

THE PROGRESSIVE ERA (1900-1920)

I. Road to Progressivism

- A. **Greenback Labor Party** of 1870s sought to thwart power of the "robber barons" and wanted inflationary monetary measures.
- B. Legacy of Populism
 - 1. Populism failed as a 3rd Party cause but had political influence for 25 years after that into the 1896 elections.
 - 2. Populist ideas that carry forward:
 - a. railroad legislation (1903 & 1906)
 - b. income tax (16th Amendment -- 1912)
 - c. expanded currency and credit structure (1913, 1916))
 - d. direct election of Senators (17th Amendment -- 1913)
 - e. initiative, referendum and recall (early 1900s)
 - f. postal savings banks (1910)
 - g. sub-treasury plan (1916)
 - 3. Though Populist ideas are geared to rural life, many of its ideas will appeal to the urban progressives who seek to curb power of trusts, political machines, and social injustice.

II. Rise of Progressivism

- A. Mugwumps desire return to pre-monopoly America.
 - 1. Men of wealth and social standing concerned about the change in America's political and social climate due to the rise of the industrialists -- monopoly, plutocracy, oligarchy.
 - a. Protestant/Victorian ideals of hard work = success are now threatened
 - b. Earlier Mugwump leaders of local communities are now eclipsed by political machines catering to big business.
 - 2. 1884, Mugwumps were Republican reformers who bolted from the party after James G. Blaine was nominated to support Grover Cleveland in the 1884 election.
- B. Emerging middle class sympathizes with Mugwump views and wants reform to reestablish equality of opportunity and moral reform (seen by some as a "3rd great awakening")
 - 1. Consist of political reformers, intellectuals, women, journalists, social gospelites, professionals.
 - 2. See themselves being unrepresented; meanwhile industrialists and immigrants are protected by bribery, labor unions, or political machines.
 - Nearly 1 in 7 Americans foreign-born by 1900.

C The Progressives

- 1. Believed an efficient gov't could protect the public interest and restore order to society.
 - Government is an agency of human welfare
- 2. Specific issues for reform: (explain each individually)
 - a. The break-up or regulation of trusts
 - b. Killing political machines
 - c. Reduce the threat of socialism (by improving workers' lives)
 - d. Improve squalid conditions in the cities
 - e. Improve working conditions for female labor and end child labor
 - f. Consumer protection
 - g. Voting reform

- h. Conservation
 - i. banking reform
 - j. labor reform (working conditions and unionization)
 - k. Prohibition of alcohol
 - i. Female suffrage
3. Thus, Progressive crusaders created a reform movement not seen since the 2nd Great Awakening

III. Progressive Agenda: trusts, political machines, living and working conditions

A. Trusts

1. By 1910 the wealthiest 2% accounted for almost 20% of total income.
 - Flaunting of wealth by *nouveau riche* angered many Americans.
2. Competition was being eliminated by an oligarchy; small businessmen no longer able to compete.
3. **Plutocracy** -- Large numbers of politicians were dominated by trusts in municipal, state, and federal government.

B. Political Machines

1. Bosses who controlled districts or cities regularly accepted bribes from special interests for favors. Taxpayers often paid the bill.
2. Immigrants were often enticed by bosses for their vote. Result: immigrants represented but WASPs weren't.
3. Municipal politics now out of the hands of civic minded Americans.
 - New York City's **Tammany Hall** is the biggest example

C. Shame of the Cities

1. Urbanization
 - a. Between 1880 and 1920, about 27 million immigrants entered the U.S., mostly from Eastern & Southern Europe (1/3 went back home)
 - b. Many rural Americans came to the city looking for work due to increased opportunities.
 - c. Cities offered entertainment, shopping, new technology (electricity, plumbing) & anonymity.
2. Results:
 - a. Living conditions in many parts of the large cities were revolting.
 - "Dumbell tenements" were inadequate and unhealthy for families
 - b. City infrastructure ill-equipped to deal with the population explosion.
 - c. Crime: violence, gambling, and prostitution became rampant.
 - d. Working conditions were appalling; women & child labor exploited
 - i. An estimated half million workers wounded and 30,000 killed in industrial accidents every year during early 20th century.
 - ii. AFL discouraged labor legislation (except child labor) since previous pro-labor laws had been used *against* labor
 - Favored gov't out of labor issues so unions could bargain effectively.

IV. Progressive Analysts

- A. Between 1870 and 1920, college enrollment increased 400%
- B. Many schools est. separate social science departments: econ., political science, & sociology.

1. Attempted to analyze human society with same objectivity that scientists used to study nature.
 2. Reflected growing faith in ability of people to analyze society and solve human problems.
 3. Rejected "survival of the fittest" ideology
 4. Many social science professors and students they influenced became progressives.
- C. **John Dewey** (1859-1952) -- "**learning by doing**" rather than just reading.
1. Believed education for living and working played a crucial role in democracy.
 - a. "Education for life" should be primary goal of the teacher.
 - b. Goal was to create socially useful adults.
 2. Number of 17-yr.-olds who finished high school almost doubled in the 1920s, to more than 25%.
- D. **Lester Frank Ward**
1. Challenged "survival of the fittest" thought
 2. Argued it was natural for people to control and change their social environment -- the laws, customs, and relationships among people-- for their own benefit.
 3. It was the role of gov't to shape society's destiny.
 - e.g. legislation should address inadequate housing
- E. Other notable social scientists
1. **Richard Ely** -- Professor @ University Madison, Wisconsin
 - Economist of vanguard of Social Gospel
 2. **Charles Beard** applied history to reform corrupt city governments.
 3. Woodrow Wilson -- political scientist
- F. Advances in science
1. Massive public-health program launched by Rockefeller Foundation in South in 1909 virtually wiped out hookworm by 1920s.
 2. Better nutrition and health care helped increase life expectancy of a newborn infant from 50 years in 1901 to 59 years in 1929.
- G. Pre-1900 Critics and others
1. **Henry Demarest Lloyd** -- *Wealth against Commonwealth* (1894)
 - a. Criticized Standard Oil
 - b. Beginning of investigative journalism.
 2. **Thorstein Veblen** -- *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899)
 - Assailed the *nouveau riche*
 3. **Jacob A. Riis** -- *How the Other Half Lives* (1890)
 - a. Exposed the dirt, disease, vice, and misery of the rat-infested New York slums
 - b. Heavily influenced Theodore Roosevelt
 4. **Charlotte Perkins Gilman**: *Woman and Economics* (1898)
 - a. Considered a classic masterwork of feminist literature.
 - b. Called on women to abandon their dependent status and contribute to the larger life of the community through productive involvement in the economy.
 - c. Advocated centralized nurseries and cooperative kitchens to facilitate women's participation in the work force.
 - Anticipated day-care centers and convenience-food services of a half-century later.
 5. **Socialists** criticized existing injustices
 - a. Many were European immigrants who hated excesses of capitalism

b. Many Progressives, such as Woodrow Wilson, saw socialism as biggest threat to US.

