***The Gilded Age (1877 – 1900)***

\*General Characteristics of Gilded Age Politics\*

- The Gilded Age (1877 – 1900) was defined by industrialization, urbanization, and the commercialization of agriculture. Inevitably, the turbulence of the era made for a dynamic political climate, as illustrated by the fact that…

1. Public interest in politics was at a peak – sort of like a spectator sport – and there was intense party loyalty [often on religious/ethnic lines] as follows:
* **Democratic Party** – opposed interference by gov’t w/respect to personal liberty, restrict gov’t power, mainly Catholic immigrants
* **Republican Party** – gov’t as agent of moral reform, direct gov’t action, mainly native-born Protestants
1. Elections were also extremely close on both the local and nat’l levels; the two parties were split almost perfectly. \*At the state level, though, one party usually ruled via the state boss, who was usually a Senator. The boss wielded huge powers until the **Seventeenth Amendment** (1913), which provided for direct election of Senators.
2. Still, there was a significant amount of factionalism within both parties. The Democratic Party divided into white supremacy Southerners, immigrants, working-class city dwellers, and business types who liked low tariffs. As for the Republican Party, there were the:
* *Stalwarts* – led by NY Senator and party boss Conklin, heavy reliance on spoils system
* *Half-Breeds* – led by Blaine, supposed idealists but really just out of power
* *Mugwumps* – true idealists, tended towards Democratic side

- On a broader level, the Gilded Age resulted in three main things: the rise of special interests, some major legislative accomplishments, and the continuation of political exclusion for minorities/women.

\*The Main Issues of Gilded Age Politics\*

- Some key legislation was passed during the Gilded Age, mainly relating to the following issues…

1. *Sectional Issues* – yes, the Civil War was still a problem, and both sides continually blamed e/o for the war and tried to invoke war memories for their own advantage. This led to a super costly veterans’ pension benefits.
2. *Civil Service Reform* – reformers began to advocate civil service reform (promotion based on merit rather than on party loyalty) as a means of restricting corruption. In **1881** the **National Civil Service Reform League** was formed, and in **1882** the **Pendleton Civil Service Act** was passed, which created the Civil Service Commission to oversee exams for positions for 10% of jobs. This was only the beginning, though, b/c the Constitution still stopped state corruption from being restricted.
3. *Railroad Regulation* – to kill competition, railroads developed several nasty habits: raising and lowering rates, making pricing dependent on competition rather than on distance, and playing favorites for big corporations. Farmers demanded regulation, resulting in commissions in 14 states by 1880. *Munn v. Illinois* reinforced the state regulation deal, but the 1886 *Wabash* case showed states couldn’t regulate interstate lines. In 1887, though, the **Interstate Commerce Act** was passed, which created the ICC to investigate RRD practices but didn’t provide for its enforcement – so the pro-business SC limited its powers through the *Maximum Freight Rate* case (1897 – ICC can’t set rates) and the *Alabama Midlands* case (1897 – Railroads can give higher rates for shorter distances).
4. *Tariffs* – e/t they started out as measures to protect industries, tariffs were being abused by big companies to charge excessively high prices. Tariffs became a big party issues, as Republicans made protective tariffs part of their platform while Democrats pushed to lower rates (reduce the surplus by cutting taxes/tariffs, gov’t shouldn’t be making $). In the end, Republicans won out w/the **McKinley Tariff of 1890** and then the **Dingley Tariff** of 1897.
5. *Monetary Policy* – when prices fell after the Civil War, farmers got into trouble b/c their debts were worth the same, but their products were worth less. As a result, they went for silver while creditors favored a more stable gold-backed money supply. The whole deal even turned into a sort of class conflict and moral/religious thing. By 1870 the sides were clear – creditors (gold) and debtors (silver) – and when silver dollars were taken away after their value went up in respect to gold it was referred to as the “Crime of ’73.” The **Bland-Allison Act** (1878, allowed the Treasury to buy $2-4 million of silver) and **Sherman Silver Purchase Act** (1890) were concessions, but the silver side remained unsatisfied.

- Overall, corruption notwithstanding, many important acts were passed during the Gilded Age.

\*The Gilded Age Presidents\*

- After the scandals of Grant’s administration and the election of 1876, Gilded Age Presidents attempted to reestablish the legitimacy of the Presidency. They also began initiating legislation and using the veto more.

- **Rutherford B. Hayes** (Republican, 1877 – 1881) was a quiet compromiser who emphasized nat’l unity, opposed violence, and attempted to get rid of the spoils system by battling Conklin (he fired Chester Arthur, Conklin’s protégé, from NY Customs).

- **James Garfield** (Republican, 1881) aimed to reduce the tariff and maintain and independent position, but he was assassinated by a rebuffed patronage seeker and was succeeded by former Conklin protégé **Chester Arthur** (Republican, 1881 – 1885), who actually became a prudent leader: he passed the Pendleton Civil Service Act(1883), supported RRD regulation, and used the veto to control business.

- **Grover Cleveland** (Democrat, 1885 – 1889) expanded civil service, vetoed private pension bills, and tried [and failed] to lower tariffs. Cleveland was defeated in 1888 by **Benjamin Harrison** (Republican, 1889 – 1893) b/c he was better at cheating.

- Through various methods, **Harrison** influenced the legislation that was passed, resulting in more bills than usual; issues dealt w/included civil service reform and the Dependents’ Pension Act [Union veterans]. Consequently, though, the budget exploded, giving the Democrats another opportunity.

- **Cleveland** ran again and won, during his second term (1893 – 1897) he attempted to deal w/currency, tariffs, and labor problems but ended up having to rely on big business, esp. b/c of the panic of 1893.

\*Limits of Gilded Age Politics\*

- Not everyone was included in Gilded Age politics, both in the North and the South. Race was of particular relevance in the South, though, where poor whites tried to squash the freedmen in order to preserve their own real or imagined social superiority.

- Race violence became commonplace in the South, as did disenfranchisement via poll taxes and bogus literacy tests [this was permitted b/c of *US v. Reese*, which ruled that Congress couldn’t control voting rights outside of the explicit conditions mentioned in the 15th Amendment].

- Worse still, as a result of a series of decisions by the SC in the 1870s that climaxed in 1883 when the 1875 Civil Rights Act [prohibited segregation in public facilities] was struck down, blacks were stuck w/”separate but equal” facilities. This was upheld in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) and *Cummins v. Board of Education* (1899), and was followed by the proliferation of **Jim Crow** laws.

- To cope, blacks tried to get educations, and black women often joined with white women to push for reform, especially reform relating to nat’l suffrage. Two major organizations led the fight: the **NWSA** [militants Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony wanted overall rights] and the **AWSA** [suffrage only].

