appreciate the importance of creating personal rapport with the American people. As the depression worsened, some of his philosophical convictions hardened into dogmas, especially, for example, his prolonged emphasis on voluntarism in providing for the needy, so that in this and other respects he was also the last of the "old presidents."

Given the nature of the series and the constraints of space, it is not surprising to find some gaps and some unanswered questions in this study. As scholars are still in the investigative stage of an analysis of this complex man and his even more complex era, a great deal of research and a host of questions still need to be addressed or probed in greater depth before final verdicts can be offered with confidence. Meanwhile, Fausold's synthesis is the most judicious and the best available scholarly survey of the Hoover presidency.

COE COLLEGE DONALD J. LISIO

Dirksen of Illinois: Senatorial Statesman, by Edward L. Schapsmeier and Frederick H. Schapsmeier. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985. xvi, 269 pp. Photographs, notes, bibliography, index. $19.95 cloth.

The public life of Everett Dirksen began with his successful election to the U.S. Congress in 1932, continued with his election as U.S. Senator in 1950, and ended with his death in August 1969. To describe and evaluate thirty-six years of public life is difficult enough; to discuss a political figure whose career spanned the Great Depression, World War II, the Cold War and McCarthyism, the New Frontier and Great Society, and, finally, the Vietnam War in one slim volume is a near impossibility. The Schapsmeiers meet this challenge by assuming a basic knowledge of contemporary world events on the part of the reader. This allows them to concentrate exclusively on Dirksen's life and career with a minimal amount of explanatory information. In addition, the bulk of the book quite rightly concentrates on Dirksen's senatorial career in the years after 1950.

Midwesterners themselves, the authors bring sensitivity and insight to "Ev" Dirksen's early years in Pekin, Illinois. Shunning psychobiography for straightforward narrative, the authors nevertheless provide valuable information about the man who, half a century later, forced Kennedy and Johnson, two media-wise presidents, to share center stage. Readers learn about the stable if narrow world of the rural Midwest in the first decade of the twentieth century, the widening horizons provided by the Western Front in World War I, and even more important, the thespian achievements of the otherwise shy

young Ev. That Dirksen as a young man was tempted by a career in the theater will not surprise those who remember the extravagant vocabulary, the sound of the sonorous voice, or the cultivation of the public personality.

The fifteen years (1933–1948) that Dirksen served in the House of Representatives are quickly covered in one chapter. The authors rapidly move from one issue to another to establish Dirksen's voting position on depression, war, and the global responsibilities that followed. Although there is little or no analysis in this chapter, a pattern does emerge. As the authors note, Ev "gave evidence of his antipathy toward public power, the collective power of labor unions, and government regulation of business" (30). He was a supporter of the isolationist position until two months before Pearl Harbor but, like Arthur Vandenberg, spent the rest of his life supporting and even encouraging internationalism within his own party. Thus he consistently supported Truman's foreign policy decisions in 1947, although much of that support surely came from his zealous attack on Communist expansion abroad as well as subversion at home.

Two-thirds of the book is devoted to Dirksen's career in the Senate. Moving quickly to establish the influential role Dirksen played as Senate minority leader, the authors face the organizational challenge of those action-packed years by once again using a chronological format, this time dividing the chapters into presidential administrations. Although this approach eschews deep analysis, the authors do present a decided point of view. Clearly they admire Dirksen because of their perception of the nature and importance of his leadership role in both the Republican party and the Senate. In spite of the fact that Dirksen climbed the ladder to leadership through his support for Taft, McCarthy, and the far right of his party, the authors argue that Dirksen as minority leader was both a pragmatist and an idealist. His ability to moderate the extreme views within his own party and his willingness to compromise with the Democratic majority was, in fact, his major contribution to the political process. Indeed, it was a mark of his statesmanship because it was based on his perception that the constitutional system could survive only if the minority party was a responsible opposition. Readers of the book who are only aware of the public Dirksen—for example, his attack on the liberal wing of the Republican party in 1952, or his nominating speech for Goldwater in 1964—will benefit from examining this added dimension, for it clearly accounts for his success as Senate minority leader.

Unfortunately, the authors understand "Dirksen of Illinois" better than they do the "Senatorial Statesman." They are too trusting of their sources. A moderate dose of cynicism is essential for research in the pa-

pers of elected officials. Readers familiar with the ways of American politics will appreciate the information in this book, but many will inevitably draw quite different conclusions from those offered by the authors.

Everett Dirksen was an unusually successful political leader. Like another Republican from Illinois one hundred years earlier, he knew how to exploit his own public image and had a marvelous sense of timing. But like most individuals who choose to run for elective office, he was also very ambitious, never hesitated to jump on the most useful bandwagon, and quickly learned to appreciate the rewards of power.

Dirksen changed his mind, compromised, negotiated, and supported measures unpopular in downstate Illinois, such as civil rights legislation, not only because he was a statesman, but because it allowed him to retain his leadership position and his power. Had he acted otherwise, would President Kennedy have encouraged his fellow Democrats in Illinois to abandon Congressman Sidney Yates when he challenged Dirksen in 1962? Would Johnson have accepted the amendments to his Great Society legislation if Dirksen had challenged the entire civil rights package? For that matter, what did Illinois gain in return? Missing entirely from this account is any mention of highways, defense contracts, urban redevelopment, water resource development, issues close to the heart of every elected representative.

Nevertheless, *Dirksen of Illinois: Senatorial Statesman* contributes to our knowledge of a formidable political leader and is one more welcome antidote to the emphasis on the presidency that has overtaken much of our political biography in recent years.

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY ANNA K. NELSON

The Dutch in America: Immigration, Settlement, and Cultural Change, edited by Robert P. Swierenga. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1985. xv, 303 pp. Figures, tables, maps, notes, index. $32.00 cloth.

Several features of this book put the reader on guard. First, it is the product of a conference, the scholarly commemoration of the Netherlands-American bicentennial in 1982. Who wants to read conference papers? What can the nonspecialist learn from listening to the conversations of thirteen scholars, men whose names, affiliations, and scholarly careers are testaments to their Dutch connections? Tight company, one suspects. Second, the thirty-seven tables and fifteen figures and maps that provide the data for scholarly dissection suggest, at