

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 its failure in 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. subtreasury 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. The Progressives

- A. Believed an efficient gov't could protect the public interest and restore order to society. -- Government is an agency of human welfare
- B. Specific issues for reform: (explain each individually)
 1. The break-up or regulation of trusts
 2. Killing political machines
 3. Improve squalid conditions in the cities
 4. Improve working conditions for female labor and end child labor
 5. Consumer protection
 6. Voting reform
 7. Conservation
 8. banking reform
 9. labor reform (working conditions and unionization)
 10. Prohibition of alcohol
 11. Female suffrage
- C. 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.
 2. Competition was being eliminated by an oligarchy; small businessmen no longer able to compete.
 3. Plutocracy
- 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.
- 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.

- 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

IV. Progressive Analysts

- A. Between 1870 and 1920, college enrollment increased 400%
- B. Many schools est. separate social science departments e.g. econ., poly sci, and 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)
 - 1. Believed education for living and working played a crucial role in democracy.
 - 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. 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.
- F. 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)
 - 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.
 - 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

- 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.
 - 2. Yellow press also played a role especially Pulitzer and Hearst
- B. Lincoln Steffens -- *Shame of the Cities* (1902)
- C. Ida M. Tarbell -- published devastating expose on Standard Oil Co.
 - 1. Detailed Rockefeller's ruthless tactics to crush competition
 - 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.
 2. Provoked President Roosevelt to label this genre of journalism "muckraking"
- F. John Spargo -- *The Bitter Cry of the Children* (1906)
- G. Ray Stannard Baker -- *Following the Color Line* (1908)
- H. Frank Norris -- *The Octopus* (1901) and *The Pit* (1903)
- I. Theodore Dreiser: *The Financier* (1912) and *The Titan* (1914)

VI. Progressive Activists

- A. City had new opportunities for women
 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)
- C. Women & Child Labor 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.
 2. Gains in women and child labor reform
 - a. *Muller v. Oregon*, 1906 -- upheld Oregon law restricting women's labor to 10-hour workday.
 - 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
 - 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
 - b. Perfected scheme for regulating public utilities by instituting public utilities commissions that created legislation for workers' safety, railroads, & regulation of public utilities.
 - c. Replaced the existing spoils system with state civil service
 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. 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.
- 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 as party workers could not help voters mark their ballots.
- 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

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.
 3. Often bypassed congressional opposition
 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" was his 1906 campaign slogan

- A. TR's program embraced three C's:
 1. Control of the corporations
 2. Consumer protection
 3. Conservation of natural resources
- B. 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.
 - c. TR threatened to seize mines and operate them with federal troops if owners refused to compromise (unprecedented in U.S. history)
 - 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.
 2. Department of Commerce & Labor created to settle disputes between capital and labor in 1903.
 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".
 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)
 - a. Expanded the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission (created in 1887)
 - 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.
 - b. TR did not consider wholesale trust-busting economically sound policy.
 - c. Believed in regulating, not fragmenting trusts.
 - d. In reality, trusts healthier at end of TR's reign than at anytime before.
 - e. President Taft busted up more trusts than TR.
- C. 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)
 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.
 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.
- D. Conservation
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.
 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 million acres of forests in federal reserves.
 - b. Also earmarked millions of acres of coal deposits, as well as water resources useful for irrigation and power.
- E. 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 trustbusting.
 - 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' Alliancemen, and Greenbackers.

XI. President William H. Taft

- A. Election of 1908
 - 1. Taft d. Bryan 321-162
 - 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. Supreme 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.
 - b. 1911, Court ordered dissolution of Standard Oil Company
- 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
 - 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 individuals 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
 - 1. Reducing tariff high on the list for progressive reformers.
 - 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.
- 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
 - 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.
- 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"
 - 3. Marked new era in politics where Old Guard Republican were now on defensive.
- E. Republicans lost badly in congressional elections of 1910.