- At first, the NWSA concentrated on a nat’l amendment, and the AWSA worked on the state level, but they merged in 1890 to become the NAWSA. Still, e/t they were successful in training leaders, raising awareness, and getting individual states to cooperate, nat’l suffrage was to come later.

\*The Agrarian Revolt\*

- Even before the advent of Populism, angry farmers were getting organized. At first, the “agrarian revolt” took the form of the **Grange Organizations** of the early 1870s, and then the **Farmers’ Alliances** in Texas and the Great Plains. So why were they so pissed off? Hmm…think about it.

- Economic woes faced by the farmers:

* **Sharecropping** [the “crop lien” system] – if farmers [usually in South] were unable to pay their debts [for supplies], they had to promise to pay with their crops. The crops would rarely be worth enough, so they would borrow more, etc.
* **Economic Change** – in the South, yeoman farmers were being pushed into cotton raising b/c of the debts incurred during the war [it was no longer practical to grow own food]. This made the debt situation worse and put them at the mercy of merchants. In the Midwest, the problem involved dropping prices [due to technological advances] that necessitated increases in production. But since costs weren’t dropping, many farmers got stuck big time.
* **Price Inflation/Interest Rate** - to make matters worse, merchants took advantage by charging insane interest and inflating prices.
* **RRD Exploitation** – see above
* **Weather/Bugs** – well, the industrialists also played a part by making mail order bugs that farmers could let loose on competitors, as well as portable hurricanes. Haha…just kidding!

- **Grange Movement** (1870s) – farmers formed a network of Granges w/elected officers and membership oaths. E/t they began as social things, Granges soon turned to economics/politics. This didn’t work so well, though [they elected people, but couldn’t fight the corporations], so Granges declined in the late 1870s. In the Southwest, Mexican farmers also organized into the **White Hats** [“Gorras Blancas”], who were against the encroachment of English ranchers on their traditional lands, but this failed too.

- **Farmers’ Alliances** (1890s) – there were two (Great Plains & South). They began in Texas, and were generally groups of small farmers that were trying to combat big money, esp. railroads. Like the Granges, they held rallies, educational meetings, and had cooperative buying and selling agreements.

- **Subtreasury Plan** – proposed by the FA, this was a plan to help indebted farmers that called for the federal gov’t to build warehouses where farmers could keep crops [and receive loans at 80% of the market price] while they waited for higher prices. Also, the gov’t would give low-interest loans to land buyers. This was meant to inject cash into the economy and raise crop prices while keeping others the same.

- E/t early attempts at merging were sabotaged by sectional differences, both Alliances eventually formed a third party in Omaha 1892 – the Populist Party. The Populists nominated **Weaver** for the 1892 election, and he ran on the **Omaha Platform**, which called for gov’t ownership of utilities and railroads, gov’t ownership of land, farm loans, expansion of the currency, an income tax, direct election of Senators, and a shorter wkday.

- Of course, Weaver lost to Cleveland, but the Populists gained support through their wild speeches, etc.

\*The Depression of the 1890s\*

- The Depression of the 1890s really started in 1893 with the collapse of the Nat’l Cordage Company, which, like many other railroads and manufacturers, had borrowed too much and was unable to pay its debts. To try to make up for their debt, companies bought more equipment and worked people harder – but all that did was make workers lose money as well. So companies closed, banks closed…overall, it sucked.

- The worst of it was between 1893 and 1895…people lost money, so they didn’t want to buy things, so prices dropped more, so wages dropped more…you get the picture. Currency was still a problem, as the gold reserves were dropping due to a silver boom, and the more the gold dropped, the more people tried to redeem their securities.

- As a result, the Sherman Act was repealed in 1893, but people STILL didn’t stop, which forced Cleveland to accept an offer from J.P. Morgan (in return for bonds, which they resold for profit). This got Cleveland in trouble with his fellow Democrats and wasn’t even that beneficial, as the economy crashed again in 1895 before it began to rise back up due to gold discoveries in Alaska, good harvests, and industrial growth.

- Strangely enough, the Depression was the last element in cementing the new national economy, b/c it wiped out lots of the weaker industries, I guess.

\*Depression Era Protests\*

- The first real protests were in 1877 [the RRD strikes], and they were followed by the Haymarket Riot (1866), Carnegie Steel strikes in 1892, violence at a silver mine (also in 1892), etc. These events scared the crap out of many well-off people, who thought, “Oh my GOD …the ANARCHISTS are behind it all.”

- This actually wasn’t true at all, though. There were some socialists in America, but it didn’t work out so well b/c of factionalism and the constant temptation to get ahead via the capitalist system. The biggest socialist leader, **Eugene V. Debs**, emerged in the aftermath of the 1894 Pullman car strike – but e/t he did form the **Socialist Party of America**, not much came of it until the next century.

- In 1894, another popular movement, **Coxey’s Army**, got a lot of attention. Coxey, who advocated public works projects and low-interest gov’t loans, led a huge number of farmers/unemployed people on a march to the capital. On the day of the demonstration, however, police stopped the protestors and arrested Coxey.

\*The Election of 1896\*

- The Populists prepared to run again in the **Presidential Election of 1896** – they were doing well, but their biggest problem was lack of organization, and the effects of racism. The big issue, as they saw it, was the coinage of silver, which they promoted as the obvious solution to the country’s economic problems.

- But Populists still faced one decision: should they semi-join one of the major party factions, or should they stay totally independent (and not win as many votes)? Republicans were obviously out of the question, as they supported big-business and the gold standard, but union w/the Democrats didn’t seem that bad.

- Anyhow, the Republicans went ahead and nominated **William McKinley** [at the suggestion of **Marcus Hanna**, an Ohio industrialist] w/o any problems; their only crisis was that, in response to their gold policies, a small group of silver Republicans walked out.

- The Democrats, on the other hand, became obsessed w/silver and nominated big orator guy **William Jennings Byran**, who wrote the famous convention pro-silver speech [of course, some gold Democrats had to go and walk out, but who cares about them].

- As a result, the Populists decided to go w/Bryan and the Democrats, only w/a different VP nominee. So, the campaign began. Bryan went on an all out speaking tour full of emotion, evangelicalism, and all that. McKinley sat at home on his butt and waited for the press to come to him so he could tell them about the new jobs he’d make w/his protective tariffs.

- What happened? McKinley killed Bryan, partially b/c the urban-rural coalition the Populists wanted hadn’t happened b/c of their silver obsession [took away from other reforms, and urban workers thought it would lower the value of their wages].

- Naturally, McKinley signed the **Gold Standard Act** (1900), which required that all paper money had to be backed by gold; he also raised tariffs and encouraged imperialism. The economy improved, but mainly b/c of the gold discoveries in Alaska, not b/c of McKinley. Nobody cared though, so they elected him again.

