BOOK REVIEWS


There is no mention of Pennsylvania anywhere in this book yet its relevance for the colony, the state, and the whole of the Delaware River Valley is immediate and profound. Wrigley and Schofield's "reconstruction" of England's "population history" permits us to develop a variety of insights into demographic developments throughout the Atlantic world.

The book has two parts. In the first part, the authors construct detailed estimates of the size and composition of the English population. The second part summarizes their conclusions. Readers of this journal will be instructed by both efforts but, since few areas in North America offer sources similar to the ones they used, there is probably more of interest in chapters six to eleven than elsewhere in the book. Still we cannot fail to be intrigued by the technique of "back projection" through which they derive their data. Beginning with the census of 1871, subtracting the number born and adding the number dead, month by month they work their way backwards three hundred and thirty years. Everything is explained fully and carefully; every potential flaw is addressed and resolved. The book is a most impressive model of scholarly inquiry.

Two or three of their points have obvious meaning for American historians. Wrigley and Schofield's figures show a three-part trend line for English population growth: rapid increase in the first century; very slow growth over the next seventy years—and even a decline during the latter part of the 1600s; and very rapid growth again after the 1710s until well into the nineteenth century. The period of slow growth, from the 1640s until the second or third decade of the eighteenth century obviously coincides with the era of colonial settlement by English immigrants. The period of decline is the same time that the English government began to try to exercise closer control over the colonies—as well as when Pennsylvania was established. Moreover, it is the time when smaller numbers of available workers resulted in increased wages in England and in diminished numbers of people willing to migrate to the colonies as indentured servants. The colonists, who had previously relied on indentured servants to fill their own demand for laborers, began in that period to turn to African slaves as an alternative.

Wrigley and Schofield's analysis suggests that the changes in the rate of growth of the English population had more to do with variations in the numbers of children each family produced than they did with how long people lived. Fertility, not mortality, was the critical variable. And family size de-
pered more on age at marriage than on family planning. Age at marriage correlated most significantly with changing economic conditions. In the continental colonies, even earlier marriages and much larger families (and, therefore, much more rapid natural increase in population), seem thus to have been not a product of lower mortality but of greater prosperity. It is a suggestion that meshes neatly with a great deal of recent work by colonial social and economic historians showing the thirteen colonies to have had a significantly greater rate of economic growth than England and higher levels of income and wealth. We can expect further, more detailed research in an attempt to confirm a linkage between economic growth and population growth in the colonies. Pennsylvania would be a good place to begin.

University of Maryland

JOHN McCUSKER


Biographies of American cities first appeared in the late nineteenth-century. Multi-volume histories of Boston, New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia—among others—documented the major events in the lives of these cities, while preserving a wealth of detail about their political, social, and economic development. Reminiscent of this classic approach to the study of American cities, Philadelphia: A 300 Year History brings together in one volume an impressive body of information about the city established in 1682 by the followers of William Penn.

The brainchild of the late Roy F. Nichols, distinguished historian at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia is a collaborative work by twenty scholars led by Russell F. Weigley of Temple University. Its seventeen well-written chapters present the city's history in chronological order, emphasizing its political, business, and cultural life. Although there are specialized discussions of many interesting and neglected topics such as professional sports, labor unions, and the impact on the city of the Civil War, the book concentrates on governmental structure and leadership, trade and industrialization, religion, education, and the city's role in promoting the arts. The familiar story of Philadelphia's failure to maintain its colonial status as the nation's leading city is carefully, yet lovingly rehearsed. But, above all, the message of this book is that Philadelphia is unique, and what makes it so
derives from its past. Its layout and architecture, its religious and ethnic groups, its special place in American history can be understood only through the study of its history. Making Philadelphia unlike any other, these features, no doubt, also helped to create the affection for it so clearly evident in this account of its past.

In *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth*, published more than a decade ago, Sam Bass Warner, Jr. faulted Philadelphians for sacrificing the common good at the altar of private gain. Throughout *Philadelphia: A 300 Year History* there are references to the inevitable conflict between the needs of the city as a whole and the freedom of the individual. In his chapter on Philadelphia in the early 18th century Edwin Bronner argues that in the face of the profits to be made in commerce, wealthy Philadelphians neglected the commonwealth, leaving the city government powerless to implement public works or facilitate charity. The city’s industrialization taxed its capacity to meet the social and economic needs of all its citizens, and, as Elizabeth Geffen points out, widened the gap between business owners and workers in the ante-bellum era. In their chapter on the city at the end of the nineteenth century, Nathaniel Burt and Wallace Davies describe its many disparate ethnic groups, including the eastern European Jews, who came in sizeable numbers between 1881 and 1905, and the freedmen whose migration to Philadelphia made “its black population...the largest of any northern urban center” by 1900.

Unlike Warner, however, at least some of the contributors to *Philadelphia* believe that a sense of togetherness has always existed in the city. According to Nicholas Wainwright, numerous parades and processions, celebrating the birthdays of patriotic heroes or mourning the deaths of civic leaders, “reflected the close personal feelings of involvement that characterized the Philadelphian” of the 1830s. Half a century later the urge to identify with others had not weakened despite the influx of thousands of immigrants. In fact, Burt and Davies believe that a penchant for forming social clubs and fraternal organizations “was one visible evidence of the cohesive group consciousness, the basically conformist atmosphere that pervaded the city.” In the twentieth century Philadelphia’s leaders made a commitment to city planning, especially in the downtown, as Joseph Clark and Dennis Clark point out, but this holistic approach to urban politics and life did not prevent the rapid and unimaginative development of the last large open area in the city, northeast of Cottman Avenue. In one of the “great tragedies of modern Philadelphia” builders were allowed to erect block after block of monotonous townhouses designed to make the most profit for the least investment of time, thought, and energy.

Different readers will find different currents in *Philadelphia: A 300 Year History*. Its authors do not focus on any one feature or trend in the city’s past.
Indeed, the appeal of the book, and perhaps the source of its principal weakness, stems from its quest to be comprehensive. There is hardly any aspect of the city's history for which this volume does not supply at least some detail. But it offers no broad interpretation of Philadelphia's past. Unlike the work of such historians of Philadelphia as Warner, E. Digby Baltzell, and Theodore Hershberg, this treatment of the city's development does not leave the reader with any unifying impression about the character or quality of life in Philadelphia for the last 300 years. For some this lack may result in an empty feeling of dissatisfaction. But for many others, *Philadelphia: A 300 Year History* will surely be ideal, answering in one way or another just about every question they might have about the history of this fascinating city.

