

## BOOK REVIEW SECTION

R. Darcy and Richard C. Rohrs, *A Guide to Quantitative History*. (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1995) pp. 336. \$65.00(hardcover), \$24.95(paperback) ISBN 0275948978 (hardcover), 0275952371 (paperback)

**Historians began using** more sophisticated quantitative techniques in the 1970s, but useful guides for quantitative historians have only recently become available. For most of the early 1980s students relied on Charles M. Dollar and Richard J. Jensen's *Historian's Guide to Statistics: Quantitative Analysis and Historical Research*. While Dollar and Jensen introduced students to quantitative history, the volume did not provide practical experience in quantitative techniques. Several new books are now available for training history students in quantitative techniques. The latest entry into this growing field is R. Darcy and Richard C. Rohrs' *A Guide to Quantitative History*.

Darcy and Rohrs have produced a volume that could easily become the standard for teaching the introductory quantitative methods course in history programs. An excellent introduction traces the development of quantitative techniques by historians. The authors introduce students to basic and advanced quantitative techniques for historical research. Their approach falls between a purely mathematical approach to teaching quantitative history and a "cookbook" approach. Realizing that many historians lack a strong mathematics background, Darcy and Rohrs guide the reader through statistical theories and applications. At the same time, they do not merely provide a recipe for using particular techniques.

The chapters cover the standard range of introductory statistics: organization of variables, simple descriptive statistics, inferential statistics, t-tests, cross-classification, analysis of variance, measurement techniques, and regression analysis. They explain each statistical method in clear language that is easily understandable. Not only does it include an explanation of methods, but also a history of the method. These discussions of the use of a method over time offer valuable insights to students about how to use and avoid misuse of statistical methods.

Using a practical and applied approach to teaching quantitative methods for historians makes this book valuable. Each chapter includes explanations of different techniques and demonstrates how historians have reached certain conclusions with their quantitative data. They offer a range of examples of how historians have used statistical methods including mass voting behavior, legislative voting behavior, immigration history, historical demography, and economic history. Students can replicate many of the examples given in the book because the data is also printed along with the results. This can be a good teaching tool for quantitative methods. Some data sets used in certain sections can be used to practice other quantitative techniques explained in the book.

While the main audience for this book will be classroom teachers, the index and examples in *A Guide to Quantitative History*, make this a good reference source for historians. Nonquantitative historians should keep a copy of Darcy and Rohrs on hand to refer to when reading quantitative historical articles.

This book will be a valuable classroom resource for anyone teaching historians quantitative methods. Instructors teaching a methods of historical research class should use this book as a supplement to demonstrate the value of quantitative approaches to history. Instructors and students alike will appreciate this well-crafted book. Darcy and Rohrs have produced a valuable teaching tool for quantitative history that surpasses the current books on the market.

D. Scott Barton  
East Central University

Charles C. Alexander, *The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995) pp. 288. \$13.95 ISBN 0806127767

**The republication of this fine study**, originally released in 1965 by the University of Kentucky Press, is most welcome. Charles Alexander, Distinguished Professor of History at Ohio University, produced a valuable work that helps us understand one of the most violent extremist groups in this century. By the 1990s the various Klan groups added up nationally to fewer than 5000 — a shadow of the 1920s organization conservatively estimated at two million in a population of fewer than 110 million. Alexander states in his 1995 preface to this paperback edition that a total of forty thousand may have been members of Klan organizations as late as 1965.

This book concentrates on the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) founded in Atlanta in 1915. After World War I, this organization attained its largest size and influence in states outside the deep south. Alexander's focus is the 1920s Klan in Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas, "four of the strongest and most violent Klan states." He also demonstrates that the post World War I Klan was not only the largest, but also the "most powerful of the historic Klans."