H. Social Gospel Movement

1. Emphasized the role of the church in improving life on earth rather than in helping individuals get into heaven.
2. **Walter Rauschenbusch**
3. **Washington Gladden**

V. Muckrakers (name attributed by Theodore Roosevelt as a criticism of their journalism)

A. Journalists who attempted to expose the evils of society

1. Popular magazines such as **McClure's**, **Cosmopolitan** (owned by Hearst), **Collier's**, and **Everybody's** emerged.
 - Fearing legal reprisals, muckraking magazines went to great pains and expense to verify their material -- e.g. \$3,000 to verify Tarbell article.
2. Yellow press also played a role especially Pulitzer and Hearst

B. Lincoln Steffens -- *Shame of the Cities* (1902)

-- Unmasked the corrupt alliance between big business and municipal gov't

C. Ida M. Tarbell -- published devastating expose on Standard Oil Co.

1. Detailed Rockefeller's ruthless tactics to crush competition (including her father)
2. In 1911, Standard Oil trust broken up as result.

D. Upton Sinclair -- *The Jungle* (1906)

1. Graphic depictions of the unsanitary conditions in the packing plant sparked a reaction to the meat industry and led to eventual regulation under Theodore Roosevelt.
2. Inspired Meat Inspection Act and Pure Food and Drug Act (1906)

E. David G. Phillips -- "**The Treason of the State**", articles in *Cosmopolitan*

1. Charged that 75 of 90 senators did not represent the people but rather the trusts and the railroads. (Eventually shot)
2. Provoked President Roosevelt to label this genre of journalism "muckraking"
 - As a result, fewer muckraking pieces appeared as editors became fearful of backlash.

F. John Spargo -- *The Bitter Cry of the Children* (1906)

-- Exposed the abuses of child labor

G. Ray Stannard Baker -- *Following the Color Line* (1908)

-- Attacked the subjugation of America's 9 million blacks, & their illiteracy

H. Frank Norris -- *The Octopus* (1901) and *The Pit* (1903)

-- Detailed stranglehold of railroad and corrupt politicians on California wheat ranchers.

I. Theodore Dreiser: *The Financier* (1912) and *The Titan* (1914)

VI. Progressive Activists -- sought to improve living conditions in cities and labor reform for women and children.

A. City had new opportunities for women (over 1million joined work force in 1890s)

1. Social workers and secretaries, store clerks and seamstresses, telephone operators and bookkeepers.
2. Many still worked in deplorable conditions.

B. Jane Addams (1860-1935) ("St. Jane")

1. One of first generation of college-educated women
 - Teaching or volunteer were almost the only permissible occupations for a young woman of her social class.

2. **Hull House** in Chicago helps to establish the Settlement House movement that became centers of women's activism and social reform.
3. Helped found the NAACP along with DuBois, Garrison, and Ida B. Wells.
4. Condemned war as well as poverty and won Nobel Peace Prize in 1931.

C. Women & Child Labor Reform (child labor most successful of all Progressive social reform)

1. **Florence Kelley**

- a. Investigated and reported on child labor while living at Hull House.
- b. Kelley also a life-long battler for welfare of women, blacks, and consumers.
 - i. As general secretary of the **National Consumers League**, she helped organize consumer boycotts of goods manufactured by children or by workers toiling in unsanitary or dangerous jobs.
 - ii. As women were primary consumers, boycotts were often effective.
- c. Socialist views.

2. Gains in women and child labor reform

- a. **Muller v. Oregon**, 1906 -- upheld Oregon law restricting women's labor to 10-hour workday; case won by Louis Brandeis who argued that women were weaker than men (today, this argument would be considered chauvinistic).
 - A number of other laws passed at the federal and state level.
- b. Many states secured enactment of safety and sanitation codes for industry and closed certain harmful trades to juveniles.
- c. **Triangle Shirtwaist Co. fire** in 1911 killed 146 women workers, mostly girls
 - NYC and other legislatures passed laws regulating the hours and conditions in sweatshops.
- d. By 1916, 32 states regulated the hours and ages at which children could work
- e. Some states adopted compulsory education up to the high school level.
- f. Conservative Supreme Court eventually overturned many gains

VII. Political Reforms

A. **Robert LaFollette & the "Wisconsin Experiment"**

1. As governor of Wisconsin in 1901, he helped destroy the political machine, wrestle control away from lumber & railroad trusts, & est. a progressive government.
 - a. He was the first of Republican "insurgents" to reach the Senate (stood against Republican "old guard" who favored *laissez faire* with gov't help).
 - b. Perfected scheme for regulating public utilities by creating public utilities commissions that created legislation for workers' safety, railroads, & regulation of public utilities.
 - c. Replaced the existing spoils system with state civil service
 - d. Worked closely with experts on the faculty of the state university at Madison including Richard Ely.
2. **Direct primary:** In 1903, LaFollette pressured the legislature to institute an election open to all voters within a party.
3. Introduced the **initiative, referendum, and recall.**
 - a. initiative -- allowed citizens to introduce a bill
 - b. referendum: procedure where voters cast ballots for or against proposed laws.
 - c. recall: gave citizens right to remove elected officials from office.
4. **Direct election of Senators** (a favorite goal of progressives)

