

Clark-Lewis provides a provocative, well-written oral history of the experiences of live-in workers.

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*Rayford W. Logan and the Dilemma of the African American Intellectual.* By Kenneth Robert Janken. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, selected bibliography, index. Pp. xv, 319. \$35.00.)

Kenneth Janken portrays Rayford Logan as a civil rights advocate who confronted obstacles in establishing the legitimacy of African American intellectuals. Janken's research documents Logan's important place in the African American intellectual pantheon.

Logan grew up in a middle-class family in an integrated neighborhood in Washington, D.C. He was educated at the prestigious M Street School and Williams College. After enduring a bitter military experience in World War I, Logan remained in France speculating in currency and promoting Pan-Africanism.

In 1925 Logan returned to the United States. He taught at Virginia Union University where he fought administrators over his progressive ideas. Logan left Virginia in 1930 to seek a Ph.D. in history at Harvard. After graduating in 1932, Logan joined the staff of Carter G. Woodson's African American Research Center. In 1933 he accepted a faculty position at Atlanta University and pursued research on African American historical topics and confronted the problems faced by African American intellectuals whose scholarship whites questioned and blacks ignored. Also during the 1930s he helped the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity fight segregation. In 1938 Logan accepted a history professorship at Howard University. Upon returning to Washington, D.C., he joined organizations that defined minority soldiers' roles during World War II. By the end of World War II Logan had become a published scholar on the Caribbean. After the war he helped UNESCO develop schemes to prepare African countries for independence and attempted to use the United Nations to fight racism in the United States. By the 1960s Logan, then an ailing widower, was awarding a Ph.D. to a totally unprepared student, fighting the Howard administration, and trying to understand the student protest movements. Despite those difficulties, he continued producing ground-breaking scholarship on African American history. Janken's book is an excellent, well-researched chronicle of the life of one of America's premier scholars.

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*Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African American Politics.* By Michael C. Dawson. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994. Figures, tables, acknowledgments, bibliography, index. Pp. xii, 234. \$35.00.)

In her 1993 majority opinion in *Shaw v. Reno*, the North Carolina congressional "racial gerrymandering" case, United States Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor offered neither empirical evidence nor conceptual rationale for her skepticism that most African Americans "think alike, share the same political interests, and will prefer the same

candidates at the polls." University of Chicago political scientist Michael Dawson examines both theory and facts in this rich analysis of survey data, most of which is taken from the 1984-1988 National Black Election Panel Study, a telephone survey of 1,150 African American adults. As the economic interests of the growing black middle class increasingly diverge from those of poorer blacks, will this new middle class—as O'Connor and such academic experts as William Junius Wilson in *The Declining Significance of Race* (1980) imply—turn against the welfare state and vote Republican?

Introducing an interesting cognitive psychological model of group opinion formation and testing it with sophisticated statistical tools, Dawson shows more convincingly than any previous account why Wilson's analysis is wrong. The long history of black individuals' continuing personal experiences with social and economic discrimination; the willingness of governments, compared to private businesses, to hire and promote African Americans; and the economic insecurity of those who only recently escaped poverty make black support of positive government rational for all classes. Those facts also alienate members of the new black middle class from anti-government politicians who deny the reality of discrimination and who promise to fire government workers and strip away every law and regulation that protects people from the vagaries of the free market. In reality, educated, upper-status African Americans are more likely than poorer blacks to identify with the Democratic Party and to see their own fates as linked with that of the race.

Indeed, Dawson's work suggests that the Right has succeeded in winning elections in the 1980s, and especially in 1994, not by converting the black middle class, but because poorer voters, black and perhaps white and Latino, abstained when Democrats could not deliver redistributive policies. Compared with the huge differences between the opinions and political behavior of whites and blacks—gulfs continually reinforced by opportunistic white politicians—African Americans are and are likely to remain politically classless.

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*Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism.* Edited by Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsack. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1993. Acknowledgments, introduction, contributors, index. Pp. xi, 415. \$18.95, paper; \$47.50, cloth.)

The essays in *Visible Women*, written by fifteen leading scholars in the field, honor Anne Firor Scott's work in women's history. When Scott published *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* in 1970, few women held academic positions, and even fewer historians studied women's history. In fact, most placed women outside history altogether, relegating them instead to a private sphere governed by "natural" relations and thus immune from social and political change. Challenging that notion, Scott traced white propertied women's descent off their pedestals and beyond their households, where they demanded the right to participate in politics and the power to reshape public policy. Afterward, Scott continued to focus on the historical visibility of women, a concern manifested in her titles "On Seeing and Not Seeing," "Making the Invisible Woman Visible," and "Most Invisible of All."

The authors in *Visible Women* consciously build on Scott's legacy, bringing new groups of women to the historical stage, highlighting their political activities, and complicating