*Temple University*  
**William W. Cutler, III**


This handsome contribution to Philadelphia's tercentenary is primarily a history in pictures, and as such it merits considerable commendation. The reproductions of paintings and prints that illustrate the early chapters set a high standard; the photographs in the later chapters reach beyond that standard to achieve exceptional excellence, both in the selection of relatively unfamiliar scenes to capture the look and feel of the mid-to late-nineteenth-century and the early twentieth-century city, and in the sheer beauty of the contemporary color photographs by George Adams Jones.

John Guinther's text has to receive a more mixed judgment. His skills as a journalist—he is a frequent writer for *Philadelphia Magazine*—serve to best advantage in the chapters on post-World War II Philadelphia, about which he is at work on a more detailed history. There exists no better brief factual summary and interpretative analysis of the Joseph S. Clark-Richardson Dilworth renaissance; of James H.J. Tate's valiant and often capable—more often than is generally acknowledged—efforts to sustain the renaissance; of the new troubles that enveloped the city in the 1960s and 1970s when the ample tax revenues and federal subsidies of the early post-1945 years dried up, social and particularly racial tensions grew acute, and Philadelphia had to face the death of the kind of urban industrial economy that had been its life's blood for a century and a half. Writing about these developments, Guinther shows a sharp eye both for personalities and for the substance of events. His sharpness of
vision also gives us some reason to accept his judgments when he shifts from the troubles of the 1960s and 1970s to a modest optimism as he depicts the city attempting to find a new sense of direction in the 1980s, partly under the stimulus to self-consciousness provided by the tercentenary.

The earlier, pre-1945 sections of Guinther's text, however, comprise less the history of Philadelphia that is ostensibly being offered than a history of those national and state events in which Philadelphia happened to figure with some prominence. One can too readily visualize Guinther running through national and state histories to pluck out the Philadelphia references. At the outset, the reader finds a discussion of East Coast Indians, with emphasis on the Lenni Lenape but with no particular sense of the Delaware Valley as a distinctive place. After a review of European exploration of the Delaware and a glance at the Scandinavian and Dutch interludes in the region, we go on to William Penn, to receive a capsule recapitulation of his life and ideas and of the founding of Pennsylvania, but no focus on how Penn shaped Philadelphia. The narrative of the colonial years naturally features Benjamin Franklin, but rather than remaining in Philadelphia it dwells on Pennsylvania issues such as the rivalry between English Quakers and Scots-Irish Presbyterians. As we move toward the Revolution, we read a summary of the accumulation of colonial grievances against Great Britain, again without much that is distinctively Philadelphian in it, and featuring such peculiar notions as a suggestion that the furor over the Tea Act principally concerned the taxation feature (with nothing about the potential East India Company monopoly), or that madeira was smuggled in from the West Indies (when it was not a product of the Indies, and in any event it was exempt from the general prohibition of the Navigation Acts against direct imports from Europe and therefore did not need to be smuggled).

Any historian tackling the history of Philadelphia between the departure of the United States capital and the end of World War II deserves sympathy. For this long interval there are so few good secondary works—even the trusty old Scharf and Westcott *History of Philadelphia* runs thinner and thinner as it approaches its terminus in 1884—that most of the historian's work has to begin with the primary sources, with almost no other historians' syntheses or monographs to provide guidance into those sources. There is no such absence of secondary work on Philadelphia for the colonial, revolutionary, and federal periods, which makes Guinther's failure to keep his attention fixed on the city during those periods all the more unfortunate. When he arrives at the 1800-1945 hiatus in Philadelphia secondary histories, Guinther responds by diverging even further from a city-centered narrative. He offers a hasty excursion through this century and a half, the weakest part of the book. There are a few obligatory glances at such Philadelphia topics as the changing compo-
position of the city's population (especially the arrival of the new immigrants), or
the city's black people and local abolitionism. Too much, however, the
nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are given over to Pennsylvania, rather
than Philadelphia, political history, a review of boss rule but largely on the
state level.

Still, it is in this part of the book that the illustrations become even better
than they are at the beginning, and so there are decidedly redeeming merits.
Sponsored by the Greater Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce and a variety of
business organizations, furthermore, the book concludes with a series of
profiles of the sponsoring firms, not only featuring additional useful and attrac-
tive illustrations but offering raw material for future historians similar to
that provided by the county histories subsidized by local worthies all over the
United States in the late 1800s. Philadelphia: A Dream for the Keeping is
cobbled together from disparate ingredients; but some of the ingredients are
nourishing enough to make the book finally praiseworthy—especially for its
historically rich and often beautiful illustrations.

Temple University

RUSSELL F. WEIGLEY

Rural Politics and the Collapse of Pennsylvania Federalism. By KENNETH W.
KELLER. (Philadelphia: Transactions of the American Philosophical
Paper, $9.00.)

In 1799, Pennsylvanians elected their first Republican governor, Thomas
McKean. The victory initiated a transfer of power to the Republican party and
the "collapse of Pennsylvania Federalism." Kenneth W. Keller is the first to
analyze this election in depth. His goal is to examine voter behavior in search
of the motives behind political choices. Here he enters an ongoing debate
among historians concerning the relative impact of economic or cultural in-
fluences on how people vote. Keller has sought to construct a comprehensive
voter profile and to weigh the impact of cultural and economic differences alike
upon the election results. In the end, he concludes that "McKean's victory was
not so much a victory of ideology or class as it was of local interest" (p. 56), a
local interest largely determined by cultural factors.

The author is at his best in describing Pennsylvania's most prominent
cultural groups: pacifists (both Quakers and German sectarians), Irish and,
especially, Germans. He argues convincingly that both pacifists and Ger-
man-speakers had strong cultural motives for voting Federalist or Republican,
respectively. Pacifists feared harsh enforcement of the militia law with Re-
publicans in office. Germans voted Republican overwhelmingly, in hopes of more political power and local control of office-holding, to protect the interests of German-speakers.

The picture is more hazy for the Irish. Keller found the Irish to be more assimilated than the Germans, hence weaker in their ethnic identification and harder to assess as a group. The Irish, as defined in this study, are Presbyterians who arrived before the Revolution. Keller regretfully excludes the "new Irish," recent immigrants and probably mostly Catholic. Since few of them were yet citizens, especially in rural areas, it was not possible to include them in a study of voter behavior. The omission, while unavoidable, leaves an unfortunate gap in our understanding of Irish ethnicity in Pennsylvania politics.