- a. Enacted to counter Senate corruption and control by trusts
 - b. In 1913, approved as the **17th Amendment to the Constitution**.
 - 5. **Adopted a state income tax**; first state to do so.
 - 6. Other states followed Wisconsin's lead
 - a. Republican governor in California **Hiram Johnson** broke the grip of the Southern Pacific Railroads on California.
 - Like La Follette, set up political machine of his own.
 - b. **Charles Evans Hughes**, Republican governor of NY, earlier gained fame as investigator of malpractice by gas & insurance companies & by coal trust.
 - c. Gov. Woodrow Wilson turned New Jersey into one of nation's most liberal states.
 - B. **Australian Ballot** (secret ballot)
 - 1. Became introduced more widely in states to counteract boss rule.
 - 2. Reduced bribery voting now done secretly and bribers unable to monitor voters.
 - 3. Unfortunately, ballot also eliminated illiterate voters, party workers couldn't help voters mark their ballots.
 - Hundreds of thousands of black and white voters thus effectively disenfranchised.
 - C. **Galveston, Texas** and the Commission System
 - 1. In Sept., 1900, a tidal wave devastated the city.
 - 2. **Commission system**
 - a. The city placed power into the hands of 5 commissioners, 2 elected & 3 appointed; a full-time city manager was hired.
 - b. Commission system peaked in 1915 (later replaced by **city manager system**.)
 - c. Within 20 years, 400 cities adopted Commission System
 - d. Reduced the power of machine politics
 - i. In some cases, these reforms valued efficiency more than democracy as civic control was further removed from the hands of the people.
 - ii. Businessmen dominated while working-class that had benefited from machine politics were largely left out.
- VIII. **President Theodore Roosevelt** -- 1st "modern" president
- A. 1st Pres. in U.S. History to use government as a vehicle to directly help public interest.
 - 1. Saw the Presidency as a "bully pulpit" to preach his ideas
 - 2. Supported progressive reform with strong rhetoric but in reality was more moderate (and conservative at times); "middle of the road" politician.
 - 3. Often bypassed congressional opposition (like Jackson)
 - 4. Enormously popular among a large percentage of Americans
 - B. 1st Pres. to play a significant role in world affairs
 - 1. "**Speak softly but carry a big stick** [and] you will go far"
 - 2. Major proponent of military and naval preparedness.
- IX. "**Square Deal**" (for Capital, labor, and the public at large) was his 1906 campaign slogan
- TR's program embraced three C's:
 - 1. Control of the corporations
 - 2. Consumer protection
 - 3. Conservation of natural resources
 - A. Control of Corporations

1. **Anthracite Coal Strike (1902)** - (hard coal used much in heating homes)
 - a. 140,000 workers of the United Mine Workers union in coal mines of Pennsylvania went on strike demanding 20% increase in pay and reduction of work day from 10 to 9 hrs., fair weighing of coal, and better safety conditions.
 - b. **George F. Baer**, president of the company, assumed public would react against miners thus refused to arbitrate or negotiate.
 - Baer demanded TR prosecute union leader for violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act, as President Cleveland had done in the Pullman strike in 1894.
 - c. TR threatened to seize mines and operate them with federal troops if owners refused to compromise (unprecedented in U.S. history)
 - TR rationalized that the public at large was in jeopardy of having no coal during winter so it was his duty to intervene.
 - d. Owners consented to arbitration
 - i. Miners received a 10% pay boost and 9 hr. wk day
 - ii. Owners got assurances that union would not be officially recognized.
 - Also, allowed 10% increase in price of coal.
2. **Department of Commerce & Labor** created to settle disputes between capital and labor in 1903. (10 years later, the agency was split into two.)
 - **Bureau of Corporations** created as an arm of the Dept. of Commerce & Labor
 - i. Authorized to probe businesses in interstate commerce.
 - ii. Highly useful in helping break stranglehold of monopoly and in paving the way for an era of "trust-busting."
3. In 1902, Roosevelt attacked the Northern Securities Company, a holding company organized by J. P. Morgan & James G. Hill due to its monopoly of railroads in NW.
 - a. Supreme Court upheld the Roosevelt's antitrust suit to dissolve it in 1904.
 - b. Roosevelt now seen as a "**trustbuster**"
 - i. 1905, Court declared beef trust illegal; and sugar, fertilizer, harvester trusts also severely regulated by anti-trust legislation.
 - ii. TR later went after Du Pont, Standard Oil, and American Tobacco Co.
4. **Elkins Act (1903)**
 - a. Aimed primarily at reducing abuse of rebates used by railroads.
 - b. Heavy fines could now be imposed on both railroads and shippers for abusing rebates.
5. **Hepburn Act (1906)** (More effective than Elkins Act)
 - a. Expanded the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission (created in 1887)
 - i. Severely restricted railroad's giving of free passes (bribery)
 - ii. Could nullify existing rates and stipulate maximum rates if necessary.
 - b. Concluded that there were "good trusts" and "bad trusts" which were greedy. "Bad Trusts" should be dealt with but good trusts were healthy.
6. Roosevelt as a "trustbuster"
 - a. Reputation inflated as TR exaggerated his anti-trust activities to gain political popularity.
 - i. His actions more symbolic to prove gov't, not private business, ruled the country.
 - ii. Threat of dissolution might make business more open to regulation.
 - b. TR did not consider wholesale trust-busting economically sound policy.
 - i. Realized combination and integration were hallmarks of the age.

- ii. Big business not necessarily bad; why punish success?
 - c. Believed in regulating, not fragmenting trusts.
 - d. In reality, trusts healthier at end of TR's reign than at anytime before.
-- Perhaps, more tame due to regulation.
 - e. President Taft busted up more trusts than TR.
 - i. TR even gave blessing in 1907 for J. P. Morgan's plan to have US Steel absorb the Tennessee Coal and Iron Co. without fear of antitrust reprisals.
 - ii. When Taft launched suit against USX in 1911, TR furious
- B. Consumer Protection**
1. Impulse for meat protection
 - a. European markets threatened to ban American meat since some meat from small packinghouses was found to be tainted.
 - b. **Upton Sinclair: *The Jungle* (1906)**
 - i. Appalled public with his description of unsanitary food products.
-- Detailed accounts of filth, disease, and putrefaction in Chicago's damp and ill-ventilated slaughterhouses.
 - ii. TR moved to appoint special investigating commission whose report almost out-did Sinclair's novel.
 2. **Meat Inspection Act (1906)**
 - a. Induced by TR, Congress passed the bill
 - b. Preparation of meat shipped over state lines would be subject to federal inspection throughout the meat making process.
 - c. Though largest packers resisted certain features of the act, they accepted it as a means to drive out smaller businesses.
-- In addition, received government's seal of approval on their exports.
 3. **Pure Food & Drug Act (1906)**
 - a. Prevented adulteration and mislabeling of foods and drugs.
 - b. Hitherto, many patent medicines laced with alcohol while labels misrepresented the contents of their containers.
- C. Conservation (most significant and long-lasting of Roosevelt's legacies)**
1. Roosevelt and conservation
 - a. TR, an outdoorsman, appalled at destruction of timber & mineral resources.
 - b. **Gifford Pinchot**, head of federal Division of Forestry, had made significant contributions before TR.
 - c. Conservation Roosevelt's most tangible enduring achievement.
 - i. Aroused public opinion vis-a-vis conservation.
 - ii. Advocated intelligent use, not preservation: recreation, sustain-yield logging, watershed protection and summer stock grazing on same expanse of federal land.
 2. **Newlands Reclamation Act of 1902**
 - a. Gov't authorized to collect money from sale of public lands in western states and use funds for development of irrigation projects.
 - b. Settlers repaid cost of reclamation by building successful farms..
 - c. Money put into revolving account to finance more such projects.
 - d. Dozens of dams constructed on virtually every major western river in subsequent decades.
 3. Saving the forests

- a. TR set aside 125 acres of forests in federal reserves.
 - About 3X as much as his 3 predecessors.
- b. Also earmarked millions of acres of coal deposits, as well as water resources useful for irrigation and power.

