

est in the issues. They also confused and confounded, making choices difficult and legislative outcomes uncertain, even on the eve of the big battle in 1906.

Young has no illusions about the rationality of the process, admitting that had not "fate intervened," "death by inaction" would have been the result. However, by framing the regulation problem in the way that he has, and by focusing on the legislative process, he overlooks the role that culture plays in shaping our perceptions of risk and even our determination to act. After all, as Young and others have pointed out, not until Upton Sinclair published *The Jungle* in 1906 did broad-based legislation succeed. Sinclair accomplished what no chemist, doctor, legislator, lawyer, businessman, or reformer had managed: he reduced the complex problems of regulating the quality of the food and drug and meat supply to a few big bad packers in cahoots with a handful of corrupt inspectors. Sinclair spoke from outside the legislative halls, using the language and symbols embedded in the culture of American society. Those were the words and symbols that all Americans had come to recognize as appropriate and legitimate expressions of their concerns about hazards in the food supply. If the legislative process refracted that culture, it also saddled Americans with laws so general and vague as to make enforcement endlessly problematic.

Young may have set out to explain the long and tortuous legislative process behind the Federal Food and Drug Law, but he has ended by unwittingly indicting the political process itself. American law-making, for all its openness and responsiveness, may be hazardous to the public's health.

The History of Wisconsin, volume 5, War, A New Era, and Depression, 1914-1940, by Paul W. Glad. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1990. xv, 642 pp. Maps, illustrations, appendixes, essay on sources, index. \$35.00 cloth.

REVIEWED BY RICHARD LOWITT, UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

The years from the onset of the First World War to the beginning of the Second were filled with ethnic and religious tensions as well as innovative changes in technology and science that accelerated the forces of modernization throughout the upper Midwest and perhaps most dramatically in Wisconsin. Paul Glad, in this exceptionally well-written and carefully researched volume, examines the interrelationship of state and national developments, engages in comparative analysis, and uses a plethora of demographic data that correlates to a

wide selection of variables, all of which are felicitously discussed without overwhelming the reader in a morass of details. In sum, Glad examines developments in Wisconsin as the state emerged from partial to complete integration within the national economy and social culture. At the same time, he makes abundantly clear the fact that the modernization of Wisconsin has not meant its homogenization. Local and regional differences still abound throughout the state.

Wisconsin in 1914 was considered one of the most progressive states in the Union. Its senior senator, Robert M. La Follette, championed the progressive cause in the nation's capital. Both the state and the senator were sorely tried by the tensions—ethnic and economic—that surfaced with the advent of war in Europe. La Follette was concerned about the enhanced role of big business, and Wisconsin citizens, showing sympathy for friends and relatives in their native lands, soon became involved in conflicts that reflected ethnic, religious, and regional (rural versus urban) differences on a more intense level than hitherto prevailed.

While these tensions abated following the war, they were replaced in the 1920s with more economic and social concerns emanating from enhanced technology that led to momentous changes in both urban and rural regions. New cultural conflicts also emerged, thanks to prohibition, immigration restriction, and improved communication and transportation facilities, among others. In all, the changes in Wisconsin during the New Era were not markedly different from those occurring in neighboring states, including Iowa. In both the war years and the 1920s, Wisconsin was largely reflecting and participating in developments affecting change and tradition that confronted the American people. It was following more than it was innovating. During the depression decade this theme would change, and Wisconsin would reassert itself as one of the most progressive states in the union.

In 1930 Philip La Follette was elected governor of Wisconsin. Defeated in 1932, he was returned for two successive terms in the following elections. In 1934 his brother was reelected for a second term as a United States senator. Together, with a revitalized progressive movement, they forged a remarkable response to the challenge of economic depression in the 1930s. Wisconsin under their leadership led the way in seeking to meliorate the impact of massive unemployment, business failure, and farm crisis. Wisconsin citizens were among the chief architects of the Social Security System established in 1935. Accomplishments in Wisconsin in several instances served as a guide for New Deal programs. Relations between Roosevelt and the La Follettes were at the outset most cordial. But as the brothers, seek-

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

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