The man most responsible for the 1915 founding of the 20th century Klan was William Joseph Simmons, a former Methodist minister who had left the clergy in a 1912 fit of pique when he was not given a large church

of his own. He became a fraternal group organizer and attained the rank of colonel in the Woodmen of the World. This was his rationale for calling himself "Colonel Simmons" and, of course for insisting that others, few of whom knew of the title's genesis, address him that way.

During the first World War, Simmons involved the Klan in the "national mania" of the time: self-appointed spying chasing. He made "secret service men" of the Klansmen in Alabama and Georgia, and claimed that he kept in close touch with federal attorneys, judges, and federal secret service officials.

A series of well-documented articles in the *New York World* in September 1921 contributed to Klan growth in the early 1920s. Thinking such pieces would be a wake-up call to "reasonable and thinking Americans" in the South and Southwest, the *World* believed that they had shown the Klan up to the bright light of truth, so to speak, and that the organization would be badly damaged. Alas, the opposite happened: extensive free publicity. Like-minded folk who had never heard of the Klan were attracted. Recruiters visiting northern and western states found thousands of people eager to be enlisted. "Some zealots even mailed their applications for membership on sample forms printed in the newspapers to illustrate the *World's* articles." All this caused Congress to get in on the act and the House Rules Committee held a series of hearing on the KKK. This also backfired and the publicity resulted in more new Klansmen. Naturally, this left many puzzled. As Alexander puts it:

To hostile observers the Klan was just not supposed to be. It was wholly alien to the democratic ideal, an intruder in American life. In the third decade of the twentieth century, in a nation that had just fought war to make the world safe for democracy and was now resuming its inexorable advance toward the good society, how could this "un-American monstrosity" happen?

Part of the explanation, of course, is that WW I and the years immediately following were times of rapid change and American society grew more complex. These changes increased social tensions. During such times many citizens are less rational and hence ripe for the appeals of extremist group leaders. The Klan was the most successful of such organizations. Alexander points out that during the war, U.S. citizens had been recipients of "the first systematic, nationwide propaganda campaign in the history of the Republic." One purpose of this undertaking was to

teach them to hate—not just Germans, but anything not in conformity with “100 percent Americanism.” This reservoir of chauvinistic, even jingoistic, zeal was still nearly full at war’s end. For a considerable number, these feelings could be deflected and channeled toward other “enemies” (Jews, Catholics, foreigners, blacks, people who violated regional mores, etc.). The Klan offered a natural home for such people. It offered a “target for every frustration and people from many social strata found their way into it.” Limited to white Protestants, the group’s membership was “remarkably cross-sectional” and strongly dedicated to the “moral status quo.” This, Alexander writes, was the “most powerful stimulus” for its growth in Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana and Oklahoma.

Religious symbolism permeated the Klan both in “thought and practice.” Such phrases as “the tenets of the Christian religion,” “the law of Christ,” and “God being my helper” were extant in their official documents and ritual. They conspicuously played hymns, especially “The Old Rugged Cross” (Why are we not surprised by this?), “Blest Be the Tie That Binds,” and “Onward Christian Soldiers” which, Alexander says, became “something of an unofficial anthem of the order.”

This is a classic work. Any political scientist, historian or sociologist aiming to understand the largest and most violent extremist organization of this century will find no better starting point than *The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest*. Many thanks to the University of Oklahoma Press for reissuing this book.

John George  
University of Central Oklahoma



Malcom E. Jewel and Marcia Lynn Whicker, *Legislative Leadership in the American States*. (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1994) pp. 232. \$44.50 ISBN 0472105175

**Building on the foundations** of a substantial body of Congressional research, Jewel and Whicker formulate a number of theories about state legislative leadership. The work revolves around trying to discover how leaders do their job, what their goals are, what styles of leadership they follow, and what techniques they have developed in an effort to become more effective. Ultimately we seek to determine what makes some leaders strong and more effective than others. How well have leaders adapted to legislative change—the increasing demands on the institution and the changing expectations of members? (1)

The factors Jewel and Whicker explore which shape the answers to these questions are: historical trends, institutional context, leadership party position, leadership tools and techniques, and personal leadership type. Each is carefully defined and reviewed. Borrowing concepts from the presidential leadership literature (chapter two), Jewel and Whicker develop eleven legislative leader roles: gatekeepers, coalition builders, negotiators, communicators, spokespersons, engineers of the legislative process, tone setters for ethics, co-monitors of policy implementation, mentors to younger legislators, trainees for higher office and party leaders.

