

who exhibited all the human weaknesses until he had to assume responsibility; then he acted in our common law tradition of the judicious and reasonable man.

Justices of the Supreme Court are said to have been appointed from time to time for political reasons. Now that Mr. King has completed biographical sketches of the only justices Illinois has produced, we may ask whether these books help explain Illinois' inability, as a strategically important state politically since 1860, to secure the appointment of more than two justices. In the case of Fuller and Davis, personal friendship with the President seems to have been more significant than the political obligations which the President owed them or the state. But if appointments to the Supreme Court are made for reasons other than personal friendship why hasn't Illinois received any of these appointments? If anything is discernible from the careers of Davis and Fuller and of their Illinois competitors for appointment, it would appear to be that only friendship is strong enough to overcome the position in which the Illinois style of political fighting leaves the prominent lawyer. At least in much of Illinois history since Lincoln, a prominent lawyer who participates in public affairs is never permitted by the press to reach the stature of "statesman." Mr. King quotes Lincoln as noting that the Illinois press seems to wage "unrelenting warfare on a *man* as well as on his ideas which happened to be opposed to that of the press" (*italics supplied*). Both Fuller and Davis saw themselves and other prominent lawyers pilloried by political tides and debates in the state; other prominent lawyers seem to have been unable to provide a public image sufficient to enable a President to appoint them, even when the President agreed with the ideas which caused the man to be pilloried.

Other explanations may be suggested by Mr. King's two books. Even Davis and Fuller made all too many recommendations to Presidents based upon the obligations of personal and political loyalty. Perhaps Presidents tend to think that all Illinois recommendations to Presidents for appointments to the Supreme Court are of this type.

In any event Mr. King, a distinguished Chicago lawyer, now has a firm position in that select few of distinguished legal historians. While it is unlikely that a legal biography of another Illinois justice will come his way, he will, it is hoped, find other appropriate biographical subjects in the field of law.

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Henry A. Wallace: Quixotic Crusade 1948. By KARL M. SCHMIDT. New York: Syracuse University Press, 1960. Pp. 362; Index. \$5.50.

Karl M. Schmidt, who tells us of his own early role in "Republican Students for Wallace," spins a remarkable account of the ill-fated Wallace crusade

of 1948. In so doing, he covers material of interest to lawyers, both from a legal and social point of view. The problem of getting on the ballot in the several states; the short and dismal history of the Progressive Party; press distortions and the "Communist" issue of the time; the frightening drift toward the dismal McCarthy period of stifling conformity; and finally the genuine and lasting contributions, as seen from a lapse of ten years, of the Wallace philosophy in both foreign and domestic policies, are all critically and competently examined and set forth.

Most remarkable and commendatory is the unique ability of this youthful writer to focus in accurate perspective the many factors which made up the Wallace campaign, and to give to each its own proper worth as part of the greater picture.

In this task, he covers the campaign from its beginnings in Wallace's Madison Square speech in 1946 and the formation of the Progressive Party. Schmidt shows the steady disintegration which set in, even before the 1948 election. The movement reached the end of the road with the withdrawal from the party of its titular leader upon the outbreak of the Korean conflict in 1950.

Schmidt outlines with precision the factors that combined even before the election to rob the Wallace campaign of practically all of its expected vitality. He recounts the ill-advised Wallace letter to Stalin, the public reply, the hardening actions by the Soviets regarding Czechoslovakia, the tightening of the Berlin area which resulted in the Berlin airlift, all as undercutting the Wallace proposals of conciliation at a time these proposals might have had meaning.

Nor to be forgotten was President Truman's wholesale adoption, during the heart of the campaign, of the major proposals of the third party candidate.

Nor is the communist issue neglected; here Schmidt accurately evaluates the extreme left wing and its disproportionate voice in the fortunes of the Wallace movement. The author declares rightly that the extreme left did have a disproportionately powerful voice, not because of any special ability on its own part, but rather by the simple default of all other persons upon whom a broad basis of party unity might have been built.

Most remarkable was the ability of the party to get on the ballot in forty-five states; this contrasted by the disgracefully poor showing in the number of votes the party drew. Schmidt calculated the cost of each vote at about three dollars, which led one experienced politician to snort, "We could buy them much cheaper than that."

Altogether, here is a sharp account of a short decisive experience in American political life. The writing is excellent; its grasp of the subject, the period in question, and the long range heritage left by Henry Wallace to the American political picture, accurate and hard hitting.

Little consolation remains for those who might dream of another maverick political bid. The Progressive Party started high in the winter of 1947 and after

a short springtime success moved steadily downhill, despite its unique fund raising abilities and fantastic success in achieving the ballot in so many states.

Karl Schmidt deserves credit for having retold the story of a neglected period in American political life. Despite the dismal experience of the party, the long range views of its spokesman emerge through the failure as a rock-ribbed contribution to American political life. The ultimate adoption by both Democratic and Republican administrations of much of the Wallace political creed have, from the vantage point of succeeding years of political experience, given stature even in defeat to a dedicated American.

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