

integration because I knew that the city would appropriate sufficient funds for the schools as long as white children were in them, and that my children would benefit as a result of that. I've been around long enough to know that if the white child is there, the money will be there" (pp. 108-9).

Calloway's reasoning is dead-on, but Pratt hopes for something different: desegregation, he writes, "means much more than black and white children sitting together in the classroom solely for the academic improvement of blacks. Desegregation means—or at least it should mean—that black and white children are conditioned at an early age to interact with one another on the basis of equality and mutual respect for the other's cultural heritage. Only this kind of cooperation can offer hope that racism might one day disappear from our divided nation" (p. 109).

This is a book about political maneuvering, about the activities of lawyers, judges, committees, and school boards. We never see the inside of the city's classrooms; the experience of students is secondary to battles fought by their parents. Apart from occasional references to the white fear that racial mixing would lead to violence, we do not hear white parents explain their anxiety about sending their children to integrated schools.

Nor does Pratt explore the relationship between segregation, the distribution of public funds, and the persistence of urban poverty. As Calloway's comments suggest, and as Jonathan Kozol's recent work illustrates, white flight created more than all-black classrooms. The erosion of

the tax base also left urban schools with a crushing, unmanageable financial burden. Pratt's analysis could have been complicated and enriched by adding these important economic dynamics to the mix.

This is a useful and instructive book which should be read not only by historians, but by public policymakers, educators, lawyers, judges—and the parents of schoolchildren. One hopes that historians of education will soon produce a more broadly ranging study of the nation's school desegregation struggles—a post-*Brown* complement to Richard Kluger's comprehensive *Simple Justice*. Like Pratt's book, such a study must carefully examine the actions of local officials, the shifting goals and strategies of black and white parents, and the courts' evolution on the legal questions posed by desegregation. It should also address the culture of segregation, the experiences of students and teachers, and the growing economic imbalance between urban and suburban school systems.

Bruce Fort
University of Virginia

Wayne J. Urban. *Black Scholar: Horace Mann Bond, 1904-1972.* Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1992. Pp. ix, 266. \$35.00.

Horace Mann Bond, 1904-72, was one of America's foremost black scholars during the twentieth century.

Yet despite his numerous academic achievements he remains largely unknown, and is today best remembered as the father of civil rights activist Julian Bond. Relying heavily on Horace Bond's personal papers, Wayne J. Urban examines the life and career of the elder Bond, illuminating not only the man and his accomplishments but also the struggles that he and other blacks faced during the middle decades of this century. Urban portrays Bond as a serious scholar whose early career showed considerable promise, but whose potential was ultimately undermined by racism, intellectual arrogance, and the often conflicting priorities of academic scholarship and administration.

Bond was born in Nashville, Tennessee, the fifth of six children. Precocious as a child, Horace developed a passion for learning, and his scholarly endeavours were strongly encouraged by his parents who, though not wealthy, were considered to be part of the "black elite" by virtue of their education. Horace was only fourteen years old when he entered Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, and was eighteen when he graduated. He went on to earn his doctorate at the University of Chicago, where he became interested in intelligence testing. In 1924, responding to U.S. Army test scores which reflected the latest version of this scientific racism, Bond published two articles on black intelligence scores, the first of which appeared in the NAACP's *Crisis*. Bond castigated white psychologists for misusing such data, arguing that any deficit in black scores in relation to whites was a product of environmental

rather than hereditary factors. It was an argument that he would continue to make for most of his life. Bond's research and publications on this and other issues continued throughout the 1920s, and he was becoming increasingly well known among the black intelligentsia, including such notables as W.E.B. DuBois, Carter G. Woodson, E. Franklin Frazier, and Charles Johnson.

Bond's first book, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order*, was published in 1934 while he was on the faculty at Fisk University, and apparently was well received. Bond's greatest contribution to scholarship, however, was his doctoral dissertation, "Social and Economic Influences on the Public Education of Negroes in Alabama, 1865-1930." Completed in 1936, the work was published in 1939 under the title *Negro Education in Alabama: A Study in Cotton and Steel*. It would be the last book that Bond would publish in his remaining thirty-three years; his next major publication, his history of Lincoln University, would not appear until 1976, four years after his death.

Unfortunately, Bond's early promise as a scholar remained largely unfulfilled. Because racism prevented him from securing a position at a major institution that would have facilitated his research, he spent most of his remaining productive years in administration, serving as president of Fort Valley State College from 1939 to 1945, as president of Lincoln University from 1945 to 1957, and as dean of education at Atlanta University from 1957 until 1971. But, as Urban points out, Bond's withdrawal from research

and publication was not uncommon among black scholars during America's "Jim Crow" years. Those who did not go into administration were overwhelmed by the demands of working at black colleges, which heavily emphasized teaching and service. Because administration paid better, many black scholars abandoned their research; those who tried to balance the demands of both, as Bond did, often ended up frustrated and bitter, being totally successful at neither.