D. Roosevelt wins reelection in 1904

- 1. Elected "in his own right" by large electoral margin over Democrats.
- 2. Eugene Debs ran on Socialist ticket; Prohibition party also on the ballot.
- 3. Made himself a "lame duck" president by announcing after his election that he would, under no circumstances, run for a third term.

X. Panic of 1907

A. Wall Street suffered a short but brutal panic in 1907

- 1. "Runs" on banks, suicides, and criminal indictments against speculators.
 - a. TR cooperated with Morgan banks and other large banks to prevent a banking collapse by transferring millions of Treasury funds from one bank to another.
 - b. Causes: speculation and mismanagement in Wall Street banks and trust companies as well as overextension of credit caused the panic.
- 2. Business leaders assailed Roosevelt for causing the panic due to his anti-business tactics and called the financial setback the "Roosevelt Panic"
- 3. Roosevelt felt wounded by criticism, accused Wall Street of engineering the panic, and now sought to further reduce power of trusts.
 - a. Embarked on a second wave of trust-busting.
 - b. Reform now became acceptable (esp. lower tariff)
 - c. Insurgent Republicans and Democrats took on Republican "Old Guard."

B. Results

- 1. Panic showed the acute need for elastic money supply.
 - a. During panic, banks unable to increase volume of currency in circulation.
 - b. Those with money reluctant to loan money to fellow banks.
 - c. This apparent weakness paved way for Federal Reserve Act of 1913.
- 2. Labor and local reformers gained important middle-class allies.
 - a. TR began incorporating Bryan's ideas.
 - b. Progressives finally embraced reforms put forth reformers of early 1900s, Socialists, strikers and marchers of 1894, People's party, Knights of Labor, Farmers' Alliance, and Green backers.

XI. President William H. Taft

A. **Election of 1908**

- 1. Taft d. Bryan 321-162
 - Third time Bryan defeated in 12 years.
- 2. Socialist party under Eugene Debs and Prohibition party under garnered just a fraction of the popular vote.

B. Style

- 1. Taft lacked the fire or guts that possessed TR.
 - a. Content to keep status quo rather than rocking the boat.
 - b. Adopted attitude of passivity toward Congress (insurgent Republicans and Democrats opposed him)

c. Taft became an ally of the old guard Republicans by default.

2. Cabinet did not contain one member of TR's reformist wing.

C. **Dollar Diplomacy** (see Imperialism notes)

D. Taft as trustbuster

1. Brought 90 suits against the trusts during his four years in office; 2X that of TR

a. 1911, *United States v. American Tobacco Company*

i. S. Court ordered the company to reorganize on the basis of the "rule of reason" but did not order its dissolution.

ii. **"Rule of reason"** meant only reasonable restraints of trade were authorized.

-- Severely impaired government's anti-trust activities.

b. 1911, Court ordered dissolution of Standard Oil Company

i. Judged to be a combination in restraint of trade in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890.

E. Progressive Legislation under Taft

1. Conservation: Taft a dedicated conservationist; contributions equaled or out-did TR's.

a. **Bureau of Mines** established to control mineral resources

-- Rescued millions of acres of western coal lands from exploitation

b. Protected water-power sites from private development.

2. Mann-Elkins Act (1910) - Telegraph, telephone, & cable corporations put under ICC jurisdiction

3. Postal Savings Bank System (1910) - Post Office Department was authorized to receive savings deposits from people and pay interest of 2% per year on such deposits.

-- This had been a major Populist idea.

XII. Split in the Republican party

A. **Payne-Aldrich Tariff, 1909** -- most important cause for split of Republican Party.

1. Reducing tariff high on the list for progressive reformers.

-- Taft's campaign had pledge to deal with tariff issue

2. House passed moderately reductive bill (with inheritance tax provision) but senatorial reactionaries tacked on hundreds of upward tariff revisions (tariff avg about 37%)

3. Taft signed the Payne-Aldrich Tariff in August thus betraying his campaign promises.

a. Claimed bill "the best bill that the Republican party ever passed."

b. Progressive wing of Republican party, especially in Midwest, outraged.

c. Taft vetoed subsequent tariff bills passed by "insurgent Republicans" and Democrats.

B. **Ballinger-Pinchot controversy** (1910)

1. Overshadowed Taft's conservation successes.

2. Secretary of Interior Ballinger opened public lands in WY, MT, and Alaska to corporate development, did not share Pinchot's desire to reduce mining.

3. Ballinger sharply criticized by Gifford Pinchot, chief of Agriculture Department's Division of Forestry and a strong TR supporter.

4. Taft dismissed Pinchot on narrow ground of insubordination.

5. Storm of protest arose from conservationists and Roosevelt's friends.

-- A congressional committee exonerated Pinchot.

6. Contributed to growing split between Taft and TR.

C. Split in GOP complete when Taft deserted progressives in their attack on leading Old Guard

Speaker of the House, "**Uncle Joe**" Cannon.

D. 1910, Roosevelt's **Osawatomie speech, Kansas.**

1. Roosevelt had been out of country during 1909 and first half of 1910 but tariff and conservation issues galvanized him to become more active.
2. Shocked Old Guard Republicans with new doctrine: "New Nationalism"
 - a. Urged federal gov't to increase its power to remedy economic & social abuses.
 - b. Regulation of large corporations, tariff reform, graduated income & inheritance taxes; currency reform; selling of public lands only in small parcels to actual settlers; labor reforms; strict accounting of campaign funds; and initiative, referendum & recall.
 - c. "The object of government is the welfare of the people. The material progress and prosperity of a nation are desirable chiefly so far as they lead to the moral and material welfare of all good citizens."
3. Marked new era in politics where Old Guard Republican were now on defensive.

E. Republicans lost badly in congressional elections of 1910.

-- First time in 20th century Democrats controlled House of Representatives.

F. 1911, Taft pressed an anti-trust suit against U.S. Steel Corp.

-- TR infuriated as he had been involved in helping J. P. Morgan acquire Tennessee Coal and Oil Co. in 1907.

G. **Taft-Roosevelt split**

1. Early 1911, National Progressive Republican League formed
 - a. Robert La Follette of Wisconsin its leading candidate for Republican presidential nominee but eventually elbowed aside by TR.
 - b. TR reasoned that the 3rd-term tradition applied to three consecutive terms.

