

often attracted the attention of popularizers and critics, but by placing them in a proper context. Moreover, Cherny is fair and balanced. He shows Bryan at his best as an advocate of social change on behalf of the nation's laboring and dependent classes and at his worst as a pathetic anti-intellectual during the Scopes trial. Cherny's is not the last word on Bryan, but his book is a serious and intelligent one that students, scholars, and a general public can read with pleasure and profit.

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MARTIN RIDGE

The Anti-Monopoly Persuasion: Popular Resistance to the Rise of Big Business in the Midwest, by Steven L. Piott. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985. x, 1984 pp. Notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$35.00 cloth.

Readers who take this book's title and subtitle at face value will be disappointed. "Persuasion" means creed, but the book is not an intellectual history. The Midwest comprises at least twelve states, but Steven L. Piott deals mainly with Missouri; one chapter is about Chicago, and he gives some attention to Kansas. After an introductory chapter that summarizes American history in terms of the economic development that diminished people's control over their own lives and flouted traditional community values, Piott's next six chapters present what seems to be a randomly chosen assortment of topics. These include farmers' movements; a failed attempt by an "ice pool" to control prices in St. Louis in 1887; a beef trust in Kansas City and Chicago; the legislative history of antitrust measures in Missouri in 1889; the prices of hogs, wire, nails, plows, and other commodities; a streetcar strike in St. Louis in 1900; again the beef trust's operations in Missouri and citizens' responses; a teamsters' strike, supported by a citizens' boycott, in Chicago in 1902 (an obscure episode that lasted eleven days); Kansans' fight against Standard Oil; and a recounting of actions of Herbert Hadley, attorney general and then governor of Missouri, concerning Standard Oil. Chapter 7 discusses how big business's agreement to accept regulation "co-opted" the antimonopoly movement. The book closes with an "Epilogue," ending on page 156, in which Piott deplors the "co-optation" and its long-term consequences to the present day.

Perhaps we are meant to infer that these episodes and Missouri were typical, but scholarly studies have long shown great variation in thinking and behavior from state to state: among corn growers, wheat growers, and dairy farmers; between urban workers and those workers—miners and railroad hands—who lived in out-of-the-way places; among different ethnic and religious groups; between natives and immigrants; and so on. Piott ignores all such differences. "By the turn of

the century," he writes, "the pervasiveness of trust control over the ways of living, working, and doing business reminded consumers, workers, and small retailers that they were natural allies against a common enemy" (9). Piott uses no limiting adjectives in naming those three categories of victims. Indeed, countless sentences in the book begin with "People": "People in roles as consumers, housewives, workers, taxpayers, citizens, and merchants united against the street car monopoly" (70); "people, in their roles as consumers, increasingly pointed the finger of blame at the trusts" (73); "People, in the traditional sense of a moral economy, felt they were being cheated" (89); "People were upset as investors and producers" (112); "The people could agree that the problem was privilege" (124); "People defined democracy in the broadest possible sense" (153); and "People hoped to see the economic and political circumstances of their existence, those which were dominated by the process of industrialization and controlled by immense concentrations of corporate wealth and power, returned to a more equitable and responsible basis" (153-154). Piott does not document any of these generalizations.

The author uses his sources for illustration rather than for analysis or testing. Although he has "felt it important to endeavor to discover the actions and attitudes of people who" made the history he presents (185), he discusses only those who can fit into his good-guys-versus-bad-guys model: businessmen guilty of "arrogance" (38, 88, 130), defending "corporate privilege which trampled the rights of citizens, homeowners, and taxpayers" (56), versus "the public" that "valiantly" struggled (144) against such odds that when the Chicago police defended the property of beef companies "violence became a justifiable action" (103).

Piott's sources reflect his bias. For example, to prove that the rise of big business in the late nineteenth century benefited only the capitalists, he relies on Paul H. Douglas's 1930 work *Real Wages in the United States, 1890-1926*. Douglas's analysis was refuted, however, by a well-known work not mentioned in this book: Albert Rees, *Real Wages in Manufacturing 1890 to 1914* (1961). Piott does not mention relevant books that disagree with his conclusions, such as Samuel P. Hays, *The Response to Industrialism, 1885-1914* (1957), Douglass C. North, *Growth and Welfare in the American Past* (1966), and Albro Martin, *Enterprise Denied* (1971). Piott does briefly paraphrase a passage from Allan G. Bogue, *Money at Interest* (1968) but does not explain why it is wrong (159 fn 6). Either he is unwilling to engage in debate with advocates of views different from his own or he assumes that their errors are evident to all.

Even an advocate of Piott's philosophy should find his primary

sources inadequate. He apparently did not read publications of the reform organizations he names, the proceedings of their annual meetings, or *The American Federationist*. The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, a crusading "anti-monopoly" paper, is the chief source Piott used for all topics except the Chicago strike, the sources for which were Chicago newspapers. For the substantive chapters, between Introduction and Epilogue, there are 168 endnotes, 79 percent of which cite only newspaper articles; all but five of the remaining notes cite newspaper articles along with other sources. The sources for the few scattered paragraphs that deal with other midwestern states are articles in the *Post-Dispatch*. The book is also written in a clumsy, often ungrammatical prose.

WELLESLEY, MASSACHUSETTS

AILEEN S. KRADITOR

Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist, by Nick Salvatore. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982. 437 pp. Notes, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth, \$9.95 paper.

Nick Salvatore's Bancroft-prize-winning biography of Eugene V. Debs, now available in paperback, is likely to become the standard work on the American Socialist leader. Debs symbolized his party's struggle on behalf of the working class during the first quarter of this century, and Salvatore has delved deeply into manuscript collections, government documents, and secondary works to document the man's life and contribution. The author extensively researched material from the Debs Foundation in Terre Haute and from the Socialist history collections at Duke University and the University of Wisconsin.

While *Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist* covers much of the same material as Ray Ginger's brilliant biography, *Eugene V. Debs: A Biography* (1949, originally published as *The Bending Cross: A Biography of Eugene V. Debs*), Salvatore inquires more thoroughly into the environmental and social forces that molded Debs's thinking. Thus Salvatore finds Debs's transition from middle-class traditional values to socialism more evolutionary than did Ginger's analysis, and provides additional insight into the Socialist leader's vacillating character and the internal squabbles which plagued and divided the Socialist party.

The result is an impressive, stimulating book. Debs emerges not as a saint or martyr, but as a sensitive, dedicated human being complete with ambiguities, frailties, indecision, and contradictions. Transcending all are Debs's devotion to humane ideals; his search for complete manhood; his love of ordinary working-class people; his growing outrage at the exploitative features of industrial capitalism and its threat to

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