- F. 1911, Taft pressed an anti-trust suit against U.S. Steel Corp.
- G. Taft-Roosevelt split
 - 1. Early 1911, National Progressive Republican League formed
 - a. Robert LaFollette 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.
 - 2. Roosevelt became the progressive candidate with LaFollette 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"

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
- 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
 - c. TR influenced by Herbert Croly: *The Promise of American Life* (1910):
 - 2. TR shot in chest in Milwaukee before giving campaign speech
- 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
 - 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)
 - 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.
 - 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.

XIV. Wilson's Presidency

- A. Background
 - 1. 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.
 - 2. Dramatically successful as governor and president in appealing over heads of legislators to the sovereign people.
 - 3. Not willing to go as far as TR in gov't activism.
 - 4. Unlike TR, Wilson lacked common touch
 - 5. Moral righteousness made him often uncompromising
- B. Wilson came to office with a clear plan few presidents have rivaled.
 - 1. First four 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.
- 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.
 2. Republican solution: a huge national bank
 3. Pujo Committee & the Democratic solution
 - a. Conservative Democrats favored a decentralized system privately owned and controlled but free from Wall Street.
 - b. Louis Brandeis: *Other People's Money and How the Bankers Use It* (1913)
 - d. June 1913, Wilson appeared dramatically for second time in Congress pushing for a sweeping reform of the banking system.
 4. Federal Reserve Act of 1913.
 - a. Most significant economic legislation between Civil War and New Deal.
 - b. Provisions:
 - i. Federal Reserve Board appointed by the president oversaw nationwide system of 12 regional reserve districts, each with its own central bank.
 - 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.
 - 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.
 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.
 - b. Exempted labor and agricultural organizations from antitrust prosecution while explicitly legalizing strikes and peaceful picketing.
- E. Other progressive reforms during Wilson's presidency.
 1. In order to win election of 1916, Wilson signed other reforms
 2. Federal Farm Loan Act of 1916: low-interest credit available to farmers.
 3. Warehouse Act of 1916: authorized loans on the security of staple crops.
 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. LaFollette 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), 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.
 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.

XV. 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.
 - 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 new 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 workday set by the state of Oregon.
 - 3. As Court justice for 23 years, earned reputation as greatest legal craftsman of his era.

XVI. Prohibition of alcohol

- A. Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) led by Francis Willard in late 19th c.
- 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

XVII. Women's Suffrage

- A. By 1890, women had partial suffrage in 19 states.
- B. 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. De-emphasized 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.
 - 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.
 - 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
- F. 19th Amendment passed in 1920 granting women full suffrage.

XVIII. 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)
 - 2. Race riots - due largely to large migrations of blacks out of the south into predominantly white northern cities, especially during and after WWI.
- C. Large numbers of lynchings continued between 1890 and 1920
- D. Organizing for increased rights
 - 1. W.E.B. DuBois demanded immediate social and economic equality for blacks.
 - a. Called Washington an "Uncle Tom" for condemning 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
 - 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
 - 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*
 - 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
 - 3. African Americans effectively left out of the Democratic party until the 1930s.

XIX. 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.
- 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
 - 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.
 - 2. U.S. forces sent to Haiti in 1914-15 when Haitian president torn to pieces.
 - 3. 1916, U.S. marines sent to Dominican Republic when riots & civil war broke out.

4. 1917, U.S. purchased Virgin Islands from Denmark

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.

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 a "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.

6. Wilson ordered the navy 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).

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.

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.

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.

XX. Election of 1916

A. Republicans and bull moose Progressives met in Chicago.

1. Progressives renominated TR but he had no desire to once-again split the Republican vote as he hated Wilson.

2. Republican Old Guard nominated Supreme Court justice Charles Evans Hughes, ex-governor of New York who had achieved solid liberal reforms

B. Wilson nominated at Democratic convention in St. Louis.

1. Slogan: "He Kept Us Out of War."

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.
2. Voters who hoped Wilson would keep them from war were soon to be disappointed.