

# In Memoriam

## Elmer Eric Schattschneider

E. E. Schattschneider—seminal writer on American politics, compelling teacher, irrepressible raconteur, guiding force in professional associations, and political activist—died on March 4, 1971. "Schatt," who was 78, went without pain in high spirits. He was about to talk about Congress to a civic group in Old Saybrook, Connecticut. As an emeritus professor after 1960, he enjoyed a flourishing retirement. He had published an enthusiastically reviewed book *Two Hundred Million Americans in Search of a Government*, in 1969. At Wesleyan University he taught a course entitled "Politics in the Year 2000" in the 1969-70 academic year. His work in progress at the time of his death was wholly in character with a lifetime of thought and action—a reassessment of American political institutions.

Schattschneider was born in Bethany, Minnesota, August 11, 1892. He spent his early years in Wisconsin, absorbing the Progressivism that informed his many contributions. After a year at Moravian College to satisfy a paternal wish, he transferred to the University of Wisconsin where his 1915 B.A. stood for study with John R. Commons and E. A. Ross, a visit to Hull House and a charter subscription to the *New Republic*. YMCA work and the Navy behind him, he chose to be a high school teacher for eight years, then moved to college teaching with a Pittsburgh M.A. and Columbia Ph.D.

After teaching at Columbia from 1927-30 while working on his doctorate and at New Jersey College for Women in 1929-30, he moved to Wesleyan in 1930. For thirty years thereafter he chose to teach Wesleyan undergraduates, continuing in his emeritus years to join exuberantly in social, intellectual, and teaching aspects of the Wesleyan Government Department he had founded. At Wesleyan, he played an important role in founding an interdisciplinary Public Affairs Center. Schatt applied his imagination to education in politics and introduced workshops, Washington trips, summer study grants, government internships, field work and interdepartmental seminars, years before these modes gained wide popularity. His style in these matters is partially registered in two handbooks for student research, *A Guide to the Study of Public Affairs* with Stephen K. Bailey and Victor Jones (1952) and *Local Political Surveys* with Victor Jones (1962).

Schattschneider's best known books were *Politics, Pressures, and the Tariff* (1935), *Party Government* (1940), and *The Semisovereign People* (1960). The first of these was an important influence on the "group approaches" to the study of politics during the post-war years. The second, along with *Toward A More Responsible Two-Party System*—the 1950 report of Schattschneider's Committee on Political Parties of the American Political Science Association—dominated discussions of American party politics throughout the 1950s and has influenced recent efforts to develop deductive "economic" models of politics. *The Semisovereign People* has been an important source of theory and hypothesis about political conflict, and therefore has repeatedly been drawn upon by contemporary analysts of American politics.

Among Schattschneider's many Connecticut governmental and political activities were memberships in the Middletown City Council, on the Charter Commission of his retirement home, the town of Old Saybrook, on the State Election Laws Commission, on the State Board of Mediation and Arbitration and on the State Board of Pardons, as well as many informal consulting relationships with a wide variety of state political figures.

As a proudly professional political scientist, he served as Vice President of the APSA in 1953 and President in 1956-57. Throughout the 1950s he was a central figure in the Citizenship Clearing House (later called the National Center for Education in Politics). The CCH policy of seeking to involve students in politics was consistent with Schattschneider's many efforts over the years at Wesleyan to encourage students to study their own communities, Congressional districts and states and to engage in summer study or take political internships. In these activities—and more so in his unerring eye for seeing the main contours of a problem and his endlessly creative ear for metaphor—he was "relevant" long before that overworked term came into use.

Mere academic writing will not capture Schatt's personal qualities, but the following passages of his own vivid prose give some sense of the man and of the extraordinary continuity of his life purposes:

*The philosophy of the attempt made in these pages is that the forces brought to bear on democratic government are not wholly beyond conscious*

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*control. The subject is, therefore, one of the greatest in modern politics. To manage pressures is to govern; to let pressures run wild is to abdicate. (Politics, Pressures, and the Tariff, 1935, pp. 292-293.)*

*The classical definition of democracy left a great, unexplored, undiscovered breach in the theory of modern government, the zone between the sovereign people and the government which is the habitat of the parties. The parties occupy a blind spot in the theory of democracy. . . . The only way to discover the parties is to revise the definition of democracy. (Party Government, 1940, p. 15.)*

*One implication of public opinion studies ought to be resisted by all friends of freedom and democracy; the implication that democracy is a failure because the people are too ignorant to answer intelligently all the questions asked by the pollsters. This is a professorial invention for imposing professorial standards on the political system and deserves to be treated with extreme suspicion. Only a pedagogue would suppose that the people must pass some kind of examination to qualify for participation in a democracy. Who, after all, are these self-appointed censors who assume that they are in a position to flunk the whole human race? Their attitude would be less presumptuous if they could come up with a list of things that people must know. Who can say what the man on the street must know about public affairs? The whole theory of knowledge underlying these assumptions is pedantic. Democracy was made for the people, not the people for democracy. Democracy is something for ordinary people, a political system designed to be sensitive to the needs of ordinary people regardless of whether or not the pedants approve of them. (The Semisovereign People, 1960, p. 135.)*

*What is government? From the outside it looks like a security system based on the marriage of land and people. From the inside, it looks like and attempts to create a community. A government is like an oyster, hard on the outside and soft on the inside, and the outside and inside are utterly dependent on each other. . . . The greatest miscalculations we make are about democracy itself, the illusion that we might have democracy without government. The pools of quiet that grew up within the communities in the shelters have been the nurseries of democracy. Because there were many governments, there were many sources, but the hard knot of the subject is that*

*democracy is a government in the fullest sense of the word and the cause of government is also the cause of democracy. People who do not know what government is are not likely to know what democracy is either, for democracy is only what the soft inside of the oyster looks like. (Two Hundred Million Americans in Search of a Government, 1969, pp. 24; 38.)*

E. E. Schattschneider was a presence in his profession as political scientist and teacher. He had a loyalty and a style that made him an exemplar to many. He is survived by his wife, Florence, of Old Saybrook, Connecticut and by his son Frank Schattschneider of Princeton, New Jersey.

Fred I. Greenstein  
Clement E. Vose  
Wesleyan University

**Louis W. H. Johnston**

Louis W. H. Johnston, Professor of Political Science at the University of Pittsburgh died at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania on May 21, 1971. He is survived by his wife Mary McConahey Johnston, a daughter, Mary S. Johnston, and a son, Alexander M. Johnston.

He received his academic training at the University of Pittsburgh and Yale University. His interests were in political theory and American government.

During the forty years in which he was a member of the faculty of the University he established a reputation for influential teaching and effective participation in faculty affairs. He served as Vice President of the University Senate and chairman of Senate standing committees. He was secretary of the local chapter of Phi Beta Kappa.

Both his colleagues and his students will miss the sharpness of his wit and the wisdom of his judgments.

William J. Keefe  
University of Pittsburgh

**Harvey Walker**

On May 22, 1971, Harvey Walker, Professor Emeritus of the Department of Political Science of The Ohio State University and former Secretary-Treasurer (1942-50) and Council member (1939-41) of the American Political Science Association