

It provides a new understanding of the intellectual and social sources of the assimilationist movement which long dominated United States Indian policy.

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Black Tennesseans, 1900-1930. By Lester C. Lamon (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1977. Pp. xi, 320. Illustrations, notes, tables, bibliographical essay, index. \$14.50.)

The accuracy of Frederick Douglass' oft quoted remark that "if there is no struggle there is no progress" becomes painfully evident after reading Lester C. Lamon's *Black Tennesseans, 1900-1930*. Lamon traces the attitudes of urban blacks in Tennessee from the beginning of the century, when racial proscriptions were tightened, until the onset of the Great Depression. His thesis is that as new constraints were imposed, most blacks, after some abortive protest attempts, adopted the accommodationist approach of Booker T. Washington. "The overriding feature of life for black Tennesseans in the early twentieth century was the *separate* community—separated . . . partly by force and partly by choice" (p. vii).

Black Tennesseans had already settled into a segregated existence by 1900 with little outward protest. Many did, however, express their dissatisfaction by leaving the more constricted rural setting for the greater mobility offered by the cities. This growing urban black population is probably what instigated the new race codes after 1900. Laws closing the last loophole to integrated education, a Jim Crow streetcar law, and political trends including lily white Republicanism, the white Democratic primary, and commission type city governments in the first decade of the new century effectively isolated the black urban dwellers.

As the brief reaction against these new restrictions subsided, blacks pursued the Washingtonian approach of separate industrial education and black economic development. Black leaders in Tennessee seemed willing to accept the conditions imposed by whites as a way to avoid racial conflict and a sure road to eventual equality, but the result was a reinforcement of white discriminatory patterns. The willingness to accept "half a loaf" never proved to be a gradual road to equality, but rather one of permanent second class citizenship.

Lamon's conclusions about the overall accommodationist stand of black Tennesseans are not surprising, but are perhaps

somewhat overstated because of his heavy reliance on sources from the traditionally conservative sector of black life—educators, newspapermen, and businessmen. Also, his contention that blacks were in the mainstream of the Progressive movement is based on a rather broad interpretation of progressivism. This movement was a basic questioning of the fundamental nature of the emerging corporate society in America. As Lamon shows, blacks did not question the racist underpinnings of the Progressive movement. The ameliorative reforms they sought during the Progressive era were those that blacks had always sought and cannot be considered part of the new progressivism.

These few criticisms in no way detract from the value of Lamon's study. This book is well conceived and the research reveals a knowledge of extensive primary sources. It is a book that should be read by anyone interested in black history and American race relations.

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Ballots before Bullets: The War Referendum Approach to Peace in America, 1914-1941. By Ernest C. Bolt, Jr. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977. Pp. xvii, 207. Notes, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

The movement to require a referendum on declaration of a foreign war is a misunderstood and neglected aspect of the American search for peace. Ernest C. Bolt, Jr., has attempted to correct historical and popular misconceptions by tracing the history of the war referendum approach to peace in the twentieth century and placing it in the broader context of the American peace movement. His well-researched study is based on the personal papers of the major proponents of war referendum legislation and of the peace organizations which supported such proposals. A considerable portion of the book (thirty-four pages) deals with the pre-World War II congressional activities of Representative Louis L. Ludlow of Indiana in attempting to secure passage and adoption of a constitutional amendment requiring a referendum before entry into any war except in the event of attack or invasion by a foreign power.

Bolt's limited subject is an important one in the history of American efforts to avert war through the use of democratic legal processes. He has succeeded in his attempt to correct