Chapter three moves on to examine the institutional context of

leadership. After reviewing several institutional powers and limitations, Jewel and Whicker conclude that there is an increasing trend for professionalization of the legislature as well as increasing participation by women and minorities. The fourth chapter looks at the positional context of leadership or partisan politics.

While legislative leaders may not have much control over the institutional setting, Jewel and Whicker argue, they can develop tools techniques to manipulate that setting, which they demonstrate in chapter five. These tools and techniques include committee appointments, use of committees, leadership staff, use of the caucus, providing funds, recruitment, and participation in legislative campaigns.

One of the more engrossing chapters is the sixth, which reviews personal leadership types. Jewel and Whicker's analysis results in an imaginary three by three table in which leadership style of command, coordinating and consensus personalities are matched with power, policy and process goals. This establishes a total of nine legislative leadership types. Each of these nine leadership types is described in detail in appendix.

Of special interest is the chapter devoted to women as state legislative leaders. The authors conclude, "The long-run trends ... are favorable to both the increased political participation of women and to the acquisition of top leadership positions by women" (188-189).

The authors conclude by reporting both positive and negative trends in state legislative leadership. The positive trends include growing professionalism and expansion of tools and techniques and a shift to more participative personal leadership types. The negative trends include term limits, increased partisanship, the gridlock of divided government and the growing burden of campaign fund raising. Jewel and Whicker preface their review of these trends with a challenge for more research.

Each chapter in this work sheds new light not just on legislative leadership but the entire legislative process at the state level. The bottom line is: the reader is enlightened on the complexities of, as well as some of the various factors affecting, the state legislative process and how its leaders cope and try to control it.

Oklahomans have good reason to be interested in this monograph. The authors interviewed legislative leaders in a number of states, including Oklahoma. Those interviewed in Oklahoma include Senate President Pro Tem Robert Cullison, Senate Majority Leader Darryl (they misspelled his

first name) Roberts, Senate Minority Leader Charles Ford, Speaker of the House Glenn Johnson, House Speaker Pro Tem Jim Glover, House Majority Leader Lloyd Benson and House Minority Leader Joe Heaton. This leadership list indicates the interviews were taken during the 1991-1992 period.

Likewise, Oklahoma political scientists are quoted and cited throughout the book. These include Ronald M. Peters, Jr., at the University of Oklahoma and Bob Darcy, at Oklahoma State University.

Finally, there is a very short description of the ouster of Speaker Jim Barker which took place towards the end of the 1989 legislative session. I will have to confess that even I, a long-time state legislative employee, learned something about the Oklahoma Senate. For example, it was not until I read Table 5-4 on page 107 that I discovered that the Oklahoma Senate Republicans had a caucus campaign fund.

There are major strengths and few weaknesses in this volume. The tables and appendices along with the theory building are well worthwhile. A listing of those tables along with their page numbers would have been helpful. A more comprehensive index would make the book more useful. Finally, much of the study was centered on only a few states: Connecticut, Minnesota, Ohio, and Texas.

The next task for researchers is to take up Jewel and Whicker's challenge to build upon the research reflected in this volume in order to further our understanding of this increasingly important part of our governmental system. Whether this happens or not, expect this book to be a standard reference work on state legislative leadership for decades to come. Thanks to this volume, our knowledge of leadership, state government, and the legislative process are all expanded.

Thomas H. Clapper  
Oklahoma State Senate  
Committee Staff