The study is least satisfying when it attempts to assess possible economic influence on voters. Keller has used the 1798 assessment of land values to calculate estimated wealth distribution by county. In the absence of other sources, these aggregate figures must serve as the sole indicator of wealth differences. They prove inadequate to the task of linking wealth to political behavior. Federalists appear to have been slightly richer than Republicans, but not so much so as to make economic differences a decisive factor in the election. Perhaps not, but the economic data provided are not really sufficient to tell us.

Despite some limitations, Keller's study is a substantial contribution to the literature of Pennsylvania politics. It will be of interest to political historians generally.

University of Connecticut
Southeastern Campus

Kim Phillips


This provocative book addresses what Perry, Professor of Law at Ohio State University, regards as the central question of contemporary constitutional theory: "whether it is legitimate for the Supreme Court to oppose itself to the other branches and agencies of government on the basis of value judgments beyond those constitutionalized by the framers" (p. 75). The dilemma that concerns Perry arises from the fact that the Court is not accountable to the electorate. Can it, therefore, reject policy choices made by electorally accountable persons—legislative and executive officials at the state as well as the
federal level? More particularly, a great many constitutional decisions in our recent history, especially those concerning human rights issues, hinge upon judicial analyses that go beyond available evidence concerning the framers' intentions, whether it be the founders assembled at Philadelphia in 1787 or the authors of amendments passed since then. As Perry explains, in declaring the crux of his *problématique*: “There is no plausible textual or historical justification for constitutional policymaking by the judiciary—no way to avoid the conclusion that noninterpretive review, whether of state or federal action, cannot be justified by reference either to the text or to the intentions of the framers of the Constitution. The justification for the practice, if there is one, must be functional: If noninterpretive review serves a crucial governmental function that no other practice realistically can be expected to serve, and if it serves that function in a manner that somehow accommodates the principle of electorally accountable policymaking, then the function constitutes the justification for noninterpretive review” (p. 24).

Following a long series of revisionist polemics (against the likes of James B. Thayer, John Hart Ely, Ronald Dworkin, Robert Bork, and Raoul Berger), Perry concludes that the Court's human rights decisions are justified. I find myself in accord with the final outcome, but baffled by Perry's reasoning, which is profoundly unhistorical: i.e., based upon historically uninformed assertions and culminating in one which depends heavily upon the writings of sociologist Robert Bellah. After rebuking other constitutional theorists for positing the existence of American traditions and social ideals—Perry argues that there has been no consensus because we have been so heterogeneous—he blithely proceeds to insist upon “a basic, irreducible feature of the American people's understanding of themselves. The conception can be described, for want of a better word, as religious” (p. 97). Many Americans have indeed been religious; and the notion of Manifest Destiny sustaining a chosen people was utilized for a very long time, from John Winthrop to Woodrow Wilson. But because of Perry's persistent logic-chopping and harshness toward other scholars for *their* inconsistencies, I find the hinge of his own argument difficult to accept: partially because there was never a consensus about civil religion, even in the nineteenth century; but mostly because the decisions he seeks to justify have occurred since 1954—a generation during which there has been nothing close to a consensus on civil religion in America, either among scholars or the general populace.

There are still other reasons why Perry's book is unpersuasive because unhistorical. Much as I object to those who regard the Constitution as Holy Writ, carved for all time on stone tablets, I am equally uncomfortable with an author who persistently describes the Constitution as a collection of “value judgments. . . .constitutionalized by the framers in their capacity as representatives
of 'the people'" (p. 42). Perry seems to view the founders as rather ordinary relativists, even more culture-bound and time-specific than they really were. Of course they made value judgments; but they did so on the basis of their own historical experience as well as an extensive knowledge of European history, ancient and modern, not to mention a range of political philosophers from Montesquieu to Locke to the Scottish Moral Sense school. I would have found Perry a much more congenial cicerone had he not described the Constitution, ad infinitum, as a tissue of "value judgments" rather than, let us say, a set of institutional arrangements and a distribution of power based upon certain sensible assumptions about human nature in general and particularly the Anglo-American experience in public affairs.

This methodical and repetitious (but for the most part, definitionally precise) book is bound to be controversial. I suspect that its conclusions may prevail but not its reasoning. Because the two are inextricably bound together, the book cannot be regarded as successful. Its conclusions are satisfactory because Dworkin and Ely have argued for them more convincingly and with greater respect for the Constitution as a special document rather than an assemblage of "value judgments." If any more evidence were needed that Perry lacks historical sensitivity, he repeatedly refers to "the 1789 Constitution." Residents of Philadelphia will know better.

Cornell University

MICHAEL KAMMEN

A Quaker Woman's Cookbook: The Domestic Cookery of Elizabeth Ellicott Lea. Edited, with an introduction, by WILLIAM WOYS WEAVER. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982. lxxxiv, 310p: Glossary, bibliography, index. $20.00.)

The core of this book is a facsimile reprint of a popular mid-nineteenth century cookbook, whose author, Elizabeth Ellicott Lea, came from a prosperous Maryland family of Hicksite Quakers. At nineteen Elizabeth married Thomas Lea, also a Quaker and son of a milling family in Wilmington, Delaware. They settled on a farm in the Brandywine valley north of Wilmington where seven children were born. Eleven years later, in 1823, they moved to Walnut Hill, a farm near Sandy Spring, Maryland which Elizabeth's mother had given to her. A considerable part of it was planted in orchards with apples and cider the principal crops. Two more children were born before Thomas died in 1829, leaving Elizabeth with nine children to bring up and a farm to manage.
In spite of these heavy responsibilities and remembering her own difficulties as a young bride, Elizabeth began to collect recipes and to write her cookbook with the help of Rebecca Russell, a Quaker woman from Chester County, Pennsylvania, who became her devoted nurse and companion. *Domestic Cookery* was first published in 1845 and became immediately popular. It was revised and enlarged several times, and went through nineteen editions before it went out of print in 1879.

William Woys Weaver, editor of the present reprint, expresses the judgment, "What is remarkable about Elizabeth Lea's cookbook is that a Quaker widow in Maryland has compiled a collection of recipes that forms one of the most varied samplings of the rural American folk cookery of her era." Her recipes are drawn from both North and South and reflect the influence of Pennsylvania Germans, the oystermen and fishermen of Chesapeake Bay, and of Blacks and American Indians as well as her Quaker friends and relatives. There are recipes for forty kinds of cake and at least thirty puddings, for preparing apples in a dozen different ways and for a great variety of custards. And her volume is far more than a cookbook. It provides directions for treating bee stings and preparing food for the sick, and recipes for such items as beer, cider and vinegar, not to mention shoe blacking and a variety of dyes. It is full of advice to brides and young mothers on all sorts of subjects from household management to bringing up children.