-- "My hat is in the ring!"
2. Roosevelt became the progressive candidate with La Follette being elbowed aside.
 - a. 1912 Republican convention in Chicago gave Taft nomination although Roosevelt clearly had a majority of Republican votes.
 - b. Progressives left the party to form a third party: TR's "**Bull Moose Party**"

-- Old Republican guard now took control of Republican party with progressives gone.

XIII. **Election of 1912**

A. **Dr. Woodrow Wilson** (1856-1924) nominated by Democrats

1. Platform: antitrust legislation, monetary changes, and tariff reductions.
2. Wilson's "**New Freedom**" -- Favored small enterprise, entrepreneurship, and free functioning of unregulated and unmonopolized markets; states' rights
 - a. As with TR, favored more active gov't role in economic and social affairs but differed in strategy.
 - b. Persuaded by Louis Brandeis to make trust-busting centerpiece of campaign.
 - c. Shunned social-welfare proposals; emphasized competition
 - i. Rejected stronger role for gov't in human affairs
 - ii. Regarded social issues as state issues e.g. suffrage, child labor

B. **Progressive-Republican party (Bull Moose party)**

1. Pro-Roosevelt convention met in Chicago in August, 1912 and nominated TR
 - a. Party consisted largely of cultured, middle-class people: journalists, social workers, settlement house workers, young lawyers.
 - b. "**New Nationalism**" -- Favored continued consolidation of trusts and labor

- unions, paralleled by the growth of powerful regulatory agencies in Washington; more efficient government
- i. Quintessential Progressive platform: set liberal agenda for the next 50 years.
 - ii. As with Wilson, favored active gov't role in economic affairs but favored both trusts and regulation.
- c. TR influenced by **Herbert Croly: *The Promise of American Life***(1910):
 -- Campaigned for women's suffrage, graduated income tax, lower tariffs, limits on campaign spending, currency reform and broad program of social welfare including minimum-wage laws and "socialistic" social insurance, abolition of child labor and workers compensation.
2. TR shot in chest in Milwaukee before giving campaign speech
 -- Other candidates suspended campaigning until TR recovered.
- C. Republicans nominated Taft who did no campaigning; dominated by "Old Guard"
- D. Results
1. Wilson d. Roosevelt & Taft 435 to 88 and 8.
 - a. Wilson got only 41% of pop. vote; smaller than Bryan's 3 previous efforts.
 - b. Democrats won a majority in Congress for the next 6 years.
 - c. TR and Taft combined polled over 1.25 million pop. votes more than Wilson.
 - d. Thus, progressivism clearly won out (Wilson & TR)
 - e. TR's party fatally split Republican vote, thus giving Wilson the victory.
 2. **Socialist party's Eugene V. Debs** polled nearly 1 million, votes (6%); 2X 1908 figures
 - a. Height of American socialist movement.
 - b. A growing number of Americans believed Socialists as a last alternative to the corrupt 2-party system before revolution.
 - c. Socialists part of progressive movement (though not sanctioned by progressives)
 - i. Not Marxist in orientation and welcomed all socialist comers.
 - ii. Main demand was gov't ownership of railroads and utilities, also demanded efficient gov't, equalize tax burden, better housing, factory inspections, and recreational facilities for all Americans.
 - d. Socialists supported by **IWW (Industrial Workers of the World)**, a radical diverse group of militant unionists and socialists who advocated strikes and sabotage over politics.
 - i. Leaders included **William Haywood** of the Western Federation of Miners and **Daniel DeLeon.**
 - ii. Hoped to organize all workers under "one big union" as Terence Powderly had tried to do with the Knights of Labor.
 - iii. Their radicalism hurt the Socialist cause
 3. Why did Progressive-Republican party fail?
 - a. Fatally centered around one leader: TR.
 - b. Elected few candidates to state & local offices; no patronage to give followers
 - c. Yet, 3rd party impact spurred Wilsonian Democrats to enact their ideas.

WILSON'S PRESIDENCY

- I. Wilson as president
 - A. Background

1. Born in Virginia, 1st president since Taylor to come from one of seceded states.
 2. Serious student of gov't
 3. White-supremacist: didn't help with efforts to improve rights for African Americans.
 4. Believed president should play a dynamic role in gov't
 - a. Congress could not function properly unless president provided leadership
 - b. Gov'ts responsibility was to pass good laws and let the courts enforce them.
 5. Dramatically successful as governor and president in appealing over heads of legislators to the sovereign people.
 6. Not willing to go as far as TR in gov't activism.
 7. Unlike TR, Wilson lacked common touch
 8. Moral righteousness made him often uncompromising
- B. Wilson came to office with a clear plan few presidents have rivaled.
1. First 4 years saw more positive legislation since at any time since Alexander Hamilton.
 2. Aimed to attack the "triple wall of privilege": the tariff, the banks, and the trusts.
- C. **Underwood Tariff Bill** -- 1913 (Underwood-Simmons Tariff)
1. In unprecedented move, summoned Congress into special session in early 1913 and read message in person rather than by a clerk (custom since Jefferson's day).
 2. Underwood Tariff Bill passed by House
 3. Wilson appealed to the people to demand their Senators pass the bill.
 4. Provisions:
 - a. Substantially reduced tariff to about 29% from 37-40% under Payne- Aldrich Tariff.
 - b. Enacted a graduated income tax, under authority granted by recently ratified **16th Amendment**. (Landmark provision)
 - i. Rate of 1% on incomes over \$4,000; 7% on incomes over \$500k
 - ii. By 1917, revenue from income tax more than tariff receipts.
- Gap has widened since then.
- D. **Federal Reserve Act** (1913)
1. Nation's existing National Banking Act, enacted during Civil War, showed its weakness during Panic of 1907 with its inelasticity of money.
 - Reserves concentrated in NY and a few other large cities and could not be mobilized in times of financial stress to areas who were hurting.
 2. Republican solution: a huge national bank (in effect, a "third BUS.")
 - Bank would be owned & run by bankers & central bank would issue its own currency.
 3. **Pujo Committee** & the Democratic solution
 - a. Committee stated the money monopolies' power rested in hidden vaults of American banking and business, esp. Wall Street.
 - b. Conservative Democrats favored a decentralized system privately owned and controlled but free from Wall Street.
 - c. Louis Brandeis: *Other People's Money and How the Bankers Use It* (1913)
 - i. Further inspired reform of the banking industry.
 - ii. Drew heavily on Pujo Committee findings.
 - d. June 1913, Wilson appeared dramatically for second time in Congress pushing for a sweeping reform of the banking system.
 - Endorsed Democratic proposals for a decentralized bank in gov't hands instead of huge private bank with 15 branches (Republican idea)
 4. **Federal Reserve Act of 1913** signed into law in 1913.