***The Progressive Era (1895 – 1920)***

\*Progressivism: An Overview\*

- In 1912, a new party emerged on the political scene, calling themselves the **Progressives**. The formation of the party was actually the culmination of a series of reform movements that began in the 1890s.

- Some general CAUSES of Progressivism:

* *The 1890s* – Yes, the 1890s were a cause of Progressivism, mainly b/c they sucked. In the 1890s, all the tensions built up during industrialization broke loose in the **Panic of 1893**, labor problems, political issues, and foreign entanglements.
* *Capitalism OUT OF CONTROL* – Partially b/c of the depression, many people started to realize that capitalism, w/its monopolistic tendencies and rampant destruction of natural resources, needed just a bit of restraint.
* *Screwed-Up Cities* – Disease, poverty and crime were often rampant.
* *Immigration and the rise of a new socio-economic elite* – This made people nervous.

- The bottom line of Progressivism was basically this: SOCIETY IS RESPONSIBLE FOR INDIVIDUALS AND SHOULD HELP THEM – as opposed to Gilded Age every-man-for-himself Social Darwinism. This manifested itself through a desire to:

* *End Abuses of Power* – Trust-busting, consumers’ rights, good government.
* *Build New Institutions* – Schools, hospitals
* *Be Efficient* – “Wow! Let’s make our political and social institutions just like factories!” Well, that might explain the way school is, but anyway…
* *Achieve Perfection* – Yeah, they really thought it could happen. .

\*Politics in the Progressive Era\*

- During the PE, *party loyalty and voter turnout declined* as *politics opened to new interest groups*, each of which had their own agendas – i.e. the Progressive Era witnessed the birth of that delightful phenomenon: the nationwide [charitable] organization that calls your house and asks you for money eight times a day. These organizations included: professional groups, women’s organizations, issue-oriented groups, civic clubs, and minority groups. So, *politics became more fragmented and issue-driven*.

- Politics also became more open to foreign models/ideas and reform took on a far more *urban orientation*, as opposed to the Populist movement that culminated in the 1896 election. This was partially due to the leadership of the new middle class [professionals], who lived in the cities.

- Another novelty was *Muckraking Journalism* – i.e. journalists who combined the public’s love of scandal w/exposes of social/political injustices. Names to know: **Steffen’s** *The Shame of the Cities* (1904), **Upton Sinclair’s** *The Jungle* (1906), **Ida Tarbell** [Standard Oil].

- Then there was the *movement towards more direct participation in gov’t*, which, it was hoped, would control corruption. Progressives wanted: the **initiative** [propose laws], the **referendum** [vote on laws], and the **recall** [get rid of offending officials].

- One thing to remember – *not everyone in the PE was actually a Progressive*. Plenty of people opposed them: Socialists from the left, and business leaders and anti-gov’t interference people from the right. Progressives were basically in the center.

\*Governmental and Legislative Reform\*

- With the big economic crises of the late 1800s, American resistance to gov’t interference in daily life began to diminish. Progressives, especially, saw the gov’t as a tool that would ensure social justice and act against inefficiency and exploitation. But first, they felt, they had to *eliminate corruption*.

- Before the Progressive Era, reformers had tried to wipe out boss politics in the cities – this had been only partially successful – but after 1900 it worked out as city manager and commission forms of city gov’t were installed. But the cities were not enough…most Progressives wanted state and nat’l gov’t reform as well.

- Naturally, each region had its own pet peeves. One thing that was common, though, was a belief in strong, fair executives, esp. governors like Wisconsin’s **Robert “Battling Bob” La Follette**, who installed a major reform program w/direct primaries, fairer taxes, RRD regulation, and commissions staffed by experts.

- Anyhow, the crusade against corruption worked to some extent throughout the country [e/t in the South, many Progressives were still racists] – by 1916 all but 3 states had the initiative, referendum and recall; and in 1913 the **Seventeenth Amendment** was passed, which provided for direct election of Senators. Nevertheless, there were still many cases were bosses stayed just b/c of their superior organization.

- When it came to *labor regulation*, however, legislation was much more effective b/c both reformers and bosses supported it. States passed laws protecting public health and safety (police), supporting factory inspection, requiring accident compensation, and banning child labor.

- Then there was the *moral angle*, which was far more controversial…some of the major issues included drinking habits [**Anti-Saloon League** (1893)], which resulted in the **Eighteenth Amendment** outlawing the sale of liquor, and prostitution – “white slavery” – a threat that was really more imagined than real, but still managed to get a whole lot of attention and the passage of the **Mann Act** (1910), which prohibited transportation of a woman for immoral purposes.

- Overall, the reformers’ efforts reflect their ideology that environment, not human nature, creates sin…i.e. that humans can achieve perfection in the right setting.

\*New Philosophies in the Progressive Era\*

- Changes in society prompted a multitude of new ideas during the Progressive Era, including:

* *Education* – For the first time, educators were faced w/masses of children going to school full time [b/c of the growth of cities]. In response, philosopher **John Dewey** [*The School and Society* (1899), *Democracy and Education* (1916)]decided that personal development should be the focus of education, and that all teaching had to relate directly to experience, so that kids “discover knowledge for themselves.” Yeah, now we know who to blame for all the stupid stuff we did in elementary school! But this ended up in colleges too, which soon began to expand their curriculums – still, women/blacks were mostly left out of educational opportunities.
* *Law* – A new legal philosophy, led by **Roscoe Pound**, held that social reality should influence legal thinking – i.e. the law should reflect society’s needs and work from experience [gathering scientific data], not be this abstract, inflexible thing. Of course, this methodology met opposition in the old *laissez-faire* judges, who struck down public safety regulations in cases like *Lochner v. NY* (1905). But some were also upheld – ex. *Holden v. Hardy* (1898). Another big question was: how can general welfare benefit w/o oppressing minorities?
* *Social Science* – Similar to changes in law, new scholars began to argue that economic relationships depended on social conditions [as opposed to being timeless]. Progressive historians [**Frederick Jackson Turner**, **Charles A. Beard**] also emphasized the flexibility of the Constitution – it has to serve each age in its own way.
* *Public Health* – New organizations, like the **National Consumers League** joined scientists to combat workplace hazards, help female workers, and urge for food safety regulations.
* *Eugenics* – B/c of Darwin, some people [**Francis Galton**] came up w/the idea that society had an obligation to prevent “defective” people from reproducing. This resulted in laws in some states allowing sterilization of criminals and the mentally ill. This thinking received a boost in *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916) by Madison Grant, which held that immigrants were threatening the superior Nordic race.

- MOST IMPORTANTLY, though, was the *Social Gospel* – Underlying all Progressive actions was the idea that, instead of Social Darwinism, people have an obligation to help improve society. This idea was rooted in religion, and in the previous evangelical reform movement philosophies.