An enterprising and venturesome cook might find many recipes in this book which could be adapted for use today, and in so doing, he or she would learn much about how our grandparents and great-grandparents lived. They learned to be self-reliant to a degree which is almost unimaginable today. The editor makes clear that he has republished this nineteenth century volume not as a modern cooking guide but as "a source and document for early American food research." He has done an excellent job. His introduction is a small masterpiece of information and interpretation with full attention to Elizabeth Lea's family and Quaker connections. He has also provided a useful glossary of terms which are now unfamiliar and an index.

*Swarthmore*

*MARGARET W. MOORE*
George Lippard. By DAVID S. REYNOLDS. (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982. 132p. Frontpiece, bibliography, index. $15.95.)

In George Lippard, David S. Reynolds presents the first intelligent, comprehensive, critical account of this fiery Philadelphian’s life and writings. Once widely known as a novelist, journalist, newspaper editor, lecturer, and social reformer, Lippard (1822-1854) has now become a relatively obscure figure only sometimes mentioned in literary histories. The resurgence of scholarly interest in Lippard hardly demonstrates the man’s notoriety over a century ago as the “American Eugene Sue” whose sensational fictional exposé of Philadelphia’s elite classes, The Quaker City; or, the Monks of Monk Hall (1844-45), evidently sold more than 60,000 copies when first published, went through twenty-seven American editions and several foreign ones before 1850, and continued the best-selling novel in America before the appearance of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s Uncle Tom’s Cabin (1852). Lippard’s The Quaker City set off a fifteen-year surge of “city mystery” and urban exposé fiction in America that had originated in Europe with Sue’s The Mysteries of Paris (1842-43). But if few people know of Lippard’s overwhelming influence in the development of city fiction a century ago, only a handful more know his influence continues in American historical fictions: Lippard penned the still-told legend of the Liberty Bell’s having been rung during a mass celebration of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776. So influential, in fact, were Lippard’s historical legends (totalling sixty-two, written for the Saturday Courier, 1846-48) that the appeal of this July 4 legend made it regarded (and repeated) as truth by important nineteenth and twentieth-century historians.

After a chapter on Lippard’s brief and unusual life, Reynolds discusses in succeeding chapters Lippard’s “Assault on the Rational,” his “Treatment of Society and History,” his attitudes toward religion, and his place in “the Literary Community.” Reynolds adds to Roger Butterfield’s work on Lippard (see PMHB, 79 [July 1955], 285-301) his own thorough, original research, not only presenting relevant details of Lippard’s life and work but analyzing them as well. Because of his familiarity with nineteenth-century fiction, especially with religious faith in fiction, Reynolds confidently comments on Lippard’s place within the larger context of nineteenth-century fiction generally.

Especially impressive is Reynold’s discussion of Lippard’s style and fictional devices. Closely analyzing Part Two of Lippard’s serialized novel, The Empire City (1849), Reynolds shows how Lippard exaggerated the “centrifugal” structure of the French roman-feuilleton (newspaper serial novel) by accelerating the continual climax-denouement device “to break down unities of time and space” (p. 45). His analysis makes Lippard’s “assault on the rational”
indeed seem "stylistically enforced" (p. 45). Reynolds asserts that Lippard's method of "contravening normal standards of plot development and chronology" (p. 45) is "pervasive" (p. 46) throughout his works, but such an assertion cannot convince in the way that his close analysis convinces. Precisely because no one has before attempted to discuss Lippard's style, Reynolds's assertions about that style fall short of his good—but too brief—analysis of it. The reader believes Reynolds's comment that "every Lippard novel underscores theme with experimental stylistic devices" but he would like similar proof from those other works. Thus, that Reynolds's discussion of Lippard's style remains brief is lamentable; that Reynolds can make sense of Lippard's convoluted, complex style is highly praiseworthy.

A strength of the book lies in Reynolds's discussion of Lippard's style and literary achievement; a weakness, in his attempt to place them in a literary context. For Reynolds often has Lippard being "anticipated" or "anticipating" and "presaging" other authors. Thus, according to Reynolds, John Neal "anticipated Lippard's Revolutionary legends" (p. 30); Lippard, in writing of the Revolution, was "anticipating such later war novelists as John W. De- Forest, Stephen Crane, and Ernest Hemingway" (p. 39); "Lippard became pre-Modern in a way that more familiar writers of the American Renaissance usually did not" (pp. 40-41); and, finally, "Lippard can be credited with preceding. . .Stowe" (p. 60). Such assertions ultimately say little about Lippard and even less about his relationship to these other authors. This well-intentioned effort to place Lippard in a literary context loses force because it puts Reynolds in the awkward position of seeking praise for Lippard merely because Lippard participates in certain literary and/or historical trends. And such comments seem to emphasize Reynolds's relative silence about the major writers who were somewhat contemporary with Lippard. Granted, Reynolds develops a thoroughgoing, valuable comparison between Lippard and Poe. But the reader is left questioning, for instance, how Reynolds would relate, say, Hawthorne's commingled effect of the wonder, awe, and sorrow over the loss of heroes in "The Gray Champion" to Lippard's Revolutionary legends that embed historical fact with the "semifanciful oral traditions about the supernatural prophecies and battlefield heroism" (p. 7). In addition, the reader wonders what he makes of the similarities between Lippard's and some of Hawthorne's and Melville's social and religious satire and their psychological delvings.

Finally, a much more minor point: the book would have gained from a closer proofing for factual detail. In the "Chronology," Lippard's birth date is correctly printed as 1822, but in the first chapter's biographical discussion, it is misprinted as 1882 (p. 2). A spot-checking of the notes, two, discovered the misprinting of the volume number in PMHB for Roger Butterfield's seminal article on Lippard: it appeared in volume 79, not in volume 74 (p. 124, n. 38).
Such reservations about the book acknowledged, however, Reynolds nonetheless deserves high praise for *George Lippard*. His original research and his unprecedented close analysis of a writer of widely ranging interests and abilities make Reynolds's a valuable contribution to Twayne's United States Authors Series.

