The land is not just a backdrop to their experience, but becomes a part of them. Ethelyn Whalin Crawford said of herself "what I am . . . came out of this country" (Jones-Eddy, 213). Stewart rarely wrote a letter that did not include descriptions of the landscape or weather, sometimes going into great detail so that her correspondents could "see" western Wyoming as she did.

The facts of these women's lives were ordinary. They tended barn, field, and household chores, bore and raised children, and organized social and community events. Beyond these daily activities, however, Stewart and the Colorado women exhibit an extraordinary spirit that defied the hardness of the land and their material poverty. The editors allow "facts" to dominate the books, but a close reading reveals that events serve as only a backdrop for more revealing truths about their lives and their perceptions of their world. This distinction is apparent in Stewart's statement about a daily task. "My garden has always been a thing of . . . deepest enjoyment, . . . quiet time to mentally digest bits I had read, knowing all the while that the generous earth would supply in plenty my own table and have some left . . . for those less fortunate" (189). Facts should never be mistaken for truth.

The German-American Radical Press: The Shaping of a Left Political Culture, 1850–1940, edited by Elliott Shore, Ken Fones-Wolf, and James P. Danky. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992. viii, 247 pp. Notes, tables, bibliography, index. $36.95 cloth.

REVIEWED BY JAMES M. BERGQUIST, VILLANOVA UNIVERSITY

For most of the nineteenth century, German-Americans were the largest non–English-speaking immigrant group in the United States. Their size allowed for great internal diversity, whether of religion, class, occupation, or ideology. Within the "German-American community" lay many subcommunities. The large number of Germans also encouraged a prolific newspaper press, as diversified as the population it served, and frequently aimed at specific interests and cultures within these myriad subcommunities. One of the most dynamic elements within the German press was its radical journalism, which arose particularly among the refugees of the revolutions of 1848, and developed to its strongest in the labor-oriented radical newspapers at the turn of the century.

The German-American Radical Press presents a potpourri of essays relating to that journalistic tradition. About half of the papers were originally presented at a conference on the German-

American press sponsored by the Max Kade Institute at the University of Wisconsin in 1987. The editors eschew any attempt to provide a comprehensive study of German-American radical journalism (although such a study is needed). Their stated purpose is more modest: to "offer some thematic essays which provide a broad-based view of the complexity and richness of this press" (2). They also acknowledge that the great variety of papers and journalists bearing the label "radical" cannot be fully represented in this volume. Included are biographical sketches of particular editors as well as studies and analyses of papers in specific cities such as Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York.

The volume offers the reader glimpses of various events, often exciting and interesting, within the world of German-American radical journalism; but too often these events seem unrelated to one another, and the vision of a coherent continuing tradition of radical journalism that the editors seek to evoke seldom emerges. Two articles do afford some broader overall view of the development of Chicago's radical journalism. John Jentz discusses how the generation of 1848 entered the field of German-language journalism and asserted its influence on political affairs, but by 1870 yielded the leadership of radicalism to a newer generation more closely tied to the German-American labor organizations. The subsequent rise and decline of the Chicago foreign-language socialist and anarchist press from 1872 to 1900 is studied in a well-researched essay by Bruce C. Nelson. He estimates the peak circulation of these papers at more than fifty-nine thousand subscribers in 1896. In another essay, Steven Rowan relates the brief journalistic career of the 1848 revolutionary Franz Schmidt, who edited the St. Louis freethinking paper *Freie Blätter* from 1851 until shortly before his death in 1853. The story mostly illustrates the fluid and ill-defined nature of his radical ideology, as well as his propensity for squabbling with all other elements of the unusually factious German community in St. Louis.

These articles and others in the collection demonstrate more than anything else the fragmented and transitory nature of much of the radical press. Some provide insights into the origin of this radical tradition in America, as transferred from Germany by the refugees of 1848 and later in the last quarter of the century by expatriate German socialist labor journalists. However, as Moses Rischin remarks in a perceptive commentary, we are left with no clear understanding of what happened in the long run to this tradition. The authors see themselves as reviving a memory of something unfairly forgotten, yet that in itself seems evidence that the German

radical tradition left little permanent mark on American culture in general, on the American labor movement, or on later manifestations of radicalism in the United States.

Partisans and Progressives: Private Interest and Public Policy in Illinois, 1870–1922, by Thomas R. Pegram. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992. xiv, 297 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. $42.50 cloth.

REVIEWED BY JOHN DAVID BUENKER, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-PARKSIDE

Partisans and Progressives should be read and pondered by every serious student of twentieth-century American political history and by every citizen who has ever wondered why "the modern American polity inhibits thoroughgoing solutions to the problems of an advanced industrial society and fails to provide equal access to power and preferment" (xi–xii). On one level, it is simply the best study to date of the origins, nature, development, failure, decline, and legacy of Progressive Era reform in a single midwestern state. On another, it is an important landmark in the evolution of the "new policy history," a cogent case study of "the formation of public power in the Progressive Era and its influence on modern American politics and governance" (ix). On either level, *Partisans and Progressives* is a rare blending of careful scholarship and unconventional wisdom.

In brief, Thomas R. Pegram examines the question of how a state that produced such renowned progressive thinkers and activists as Raymond Robins, Ernst Freund, Charles Merriam, Jane Addams, John Dewey, Graham Taylor, Clarence Darrow, and John Peter Altgeld—people passionately devoted to the supremacy of "the public interest"—could end by engendering "partisan reform" and "marketplace pluralism." His answer is at once sophisticated and persuasive, and is equal to the complexity and subtlety of the subject matter.

For one thing, this coalition of intellectuals, professionals, settlement house workers, and civic organizers grossly undervalued the tenacious hold that ethnic, racial, religious, class, and geographical loyalties had on the state's fragmented, contentious, and discontented masses. Appeals to the public interest had little impact on those who experienced life daily as a ferocious struggle among disadvantaged groups competing for scarce resources. For another, Pegram's reformers seriously underestimated the pervasive power