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ber had participated in the Gold Rush, which explains why they were prominent in New Mexico mining.

Other enterprises described by Miller, in which veterans of the California Column played significant roles after the Civil War, are stockraising, farming, commerce, and politics. A bonus is her digest of military operations against hostile Indians that involved both California and New Mexico Volunteers until the war's end. Her concluding chapter on frontier society neatly weaves the lives of the "California Boys" into the New Mexican social fabric.

Miller reveals that rather than dominating the communities where they settled, they blended easily with the predominant Hispanic culture and quietly built Anglo institutions such as public schools and Protestant churches. Only a few short-lived mining camps were controlled by the veterans. Few of the men achieved fame beyond their chosen homeland, though Albert J. Fountain and Thomas V. Kearn are well known in the Southwest.

The book is attractively printed and illustrated. The University Press of New Mexico published it for the State Historical Society, and it does credit to both. A minor flaw is its inadequate index. The entries include mostly personal names and there is no analysis or identification of even the major *persona*. I predict, nevertheless, that this will become the standard source for authoritative information about a very important segment of New Mexican society in the era of Reconstruction.

NORTHERN ARIZONA UNIVERSITY

ANDREW WALLACE

Governor Philip F. La Follette, the Wisconsin Progressives, and the New Deal, by John E. Miller. Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1982. pp. 229. Appendix, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$21.00 cloth.

John E. Miller's *Governor Philip F. La Follette, the Wisconsin Progressives, and the New Deal* addresses two topics in American history: first, the complex interaction between the New Deal programs passed in Washington, D.C. and the state governments that often administered those programs in forty-eight different political environments, and second, the fortunes and misfortunes of the La Follette clan in Wisconsin.

Many authors have followed the lead of James T. Patterson's *The New Deal and the States* and examined the fate of various New Deal programs when they intersected with the politics of a particular state. Miller's analysis of Wisconsin is especially interesting because of the

unusual political alignment in the state. Franklin Roosevelt, Harold Ickes, James Farley, and the other political operatives of the national Democratic party faced the odd and politically delicate situation in Wisconsin of a three-party state in which the state Democratic organization was decidedly less sympathetic to the New Deal than the Progressive party that the La Follettes dominated. The Democratic landslide of 1932 had prevented Phil La Follette from succeeding himself as governor and, therefore, limited the effect of the New Deal in the state. La Follette re-won the governor's chair in the 1934 election; Miller describes the improved relations between Madison and Washington that followed, but a Democrat-Republican coalition in the state legislature still thwarted New Deal programs, particularly a unique works program that La Follette championed. Only after the 1936 elections and Progressive victory could La Follette ramrod Wisconsin's "little New Deal" through the legislature. I have only praise for Miller's account of this interaction between national political programs and the political environment of Wisconsin.

I am less pleased with—though more interested in—Miller's analysis of Phil La Follette as a political figure and a person. Phil La Follette, though a distinctive political figure in his own right, was the least distinguished member of the political triumvirate of the La Follette family. Miller chooses to minimize the forces that might drive a person struggling for an identity in such a situation, particularly one whose mother, as Miller relates, initially refused to consider him gubernatorial material. Miller fails to explain satisfactorily La Follette's sudden decision to establish the Progressive party as a third national party in 1938. Throughout the 1930s La Follette and other liberals had debated whether a third party would help or hinder liberal causes. La Follette perennially took part in those discussions and advised restraint, Miller notes. Then with almost no consultation with like-minded politicians, La Follette launched his national third party. Miller dismisses charges that the new party had a fascist tinge or that La Follette was even remotely an incipient American Fuehrer, largely on the basis that La Follette was a nice guy. A seemingly pseudo-swastika banner, rallies, and a rabble-rousing rhetorical style were all show, Miller believes, an attempt to adapt superficial European political forms onto a solid American democratic movement. Perhaps. But Miller's account of La Follette's ruthless use of political power while enacting the "little New Deal" in Madison at least gives one pause.

After defeat in the race for the governorship in 1938 and the fizzling of the national Progressive party, La Follette's political career soured by the standards of his liberal allies of the 1930s. With war he

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enlisted in the army, served as press officer for Douglas MacArthur, and acted unofficially as MacArthur's organizer for a possible political campaign after the war. La Follette even cozied up to an old arch-rival, the *Chicago Tribune*. Miller sees nothing odd in a hero of the liberal Left of the 1930s throwing in with the American Right.

We are in Miller's debt for what he tells us of Wisconsin, La Follette, and the New Deal. But Miller has done less well—perhaps because the explanation is too deep within the subject—in explaining Phil La Follette, a person.

IDAHO STATE UNIVERSITY

MERWIN SWANSON

The Structuring of a State: The History of Illinois, 1899 to 1928, by Donald F. Tingley. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980. pp. vii, 431. Photographs. \$20.00 cloth.

In this second volume of the Sesquicentennial History of Illinois Series, Donald Tingley places Illinois economic and political history in perspective by detailing the growth of social and cultural institutions in the early 1900s. He describes the institutions (industrial, social, and political) of the era and the philosophies, ideas, and biases of those who tended to govern them. Thus, Tingley covers a great deal of ground, presenting an excellent detailed overview of early twentieth-century Illinois.

The Structuring of a State can be divided into three main parts: The first deals with the economic aspects of Illinois history detailing everything from the average price of land per acre to the dollar output of different major industries. Tingley recounts the growth and consolidation of Illinois industries, delving into the lives of rich industrialists of that era and showing how a small number of them (through consolidation) controlled enormous assets. The history of Illinois agriculture, mining, and oil are thoroughly reviewed. The author details the plight of Illinois workers and the growth of cultural institutions in the state—both brought about, paradoxically, by the actions of rich industrialists. While downstate Illinois is not neglected, perhaps a chapter contrasting the development of small towns to Chicago's growth would add an extra dimension of understanding.

The second part of Tingley's book deals with Illinois politics. Outlining the factions supporting different candidates, listing campaigns and conventions, and chronicling state and national elections becomes somewhat difficult to follow. "World War I and the Red Scare," however, superbly narrates America's entry into the war, the flood of propaganda, and the activities of the pacifists, Socialists, and

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