*Temple University*  
CARLA MULFORD


Char Miller's *Fathers and Sons* is insightful, informative, and interesting. The author does an excellent job of explaining the Bingham family's commitment to social change and public service, demonstrating the connection between personal and public life, and relating his particular story to larger issues and major themes of nineteenth- and twentieth-century American history. A central theme is America's sense of mission—the belief that America is ordained to uplift, refashion, or liberate the world—and how that mission changed over time. For the Binghams that thrust shifted from missionary work, to imperialism, to the Peace Corps.

Many readers may be familiar with the Binghams, for Hiram, the archetype missionary, was caricatured in James Michener's *Hawaii* and Hiram III became a national hero when he rediscovered Machu Picchu (the significant Incan ruins) and later became one of the few U.S. senators ever censured. Some may recall Alfred as editor of *Common Sense* and radical critic of the New Deal and his son Stephen, who was accused of smuggling a gun to George Jackson in San Quentin and assisting the famous 1971 shootout.

Miller effectively probes the father-son relationship and skillfully draws on social science concepts and studies to enhance and strengthen his analysis. But he is not controlled by them. The awkward rigidity and jargon which impair some efforts to interpret historical figures do not appear in this book. The reader never feels that he is reading a theory into which individuals were forced. And some theories are confounded by facts. For example, the first-born is not always the greatest achiever and the tendency of every other generation to resemble each other sometimes falters. Miller demonstrates forcefully the strong influence of role models, generational conflict, and the family's symbolic estate. Clearly the Binghams were aware of their past, and in significant and fascinating ways it strongly influenced them.
Miller’s close examination of real people tempers cynicism. For example, in dealing with Hiram I and II, Miller demonstrates that missionaries were often more complex than many recent interpretations allow. In particular he takes issue with William A. Williams and other New Left historians. He finds their views constricted and oversimplified. Although some missionaries (including some Binghams) sought to exercise power and control, sometimes promoted capitalism, and the like, many (such as the Binghams) also held firm to ideals of altruistic service and self sacrifice. They were a complex mixture of piety, personality, and philosophy—idealism and materialism. In the Hawaiian “Moral Wars” of the 1820s, for instance, Hiram combatted business interests and worldly pursuits. He feared the lack of morality in business and he believed that commerce undermined religious feeling and the progress of prosperity accelerated depravity. Hiram relished conflict with commercial agents; he stood firm against sailors who had enjoyed the sexual favors of Hawaiian women by paying the chief a dollar. Later the missionary became embroiled in disputes with his brethren in Christ as well. As time passed the missionary movement changed. Forceful, uncompromising personality traits that had been essential to establishing the mission become handicaps. Shifts within the evangelical movement caused a clash between, for example, somewhat accommodating advocates of temperance and a more intellectually-based religion on the one hand and younger promoters of abstinence and emotional conversions on the other.

Hiram, the family’s first college graduate, attended Middlebury College and Andover Theological Seminary. His son (Hiram II) reveals what it was like to go to Yale in the mid-nineteenth century and his grandson’s (Hiram III) undergraduate days there in the 1890s reveal the college when the rise of the cult of “manly vigor” was replacing the earlier religious orientation. The influx of new social groups with a strong, materialistic orientation encouraged the change. Stephen Mitchell Bingham’s experiences at Yale and Berkeley, in the Civil Rights Movement, and the Peace Corps illuminate understandable frustration with liberalism and provide a revealing explanation of the radicalization of youth in the 1960s. Like much of the New Left, Stephen came from an emotionally stable, economically secure, white middle-class family. A humorous passage convincingly suggests that he did not smuggle the gun to Jackson.

Some limitations of this fine book merit mention. The subtitle, for instance, implies a more encompassing family study. Miller’s focus remains on a few famous men, though not necessarily to praise them. Various siblings and kinsmen are neglected. Women receive scant attention. Lack of evidence explains some of this, but so strongly urging that career plans, etc. evolved primarily between men discounts too much other possibilities and the tendency of time to confuse recollections of the origins of ideas. Miller demonstrates the
importance of the family's symbolic estate—the sense of identity individuals
gained because of their knowledge of their ancestors' actions, yet he deals with
but half of the generations whose importance he emphasizes. Stylistically that
makes sense, but so quickly passing over the first generations with a few ad-
jectives such as "selflessness," and "sacrificing" hardly distinguishes them
from hundreds of New England families described by their nineteenth-cen-
tury descendants. Finally, in chapter six, definitions or analysis become a bit
muddled. Miller claims that the Bingham's childbearing practices typified
evangelical practices—the struggle to raise children was an all-out war. But
awareness that harshness could embitter children, caused the Binghams to
avoid force and sometimes accept blame for a child's behavior. That depicts the
moderate childrearing model described by Philip Greven, not the evangelical
one. The emphasis is on guiding the will, not breaking it.

This is an excellent book—an insightful and very well-written work about
interesting people who did important and intriguing things. Miller probes and
explains why they acted as they did and effectively intertwines their particular
actions with the broad themes of Mission and American history. I strongly
recommend *Fathers and Sons*.

*American Philosophical Society*  
**Randolph Shipley Klein**

*Murder Did Pay: 19th-Century New Jersey Murders*. Edited by John T.
Cunningham and Donald A. Sinclair. (Newark, N.J.: New Jersey Historical

From the vaults of the New Jersey State Archives come four nineteenth-
century pamphlets, each one recounting a sensational New Jersey murder.
These include one conjugal poisoning, one crime of passion, a botched abor-
tion, and a mass murder. The four pamphlets, comprising the main body of
the volume, are supplemented by a descriptive bibliography of other pam-
phlets printed between 1692 and 1901 on murders performed in, or associated
with the garden state.

Short pamphlet accounts of murders, cashing in on the public fascination
with a particularly gruesome or well publicized homicide, were a popular
form of literature—a good "cheap read"—throughout the nineteenth century.
Often taken from court records and "final confessions," they were generally
quick and dirty affairs, as sales depended upon hitting the marketplace while
the blood was still warm. As a result they were written without the lurid detail,
titillation, and ponderous moralizing of pulp fiction chronicling similar events
today. What they lack in melodramatic style is made up for in the exact recounting of the events and in the presentation of incidental details of daily life in nineteenth century New Jersey, such as the layout of a farm, domestic arrangements, and the attention neighbors paid to each other's affairs. (I, for one, was unaware that the wearing of false bosoms was common among middle class girls in the 1870s.)