\*Challenges to Racial/Sexual Discrimination\*

- Most minorities were ignored by Progressives, but they found their own leaders willing to challenge inequality. By 1900, in the South, blacks faced constant segregation via Jim Crow laws [caused by *Plessy v. Ferguson*], discrimination, and violence. This held true, to a lesser degree, even when they moved North.

- There were two main leaders/responses to the problem faced by blacks:

* **Booker T. Washington** [rural] – Through “Self-Help” [hard work leading to economic success], Washington felt that blacks could *eventually* acquire social and political rights. For the time being, however, he felt that they should compromise with whites – though he did not feel blacks were inferior, he still endorsed a separate-but-equal policy. But his views, as presented in the **Atlanta Exposition** (1895), encountered opposition from more radical elements.
* **WEB Du Bois** [urban]– In response to Washington, DB felt that blacks should not have to tolerate white domination and should immediately fight for their social and political rights. DB met with supporters at the **Niagara Conference**, and, in 1909, he joined w/white liberals to form the NAACP, which advocated an end to discrimination.

- American Indians also attempted to form the Society of American Indians (SAI), but it didn’t work out as a governing body b/c racial pride gave way to tribal pride, not unity.

- As for “The Woman Movement,” the Progressive Era heralded an important shift in ideas from the thought that women were special and belonged in other areas of society [so that they could spread their unique talents] to the newfangled \*shocking\* concept that women needed economic/sexual equality and independence. The latter idea, which arose around 1910, was known as *feminism*.

- With feminism came the idea of “sex rights” and birth control as proposed by leader **Margaret Sanger**, who formed the American Birth Control League and managed to make the issue part of public debate.

- Then, of course, there was suffrage…led by **Harriot Blatch**, feminists argued that women needed the vote as political leverage to get better working conditions [all women worked, she argued, whether paid/unpaid].

- Anyhow, the suffragists achieved successes through letter writing, NAWSA articles, marches of the **National Woman’s Party** [**Alice Paul**] and, most of all, and women’s roles in WWI. As a result, the nat’l suffrage amendment was finally passed in 1920. Nevertheless, women remained subordinate to men socially and economically for some time.

\*Theodore “Teddy” Roosevelt and the Revival of the Presidency\*

- After the assassination of McKinley in **September 1901**, young **Theodore Roosevelt** was sent into the White House. Roosevelt supported regulatory legislation, obsessed over “manliness,” and was a brilliant rhetorician and publicity monger.

- Issues addressed by TR:

* *Trust-Busting* – TR agreed w/Progressives that the new era needed a bigger, stronger nat’l gov’t that would act as an umpire in the big business game, deciding which business were okay and which weren’t. And e/t TR wasn’t as big a “trust-buster” as he claimed and only attacked “bad” trusts [he even instructed his **Bureau of Corporations** to assist in some forms of expansion], he did use the Justice Dept. to prosecute trusts that were exploiting the public, like the *Northern Securities* (1904)case.
* *Regulatory Legislation* – TR also supported regulatory legislation, like the **Hepburn Act** (1906), which gave the ICC more authority to set RRD rates. Also, TR investigated the meat industry [Sinclair’s *The Jungle*] and subsequently supported the **Meat Inspection Act** (1906) and the **Food and Drug Act** (1906). In both areas, however, TR compromised rather than risk not gaining anything.
* *Labor* – W/regard to labor, TR generally favored investigation and arbitration. In the **United Mine Workers Strike** (1902), he raised public opinion in favor of the miners and threatened to use troops to reopen the mines to force arbitration by a commission, which eventually raised wages, reduced hours and required dealing w/grievances [but didn’t require recognition of the union]. W/labor, TR felt only some organizations were legitimate, and wished to keep control.
* *Conservation* – TR made huge changes in federal policy towards resources by keeping land in the public domain and supporting the **Newlands Reclamation Act** (1902), which controlled sales of irrigated land in the West. He increased nat’l forests and created the **US Forest Service** w/**Gifford Pinchot**, who advocated scientific management to prevent overuse.

- Then came the **Panic of 1907**, which forced TR into a compromise w/JP Morgan – in return for convincing financiers to stop dropping stocks, TR approved a deal for US steal to get a smaller company. But, during his last year in office, TR went against business again, and supported heavier taxation of the rich and stronger business regulation.

\*The Election of 1908 and Taft’s Presidency\*

- Instead of running again, Teddy supported **William Howard Taft** for the **Presidential Election of 1908** [TR was reelected in 1904, by the way]. B/c of TR’s popularity, Taft won, but landed in a difficult situation.

- First, Taft moved to cut tariffs, but was blocked by Progressives, who felt the tariff benefited special interests. So, the cuts were restored in the **Payne-Aldrich Tariff** (1909), which *also* angered Progressives.

- Basically, Taft was caught in the middle of a rift between the conservative and Progressive wings of the Republican Party. Not cool.

- Then, when a group of Progressives challenged the conservative speaker, who controlled the legislative progress, Taft first supported and then abandoned them. He did, however, enlarge the Rules Committee, and therefore help the Progressives – but he pissed them off even more by firing conservationist Pinchot.

- Basically, it would have stunk to be Taft. He did as much Progressive stuff as TR – he even busted more trusts, signed the **Mann-Elkins Act** (1910), which helped the ICC powers and supported labor reforms, and had the **Sixteenth** [income tax] and **Seventeenth** [direct election of Senators] **Amendments** passed. But b/c he was cautious and wasn’t good at sucking up to people and the press, he didn’t get a good reputation.

\*The Election of 1912 and Wilson’s Presidency\*

- When TR got back from Africa, he realized that his party had split into the **National Progressive Republican League** [La Follette] and the side that stayed loyal to Taft. Disappointed, he began speaking out, and eventually organized the **Bull Moose Party** [from the Progressives] when LF got sick.

- Given that the Republicans had split, the Democrats knew they had a sure win, so they took their time and finally picked **Woodrow Wilson**, who won the election. Wilson and TR had two competing visions for the country, as follows:

* TR [New Nationalism] 🡪 Let’s have a new era where the gov’t coordinates and regulates the economy. Big business can stay, but let’s protect people through commissions of experts that will serve the interests of consumers.
* Wilson [New Freedom] 🡪 Let’s get rid of concentrated economic power altogether and make the marketplace open for competition. We won’t go back to *laissez-faire*, though; we’ll keep regulating it. But, no cooperation between business and gov’t. Based on **Louis Brandeis**.

- Actually, though, the philosophies were very similar: both supported equality of opportunity, conservation, fair wages, and social improvement for all, and a strong involved gov’t.

