view: "both their politics and epistemology developed together from the context of historical uncertainty and political conflict of the late nineteenth century" (N. 167). There is surely something to this argument, but by locating the origins of Dewey's epistemology simply in the political landscape, Ross greatly overstates her case.

Dewey was probably a less progressive, more retrograde influence in American social science than is usually thought, but the sources of his limitations were philosophical as well as political. If Kloppenberg overestimates Dewey's philosophical radicalism, he at least allows for the possibility that Dewey's politics owed something to his philosophy as well as vice versa. By treating ideas (exceptionalism excepted) less as creators of than as reflections of social reality, Ross takes what is rapidly coming to be an old-fashioned approach to intellectual history.

But these caveats should not obscure appreciation for this useful book. The thoroughness and comprehensiveness with which Ross has mined the sources is likely to remain unsurpassed. She has written the best history we have of the social sciences' first American century.

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Farewell—We're Good and Gone: The Great Black Migration. By Carole Marks (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1989) 384 pp. $37.50 cloth $12.95 paper

According to Marks, the origins of today's urban "underclass" of the young, unemployed, undereducated, and unskilled can be found in the process by which economic conditions forced African-Americans out of the South and attracted them to the North at the turn of the century. From the 1870s to the 1930s over 1.5 million southern blacks migrated north, over 400,000 of them in the two-year period 1916/18. White race riots, job and housing discrimination, racial wage differentials, police brutality, and economic deprivation awaited them. With the massive shift of black population from the mostly rural and agricultural South to the more urban and industrialized North, racism and discrimination became more obviously a national, not a regional, phenomenon, one that marked American economic, social, and political life for the rest of the century. Excluded from decent housing and jobs and forced to begin and remain at the bottom rungs of the economic ladder in the North, many black migrants remained locked in perpetual poverty.

These outcomes, Marks contends, resulted primarily from the nature of capitalist industrialization and the labor migration patterns it encouraged. In the South, "structural transformations" in an economy moving from agricultural to industrial production made it expedient to "release" black workers from the labor market (48). Conditions created by southern industrialization destroyed much of the existing black ar-

tisan class; at the same time, whites in newly mechanizing industries took up much of the hand labor formerly monopolized by unskilled blacks. As black workers lost their niche in the labor market, disfranchisement and segregation's destruction of black educational opportunities further closed off opportunities for their economic advance. In this context, Marks sees the Great Migration as a safety valve to get rid of a surplus of black labor no longer desired by many southern employers, although the imposition of segregation and lynch law played as great a role (50). Both economics and virulent racism caused waves of African-Americans to leave the South.

Labor agents of giant industrial corporations recruited southern blacks to the North as part of a process of "ethnic rotation," in which waves of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe and then from the South displaced native whites in the industrial work force, making unionization nearly impossible and leading to heightened racism and xenophobia among northern white workers (86). Racial tensions heightened after World War I, when employers brought southern blacks in by the tens of thousands to defeat industrial union organizing and drive down wage rates. These tensions rationalized continuing discrimination in hiring and promotion, and in housing markets, which made impoverishment a permanent feature of black life in the North.

Contrary to some theorists who assert that this poverty resulted from a lack of skills among southern blacks, Marks asserts that black migrants came largely from urban areas, many of them with craft skills and some degree of literacy. What they lacked in both the North and the South was opportunity. As a result, once settled into the North, blacks reaped none of the potential benefits of labor migration, such as developing their own ethnic enclaves of capitalism, assimilating into the new society, or accumulating wages and returning to the South.

Marks finds that racism alone does not account for "the differential experiences of black workers from the Great Migration to the Great Depression nor for the underutilization of black labor to the present day" (136). Rather, racism made blacks the most vulnerable to industrial capitalism's need to continually cheapen the cost of labor. Making considerable use of sociological migration theory, Marks outlines the characteristic patterns of capitalist expansion around the globe, in which industrially developed core sectors of the world economy draw on less industrial and agrarian societies to meet the industrial system's growing need for cheap, unorganized labor. In this perspective, the immiseration of workers in semi-rural Mexico and their incorporation into the more industrialized economy of their neighbor to the north is not too much different from what happened to southern blacks during the Great Migration. Both suffered from the need of core capitalist economies to exploit cheap, unorganized labor from the periphery. Both Mexicans and African-Americans also suffered from acute discrimination and racism which enforced their position at the very bottom of the capitalist class hierarchy. Not surprisingly, neither African-American nor Mexi-

can-American communities under the burden of both class and racial oppression have been able to escape from this position. Yet the process, she points out, continues today with the introduction of new groups of migrant workers while the previous generations of low-wage workers are cast aside. "Migrant labor," says Marks, "particularly when recruited for low-level jobs, no longer advances up or down a job hierarchy but instead is used and discarded" (136).

Historians will argue, and already have in response to her book, that Marks has chosen a schematic model at the expense of understanding the historically specific experiences and conditions of the migrants themselves.[1] These "minor actors" in the play of larger forces, as Marks calls black migrants, certainly had a more varied experience in the North than she indicates—as James Grossman's *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (1989) documents (44).

Racism, historically entrenched first by slavery and then segregation, is much more central to the causes of both the Great Migration and the failure to incorporate black migrants into the urban north than Marks suggests. To cite one example, the destruction of the black artisan class seems to have had less to do with southern industrialization than with the imposition of segregation, which included white union exclusion of blacks from skilled labor markets. Her eclectic drawing together of statistics, comments, and observations and her rehashing of secondary historical works provide fragmentary evidence and unsatisfying generalizations that will undoubtedly leave historians frustrated.

Nonetheless, Marks' book does offer an important perspective on the general causes and consequences of the Great Migration, one that is familiar to sociologists and historians of Latin American but often ignored by American historians. Ever since the earliest days of the slave trade, both labor exploitation and racism have been part and parcel of a global economic system that has done little to advance, and much to undermine, the living standards and culture of Africans and those in the African Diaspora around the world. This study is valuable because it raises questions that need to be raised about the causes of black urban poverty and about the responsibility of capitalism as a system for the historical plight of the African-American community.

Although highly derivative and breaking little new ground in terms of methodology or use of source material, Marks' book offers an important perspective, one which places the African-American experience in the framework of the world historical development of the capitalist political economy.

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1 See, for example, reviews by Ronald Lewis in *The Journal of Southern History*, LVII (1991), 132–133, and David Southern in *American Historical Review*, XCVI (1991), 270–271.