The crimes themselves come to life through the simplicity of the telling, unencumbered by the florid prose of popular writers. And there are genuinely moving moments, as when a young mother, in the midst of being murdered by the Irish maid, stoops, bleeding, to kiss her infant daughter while being escorted inside the house for her final slaughter.

The accounts are gold mines for the person interested in nineteenth-century American attitudes towards crime. A few quick examples: the murders in all four pamphlets reprinted in the collection were performed by outsiders—three Catholic immigrants and a Jew. Three of the four contain confessions; one brutally objective and another full of the bathos of conversion from Popery to Protestantism. Each of the four takes pains to reconstruct the murderer's biography, in the proto-social scientific belief that through searching the perpetrator's past indications of a future turn to murder could be discovered.

*Murder Did Pay* is a handsome book. The photo reprinting of the original pamphlets adds a certain authentic feel to the reading. John Cunningham's introductory remarks are witty and engaging. They are most useful in directing the reader's attention to the fascination and pleasure that the citizens of New Jersey took in public executions. As but one example, the hanging of Bridget Dirgan, standing room only, required the services of the state militia to keep order.

Even more curious is that tale of Antoine LeBlanc's remains. After hanging, LeBlanc's body was used for experiments with electrical current before scientific dissection. His skin was then apparently tanned and fashioned into "pleasant souvenirs, such as wallets, bookcovers, and purses." Curious behavior indeed for Protestant Americans.

My one criticism is the limited scope of the editors' remarks. *Murder Did Pay* refers to the selling of the pamphlets, not the careers of the criminals, yet we learn nothing of the marketing or popularity of the pamphlets reprinted in this collection or the genre as a whole. Nor what criteria were used in the selection of these four. Neither do they provide any comment on what in retrospect appears a disturbing and perplexing pleasure that Americans once took in witnessing a good hanging; what Nietzsche once called "disinterested malignity. . .this oldest and most thorough of man's festive joys." It is apparent that in nineteenth-century New Jersey, at least, Americans did not yet feel ashamed of their desire for retribution—what might now be considered
their "cruelty." The collection is most worthwhile in stimulating, thought on
our own contemporary attitudes towards criminal behavior and punishment.

The collection presents a good sampling of a literary genre that before the
coming of radio and television was popular entertainment and a forum in
which people explored the social meaning of murder, its causes and its con-
sequences. Appearing at a time when our own society is intensely concerned
with these same issues, the collection should be of great interest to both his-
torians and a general audience.

Belmont Village, Pa. 

CHARLES HARDY III

Baltimore: The Nineteenth Century Black Capital. By LEROY GRAHAM.
(Washington: University Press of America, 1982. 335p. Bibliography,
index. Cloth, $22.50; Paper, $12.25.)

Between the 1790s and the 1890s, Baltimore became identified increasingly
with Afro-American leadership and the crusade for racial justice in the United
States. An extraordinary run of natives and newcomers sought to make their
city a fit place for black people to live in. They created institutions to serve the
needs of an expanding black population, developed and implemented strategies
to combat degradation and discrimination, reaffirmed the claims of blacks to a
legitimate place in the urban environment and the nation at large, and, in the
process, caused Baltimore to become virtually synonymous with the unceasing
struggle for black rights and better black-white relations. Indeed, Baltimore
emerged as "the nation's unofficial black capital."

Leroy Graham traces this history by means of a biographical focus on "four
remarkable men who devoted themselves to an unprecedented degree to make
Baltimore a just and livable city for blacks." Elisha Tyson (1749-1824) was a
Quaker abolitionist who used the wealth he had accumulated as a merchant and
miller to support all manner of civic causes, including Maryland's first
abolition society and the first substantial school building for blacks in the
United States. As the "presiding elder"—the most senior and respected patron
of blacks in the city—he opened the way for Afro-American successors. The
next several generations were dominated by William Watkins (c. 1800-1858),
whose eloquence and intellectual brilliance disabused whites of their notions of
black inferiority; George Alexander Hackett (1806-1870) who, in the ante-
bellum era, fought legislation aimed at enslaving or expelling free blacks, then
helped to raise troops for the Civil War, and afterwards strove to whittle down
segregation while carving out a larger role for blacks in the new political order;
finally Isaac Myers, religious and educational advocate of laborers, mechanics,
and small businessmen, whose death in 1891 concluded a century of "heroic leadership." These heroes benefitted from the backing of lesser figures like Daniel Coker and Frances Ellen Watkins, in addition to such luminaries as Bishop Daniel Payne and Frederick Douglass.

Through his life studies of "Baltimore's benevolent directorate," Mr. Graham shows aspects of consensus as well as points of individual difference. All agreed on the functional importance of literary societies and lyceums, churches, benevolent and improvement organizations, and black publications. Mr. Graham has mined the records of such institutions—especially newspapers—to unearth major bodies of evidence for his account. His research has also turned up documentation of internal disagreements over issues like colonization, abolition, and migration from the South after Reconstruction.

Another valuable contribution of this work is its emphasis on nineteenth-century linkages between the black capital and the national capital. Baltimorans and Washingtonians served on the boards of each others' schools. When the rector of Baltimore's St. James Episcopal Church died in 1878, Alexander Crummell, minister of St. Luke's in Washington, gave the eulogy stressing the long-standing interconnections between the two communities of black Episcopalians. William E. Matthews was a renowned preacher in both cities. Richard T. Greener, Frederick Douglass, and several others duplicated Matthews's move from Baltimore to Washington and thus underscored the propinquity of interurban black leadership.

On these matters Mr. Graham is impressively clear. Less satisfying is his indefiniteness with regard to geographical locations and explanatory statements. There are no maps, a regrettable omission in any urban history and particularly disappointing when one would like to know the spatial relationships between the Waverly Colored Public School, the Sharp Street Church, the Bethel Church, the Homestead area, and other pivotal elements of the community. Mr. Graham also tends to be tentative and repetitious. His analysis is weakened by far too many qualifying words and phrases. And no careful reader of Baltimore will ever forget that Richard Greener was the first black graduate of Harvard, a significant fact but not something that had to be mentioned in three separate contexts.

These flaws are not so serious, however, as to detract substantially from the book's overall contribution. Leroy Graham has enhanced our understanding of Baltimore's local history and added to the scholarly literature of race relations in nineteenth-century America.

