 Q Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

VISITING SCHOLARS (cont.)

Berkeley. KINGSLEY DAVIS is Ford Professor of Sociology and Comparative Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, and chairman of International Population and Urban Research. (The Davises will travel as a husband-and-wife team.)

JOHN C. ECCLES, awarded the Nobel Prize in Physiology in 1963, is former Distinguished Professor of Physiology and Biophysics at the State University of New York, Buffalo.

OSCAR HANDLIN, Pforzheimer University Professor at Harvard University, is author of *Boston Immigrants* and editor of the *Harvard Guide to American History*.

PATRICIA ROBERTS HARRIS was dean and professor of law at Howard University, and is former ambassador to Luxembourg. She is a practicing attorney in Washington, D.C.

THOMAS L. HUGHES serves as president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. During 1963-69 he was assistant secretary of state and in 1969-70, U.S. minister in London.

KENNETH S. LYNN, professor of history at Johns Hopkins University, specializes in American literary and intellectual history. His books include *William Dean Howells and Mark Twain* and *Southwestern Humor*.

ALISON G. OLSON'S publications include *The Radical Duke: Career and Correspondence of Charles Lennox, Third Duke of Richmond*. She is professor of history at the University of Maryland.

ROSEMARY PARK, Emeritus Professor of Higher Education at U.C.L.A., was president of Connecticut College and Barnard College, and is a past president of Phi Beta Kappa.

COLIN S. PITTENDRIGH has served as president of the American Society of Naturalists. At Stanford University he is Bing Professor of Human Biology.

ITHIEL de SOLA POOL was recipient of the Woodrow Wilson Award for *American Business and Public Policy*. He is Sloan Professor of Political Science at M.I.T.

CHARLES C. PRICE's most recent book is *The Origin of Life*. He is Franklin Professor of Chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania.

ROGER REVELLE, past president of The Scripps Institution of Oceanography, holds the position of Saltonstall Professor of Population Policy at Harvard University.

VERMONT ROYSTER, Pulitzer Prize winner and former editor of *The Wall Street Journal*, is Kenan Professor of Journalism at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

DANIEL SELTZER is professor of English, director of the Program in Theatre and Dance, and president of the McCarter Theatre Company at Princeton University.

EDGAR F. SHANNON, JR., is Commonwealth Professor of English at the University of Virginia, where he served as president for fifteen years. He is a Phi Beta Kappa senator.

ATHELSTAN SPILHAUS, special assistant to the administrator of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, was a fellow of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars from 1971-75.

HELEN VENDLER was awarded the Lowell Prize and the Explicator Award for *On Extended Wings: The Longer Poems of Wallace Stevens*. She is professor of English at Boston University.

TIME ON THE CROSS (cont.)

sources to offer the best picture by far of the slaves' world.

III

Time on the Cross better tested its authors than *Cliometrics*, although it illustrated shortcomings of the Cliometric approach as well. Even if its creators had asked the right questions and used evidence to greater advantage, the study could have made but a limited contribution to the literature about slavery. That literature, increasingly rich and discerning, reminds that the fundamental task of the historian is still to ascertain the truth, from a range of sources and kinds of evidence. Quantitative analyses that generate static models of aggregate behavior do not yield history, which by definition is concerned with change, its roots and effects. Such models cannot themselves establish motives. If Hegel was correct that the existence of mind and motive distinguished the action of history from the processes of nature, then quantitative studies of behavior have a very special function. The work of a new generation of historians of political behavior and historical demographers clarifies that function, which is to deepen findings drawn from archeological, literary, and other types of evidence as to behavior, its motives, and its consequences. The flaws of *Time on the Cross* invite paraphrase of one of Edward Gibbon's famous observations, to read, "A cloud of critics, of compilers, of commentators, of Cliometricians, darkened the face of learning. . . ." Meanwhile Clio, and behind her the dusky shades of countless slaves, still summons inquiry into the peculiar institution.



volume XXXXI • number three • spring 1976

Editor: Evelyn L. Greenberg
Consulting Editor: Kenneth M. Greene

Editorial Committee: Irving Dilliard, William F. Hahnert, Robert H. Irrmann, Raymer McQuiston.

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-address 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.

Single copies 20¢, ten or more copies 10¢ each. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C.

Copyright © 1976 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

Second class postage paid
at Washington, D.C.