- So how was Wilson as President? Issues he dealt with included…

* *Anti-Trust Con’t* – Well, given that mergers had proceeded so far, he ended up settling w/expanding gov’t regulation w/the **Clayton Anti-Trust Act** (1914), which outlawed monopolistic practices, and a bill creating the **Federal Trade Commission** (1914), which could investigate companies and order them to stop unfair trade tactics.
* *Banking Regulation* – The **Federal Reserve Act** (1913) established another nat’l bank and district banks [regulated by the **Federal Reserve Board**] that would lend $ to member banks at rates that could be adjusted to increase/decrease the $ in circulation – loosen/tighten credit. Right before the war he also passed the **Federal Farm Loan Act**, which allowed $ to be lent at moderate interest to farmers.
* *Tariffs* – The **Underwood Tariff** (1913) encouraged imports [to help consumers] and instituted a graduated income tax on residents.
* *Labor* – The **Adamson Act** mandated an eight-hour-workday and overtime pay for RRD workers; Wilson also regulated child labor and provided workers’ compensation.

- Then there was the **Presidential Election of 1916**, in which Wilson ran w/his “He Kept Us Out of War” deal against Republican **Charles Hughes** and won. In his second term, regulation increased even more due to the war – the **War Industries Board**, for example. But after the war, regulation fell again. That’s all. OH MY GOSH, I’M REALLY TIRED NOW! How about you? Are you having fun or what?

***American Imperialism (1865 – 1914)***

\*The Causes of American Imperialism\*

- Between the Civil War and WWI, American foreign policy reflected a nation of expansionists and imperialists – cultural, economic, and otherwise. Of course, the US was not alone in this course of action: Germany, Great Britain, Japan, and other powers acted no differently.

- So, what led the US to undertake its imperialist ventures? Generally, e/t foreign policy is determined by an elite group of leaders [instead of more directly by the people, as most people don’t give a crap], it really ends up reflecting the domestic climate of the country. So, the most relevant causes are as follows…

* ECONOMICALLY there were three main factors:
	+ - *Foreign Trade* – The US reversed its unfavorable balance of trade for the first time in 1874 due increasing agricultural and manufacturing exports. Since the livelihood of Americans was subsequently connected to world conditions, the US needed to have a strong foothold as a world power to protect its trading interests.
		- *The Search for New Marketplaces* – The era was one of economic expansion, and most of the leaders felt that expansion should know no borders, and that the gov’t should help American entrepreneurs abroad by using US power.
		- *Economic “Safety Valve”* – In addition to the sheer profit motive from foreign sales, some feared [due to the crashes and such] that foreign commerce was needed as a *safety valve* to relieve economic woes like overproduction, etc.
* IDEOLOGICALLY & CULTURALLY there were several means of motivation/justification:
	+ - *American Exceptionally/Manifest Destiny* – Americans have special qualities that make them, well, SPECIAL and deserving of taking over the world. Our values, our ideas…everything about us should be spread!
		- *Racism* ­– Other races aren’t capable of self-government! Only *we* are, so we should “help” them out. To heck w/diplomacy – they aren’t worthy.
		- *Social Darwinism* – And who says we shouldn’t reign triumphant? Darwin always said the best race would win out.
		- *Obsession with Masculinity* – Self-explanatory.
		- *Missionary/Civilizing Impulse* – In other words, the “nice” version of American Exceptionalism (the idea that we’re special). The missionaries just made it all godly and altruistic and everything, as many really believed that they were benefiting the people they subjugated b/c they were giving them “liberty” and “prosperity.”

- Enough of that. Now what the heck actually happened?

\*US Ambitions Abroad: 1860 – 1880\*

- The American empire grew slowly over time, prompted by leaders like **William H. Seward** [NY Senator, Secretary of State 1861 – 1869], who saw a huge US empire including Canada and surrounding islands. This empire, he thought, would come together naturally through gravitation towards the US and trade.

- Some of Seward’s schemes included…

* *Virgin Islands* – He tried to buy them from Denmark in 1867, but the Senate and a hurricane prevented the purchase.
* *Samaná Bay Naval Base* – Attempt to get a base in the Dominican Republic, didn’t work.
* *Intervention in Mexico* – Using the Monroe Doctrine, Seward sent troops to the Mexican border in 1866 and got Napoleon III to abandon its puppet regime there.
* *Alaska* – In 1867 Seward bought resource-rich Alaska from Russia.
* *A Worldwide Communication System* - Due to the financier **Cyrus Field**, a transatlantic cable was built to link European and American telegraph networks. This network was then extended to Latin America as well.

- Other important trends in foreign policy under Seward & Fish [his successor]:

* *Anglo-American Rapprochement* – During this time GB and the US grew closer. Examples of this shocking new phenomenon include…
	+ - **The *Alabama* claims** – The *Alabama* and such ships were built for the Confederacy by GB. As they caused Union losses, the US demanded reparations, and the question was eventually resolved through a British tribunal that decided on the amount paid to the US.
		- **Open Sea Sealing** – Yeah, they made a treaty about seals. Wow.
		- **Samoa** – In 1878 the US gained rights to a coaling station in the port of Pago Pago. So, when GB & Germany tried to get into the action, the US got mad and told them to stay out, which got the Germans pissed. Tension grew until a three-part protectorate was decided on in 1889 [w/o asking the Samoans though] dividing the country into American Samoa and Western Samoa [Germany]. GB got islands instead.
* *Sino-American Problems* – In addition to having problems w/Germany, the US soon had issues w/China due to their hatred of US missionaries and business leaders. Chinese dislike of America was compounded by riots against Chinese immigrants in the west and suspension of Chinese immigration starting in the 1880s.
* *Increasing Influence in Latin America* – We held Pan-American conferences, let people tour our factories and sign trade treaties, founded the **Pan-American Union**, and humiliated countries like Chile when our drunken sailors got into fights w/their citizens (1891).

- Then there was the whole **New Navy** deal, as promoted by **Capt. Alfred T. Mahan** [*The Influence of Sea Power upon History (1890)*], which went along the lines of: let’s get a huge navy and lots of bases to protect our foreign trade.