Despite the fact that Bond's career was hampered by prejudice, Urban maintains that some of Bond's shortcomings were indeed of his own making, and that Bond's stiff personality and excessive formality made it difficult for many to work with him, and led quite a few of his associates and subordinates to accuse him of arrogance and pomposity. His twelve years as president of Lincoln were marred by disputes with faculty and alumni groups, with whom he kept up an intermittent struggle until his departure in 1957. It is clear that Lincoln was a troubled institution when Bond became president, and he sorely wanted to distinguish himself in his new role. His enthusiasm with the job was buoyed by the fact that not only was he a Lincoln alumnus, but he was also Lincoln's first black president. And while he did have some successes, it was the failures that tended to highlight his tenure at Lincoln. Many of his problems stemmed from policy disputes, especially with some of the older faculty, over issues such as pay raises, summer teaching, and Bond's frequent absences from campus. Yet much of the problem had to do with

Bond's style—his straightforward and blunt language did not endear him to many of his faculty. Further, Urban notes that Bond's problems were "aggravated by his inability to forget a grievance once it was lodged as well as by his tendency to go after his opponents with a tenaciousness that surely was unproductive in the ever-fluid world of campus politics" (p. 144). Urban also observes that Bond's "p penchant for seeing racism at the root of all his conflicts with white faculty meant that he was blinded to some very real grievances" (p. 143), as from the beginning of his presidency, Bond was convinced that because he was black he was being observed under a magnifying glass and that many of the older white faculty would stop at nothing in their attempts to sabotage his administration. Bond's presidency at Lincoln, then, appears to have been doomed from the beginning.

Despite twelve stormy years at Lincoln, Bond did not totally abandon his scholarly aims. He developed and taught a course in African history and one in African-American history as part of his attempt to make African studies important in Lincoln's curriculum. Bond also travelled frequently to Africa during the 1940s and 1950s, hoping to strengthen the cultural and ancestral ties between Africans and American blacks. In 1953, he responded to a call from the NAACP to help prepare a brief for *Brown v. Board of Education*, where, working with such distinguished historians as John Hope Franklin and C. Vann Woodward, he insisted that the NAACP abandon its timid case-by-case strategy of merely proving inequality of

facilities, and instead launch a frontal assault against segregation. He also continued to work on his history of Lincoln University, which he had actually started around 1945. He would spend his last years enjoying his grandchildren (perhaps in an attempt to make up for the time that he did not spend with his children), following the career of his son Julian (who was by now a well-known civil rights activist and politician), and planning to write a history of the Bond family, a project that never materialized. Bond died in 1972, at the age of sixty-eight.

While Bond had a record of mixed success as a scholar, Urban implies (and I think correctly) that Bond's career would have been more productive had he not been shackled by racism. And though the reader gets the impression that Bond often placed his work above his family—as he is portrayed as something less than a family man—it is clear that at least some of Bond's career decisions were made with his family in mind, such as his decision to leave Georgia in 1945. While far from flattering, Wayne Urban's portrait of Horace Mann Bond is provocative and highly readable, and helps to illuminate the plight of black academics for most of the twentieth century. The book's greatest strength, though, is that it delivers yet another black pioneer from obscurity, and in this case helps to remove the father from under the shadow cast for so long by the son.

Robert A. Pratt
University of Georgia

Hugh Cunningham. *The Children of the Poor: Representations of Childhood since the Seventeenth Century.* Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1992. Pp. 283. \$48.95 U.S., cloth.

The Children of the Poor is an account of the changes that have occurred in social attitudes towards childhood in Western industrialized society. The author defines intellectual attitudes towards children in the period 1680-1810 and then describes the social solutions that were prescribed to obviate what came to be perceived as a threat. In doing so he dwells on the general perception of the idleness of the poor which made them dissatisfied. This, together with their increased numbers, made them a threat to society, particularly in the late eighteenth century, when political events at home and abroad rendered notions of liberty, equality, and fraternity (particularly as they might be applied to children) highly suspicious. School provided "discipline," training, and highly observable "order," and was a popular solution to this danger. Cunningham also discusses the responses to child labour in the period 1780-1850 in those fields in which children were principally employed, the perception of them as savages—noble and otherwise, the variety of the attempts to rescue these waifs and strays, and the equally unsuccessful attempts to put such children on pedestals where they could be worshipped by a romantic (but unrealistic) adult world. In the final section of the book, which takes us from the late