

of a political party and clearly reveals the strong economic base in late nineteenth-century Republicanism. If little allowance is made for the humanism of leaders deeply interested in Negro rights, an explanation may be found in the author's candid admission that "both the bloody shirt and pro-business groups defy analysis" (p. 222).

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The Agrarian Movement in Illinois, 1880-1896. By Roy V. Scott. *Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, Volume 52. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962. Pp. vii, 153. Maps, notes, bibliography, index. Clothbound, \$4.00; paperbound, \$3.00.)

The publication of this excellent monograph in the *Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences* adds another distinguished title to a distinguished series. In its original form this was a doctoral dissertation prepared by Scott under the direction of the late Fred A. Shannon. Scott does honor to his celebrated mentor, for his work is a triumph of the meticulous scholarship, the rigorous documentation, the tightly organized narrative, the penetrating analysis, and the smooth, lucid, unpretentious writing that marked Shannon's own style and which he demanded of his apprentices.

The book has a wider relevance than its title implies, for it offers a case study—the Illinois phase—of a larger movement that embraced the whole American rural community in an era of painful and bewildering transition. The transformation of agriculture by technological revolution, the momentous changes in agriculture's relationships and position in the national economy, and the fateful transmutation that divided the older rural America from the newer urban-industrial America had, of course, a shattering impact upon old familiar ways.

The farmer fought back but was forced in time to come to terms with the twentieth century. That his program was an improvised, pluralistic, and sometimes internally inconsistent one and that disagreements over immediate (and even long-term) goals and tactics handicapped the crusade is hardly surprising. We have now had an additional three-quarters of a century to find solutions to problems that bedeviled the farmer of 1890, and we are not yet conspicuously successful.

Scott begins his account with a careful chapter on "The Nature of Discontent in Illinois," followed by chapters on "Milton George and the National Farmers' Alliance" and "The Agrarian Base of the Illinois Alliance Movement." An inquiry into the "Objectives and Methods of the Alliance Movement" is succeeded by an account of the agonizing over "The Question of Independent Political Action." The next section of the study describes the "Farmers in the State Legislature and the Disaster of 1890."

The "disaster" was the stubborn effort of the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association to bypass the caucus choices of both major parties for the United States senatorship and to persuade one or the other of the parties to nominate the FMBA's choice, Alton J. Streeter. The

Democrats, however, were firmly committed to the nomination of John A. Palmer. The Republicans, willing to protect their own prospects and to use the farmers for their own ends, swallowed their pride and swung their support to Streeter. But the maneuver failed to put him in the Senate: divisions within the farmers' groups sluiced off some of the farm support to Palmer; divisions in the Republicans' own ranks prevented them from throwing their full weight to Streeter. This resulted in the election of Palmer.

Scott correctly concludes that the enduring lesson of this episode was a recognition that the two-party system is one of the most stubborn realities of American politics. Farm organizations were better advised not to participate in politics directly "but to limit their political role to education so that members, while exercising their right of suffrage as individuals, could vote intelligently" (p. 117).

A final chapter recounts the "Decline and Disappearance of the Agrarian Movement" and the eventual adoption of the labor movement's strategy of rewarding friends and defeating enemies. Scott points out that this policy closely paralleled the lines laid down for many years by Milton George, the real founder of the agrarian movement in Illinois, who had hoisted his standard in the late 1860's in the Chicago offices of the *Western Rural*, a farm paper that was to be the mouthpiece of Illinois rural protest.

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The Pageant of the Press: A Survey of 125 Years of Iowa Journalism, 1836-1961. By William J. Petersen. (Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1962. Pp. x, 118. Notes, tables, reproductions. Clothbound, \$7.50; paperbound, \$6.00.)

First newspaper in the Black Hawk Purchase and in what is now the state of Iowa was the *Du Buque Visitor*, published by John King on May 11, 1836. Third paper in the state and oldest one of continuous existence was the *Territorial Gazette and Western Advertiser* established in 1837 at Burlington by James Clarke, later to be Governor; it survived as the *Burlington Hawk-Eye Gazette*. Other outstanding journalists of the territorial period were James G. Edwards of the *Fort Madison Patriot* and Alfred Sanders of the *Davenport Gazette*. Outstanding editors of the statehood period included John Mahin of the *Muscatine Journal* and George Douglas Perkins of the *Sioux City Journal*. The state's greatest paper, the *Des Moines Register* was born in 1860 and made great after the Civil War by Hoosier Coker F. Clarkson and his two sons, James S., known as "Ret," and Richard P., although the Clarksons did not found the paper. It was acquired in 1903 by Gardner Cowles, whose family still owns it.

To mark the one hundred twenty-fifth anniversary of the *Du Buque Visitor*, the State Historical Society of Iowa has published an oversize volume with photographic reproductions of 118 pages of Iowa newspapers through the years, chosen to illustrate the newspapers themselves and the state, national, and world history they report. Most of the