University of Maryland

J. Kirkpatrick Flack


The books under review when read in tandem raise difficult questions about the writing of social history. Lives of Their Own is a socio-demographic study of blacks, Italians and Poles in Pittsburgh during the first six decades of this century. The authors focus on comparative migration, kinship, occupational, and residential patterns and stake a middle-ground between viewing these migrants to industrial Pittsburgh as either powerless victims or effective agents in their respective histories. Cultural traditions, personal choice and structural realities shape experience in their portrait.

Bodnar, Simon and Weber show through collected oral testimony and analyses of census returns, tax lists and various social surveys that blacks in Pittsburgh generally experienced the greatest difficulties in gaining access to industrial jobs, that they were unable to use kin networks to secure and maintain employment, and as a result were the most transient of the three ethnic groups and the least able to forge sustained communities and support organizations (the authors do draw important distinctions in the backgrounds, resources, goals, and fortunes of blacks who migrated before and after World War I). Italians, on the other hand, could and did take advantage of various occupational opportunities, relied heavily on family connection, and established distinct neighborhoods and associations. The Polish experience basically approximated the Italian with several exceptions; the authors argue that Poles arrived in Pittsburgh with the lowest expectations and tended to remain in steady but low-level positions and place the greatest value on the ownership of homes. Readers familiar with other recent community and ethnic studies will find few surprises in Lives of Their Own. A chapter on home ownership, which provides details on the securing of mortgages and a demographic and social analysis of ownership patterns, is an important and welcome addition to inquiry.

Lives of Their Own has shortcomings, however, many of which seem common to the genre. This is a book, for example, without politics (or political economy for that matter). Governmental and corporate decisions do not impinge on the lives of the working people studied, nor do they in turn have political interests or effect. For a city with a long history of labor strife, there is
surprisingly little said about trade unionism. We learn little in fact about the work, recreational lives, and personal perceptions and understandings of these hyphenated Americans. Oral testimony is employed throughout the book, but for corroborative purposes and not for elaboration or elucidation. The words of the interviewed in most instances merely serve to buttress the inferences drawn from the quantitative evidence that dominates the volume. By the end what we have of the lives of these people are their vital statistics.

The statistical analysis is also wanting. The authors provide tables of percentages and averages but, without corresponding measures of range and variance, many of their generalizations about group attitudes and behaviors that are based on the numbers remain speculative at best. Their failure to employ multivariate techniques now common to such studies and the absence of controlled analysis brings many of their arguments into question (for example, they compare occupational mobility patterns in various cities without controlling for occupational structure, and they generate averages of family labor force participation without controlling for fertility). Finally, the meaning of the generated numbers is not always as self-evident as the authors would have us believe. Poles may have occupied steady but dead-end jobs and favored home ownership to the greatest extent, but a variety of explanations are possible including their alleged conservative orientation.

Workers' World is another kind of social history. In the 1970s John Bodnar conducted interviews with veteran workers throughout the state of Pennsylvania aimed at reconstructing working-class experience in the state during the first four decades of the century. The recollections of thirty-two men and women, mostly first- and second-generation immigrants, appear in the volume. The tales they tell are of extreme hardship, insecurity, personal sacrifice for family survival, political repression, and courage in building labor organizations. Their's is the type of extended and involved testimony sorely missing in Lives of Their Own, and the words reprinted in Workers' World challenge many of the assumptions and contentions of the latter book.

The words reveal, for instance, that working people struggled to buy and keep homes for a variety of reasons—to escape perpetual evictions, because of discrimination in rentals, for the income raised through the boarding of lodgers and domestic outwork—and no simple cultural argument holds. More important, the testimony compiled in Workers' World provides a less sanguine portrait of working-class life than appears in Lives of Their Own. The world here is a world of limitations, narrow horizons and constant crisis; forging a life of one's own was a decidedly difficult proposition.

As evocative and informative as Workers' World is, the recollections are not without their disappointments. The testimonies are more documentative than analytic. The interviewed provide their life histories, but there appears to have been little probing into their views and visions, conscious or otherwise. There
is little grist here for the ethnographer or student of ideology. This bears greatly on Bodnar's larger intentions in publishing this volume. Bodnar argues in this introduction and conclusion that the interviews render confirmation of the basic conservative, pragmatic and nonvisionary stance of American workers (or at least American immigrant workers in the first decades of this century, problematic distinctions he does not address). The very insecurity of their lives drove them to seek job security through union organization and protest—and nothing more and nothing less. Yet without a greater sense of the rituals and language of their overt and covert petitions for redress, we remain in the dark as to what actually informed and inspired their efforts. Without proper context, the nature of their accomplishments also remains unclear. The testimony gathered by Bodnar is not the kind that warrants the broad conclusions that he draws.

The two books then reveal the following about the writing of social history. It is not a question of whether history by the numbers is more or less revealing than history by the word. Statistical and literary evidence and argumentation are equally important and necessary; together representativeness and meaning can be established. But, as the works under review indicate, both kinds of efforts must be exhaustive, careful and ever probing.

University of Pennsylvania

WALTER LICHT


Nearly eighty years after the death of Matthew Stanley Quay, James Kehl has given us the first biography of this master political manipulator, boss of Pennsylvania’s Republican party for the last two decades of the nineteenth century and for part of that time one of the most influential of national politicians. This work, Kehl tells us, would have been impossible without the gift of Quay’s papers by his grandson, presented to the author with an invitation to “make of him devil, saint, or what you will.” A biographer could ask for no more.

Kehl’s account fleshes out the familiar story of Quay’s rise from minor local office to state boss, making corrections and changing shadings along the way
without changing its essential features. He acquits Quay (on the evidence, a fair judgment) of the charge of betraying his erstwhile patron, Governor Andrew Cartin, by switching support for the U.S. Senate nomination to Simon Cameron in 1866. He chronicles in detail Quay's rise as a Cameron lieutenant to leadership of the party. He explains how Quay's election as state treasurer in 1885, giving him access to state funds through the intermediary of friendly banks, solidified Quay's position as party boss and was the source of no small part of his personal wealth. He argues well for Quay's importance in the 1888 presidential campaign, and for his relative lack of influence with Republican presidents, despite contemporary impressions to the contrary.

Much the most interesting part of the book is the chapter entitled "The Unofficial Government, 1884-1895." Here Kehl details the intra-party intrigue and factional quarrels in Pennsylvania, and the challenges to Quay's control of the state party by leaders of machines in the state's two great cities, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. Kehl offers an interesting discussion of boss and "counter-boss" by way of demonstrating the limits of power of even such a powerful boss as Quay, and the need for compromise.