\*Crises in the 1890s\*

- In the 1890s, expansionism expanded [very funny, right] due to the economic depression and the belief that the home frontier had closed. The main examples are…

* *Hawaii* – By the 1880s, Hawaii was already largely part of the US system due to the fact that the American elite owned most of the country and subordinated the economy to the US through duty-free sugar exports. This control culminated in the 1887 constitution, which gave foreigners the right to vote and shifted authority to the legislature. When the **McKinley Tariff of 1890** got rid of the duty-free sugar provision, the elite pressed for annexation – but Queen Lili’uokalani wanted to resist the power of the foreigners – so the elite formed the **Annexation Club** and took over by force in 1893. When Cleveland found out about what had occurred, he temporarily stopped the annexation process, but once Hawaii got attn. again during the SACFW [you’ll see] McKinley got it though as the **Newlands Resolution** [1898]. Hawaiians were given citizenship in 1900 and statehood in 1959.
* *Venezuela* – In 1895 Venezuela asked for US help regarding a border dispute w/GB. We gave the British a big lecture on leaving LA alone, and then in 1896 an Anglo-American board divided the territory up w/o consulting Venezuela.
* *Cuba* – Cuba had battled Spain for independence intermittently since 1868, and in **1895** another revolution led by **Jose Marti** broke out. As usual, the US had acquired strong economic interests in the region [one of the causes of the revolution was the **Wilson-Gorman Tariff**, which taxed their sugar, hurting the economy]. So when the revolution led to destruction of sugar fields and such, it killed trade, leading to US sympathy for Cuba (Spain’s brutal policies were another factor). Naturally the yellow journalists had a field day feeding war fever. The last straw was the accidental explosion of the US ship *Maine*, which journalists blamed on Spain, and a letter found by the NY Journal criticizing McKinley. McKinley then sent Spain an ultimatum – Spain made concessions – but McKinley went ahead and asked to use force anyway. So on **April 19, 1897** Congress declared Cuba free and allowed the use of authority to remove Spain. Though the **Teller Amendment** claimed we weren’t interested in annexation, McKinley still didn’t let us recognize the rebel gov’t [they might need US tutoring first].

- That, of course, leads to the…

\*The Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War [SACFW] and its Aftermath\*

- E/t Spain seemed somewhat ready to compromise, it pretty much wasn’t going to work out b/c the Cubans only wanted full independence, which Spain wasn’t going to give them at all and the US didn’t want so much either b/c the new gov’t might try to reduce our interests there.

- Just to quickly recap – why were we interested in war? There were the *humanitarian concerns* about the Spanish policies, *business concerns* about commerce and US interests, general *imperialistic drives*, idealistic *social gospel* type ideas about saving others, and *sensationalism*.

- Anyhow, Dewey in the Philippines quickly destroyed the Spanish fleet, and Spain suffered further problems due to the US blockade of the Cuban ports and the US attack on Puerto Rico. As a result, an armistice was signed on **August 12, 1898**.

- The peace terms were then worked out in Paris [where else] in December: an independent Cuba, cession of the Philippines, PR & Guam to the US, and US payment in return. Imperialists rejoiced, of course, but there still was a very significant opposition.

- Anti-imperialists included **Mark Twain**, **Bryan**, **Jane Addams**, **Carnegie**, and many more – some mentioned principles [like self-determination], others advocated the peaceful acquisition of markets, others pointed out the potential costs of maintaining empires, others felt it would undermine American racial purity, and union leaders worried the new immigrants could undercut American labor.

- But the **Anti-Imperialist League** [launched November 1898] was ultimately unsuccessful due to domestic policy divisions between the participants, and the fact that the US had already annexed the islands. Still, imperialists responded w/the usual patriotic and economic arguments. And once the Filipinos started to resist, of course, we couldn’t pull back at the risk of looking cowardly.

- The rebellion, led by **Emilio Aguinaldo**, broke out in January 1899 when Aguinaldo responded to his isolation from power by proclaiming an independent republic. The war was vicious on both sides and finally ended in 1906 – leaving the coast clear for an “Americanization” of the area.

- In other words, the US subjugated the Philippine economy; passed a sedition act, and then vaguely promised independence once a “stable gov’t” was established [**Jones Act, 1916**]. Rule was finally ended following WWII.

\*American Involvement in Asia\*

- 1895 also brought the *Sino-Japanese War*, which the Japanese won, intensifying the general obsession w/carving China up into spheres of influence. The US, however, wanted to keep them out as much as possible to protect US commerce and missionaries.

- Hence the **Open Door** policy – equal trade opportunity. The other powers weren’t too thrilled; even after the Boxer Rebellion, which the US helped put down, a second Open Door policy note went for the most part unnoticed. For the US, though, the use of the policy was a big deal b/c it was to stay a major part of FP for years to come as an instrument for opening, and then dominating, markets.

- Anyhow, the new power in Asia was Japan, esp. following the *Russo-Japanese War*. Concessions were made in the *Taft-Katsura Agreement* [Japanese hegemony over Korea in return for US Philippines] and the *Root-Takahira Agreement* [Japan Manchuria for US Open Door].

- Taft believed he could stop the Japanese by using **dollar diplomacy**, which required the use of private funds for investment in order to further diplomatic goals – so he built a RRD in China, but that didn’t help, esp. due to the bad treatment of Japanese citizens living in the US [segregation, discrimination, restrictions on immigration]. The Japanese insisted on power over all China d. WWI, and the US couldn’t do anything…

\*Latin America Redux\*

- After the SACFW, the US continued to assert its hegemony throughout Latin America. For instance:

* *Cuba [again]* – Soon enough, the “pacification” part of the **Teller Amendment** was used to justify US control, and troops stayed until 1902. The US also imposed the **Platt Amendment** (1903 – 1934) on Cuba, which forced all treaties to go through the US first and granted the US the right to intervene to preserve independence and domestic order. Troops returned intermittently as a result of protests of the PA, which gave Cuba no independence at all.
* *Puerto Rico* – Taken under the Treaty of Paris [SACFW], PR was quickly disillusioned about their new rulers, as the US was condescending and obnoxious.
* *Panama* – Inspired by the Suez canal, US businessmen, politicians, diplomats, and navy guys all decided they wanted one too. Although the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850) provided joint control w/GB, the British pulled out in the **Hay-Pauncefote Treaty** (1901). To get the canal built, TR then incited a rebellion to form Panama in 1903 – Panama gave the US a canal zone w/LT rights [Columbia eventually got $ b/c the US screwed it over] – so the canal was begun, to be completed in 1914.

- **Roosevelt Corollary** [to Monroe Doctrine] – Added in 1904, this section warned LA to stabilize politics and finances, and made the US “an international police power.” This allowed for frequent US interventions [troops, etc.] in LA up to 1917.

- US-Mexico Relations – Up until 1910, dictator **Diaz** recruited US investors and so on, but once he was kicked out, the revolutionaries attempted to end Mexico’s economic dependency on the US.

- One last point: As for Europe – the US stayed out of their entanglements, and they stayed out of Latin America, for the most part. Until WWI…

***World War I (1914 – 1920)***

\*The Outbreak of War and American Neutrality\*

- To make a long story short: WWI started on the long-term b/c of competition w/regard to trade, colonies, allies, and arms, especially between the two main alliances, the **Triple Alliance** [Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy] and the **Triple Entente** [Great Britain, France, Russia].

