example: "Southern Republicanism has seldom been recognized for what it was—a variously interpreted and confused tangle of northern ideas and attitudes about economics, politics, and race, modified by certain southern realities, the whole of which was hastily and incompletely grafted onto the postwar remnants of antebellum society" (p. 67). "Carpetbaggers, stigmatized from the beginning, were sharply limited in what they could accomplish—regardless of their motivation. Scalawags found themselves seeking an impossible middle ground between their heritage and the proposed new order. The blacks, of course, carried the immense burden of color and all it symbolized to a generation not ready to face the responsibilities of emancipation" (p. 293). One could almost predict the "future" of Reconstruction when analyzing the "typical" southern congressman: "the blacks were younger, poorer, and less educated, and they were set apart by the simple fact of race. . . . The carpetbaggers were nearly as young as the blacks, but wealthier, and better educated. . . . The scalawags were similar in background to the native Democrats. . . . The Democrats were the oldest, the best educated, wealthiest, and the most established . . ." (pp. 35-36).

The "Travail of Election" (Chapter 2) establishes the problems inherent for the new southern Republicans, who, unlike the southern Democrats, had to suffer rebuke from the conservative press, fear of assassination, often bitter factionalism, and little monetary support from the national party. In addition, the pressures of contested elections (48 of 344) and the unusually high number of partial terms (36 percent) often destroyed legislative continuity. In Congress, they never received their proportional share of power, particularly committee assignments.

Using the Guttman scalogram technique, Seip analyzes the southern congressmen's positions on debt management and revenue policy. The Republicans often differed with the Democrats, but they also did not follow the dictates of their northeastern party colleagues. On the more crucial money questions (bank notes, greenbacks, and silver), the southern congressmen were not indifferent to monetary problems; they were solidly behind the various proposals to redistribute and expand the bank note circulation in 1869 and 1870, and they "lined up time after time in direct opposition to their party colleagues from New England and most of those from the mid-Atlantic region" (p. 217). Seip traces the continuing struggle by southerners for their share of appropriations and subsidies, particularly for river and harbor improvements. Northern committee chairmen usually blocked much
needed funds for the South. Finally, Seip renders the most significant and detailed analysis of the controversial Texas and Pacific Railroad issue, both as a regional and national issue, particularly its alleged significance in the 1877 Compromise which officially "ended" Reconstruction. The railroad project was never supported by a substantial number of southerners and was seen for what it was, a "northern" boondoggle orchestrated by Tom Scott’s northeastern railroad interests. C. Vann Woodward’s thesis that the T&P project was a major part of the compromise is no longer arguable.

The two maps (congressional districts and T&P Railroad) and twenty tables (collective biographical data and scalograms) are important supplements to the narrative. The bibliographical essay is required reading for the students of the period. One can only hope that the results of this significant study, which have so many implications in today’s world, will, in time, become a part of the textbook genre at every level of the public education process.

Department of History and Urban Affairs
California University of Pennsylvania
California, Pennsylvania

John Kent Folmar


There is a reason why the architecture of Henry Hobson Richardson is regarded as so special today. It is not only fascinating to study Richardson as one of the most remarkable of American artists; studying him is also a textbook on the great changes in American urban and suburban life in the decades following the Civil War. Richardson has been “discovered” many times. Two seminal studies of his art were published in the 1930s: Lewis Mumford made Richardson one of the heroes of his brilliant study, The Brown Decades, a series of essays that were the first to reevaluate the energy and innovation of late Victorian architecture; and Henry-Russell Hitchcock published The Architecture of H. H. Richardson and His Times. While Mumford sought to rehabilitate late Victorian architecture in its own right, Hitchcock’s intent was to create in Richardson a godfather to the Modern Movement. But Richardson