On the other hand, one is constrained to note that Kehl's work is narrow political biography. The focus is on Quay's political career to the near exclusion of all else. One learns of Quay's passion for fishing, and of his pleasure in reading Horace and Pliny in the original, but little else about Quay the man. Indeed but for a single reference to the presence of a wife at his deathbed (and the fact that there was a grandson to give the papers to Kehl) one would not know from these pages that Quay ever married. For long stretches the narrative marches from one convention and electoral campaign to another.

The book is also narrow, traditional political history. For all its focus on politics and elections there is disappointingly little real electoral analysis. As a case in point, Kehl makes much of Quay's plan to prevent Tammany frauds by compiling an accurate city directory to be used at the polling places. This project is credited with carrying New York State for Harrison. Yet the author offers no real analysis of returns in New York City in 1884 and 1888 to support this claim. Further, except for a one page digression on the ethnic composition of Pennsylvania, there is not so much as a nod in the direction of the new political history.

Kehl reports that in his brief career as a journalist Quay "took delight in slashing adjectives and superfluous words from his drafts." Would that his biographer had followed his example. Hardly a page is not marred by the overuse of modifiers: "forcefully reaffirmed," "forthrightly advocated," "extremely scrupulous," "infectious charisma," "Political" and "politically" appear so frequently as first to irk and finally to weary the reader. Within two
paragraphs (p. 19) we have "political credo," "political faith," "political future," and "political thread." On one page (p. 59) those modifiers pop up four times in one sentence, nine times on the page. And there are all sorts of verbal infelicities: a "most prominently overshadowed individual," "a keen eye. . . for scenting trends," a "rhetorical question [that] contained its own answer," a withdrawal to "regroup his thoughts."

At times the writing becomes simply fatuous. Thus when Quay writes personal letters to elected representatives he is using "a political technique . . . to solicit opinion and gain commitments"; "face-to-face contact" becomes a "technique" used "effectively" in "communicating with legislators. . . ." In writing of Quay's decision on how to divide among his followers a million dollar payment "for undefined services," Kehl assures us that "of course he recognized the wisdom of concealing such incidents from the public."

Most of us can slip into that sort of thing. I have always understood that that is why God made editors. Prof. Kehl was badly served by his, who must have taken more than usually long lunch hours.

Temple University  
HERBERT J. BASS


Originally published in 1953, this larger more readable edition has significant revisions by Arthur Schultz: the large "Addenda," "Errata," and the consequently expanded and revised index.

The book is divided into perhaps too many sections, and the user is cautioned to read the introductory material to avoid confusion. After prefaces to both editions and the table of contents is the informative essential, original introduction which describes the scope of the bibliography. Following an editorial note and key to abbreviations are the "Errata," which correct both "errors of fact and editor's oversights in the original." The large (4900-entry, 236-page) "Addenda" section is next: it contains material unknown at the time of the first
edition, or items from it upon which elaborations were deemed necessary: e.g., new printings, translations, library locations, rarities. These additions are numbered so as to mesh with those of the original bibliography, thereby facilitating comparison and alphabetization. After the "Addenda" is the reprinted original bibliography. Finally, there is the new index: "a register of principal subjects and topics, . . . authors, co-authors, compilers, editors and translators,. . . . local history geographically arranged by cities and states." It is here, after having read the introduction, that the researcher will begin his work—not in the original bibliography and "Addenda."

A second volume covering the period 1941-1980 is in preparation. These two volumes, together with D.H. Tolzmann's German Americana: a Bibliography (Metuchen, N.J.: 1975) will form a solid basis for beginning research in the field of German-American studies by drawing together small bibliographies. This reviewer hopes that supplements will be compiled as the years pass.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Glenys A. Waldman


Stanley Kutler's, The American Inquisition could easily have been the outstanding book on the political injustices of Cold War America. Kutler utilized the case study method to present eight cases where the rule of law was subverted because of the Cold War political prejudices of government bureaucrats, hostile journalists, and the most reactionary elements in our society. With the exception of the case of Ezra Pound, all of the studies detail the travails of individuals who were denied the minimal protections of the Bill of Rights. The studies range from the trials of Tokyo Rose through detailed examinations of the cases of Beatrice Braude, a blacklisted civil servant, Harry Bridges, Linus Pauling and Rockwell Kent, Owen Lattimore and the defense attorneys in the Smith Act trial of the leaders of the Communist party before Judge Harold Medina, and the case of John William Powell, an American journalist who remained in China until 1953.
What emerges from the book is a disgraceful history of the subversion of minimal constitutional guarantees by vindictive people in positions of power. Kutler also shows how government officials and persons in powerful places were able to distort justice to shield those possibly guilty of treason. Ezra Pound's case is a clear example of this phenomenon. Although Pound was never formally diagnosed as being insane, he was, with the aid of an important governmental official, given asylum in a mental institution without ever being brought to trial for his pro-fascist activity during World War II.

Through his extensive use of the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), Kutler collected heretofore unavailable information. This is important. But Kutler does not inform his readers of any difficulties encountered in securing this material. How much information, for example, did the government black out? What was not released for national security reasons? Did the author have to appeal to gain access to records? Certainly these issues are as germane to the author's purpose as are the actual case studies, for they are a barometer of the effectiveness of the rule of law.

Perhaps Kutler's heavy dependence on information gathered under FOIA was cause for several important omissions. We are told that in 1978 the United States Court of Claims dismissed Beatrice Braude's suit for damages based upon the government's concealment of the real reason for her dismissal—that she was considered a security risk. One of the two judges who voted to dismiss her case was Robert Kunzig, former Deputy Attorney General of Pennsylvania, architect of the notorious Pennsylvania Loyalty Act, counsel to HUAC and FBI informant. Yet this does not appear in the book. Another serious omission, and one that would have strengthened Kutler's notion that the rule of law "ultimately" defined the limits of Cold War repression was the case of Louis McCabe, Philadelphia trial lawyer and a member of the defense team in the Foley Square Smith Act trial. McCabe's situation appears as an aside in this chapter. If Kutler had searched further, he would have found that the Philadelphia Bar Association refused to disbar McCabe. The leadership of the Philadelphia Bar displayed a resistance to Cold War hysteria that must be acknowledged. Because of their commitment to due process, McCabe did not undergo the humiliation suffered by the other defense lawyers in this celebrated trial.

This is a book that should be read by anyone interested in Cold War injustice. However, this reader is not convinced that the rule of law alone will prevail over forces hostile to its existence.

Merion Station, Pa. FRED R. ZIMRING