

find Richard Ballinger portrayed as a sincere defender of the small entrepreneurs of a "colonial" region—the Pacific Northwest—joined in battle with what he perceived to be the Eastern Corporate Establishment led by Gifford Pinchot! Penick also skillfully analyzes the sources of support for the creation of a national park service, and finds such commercial interests as travel agencies, the railroads, and highway associations allied with the preservationist esthetes. Penick's essay is thoughtful and suggestive, and one only wishes that he had elaborated upon his brief, closing observations on the elitist, reactionary nature of American conservation ideology.

Wilton B. Fowler's "American Diplomacy in the Progressive Era," and R. Laurence Moore's "Directions of Thought in Progressive America" are disappointing compared to their companion essays. Largely derivative, both essays fail to offer new interpretations or insights into their subjects. Fowler attempts to impose a conceptual framework upon his essay at the end of the narrative, but his effort to define a common denominator for the diplomacy of the Progressive period is awkward and unconvincing. Thomas K. McCraw's concluding essay, "The Progressive Legacy," is an adequate, if not entirely convincing, overview of the subject.

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*The President and Protest, Hoover, Conspiracy, and the Bonus Riot*, by Donald J. Lisio. University of Missouri Press: Columbia, Missouri, 1974. 346 pages. Index. No illustrations. \$12.50.

In *The President and Protest*, Donald J. Lisio provides a careful study of the Bonus March of 1932 and its management by officials in Washington. Lisio's concise description of Her-

bert Hoover's policies on veterans' benefits gives the reader a context in which to understand the President's concern and even compassion for the marchers and yet also his ultimate anger and vilification of them. Hoover sought to guarantee veterans' benefits, to simplify their administration, but also to avoid treating veterans as a privileged class.

The author shares Hoover's belief that the Bonus marchers constituted a special interest group, but he also agrees that ". . . because their plight overshadowed their purpose, they were a confusing symbol." (p. 86) The marchers became a false symbol of the nation's "forgotten" even as they themselves deliberately forgot all victims of the Great Depression other than themselves. Lisio also corrects the notions that the veterans' leader Walter W. Waters was a faultless victim of pressures and plots from the administration and that Washington police chief Pelham D. Glassford was equally a figure of unflagging virtue. *The President and Protest* convincingly shows, by careful use of often conflicting evidence, that Waters became erratic and destructive of the peace as his personal control of the marchers waned and that Glassford lost control before the rout of the marchers and became politically self-defensive and myopic afterward. As for Army Chief of Staff Douglas MacArthur, Lisio here repeats his earlier conclusive finding that the General violated explicit orders from the President and was guilty of an insubordination that shaped the rout of the marchers to MacArthur's taste and in a way that eventually damaged the President's reputation.

Compared to Lisio's painstaking and effective exposition of the origins of the riot, his explanation of Hoover's conversion to the thesis that the riot was a left-wing conspiracy seems abrupt and grounded in less than overwhelming evidence. This swift change of view, as the president accepted unfounded allegations advanced by MacArthur and Secretary of War Patrick J. Hurley that the Bonuseers were Communists and insurrectionaries, sits uncomfortably in the midst of the relentless detail and measured pace that characterize both Hoover's earlier actions and Lisio's description of them. On this important issue, Lisio changes his mode of proof—from

empirical demonstration to reasoned inductions. Hoover's anger at the protesters for what he considered ingratitude after his substantial material aid to their march, his preoccupation with other important issues, and above all his intense personal loyalty and admiration for Hurley and MacArthur combined, Lisio argues, to confirm the President in his hostility to the Bonuseers.

Amid the many recent books that have tended to rehabilitate Hoover's reputation as president, *The President and Protest* provides a useful and balanced corrective to apologists and attackers alike. Significant is Lisio's demonstration that Hoover's views were not immutable, and that his actions correspondingly changed during his presidency—sometimes, as in the Bonus Riot, for the worse. As he successfully exonerates Hoover of planning the rout of the marchers, he also delivers what must surely be the ultimate condemnation of a statesman: "He was a President who failed completely to understand the nature of American society." (p. 316)

Lisio's evaluation of the principals and their motives becomes unduly repetitious in the later chapters of the book which are devoted to the nature of conspiracy in general and to the particular views of conspiracies held by those affected by the Bonus march. Yet these repetitions are a light burden to bear in return for the author's skillful and ultimately convincing study which provides a clear warning that the public peace endures only when all key factions are willing to take positive steps to preserve it.

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