

BOOK REVIEWS

THE AMERICAN PARTNERSHIP: INTERGOVERNMENTAL CO-OPERATION IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY UNITED STATES. By Daniel J. Elazar. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1962. Pp. ix + 358. \$6.50.

Reviewed by Edward C. Kirkland Thetford, Vermont

Once again, political scientists, historians, and other Americans, past and present, have been mistaken. Mr. Elazar's announced intention is to demonstrate that we live and have lived not under a system of "dual federalism" which apportions some powers or functions to a central government and others to the states. Instead American federalism "has been fundamentally" a co-operative partnership of federal, state, and local governments since the early days. . . . More specifically the evidence indicates that the relative balance between the federal government and the states has not significantly shifted over the past one hundred seventy-five years" (p. 297). Dual federalism is the shining image which has hitherto deceived so many; co-operative federalism is the reality beneath it. Since the post Civil War period the evidence that federalism was "co-operative" is certainly convincing; that it played an equally significant role between 1787 and 1865 is less sure. Mr. Elazar does not build his case for it on explicit statements by major political leaders; he relies upon practice and administration. Consequently he selects four states — Virginia, New Hampshire, Minnesota, and Colorado — to illustrate his theme. He chooses these primarily because they are "hard case" states, "with a view to demonstrating that co-operation occurred where it was least likely to be found" (p. 2). No explicit criteria are stated for the designation of these states as "hard" and the analysis otherwise is too brief to supply this deficiency. The volume starts at the outset under something of a handicap.

Granting that the evidence for co-operative federalism in the early period is convincing in the instances of federal land grants for schools, canals, and railroads, and, off and on, of the First and Second National Banks, many of the other illustrations impress me as merely incidental, inferential, even accidental. Nor does Mr. Elazar's handling of evidence pointing in another direction than his theme impress me. The positive action of Monroe and Jackson in vetoing certain federal appropriations for internal improvements seems to be dismissed by the argument that

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Table of Contents The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States

- 1. Understanding the eBook The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States
 - The Rise of Digital Reading The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
- 2. Identifying The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
- 3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in an The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States

- User-Friendly Interface
- 4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States User Reviews and Ratings
 - The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States and Bestseller Lists
- 5. Accessing The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States Free and Paid eBooks
 - The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States Public Domain eBooks
 - The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States eBook Subscription Services
 - The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States Budget-Friendly Options
- 6. Navigating The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States eBook Formats
 - ∘ ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
 - \circ The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States Compatibility with Devices
 - The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States Enhanced eBook Features
- 7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States
 - Interactive Elements The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States

- 8. Staying Engaged with The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States
 - o Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States
- 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States
- 10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
- 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States
 - Setting Reading Goals The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
- 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of The American Partnership Intergovernmental Co Operation In The Nineteenth Century United States
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources
- 13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
 - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
 - Exploring Educational eBooks
- 14. Embracing eBook Trends
 - Integration of Multimedia Elements

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