

ing to realign Wisconsin politics along progressive lines, moved toward the creation of a new party owing to the extreme conservatism of the Democratic party in the state, relations with the president and the New Deal became strained. The election of Julius Heil in 1938 meant the end of the La Follettes' Progressive party and the ultimate migration of younger leaders into the Democratic party and the return of a more traditional party system in the postwar years.

In this probing and all but comprehensive volume, Paul Glad has presented a significant contribution to the history of Wisconsin. But he has done more than that. Because of his skillful and sensitive insights into the reciprocal relationships between the universal (national) and the particular (state), his volume is a substantial addition to an understanding of American history from the New Freedom through the New Deal. Of the states in the Midwest only Missouri, to the best of my knowledge, like Wisconsin, is sponsoring a new multivolume history. Iowa, with a distinguished and important history of its own, is eminently worthy of an up-to-date multivolume history. Competent historians in the state continuously examine Iowa's past. Perhaps now is the time for the State Historical Society of Iowa to sponsor a similar project.

For God and Country: The American Legion, 1919-1941, by William Pencak. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989. xviii, 411 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$40.00 cloth.

REVIEWED BY PAUL L. MURPHY AND PATRICK M GARRY, MINNEAPOLIS

One of the major tasks of the U.S. Supreme Court in the twentieth century has been to define the boundaries of speech protected by the First Amendment. Beginning with the *Schenck* and *Abrams* decisions following World War I, and continuing to the present with the controversies over flag burning and the National Endowment for the Arts, the issue of free speech in America has been hotly debated. America's struggle with the limits of free speech, however, is not accurately reflected in the judicial pronouncements on the issue. Instead, the fight over free speech has more fundamentally involved America's effort to define itself as a nation and society. Periods of social change and instability, during which Americans have wrestled with their social identity, have characteristically witnessed the escalation of free speech tensions in the national consciousness.

Debate on free speech rose to significant public proportions during the surge of nationalism following America's entry into World War I. America had become a powerful nation in the international

arena. The nagging question to American society, however, was the identity of that American nation. In a country of immigrants and labor strife, and with a national history of only a century and a half, Americans in the 1920s inherited few answers to that question.

William Pencak's history of the American Legion in *For God and Country: The American Legion, 1919-1941* provides an insightful look into the cultural setting of America's free speech struggle. Pencak analyzes thoroughly the birth and development of the Legion and its crusade against radicalism, "unAmericanism," and the foreign influences of immigrants. This crusade involved a forceful attack on the speech rights of political dissidents such as socialists, communists, and pacifists. In becoming America's leading antiradical organization, the Legion pioneered the first popular national campaign to restrict free speech.

Like many large membership organizations in America, the Legion received strength to carry on its ideological campaign against unAmericanism from its success in delivering on the more pragmatic constituent-related issues such as veteran's bonuses. Pencak demonstrates that although the Legion was somewhat populist in its economic program to obtain government benefits for veterans, it was rigidly conservative in its social and cultural stance. This tempered the Legion's economic populism and may have prevented it from becoming a more activist veteran's organization combating the newly emerged corporate elite which had previously opposed the veteran's benefits sought by the Legion after World War I. Instead, seeking to protect the traditional America for which they had fought during the war, the Legion veterans turned against political dissidents, now perceived as the danger to the Legion's vision of America. This cultural conservatism and antagonism toward free speech may have distracted the Legion from a more basic threat to America's traditional communities—the dislocating impact of industrial factory life upon communities and families.

Pencak's thorough study of the Legion nonetheless avoids a direct plunge into the causes and purposes of the Legion's crusade against unAmericanism. Notwithstanding the absence of such an analysis, however, the history of the Legion reveals important cultural forces behind America's free speech conflicts.

At the root of the Legion's crusade lay the desire to protect and sustain all that was "American." As Pencak concludes, the Legion was remarkably successful in pursuing its goals for "one hundred percent Americanism." Thus, the Legion's antiradical crusade may have been more a crusade to define Americanism than the manifestation of hostility toward freedom. Dissident speech may have been attacked in

part because it was seen as being used to change America. Yet while the Legion's definition of unAmerican values and influences was quite broad, Pencak reveals that the Legion was never able to arrive at a consensus view of the term "Americanism."

Pencak also demonstrates how the Legion's view of freedom and community affected its views on free speech. Whereas libertarians conceived of freedom in terms of individual rights against the community, the Legion's view of freedom rested in responsibility and service to a community defined morally and historically. Freedom required allegiance to communal norms and social order; and speech that threatened the community did not deserve protection.

The fundamental problem, however, was that the Legion had no specific definition of American community or values. Consequently, American community tended to become identified with the status quo. Yet the underlying uncertainty about America's identity also seemed to produce insecurity about the strength and viability of American society. Therefore, dissident speech symbolized to the Legion a flaw in the American character that had to be corrected. Moreover, perhaps the crusade against unAmericanism itself came to form the Legion's sense of American community: to be a good American was to keep a vigilant guard against unAmerican forces, especially forces of change and reform.

Although the Legion's impact on American life and the repression of radicalism is, as Pencak argues, difficult to assess accurately, the Legion was a powerful participant in the debate over American identity. The question was whether America was a nation of stability or change, and whether American society would be homogeneous or pluralist. To the Legion, foreign radicalism menaced social stability. While America was a nation of individual freedom, it was also a nation of tightly bound communities and loyal citizens that the Legion assigned itself to protect.

America's Historic Landscapes: Community Power and the Preservation of Four National Historic Sites, by Ary J. Lamme III. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989. xiv, 213 pp. Illustrations, maps, appendix, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth.

REVIEWED BY JOHN S. PATTERSON, PENN STATE HARRISBURG

In recent years, as preservationists, historians, and geographers have widened the range of their activities, scholars have devoted increasing attention not only to architecturally significant buildings but also to entire landscapes. In *America's Historic Landscapes*, Ary J. Lamme, a

Copyright of Annals of Iowa is the property of State of Iowa, by & through the State Historical Society of Iowa and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.