- a. Most significant economic legislation between Civil War and New Deal.
 - i. Carried U.S. through financial crises of WWI.
 - ii. Without it, nation's progress toward the modern economic age would have been seriously retarded.
 - iii. Yet it failed in its most central purpose: preventing economic depressions.
 - b. Provisions:
 - i. **Federal Reserve Board** appointed by the president oversaw nationwide system of 12 regional reserve districts, each with its own central bank.
 - Regional banks actually bankers- banks owned by member financial institutions.
 - Yet, final authority of Federal Reserve Board guaranteed a substantial measure of public control.
 - ii. Board empowered to issue paper money "Federal Reserve Notes".
- D. Attacking the trusts
1. **Federal Trade Commission Act of 1914**
 - a. Early 1914, Wilson again went to Congress to appeal for regulation of trusts.
 - 9 mos. later, Congress passed the bill to crush monopoly at the source.
 - b. Provisions:
 - i. Empowered presidentially appointed commission to monitor industries engaged in interstate commerce e.g. meat packers.
 - ii. **cease and desist orders:** Commissioners could end unfair trade practices, including unlawful competition, false advertising, mislabeling, adulteration, bribery.
 - c. lacked enforcement powers; Wilson's appointments didn't vigorously regulate trusts.
 2. **Clayton Anti-Trust Act of 1914**
 - a. Purpose: To implement Sherman Anti-Trust by increasing list of business practices deemed objectionable including price discrimination & interlocking directorates.
 - Interlocking directorates provision not enforced and eventually dropped.
 - b. Exempted labor and agricultural organizations from antitrust prosecution while explicitly legalizing strikes and peaceful picketing.
 - i. Union leader Samuel Gompers hailed the act as the "Magna Carta of labor"
 - Provision was weak because it did not explicitly state what was and what wasn't legal union activity; Wilson refused to go further.
 - ii. Sought to prevent what happened in **Danbury Hatters case** 1908 that had assessed over \$250K on striking hat makers alleging they'd violated Sherman Act
 - iii. By 1917, AFL membership more than 3 million.
 - In 1910 it had only been 1.5 million, down from 2 million in 1904
- E. Other progressive reforms during Wilson's presidency.
1. In order to win election of 1916, Wilson signed other reforms (some which he had earlier blocked believing they were state matters)
 - a. Embraced some of Roosevelt's New Nationalism ideas to attract progressives.
 - b. Appointed **Louis Brandeis**, the "people's lawyer" to the Supreme Court
 2. Federal Farm Loan Act of 1916: low-interest credit available to farmers.(Populist idea)
 3. Warehouse Act of 1916: authorized loans on the security of staple crops. (Populist sub treasury plan idea))
 4. **Federal Highway Act of 1916** provided highway construction in rural areas
 5. Smith-Levee Act: Established agricultural extension work in the state colleges.

6. La Follette Seamen's Act of 1915 required decent treatment and living wages on U.S. merchant ships.
7. **Workingmen's Compensation Act of 1916** (Kerr-McGillicuddy Act of 1916)
-- Granted assistance to federal civil-service employees during periods of disability.
8. **Child Labor Act of 1916** restricted child labor on products in interstate commerce.
 - a. 1st time Congress regulated labor with a state using interstate commerce power
 - b. Invalidated by Court in 1918 on grounds that it interfered with states' powers.
9. **Adamson Act of 1916** established an 8-hr day for all employees on trains in interstate commerce, with extra pay for overtime, & maximum 16-hr shifts.
10. Minimum wages.
11. Prisons and "reform" schools forced to change goal from punishment to rehabilitation.

IV. The Supreme Court during the Progressive Era.

- A. Court conservative; overturned many progressive gains in Congress and in the states
 1. **Lochner v. New York**, 1905, represented a setback for 10-hr/day movement as the Court invalidated a New York 10-hr law for bakers.
-- 1917 - Court reversed its decision: upheld a 10-hr law for factory workers.
 2. 1918, overturned Child Labor Act of 1916
 3. **Adkins v. Children's Hospital** (1923): overturned a 1918 minimum-wage law in Washington, D.C. for women.
- B. **Schenck v. U.S.** (1919)
-- **Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.**, stated Congress could limit free speech when words represented a "clear and present danger... that ... will bring about ... evils that Congress has the right to prevent."
 - a. "A person could not cry "fire" in an empty theater."
 - b. Holmes recognized importance of protecting "the principle of free thought -- not free thought for those who agree with us but freedom for the thought that we hate."
- C. Wilson appointed **Louis D. Brandeis** as the first Jew to the Supreme Court in 1916.
 1. Had national reputation as the "People's Attorney" for his then-unique trait of defending public causes without a fee.
 2. In **Muller v. Oregon** (1908), he pioneered a type of appellate legal brief, emphasizing economic and social evidence rather than legal precedents.
 - i. Thus, the "**Brandeis brief**" became prototype for later reform litigation.
 - ii. Case upheld a ten-hour maximum work day set by the state of Oregon.
 3. As Court justice for 23 years, earned reputation as greatest legal craftsman of his era.
-- Although often dissenting, his carefully argued opinions were in practically every instance eventually adopted by later courts.

V. Prohibition of alcohol

- A. **Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)** led by Francis Willard in late 19th c.
--One of nation's most powerful interest groups after Civil War; urged women's suffrage.
- B. Anti-Saloon League allied with WCTU in 1893: aggressive, well-organized, & well-financed
- C. Some states and numerous counties passed "dry" laws which controlled, restricted, or abolished alcohol during late 19th and early 20th century.
 1. By 1914, 1/2 U.S. population lived in "dry" territory

2. 3/4 total area had outlawed the saloon.
3. Big cities remained went "wet"; large immigrant populations drank traditionally.
- D. Attitude of sacrifice during WWI made alcohol consumption unpatriotic
 1. Gov't passed laws limiting production of alcoholic beverages.
 2. Ingredients could be used for industrial uses and feeding armies or those dislocated.
- E. **18th Amendment** (1919) banned sale, transport, manufacturing, or consumption of alcohol.
 - **Volstead Act** passed in 1919 to enforce 18th Amendment
- F. Eventually constituted one of great failures of Progressive era - Progressives had probably gone too far in trying to regulate society and personal behavior.