- On the short term, it started b/c of a bunch of silly blunders set off by the assassination of the heir to the A-H throne by the Serbian terrorist group the **Black Hand** in Sarajevo on **June 28, 1914**. This got a bunch of powers pissed off and resulted in the German declaration of war on **August 1** and…but this is not EHAP…

- So what did we do? Wilson began by issuing a proclamation of neutrality. But neutrality, so to speak, was easier said that done, for several reasons:

* *Ethnic Diversity* – People took sides according to their nat’l origins: Germans w/the Germans, Irish w/the Germans [they hated the British], British w/the British, and so on.
* *Economic Ties* – The US and Britain had big time trading/banking links, and since international law allowed for trade of both contraband and n/c materials between neutral and belligerent nations, it was up to Germany to stop trade through a blockade or something. Wilson opposed the trade at first, but ended up conceding as it was essential to US economic health.
* *Ideological Similarities* – Wilson also favored Britain b/c he believed that British supremacy gave his principles more of a chance. **Wilsonianism** consisted of traditional American ideals [democracy, Open Door], internationalism, and American exceptionalism – i.e. US as world leader in an era of capitalism, democracy [self-determination and the destruction of empires were big factors too] and diplomacy.

- Wilson **still** didn’t want to go to war, and attempted to preserve neutrality – for a while…

\*Wilson’s Decision for War\*

- First, a series of events got Wilson and co. to start considering the question…

* *A British submarine, killing 128 Americans, sank Lusitania incident – In May 1915 the British passenger liner Lusitania*. \*Note: The Germans HAD issued a warning that British vessels could be destroyed, but nobody listened.
* Bryan’s resignation – Bryan suggested that Americans be forbidden from traveling on belligerent ships and that contraband not be allowed on passenger vessels, but Wilson disagreed and insisted the Germans stop their sub warfare [he claimed it wasn’t a double standard b/c the Germans were taking lives, not property]. Bryan resigned in protest, and **Robert Lansing** [pro-Allied] took his place.
* *Gore-McLemore Resolution* – After the sinking of the *Arabic* in early 1916 Congress debated this resolution, which would have prohibited Americans from traveling on armed merchant vessels or ships w/contraband. But, the resolution was eventually killed off.
* *Sussex* incident – Another U-boat attack led Wilson to threaten Berlin w/the severance of diplomatic relations. The Germans promised not to do it again.

- Not everyone, of course, went along w/the pro-war position. Anti-war groups included the: **Woman’s Peace Party**, **American Union against Militarism** [pacifist Progressives], **Carnegie Endowment for Internat’l Peace** [Carnegie & Ford were both anti-war] and the Socialist party.

- The anti-war advocates were big on the fact that war: (1) kills young people, (2) fosters repression, (3) is not moral [no kidding] and (3) lets business moguls make big $ at expense of the little guys.

- In 1916, in fact, even Wilson claimed to be anti-war, running [and winning] the **Presidential Election of 1916** on a promise to keep out of the conflict. In early 1917, he tried one last time to bring peace via a conference table, but it didn’t work.

- The straw(s) that broke the camel’s back – the two major short-term causes were:

* Germany started unrestricted sub warfare, gambling that it could wipe out the Allies before the US could bring troops across to Europe.
* The **Zimmerman Telegram** was intercepted in February 1917. The telegram asked Mexico to join an alliance against the US in exchange for help recovering territories lost in the Mexican-American war. Naturally, this didn’t go over too well w/Wilson, and it went over even less well with the press once it was released.

- Wilson first asked for “armed neutrality,” but anti-war Senators filibustered the bill out, so Wilson ended up calling Congress into special session on **April 2, 1917**. After naming US grievances [violation of freedom of the seas, disruption of commerce, the Mexico deal, etc.], Wilson finally got his declaration of war passed. So, brimming w/idealism [Wilson planned to reform the world], we entered WWI on **April 6**.

\*Winning the War\*

- E/t anti-war Senators had tried to prevent it the US had been getting ready for war even before it was declared through acts like the **National Defense Act of 1916** and the **Navy Act of 1916**, which provided for the largest naval expansion in US history.

- After the declaration of war, Congress passed the **Selective Service Act**, requiring all males between 21 and 30 (changed to 18 and 45 later) to register. Critics felt the measure would lead to excessive militarism, but supporters countered that it would lead to good, healthy patriotism.

- Most draftees were white, poorly-educated Americans in their early 20s – some African Americans signed up and were assigned to segregated units [they faced a lot of discrimination in the army too] and Native Americans joined as well. There were some draft evaders, and many filed in as conscientious objectors.

- American organizations like the Commission on Training Camp Activities, etc. attempted to keep soldiers healthy and moral during the war, but soldiers faced trench warfare, poison gas, and the horrors of the new weapons technology.

- Still, Americans managed to turn the tide against the Germans, esp. after the Allied victory in July 1918 at the **Second Battle of the Marne**, which was followed by a huge Allied offense that forced Germany into an armistice on **November 11, 1918**.

\*America on the Home Front: Economic Change\*

- E/t the US wasn’t at war for long, the war [temporarily] created a vastly different society in which the gov’t spend a lot more money and exercised more control over the economy. Several important economic developments resulted from WWI war production, as follows:

* *Business-Government Cooperation* – The war ushered in a new era of business/gov’t cooperation. Early on, the gov’t relied on industrial committees for advice on purchases/prices, but after they turned out to be corrupt in July 1917, the **War Industries Board** replaced them. Still, the WIB worked closely w/corporations, and big business grew due to the suspension of antitrust laws and gov’t-industry contracts.
* *New Gov’t Economic Agencies* – As follows:
	+ - **War Industries Board** – Headed by **Bernard Baruch**, the WIB coordinated the nat’l economy by making purchases, allocating supplies, and fixing prices. It also ordered the standardization of goods. Not all-powerful, though, b/c there had to be lots of compromising w/the big corporations.
		- **Food Administration** – Led by **Herbert Hoover**, the FA had voluntary programs [like the “victory gardens”] and other duties, like setting prices and regulating distribution.
		- **RRD Administration** & **Fuel Administration** – Regulated their respective industries, fuel administration rationed gasoline as well.
* *Boom Years for Farmers and Industry* – One of the positive results of war production was that it allowed farmers to get mechanized [due to high demand and high prices] and led to great growth in some industries.
* *Errors & Fuel Shortages* – On the negative side, there were mistakes made due to the hectic pace of production and distribution, and there was a severe coal shortage, which left many w/o heat in 1917-1918.
* *Inflation* – Increased buying [more demand than supply], liberal credit policies, and the setting of prices on raw materials rather than on finished products led to skyrocketing prices.
* *New Tax Policies* – To pay for the war, taxes went up through laws like the **Revenue Act of 1916** [raised tax on high incomes and corporate profits, added tax on large estates, and increased the tax on munitions manufacturers] and the **War Revenue Act of 1917** [more income and corporate taxes]. **Liberty Bonds** also contributed to gov’t incomes.
* *Labor Shortage* – Unemployment basically vanished and wages increased [though the costs of living did too]. People rushed into the cities and into manufacturing jobs. As a result of the shortage, strikes were strongly discouraged, and the **National War Labor Board** was established in 1918 to coordinate management and unions. The AFL joined the NWLB, but the Socialists and IWW members still continued to agitate.
* *Women in the Work Force ­*– Women temporarily took over many male-dominated professions. Similarly, black women were able to take jobs formerly reserved to white women. After the war, however, women were displaced back into the home.
* *African American Migration to the Cities* – New opportunities also appeared for blacks, and male blacks rushed into the cities to take advantage of them, regardless of the discrimination that persisted. This resulted in race riots through the “Red Summer” of 1919.

