

river systems in the upper Midwest, that led to the preparation of his greatest work, a detailed map of the river and lake system in the northern portion of the Midwest. Nicollet's 1836-1839 explorations are well illustrated in a route map that accompanies the volume, and the 1843 map is reproduced in a superb thirty-by-thirty-five-inch facsimile that is suitable for framing.

A few minor errors were detected in Bray's book. In the sentence "... William Herschel of England, the son of the famous John ..." (p. 20) the names should be reversed. Also, there is no page citation to William Herschel in the index and no reference to page 20 in the index for John Herschel. On page 26 Pierre Simon de Laplace's time of death is incorrectly given as 1825, but on page 37 it is correctly stated as 1827. On page 50 Ferdinand R. Hassler's first name is incorrectly given as "Frederick," and in the index his last name is listed as "Hessler."

The index is adequate, but more subject entries and subentries would have made it more complete and useful. The illustrations are well chosen and enhance the textual matter, but some of them, such as on pages 66, 150-51, and 182, might have been expanded and placed vertically on the page to bring out more detail. The failure to include a bibliography is particularly regrettable because the author drew upon many sources in researching and writing this book. In the footnote citations to manuscripts it would have been helpful to the reader if, after the initial citation to a document, the source of that document had been repeated in subsequent footnotes.

Despite these few technical shortcomings, Bray has written a book that is a welcome addition to the literature on western exploration, the history of the upper Mississippi Valley, and the history of science and cartography.

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Politics and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War. By Eric Foner.
(New York: Oxford University Press, 1980. Pp. 250. Notes,
index. \$15.95.)

Under the banner of *Politics and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War*, Eric Foner has mustered seven essays aimed at returning to center stage in American historical writing "the fundamental reference point in the lives of nineteenth-century Americans," the Civil War. The book is a sort of declaration of

war on the new social history which deals with such intimately domestic subjects over such long periods of time that it leaves even as cataclysmic a political event as the Civil War unexplained and nearly unnoticed.

Some of the essays are rather old. The one on "The Causes of the American Civil War" (1974) will remind readers how much they have assimilated from Foner over the years. "Politics, Ideology, and the Origins of the American Civil War" (1975) has stood the test of time less well. Foner's view that the ideological politics of the 1850s replaced the non-ideological or consensus politics of the Jacksonian era is now dated. He quotes political scientist Frank Sorauf on the nature of ideological politics: "The party of extensive ideology develops in and reflects the society in which little consensus prevails on basic social values and institutions" (p. 36). Political historians borrowed the tools to study politics from political scientists like Sorauf who worked within the assumptions of the consensus or "end of ideology" school. The historians used the tools to find conflict, but all they found was conflict between the ethnic groups which voted for the parties. They did not find ideological conflict between the parties themselves because they unconsciously absorbed the political scientists' hostility to ideology. Thus they ignored the obvious ideological distinctions between the development-minded but anti-expansionist Whigs and the nostalgically agrarian and expansionist Democrats. Increasingly, political historians like Michael F. Holt are studying party ideology, as it is clear that one major factor which caused the collapse of the second American party system was the failure of the Whigs to distinguish their ideology clearly from that of the Democrats in the 1850s. The kind of ideology but not ideology itself is a distinguishing mark of the parties of the third American party system which Foner studies.

The two essays on the antislavery movement are excellent. "Abolitionism and the Labor Movement in Ante-bellum America" (1980) and "Racial Attitudes of the New York Free Soilers" (1965) clearly delineate the limitations of the antislavery movement without at the same time losing a proper appreciation for the accomplishments of the movement. These essays are balanced, fair minded, and, as always with Foner, well written.

The last half of the book is less satisfactory. "Reconstruction and the Crisis of Free Labor" (new in this book) is an attempt to apply Foner's proven ability for brilliant synthesis to the problem of Reconstruction. He describes a subtle triangu-

lar conflict among the freedmen, who ignored Adam Smith and chose to work less instead of more as free men; the planters, who insisted that blacks were too lazy to work without legal force; and the northern capitalists, who disliked legal force but were horrified by the freedmen's desire for subsistence farms instead of commercial agriculture. The essay fails because it explains Reconstruction within the states better than it does national Reconstruction policy. Foner's attempt to attribute the failure of Reconstruction to the Republicans' gradual abandonment of the dynamic free labor ideology of the 1850s for "respectability, the Union, and business" depends mostly on the coincidence that 1877 marked both the end of Reconstruction and the beginning of the use of military force to end labor unrest.

The essay is valuable, though, as a demarcation point in Reconstruction studies. Foner notes that the old Dunningite and racist views of the period are dead but that nothing equally comprehensive and coherent has replaced them. It is good, too, that a scholar with his sound credentials has at last said that "our preoccupation with the racial politics of Reconstruction" has blinded us to other interesting aspects of the period. In his sense that Unionism better explains the scalawags than anything else, Foner approaches a promising new view of Reconstruction history as a problem of loyalty rather than one of race, labor, party, or constitutional rights.

Foner's essay on Thaddeus Stevens (1974) is less ambitious and less interesting, and the concluding article on the Irish Land League (1978), a full 25 percent of the book, is simply irrelevant. It has nothing at all to do with the Civil War era.

Book titles are not to be ignored. At most, only 75 percent of this book is on the subject. In a sense, none of the book deals with the essential subject. Despite its title, there is not a single essay on the Civil War, only articles on its coming and aftermath. The book so many hoped Foner would write, the book on ideology in the Civil War itself, remains unwritten.

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