V. Women's Suffrage

- A. Seneca Falls, NY, 1848, led by **Elizabeth Cady Stanton** and **Lucretia Mott** (and later joined by **Susan B. Anthony**) kicked off the women's suffrage movement.
- B. By late 19th century, women's movement had split into two factions:
 1. National Women's Suffrage Association led by Stanton & Anthony forbade men.
 2. American Women's Suffrage Association led by Lucy Stone welcomed men.
 3. Two organizations merged in 1893 to form National Women's Suffrage Association.
- C. By 1890, women had partial suffrage in 19 states.
 - By 1910, full suffrage in some states, esp. more liberal western states.
- D. **National American Woman Suffrage Association** grew from 13K in 1893 to 75,000 in 1910 led by **Carrie Chapman Catt**.
 1. Most effective leader of the new generation of women suffrage proponents.
 2. Deemphasized argument that women deserved the vote as a matter of right because they were in all respects the equals of men.
 3. Stressed desirability of suffrage so women could continue to discharge their traditional duties as homemakers and mothers in the increasingly public world of the city e.g. boards of public health, police commissions, and school boards.
 - As a result, suffragists gained
 4. **"Winning Plan"** emphasized lobbying Congress, effective meetings & parades.
 - a. Publicized women's contributions to the war effort which President Wilson used in urging Congress to approve suffrage.
 - Initially, he did not support female suffrage but Catt's efforts as well as those of Alice Paul forced his hand.
 - b. With prohibition imminent as a result of WWI, liquor lobby eased its opposition to female suffrage.
- E. **Alice Paul's Congressional Union** used militant tactics to gain attention such as picketing the White House in 1916 and going on hunger strikes.
 1. Led most militant women out of NAWSA to form the Congressional Union.
 2. Put forth Equal Rights Amendment after 1920 (readopted in 1960s but eventually killed in 1982 when three-fourths of states did not ratify)
- F. **19th Amendment** passed in 1920 granting women full suffrage.
 - Bill put forth in the House by **Jeannette Rankin**: first women in Congress.

VI. African Americans made few gains during the Progressive era

- A. TR lambasted by critics for allowing Booker T. Washington to dine in the White House.

TR never again publicly supported blacks.

B. Great African American migration northward resulted in violence

1. By 1920, 2 million blacks lived in the North (out of 11 million)
 - Hoped to escape poverty and discrimination of the South.
2. **Race riots** - due largely to large migrations of blacks out of the south into predominantly white northern cities, especially during and after WWI.
 - **Chicago Race Riot** - Lasted 5 days as black workers and returning WWI vets fought back; 23 blacks & 15 whites dead; 520 seriously injured; over 1,000 left homeless; federal troops called in.

C. Large numbers of lynchings continued between 1890 and 1920

1. **Ida B. Wells** (Ida Wells-Barnett)

- a. Leader of the antilynching movement who was able to influence a 25% decrease in lynchings within 3 years during the 1890s.
- b. Helped found NAACP.

D. Organizing for increased rights

1. **W.E.B. DuBois** opposed Booker T. Washington's accommodationist policies and demanded immediate social and economic equality for blacks; was raised in Massachusetts in North contrasting with Booker T. Washington in South.

- a. Called Washington an "Uncle Tom" for condemned blacks to manual labor and perpetual inferiority.
- b. His opposition to Washington as well as other blacks led to the formation of the **Niagara Movement** (1905-1909)
 - i. Demanded immediate end to segregation and to discrimination in the unions, courts, and public accommodations.
 - ii. Demanded equality of economic and educational opportunity.
- c. DuBois demanded that the "**talented tenth**" of the black community be given full and immediate access to the mainstream of American life.

2. **NAACP** formed

- a. After **Springfield Race Riots** in 1909, a group of white progressives inc. Jane Addams, John Dewey, William Dean Howells, & editor Oswald Garrison Villard formed the **NAACP** in 1910.
 - DuBois appointed director of publicity & research, and editor of their journal, *Crisis*.
 - b. NAACP adopted many of the goals of the Niagara movement
 - c. By 1914, the organization had 50 branches and 6,000 members.
 - d. By the 1930s it was a predominantly black organization
3. Activism of Washington, Du Bois and others led to some advances.
- a. Black illiteracy rate cut in half between 1900 and 1910.
 - b. Black ownership of land increased 10%.

E. Wilson and African Americans

1. White-supremacist tendencies (his wife was even more so)

- a. His two-volume history of the U.S. is now notorious for its racist view of Reconstruction.
- b. Wilson greatly admired D.W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* (who based some historical material on Wilson's two-volume history. (Movie gloried the KKK)
- c. Congress would not pass several pieces of legislation that Wilson proposed to limit civil rights for African Americans.

2. Wilson presided over accelerated segregation in federal bureaucracy
-- African Americans remained segregated in the federal gov't until the 1960s.
3. African Americans effectively left out of the Democratic party until the 1930s.
-- Wilson appointed southern whites to offices traditionally reserved for blacks.

VI. Wilsonian Foreign Policy (excluding World War I)

A. Wilson hated imperialism and thus recoiled initially from an aggressive foreign policy.

1. Repelled by "Big Stick" policy and "dollar diplomacy."
2. Yet, Wilson would eventually intervene in Latin America more than any other president in U.S. history.
-- Largely from pressure from U.S. corporations who had invested money abroad.

B. Anti-imperialist policies

1. Within one week in office, Wilson proclaimed gov't would no longer offer special support to American investors in Latin America in China.
2. Repealed the **Panama Canal Tolls Act** which had exempted U.S. shipping from tolls thus provoking protest from Great Britain.
3. **Jones Act in 1916** supported by **Sec. of State William Jennings Bryan**
 - a. Granted Philippines territorial status and promised independence as soon as a "stable gov't" could be established.
 - b. 30 years later on July 4, 1946, Philippines received their independence.
4. **Jones Act, 1917** -- gave Puerto Ricans status of citizens
5. Crisis with Japan
 - a. California legislature prohibited Japanese-Americans from owning land.
 - b. Japan protested vigorously; U.S. Navy feared Japan might attack Philippines.
 - c. Sec. of State Bryan went to California and pleaded with state legislature to soften its stand and thus tensions eased somewhat.

