

This synopsis by no means does justice to the profundity of Hurst's ideas, and their nuances. *The Legitimacy of the Business Corporation in American Law* is a brilliant little work. The book must be read with the closest attention, for the argument is so tightly reasoned that to miss a sentence is to miss something important. The bibliography, alas, is unannotated; the index is adequate; the format is pleasing, if unexceptional.

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*Launching Social Security: A Capture-and-Record Account, 1935-1937.* By Charles McKinley and Robert W. Frase. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1970. Pp. xxiv, 519. Notes, tables, chart, index. \$12.95.)

This two man odyssey into bureaucracy is an involved analysis of the Social Security administration during its first seventeen months. McKinley, a political scientist, and Frase, an original member of the Social Security staff, attended administrative meetings, reviewed notes and memoranda, and interviewed early participants in the new agency. The results of their work are generally rewarding but not intended for the uninitiated reader.

The complexity of Social Security forced the authors to cover much ground lightly, and the book's organization reflects the hopelessness of capturing, let alone recording, all of it. Major emphasis goes to budget and staff framework; grants for the aged, dependent children, and blind; unemployment compensation, and general management. Almost indispensable for distinguishing the personnel is the appended list of names, without which even New Deal aficionados would get lost in the charts and corridors.

McKinley and Frase offer no surprises and usually concur with the account given by Arthur Altmeyer in his *Formative Years of Social Security* (Madison, Wis., 1966). They offer greater detail and objectivity, however, than the former chairman of the Social Security Board. There is much here to please friends of Social Security despite the scarcity of heroes and idealism. These administrators were not Rexford Tugwells rolling up their sleeves to remake society; they were, in large part, anonymous bureaucrats who haggled over semantics, fought with congressmen and the Civil Service Commission for field offices and personnel, manipulated state legislatures into conforming with federal standards, campaigned against Alf Landon in the 1936 election, and succeeded in establishing a network of unprecedented services.

Opponents of the welfare state will likewise find failures described in ample detail. The Social Security Board merits criticism for its inadequate leadership, and the authors reveal much incompetency and "guerrilla warfare among certain of the top staff" (p. 476). Jealous politicians also drained effectiveness from the program as they competed for new monies and patronage that were as much an "aid to the elected" as to the intended recipients (p. 165). Many of these revelations are predictable, but the authors put new shadings on old portraits, such as the unflattering portrayals of Senator Carter Glass and Social Security Coordinator Henry Seidemann.

Its valuable observations accepted, an unevenness in premise and style weakens the book, particularly its disquieting chronological inconsistency. McKinley and Frase completed their research in 1937, wrote the manuscript in 1941, and gave very tentative conclusions at that date because "only the future would tell" whether the Social Security experiment would succeed (p. 492). Apparently they did not update these outdated conclusions before publication in 1970; yet they did revise the introductory and less important sections of the book with material published as late as 1963. Equally disquieting are excessively long quotations from administrative documents and lengthy expository footnotes which frequently contain richer information than the text. Taken as a whole, however, the authors have captured and recorded a portion of the New Deal worth preserving.

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*Frontier Governor: Samuel J. Crawford of Kansas.* By Mark A. Plummer. (Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 1971. Pp. xiii, 210. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$7.75.)

This is a political biography of Samuel J. Crawford, a native of Indiana, who migrated to Kansas in 1859 where he was elected to the state legislature in the same year. When the Civil War erupted, he resigned this position to command a black regiment in the Union Army. After the war he served two terms (1864-1871) as governor of Kansas, encouraging immigration and reflecting public opinion by supporting radical reconstruction. While advocating white control of Indian lands, Crawford defended the interests of settlers and opposed the efforts of speculators to monopolize the land for railroad construction. Nevertheless, he apparently received a section of land from the Union Pacific Railroad, ostensibly for his aid in securing government approval of this railroad's track in Kansas. During his