- So, economically, the war brought increased gov’t involvement and a temporary boom in industry.

\*America on the Home Front: Civil Liberties\*

- As soon as the war began, the gov’t also instituted control of rather a different sort – control of speech, and the limiting of civil liberties. Anyone who refused to support the war faced repression from the gov’t, and the issue of free speech was seen as a question of policy for the first time. For example, there was the…

* *Committee on Public Information* – Headed by Progressive journalist **George Creel**, the CPI set about the making of propaganda through posters, films, pamphlets, speeches, and so on.
* *Espionage Act (1917)* – The EA forbade “false statements” against the draft or the military, and banned anti-war mails.
* *Sedition Act (1918)* – The SA made it illegal to obstruct the sale of war bonds and to use nasty language against the gov’t, Constitution, flag, or uniform. It was very vague, and allowed for plenty of gov’t intimidation.
* *Imprisonment of Socialists* – As a result of the new acts, IWW members and Socialists faced major problems. For example, **Eugene V. Debs**, the leader of the Socialist Party, was arrested for speaking about the freedom to criticize the gov’t.
* *Spread of Vigilante Organizations* – Some people thought they would help out by…umm…helping get rid of unpatriotic people or bullying them into buying Liberty Loans and such. These organizations included the **Sedition Slammers** and **American Defense Society**.

- These steps led to a questioning of the whole free speech thing – CO **Roger Baldwin** founded the **Civil Liberties Bureau** to defend people accused under the E/S Acts and redefined free speech as something separate from the identity of the speaker.

- Two important SC cases also dealt w/the new developments: *Schenck v. US (1919)*, in which **Holmes** upheld the EA by using the whole fire in a movie theater argument [if there is a “clear and present” danger free speech should be restricted], and *Abrams v. US (1919)* in which the SA was also upheld [but this time Holmes and Brandeis dissented].

\*The American Reaction to the Bolshevik Revolution: Labor Strikes and the Red Scare\*

- Almost as a continuation of the suppression of civil liberties that occurred during the war, Americans continued to oppress radicals following the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 – they worried about Bolshevism in the country, and resented Russia as a result of its separate peace w/Germany after the revolution.

- In fact, Wilson despised the Russians so much that he even fought an undeclared war against Lenin and co. by sending military expeditions to “guard Allied supplies and rescue Czechs” in Siberia. He also refused to recognize the Bolsheviks, sent arms to their opponents, and economically blockaded Russia.

- At home, of course, unemployment and the post-war recession contributed to anti-radical sentiment as well. In 1919, a series of labor strikes [think Boston police strike and so on, not anything that was actually radical] and an incident with mail bombs on May 1 led to the **Red Scare**.

- A steel strike partially led by an IWW member only made things worse by allowing leaders to label the strike a conspiracy by foreign radicals, which was not the case as the American left was actually badly split between the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party.

- Consequently, anti-radical elements like the **American Legion** joined with Wilson’s attorney general **A. Mitchell Palmer**, who was appointed as head of the Radical Division of the Dept. of Justice, in chasing down supposed Reds. This climaxed in the January 1920 with the **Palmer Raids** – gov’t agents broke in to meeting halls and homes w/o warrants and arrested lots of people.

- The anti-red activities were regarded as anti-Constitutional by many civil libertarians, and even conservatives turned against Palmer when he asked for a peacetime sedition act. But e/t Palmer’s activities stopped for the most part in 1920, American radicalism had suffered big time.

\*America and the Postwar World\*

- During the whole Red Scare deal, Wilson actually was more into internat’l relations than anything else. He began by announcing his **Fourteen Points**, which included self-determination, freedom of the seas, lower tariffs, arms reduction, open diplomacy, blah, blah, blah…and the **League of Nations**.

- It was a nice idea and all, but when Wilson arrived in Paris in December 1918 for the Peace Conference, he had already screwed himself over in several ways – by being cocky and by not bringing any Republican Senators with him [the Republicans had swept the Congressional elections]. Another problem he faced was the fact that the other allies – France, Britain and Italy – wanted to see Germany majorily punished.

- So, at Versailles, the Big Four met secretly, and came out w/a treaty that included the dreaded war guilt clause and huge payments for Germany. Also, it placed German/Turkish colonies under the control of other imperial nations [that was self-determination I guess] and made new democracies in Eastern Europe.

- As for the key part, the charter for the **League of Nations**, Wilson came up w/a council of 5 permanent members [and some elected delegates from other states], an assembly of all members, and a world court. Most importantly, there was **Article 10**, a collective security provision, which made members promise to protect e/o’s territorial integrity against aggressors. Germany was forced to sign, but it still wasn’t all good…

- This was b/c there was strong opposition to the treaty at home, where Senators [and others] felt that the Versailles’ Treaty didn’t protect US interests enough, and that Article 10 was going to get the country stuck in a ton of foreign entanglements. Charges of hypocrisy were also rampant, as Wilson’s points hadn’t really been included in the Treaty.

- There were two camps of opposition, basically: the *Irreconcilables* (no treaty, no way) and the *Reservationists* (yes, but make changes first). Senator Henry Cabot Lodge was one of those urging slight amendments to the charter, esp. making it so that Congress had to approve obligations under Article 10.

- In response to the opposition, Wilson went on a speaking tour leading to a massive stroke. The Senate continued to reject the Treaty – Wilson refused to compromise – and so it never passed. The US eventually made a separate treaty w/Germany instead.

- So – the point of this episode? Basically, that Americans still wanted to stick to nonalignment over collective action. As a new world power – the leading economic power, first in world trade, first in banking, and so on – we wanted to stay away from potential entanglements.

- The disappointment about the Treaty also did two opposing things: increase the peace movement and appeals for arms control, and lead to a better trained more professional military. But the bottom line is that maybe b/c of US non-support (or at least somewhat b/c of it) the international system after the war was crap.

- Russians were pissed b/c people tried to rain on their parade – I mean, revolution; Germans were annoyed at the reparations, the Eastern European states weren’t doing so good, and there were many nationalist uprisings from the good to the bad to the downright ugly.