C. Imperialism under Wilson -- aimed to reinforce Western Hemisphere in the face of WWI.

1. Wilson kept marines in Nicaragua to maintain order after they had landed in 1912 and an American financial expert had taken over control of customs.
-- In effect, Nicaragua became a U.S. protectorate (although not officially).
2. U.S. forces sent to Haiti in 1914-15 when Haitian president torn to pieces.
 - a. Purpose: protect U.S. lives and property -- urged by First National Bank of NY.
 - b. In effect, Haiti also became a U.S. protectorate.
3. 1916, U.S. marines sent to Dominican Republic when riots & civil war broke out.
 - a. Debt-cursed country became, in effect, a protectorate of U.S.
 - b. Marines remained until 1934
4. 1917, U.S. purchased Virgin Islands from Denmark
-- Caribbean sea increasingly now dominated by U.S. (along with Panama route)

D. Mexico

1. **Mexican Revolution** began in 1910.
 - a. **Porfirio Diaz** had been dictator since 1876 but now opposed by Indian masses and frustrated middle-class.
 - i. Diaz had hoped to modernize Mexico through foreign investment.
 - ii. Dominance of foreigners stimulated nationalism (like Boxers in China in 1900)
 - iii. By 1910 Americans owned 43% of property in Mexico; other foreigners owned nearly 25%!; 50,000 Americans lived in Mexico

- b. Francisco Madero, revolutionary, replaced Diaz as president of Mexico in 1911.
 - i. Foreign investors feared Madero would yield to radicals who vowed to confiscate property owned by foreigners.
 - ii. Foreign diplomats (including U.S.) and business people plotted with discontented elements of Mexican army to replace Madero with General Huerta.
 - iii. In reality, Madero was moderate and preferred by Wilson.
- 2. Poor Mexicans waged a revolution and in Feb. 1913 overthrew Madero.
 - a. **General Huerta**, a full-blooded Indian, installed as president
 - b. Massive migration of Mexicans to U.S. ensued
- 3. American interests in Mexico cried for U.S. intervention for protection.
 - a. Wilson initially stood firm against intervention; though he did not recognize Huerta
 - b. Later, Wilson massed U.S. troops on the border and sent warships to Mexico warning Huerta that unless he abdicated, the U.S. would overthrow him.
 - i. Wilson saw Huerta as "brute"; "I am going to teach the South American republics to elect good men."
 - ii. 1914, he allowed U.S. arms to flow to **Venustiano Carranza** and **Francisco "Pancho" Villa** who were Huerta's principal rivals.
- 5. Tampico Incident: April 1914, small party of U.S. sailors arrested at Atlantic seaport of Tampico for being in a war zone without a permit.
 - a. Mexico promptly released sailors and apologized but refused the U.S. admiral's demand for 21-gun salute unless the U.S. likewise saluted the Mexican flag.
 - Huerta knew that saluting the Mexican flag meant U.S. recognition of Huerta as Mexico's legitimate leader.
 - b. Wilson, furious at Huerta's ploy at recognition.
 - Intent on eliminating Huerta, asked Congress for authority to use force against Mexico.
- 6. Wilson ordered the navy (before Congress could act), which was seeking to intercept a German ship with arms for Huerta, to seize Vera Cruz.
 - a. Congress and much of the American public outraged.
 - b. Both Huerta and Carranza condemned the U.S. act.
 - c. 126 Mexican casualties, 19 American
 - d. Americans occupied (and modernized) the city for seven months.
- 7. **ABC Powers** (Argentina, Chile, & Brazil) offered to mediate just as full-scale war seemed inevitable (Niagara Falls Conference).
 - Huerta collapsed in July 1914 and was succeeded by Carranza who was still resentful over U.S. action in Vera Cruz.
- 8. Meanwhile, "Pancho" Villa emerged as Carranza's chief rival
 - a. Carranza was reluctantly supported by U.S. with arms and diplomatic recognition.
 - b. Villa retaliated by killing 18 Americans at Santa Ysabel, Mexico in Jan. 1916.
 - c. March 1916, Villa's army shot up Columbus, New Mexico, killing 17 Americans.
- 9. **General John J. Pershing** ordered to subdue Villa.
 - a. Penetrated 300 miles into Mexican state of Chihuahua with 5,800 forces where U.S. forces clashed with Carranza's forces and mauled Villa's forces.
 - U.S. did not have Mexican permission
 - b. Villa never captured by U.S. but ultimately assassinated in 1923.
- 10. U.S. withdraws

- a. Wilson's intervention in Mexico seen as so egregious that *both* sides in Mexico's civil war wanted U.S. out.
 - U.S. public pressure and foreign pressure influenced Wilson to remove troops.
 - b. With threat of war with Germany becoming real, U.S. withdrew its invading army on February 5, 1917.
- E. Wilson's foreign policy so unpopular that it was flatly repudiated in the 1920s.

VII. Election of 1916

- A. Republicans and bull moose Progressives met in Chicago.
 - 1. Progressives re-nominated TR but he had no desire to once-again split the Republican vote as he hated Wilson.
 - a. TR's refusal to run effectively ended the Progressive party.
 - b. Progressive wing of Republican party threw its weight behind Hughes.
 - 2. Republican Old Guard nominated Supreme Court justice **Charles Evans Hughes**, ex-governor of New York who had achieved solid liberal reforms
 - Platform: condemned Democratic tariff, assaults on trusts, and Wilson's vacillation in dealing with Mexico and Germany.
- B. Wilson nominated at Democratic convention in St. Louis.
 - 1. Slogan: "He Kept Us Out of War." (although Wilson never used this phrase realizing that U.S. isolation was on thin ice)
 - 2. Democratic orators warned that electing Hughes meant getting involved in WWI
- C. Result: Wilson d. Hughes 277-254; 9,127,695 to 8,533,507 in popular vote.
 - 1. Midwesterners and westerners voted overwhelmingly for Wilson based on his progressive reforms and antiwar policies.
 - Also gained strong labor support from working class and from ex-bull moosers who Republicans failed to get back after TR refused to run.
 - 2. Voters who hoped Wilson would keep them from war were soon to be disappointed.

Acknowledgement: created by APUSH teachers, Curie H.S.: Murphy, Podgorni, & Chavez

Bibliography:

- Bailey, Thomas A., Kennedy, David M.: *The American Pageant, 10th edition*, Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath, 1994
- College Board, *Advanced Placement Course Description: History -- United States, European History*, College Entrance Examination Board, 1996
- Foner, Eric & Garraty, John A. editors: *The Reader's Companion to American History*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1991
- Heckscher, August, *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography*, New York: MacMillan, 1991
- Hofstadter, Richard, *The Age of Reform*, New York: Random House, 1955
- _____, *The American Political Tradition*, New York: Alfred Knopf, 1948
- Jackson, Carl E. and Tolbert, Emory J., editors, *Race and Culture in America: Readings in Racial and Ethnic Relations, 3rd Edition*, Edina, Minnesota: Bellwether Press 1989
- Loewen, James W., *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong*, New York: The New Press, 1995

Miller, Nathan, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Life*, New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1992

Nash, Gary : *American Odyssey*, Lake Forest, Illinois: Glencoe, 1992

Painter, Nell Irvin, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877-1919*, New York: W. W. Norton 1987

Schultz, Constance G., *The American History Videodisc Master Guide*, Annapolis, Maryland: Instruction Resources Corporation, 1995

Yanak, Ted & Cornelison, Pam, *The Great American History Fact-Finder*, Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1993