some of the non-New York City churches in New York might disclose a considerable mixture of social-economic classes within these congregations. This also relates to an important conclusion of the book about which group took which side in the American Revolution. The New Jersey congregations undoubtedly included fewer Tories than did those in the City, but after all, the British had occupied New York City for over six years. I would suspect that many of the conservative Dutch Reformed in the Hudson Valley might have supported the Revolution.

Despite these criticisms I believe that Balmer has performed the exceptionally difficult task of producing a monograph that can be read with pleasure by the public, and with profit by the scholar. Read it and you will have better insight into the society that terrorized Ichabod Crane.

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Socialist Cities: Municipal Politics and the Grass Roots of American Socialism
By Richard W. Judd

RENEWED interest in community studies has sparked attempts to use local history to answer larger questions. This book illustrates that quest, as Richard Judd tries to explain the absence of a viable socialist movement in the United States by examining midwestern municipal politics. He describes and analyzes a handful of towns and cities where socialists experienced some success in the 1910s in order to pinpoint factors responsible for their more disappointing national record. This approach allows Professor Judd to provide specificity in time and place which general accounts of socialism usually neglect. In addition, he attempts to transcend the bipolar explanations of the failure of socialism in the United States found in most studies; either they focus on external causes such as national affluence or on internal causes such as sectarianism and schism. Professor Judd describes an interaction of both factors in explaining socialist setbacks in municipal politics.

He traces the roots of socialist municipal politics to the late nineteenth century and the activities of working men’s parties, the Knights of Labor and the Socialist Labor Party. In 1904 the Socialist Party of America endorsed candidates at the municipal level and tried to provide cohesiveness for scattered socialist efforts. Victories in Milwaukee, beginning with the election of Emil Seidel as mayor in 1910, became symbols of hope. However, Milwaukee proved to be an anomaly since socialists won most of their victories in the small towns and villages of the Midwest’s industrial belt.

Working-class votes provided the main support for the socialist municipal victories, and strikes often served as a prelude to these successes. Urban workers garnered benefits from socialist administrations that brought sanitary improvements to working-class districts, often raised wages and reduced hours for municipal workers, and supported strikers. Socialist officials had a more complex relationship with urban progressives who sought a “good business climate” and professionalism but resented the class politics of the socialists.

Locals formed the backbone of socialist party activity and provided the testing ground for its ideas and policies, and the staging ground for its press, parades and picnics. In Ohio, grass roots activity reached a peak as socialists achieved their most substantial victories in mayoral and council races. In 1911, and to a lesser extent in 1913, socialists translated labor support and socialist enthusiasm in combination with weakened, regular party machines into electoral victories. The 1911 victories in Lima and Lorain provide case studies of this process at work.

Once in office, however, the socialists faced many problems, particularly the conflict over

Once in office the Socialists faced many problems...

whether to fill appointive offices with expert, nonpartisan officials or socialists. This issue aggravated another conflict between those who sought to build class consciousness and those who focused on honest and economical government, and this dispute contributed to political defeats. In Dayton, the socialists faced other problems as a Citizens’ Campaign targeted the middle class in its successful drive to establish a commission government. The Cleveland party took a more radical path, but a combination of external repression and internal factionalism undermined its efforts.

Events in two Pennsylvania communities should be of particular interest to readers of Pittsburgh History. In November 1911, New Castle workers elected a socialist mayor and several councilmen in the aftermath of a tumultuous steel strike in 1909-1910. This 16 month conflict pitted workers, supported by both the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers and a corps of organizers from the Industrial Workers of the World, against the mill owners, supported by local merchants and elected officials. The failure of the strike cost the steel-workers their voice in the industry, and they turned to political action
contradictions of Rice's liberalism, as defined in the early 1900s, were apparent in the politics of the 1960s, where he opposed the Vietnam War and supported the civil rights movement. Despite these contradictions, Rice's career was marked by a commitment to the working class and to the ideals of socialism, as evidenced by his support for Eugene Debs in the 1900s, and his own role as a working-class reformer in the early 1900s.

McGeever's book, *Rev. Charles Owen Rice: Apostle of Contradiction*, provides a comprehensive look at Rice's life and legacy. It is a valuable addition to the literature on American socialism and provides a rich source of information about Rice's political career and his contributions to the labor movement. McGeever's work is a must-read for anyone interested in the history of American socialism and the role of free press in fostering social justice.