

who uses a wheelchair, serve her jail sentence for civil disobedience in opposing the U.S. attack on Iraq? (She can.) Readers should bookmark appendix 2, the glossary of acronyms, for Barnes abets the tendency of American pacifists to create organizations at every opportunity. This was magnified by MNS, which finally seems to have imploded from its own incessant self-analysis. But some MNS figures preceded and transcended this cul-de-sac, including the Willoughbys, whose activism—conscientious objection in World War II; American Friends Service Committee work in Des Moines; support for conscientious objectors in Philadelphia; links with pacifist movements in India, Sri Lanka, and Southeast Asia; and constant attention to what Quakers call the workings of the Spirit—resulted in a remarkable pair of lives, though not without tensions.

Barnes makes a few mistakes: Norman Thomas was not, by 1944, a pacifist; Pittsburg, Kansas, does not have an “h.” A perceptive foreword by Emma Jones Lapansky-Werner helps put the Willoughbys in the larger context of Quaker practice. A well-done index serves Iowa researchers well—Lillian was born and raised a Quaker in West Branch, and George was adopted in his teens by a teacher in Des Moines and went to the University of Iowa, where he met Lillian, who was working in the library. Barnes comments on the parallels between Lyle Tatum’s pacifist career and George Willoughby’s; the parallels could be expanded to include American Friends Service Committee staffer Wilmer Tjossem, Quaker lobbyist E. Raymond Wilson, direct action leader Marj Swann, and nonviolent yacht captain Earle Reynolds, who all hailed from Iowa.

Feingold: A New Democratic Party, by Sanford D. Horwitt. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007. 287 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$26.00 cloth.

Reviewers Glen Jeansonne and David Lührssen are colleagues in Milwaukee. Jeansonne, professor of American history at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, is writing a study of the presidency of Herbert Hoover. Lührssen, author of numerous articles and essays, has lectured at Marquette University and Beloit College.

Russ Feingold, after serving in the Wisconsin state senate, slipped into a U.S. Senate seat in 1992 when two better-known candidates, Congressman Jim Moody and wealthy businessman Joe Checota, attacked each other viciously, ignoring Feingold as inconsequential. The mean-spirited tone of Feingold’s opponents turned Wisconsin voters in his direction. Feingold started an early, door-to-door campaign as a gritty underdog, husbanding his limited campaign pot for last-minute, self-

deprecating television advertisements. In contrast to his arrogant opponents, he appeared unassuming, transparently honest, open, and wedded to a work ethic.

Now in his third term, Feingold is a quintessential midwestern political maverick. A social liberal, he is a fiscal conservative as well as an iconoclastic moralizer respected for his integrity and independence. Feingold dismayed lobbyists of all persuasions by working with Senator John McCain on campaign finance reform. He voted against the motion to dismiss impeachment proceedings against Bill Clinton, angering fellow Democrats, and against the Patriot Act. Although his almost reckless independence has limited his fund-raising capability within his own party, Feingold has defeated better-funded Republican opponents.

Sanford D. Horwitt's biography of Feingold is effusive, with barely a critical word for his protagonist. Drawing information from interviews with Feingold, his siblings, and political backers, as well as from public statements by the senator in the U.S. Senate and to the media, Horwitt, a Democratic speechwriter and essayist for the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Chicago Tribune*, portrays Feingold's ascent to prominence from obscurity as a Horatio Alger story. From high school onward Feingold has been an ambitious workaholic. Yet his single-minded commitment to his career drove two marriages to divorce, an aspect of Feingold's life that Horwitt glosses over. Although he devotes entire chapters to Feingold's relationship with his parents and siblings, he gives only one paragraph to his first wife and his children. The Feingold that emerges is unidimensional, and the praise resembles a campaign biography.

Horwitt doubts that in the present climate, a twice-divorced Jewish politician from a medium-sized state can become president. Moreover, the reverse side of his uninhibited independence is that Feingold is not considered a team player but a man with his own agenda. The Democratic Party establishment is likely to curb any ambitions he has beyond the Senate. Still, the Senate has provided a forum for speaking out against the war in Iraq and the Bush administration's civil liberties record.

Feingold's political career in Wisconsin seems secure, and he is likely to remain a spokesman for a faction of his party. His able constituent service, economical campaigns, and reputation for incorruptibility enhance his stature. Feingold is influential in the Midwest and attracts national media. As a spokesman for midwestern left-of-center followers, he will influence Democratic politics even if he is unlikely to rise beyond the Senate.