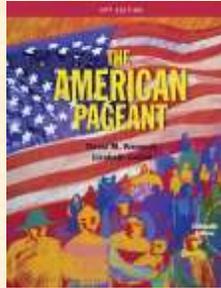


Chapter 29

Wilsonian Progressivism in Peace and War, 1913–1920



Chapter 29

Wilsonian Progressivism at Home and Abroad



Pages 679-685

The Election of 1912

- The 1912 election offered Americans four main choices: Wilson, Taft, Roosevelt, and the socialist Eugene V. Debs.



Democrats looked to **Dr. Woodrow Wilson**, the governor of New Jersey.

Wilson had been a mild conservative but had turned become a strong progressive.

His background was in education as a history professor, then as president of Princeton Univ. As governor of NJ, he made a name for himself by standing up to the bosses, trusts, and as a liberal.

At their convention, it took 46 votes to choose Wilson. The final vote was cast after William Jennings Bryan threw his support behind Wilson.

The Democrats now had a candidate in Woodrow Wilson and they added a platform they named the "**New Freedom**."

The New Freedom platform was made up of liberal and progressive policies.



Woodrow Wilson w/Andrew Carnegie

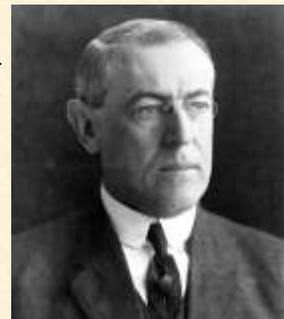
I. Wilson: The Idealist in Politics

- (Thomas) Woodrow Wilson:
 - Second Democratic president since 1861
 - First president from one of seceded southern states since Zachary Taylor, 64 years earlier
 - Wilson's admiration for Confederate attempt at independence inspired his ideal of self-determination
 - His ideal of faith in masses—if they were properly informed—came from Jeffersonian democracy
 - His inspirational political sermons reflected influence of his Presbyterian minister-father

Wilson: The Idealist in Politics

– He was born and raised in the South who sympathized with the Confederacy's struggle to rule itself during the Civil War. This may have influenced his "self-determination" policy of post-WWI where the people chose their government.

– His father was a Presbyterian minister and Wilson was deeply religious himself as well as a superb speaker. It was noted that he was born halfway between the bible and the dictionary and never strayed far from either.



- Like Teddy Roosevelt, he believed the president should strike out and lead the country.
- BUT, Wilson's personality was very much *unlike* Roosevelt.
 - Wilson was an idealist, not a pragmatist like TR. He was completely stubborn at times, not budging an inch on his ideals or beliefs. Consequently, his stubbornness meant at times not getting anything done.
 - Wilson also was an intellectual who lacked the people's touch. Whereas TR had been loved by the people, Wilson was scholarly and arrogant. Or in other words, whereas TR might stop to have a chat with the people, Wilson might scoff at their ignorance and move on.



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I. Wilson: The Idealist in Politics (cont.)

Wilson convinced that Congress could not function properly unless president provided leadership

Repeatedly relied on his eloquence to appeal over heads of legislators to the sovereign people



II. Wilson Tackles the Tariff

- Wilson's programs:
 - Called for assault on “the triple wall of privilege”: the tariff, the banks, and the trusts
 - He tackled tariff first:
 - Summoned Congress into special session in early 1913
 - In precedent-shattering move, he did not send his message over to Capitol to be read
 - He appeared in person before a joint session of Congress and presented his appeal with stunning clarity and force
 - House soon passed major reductions in **Underwood Tariff**

II. Wilson Tackles the Tariff (cont.)

- When bill challenged in Senate by lobbyists:
 - Wilson issued message to public urging them to hold their elected representatives in line
 - Public opinion worked; in 1913 Senate approved bill Wilson wanted
 - Provided for a substantial reduction of import fees
 - Landmark in tax legislation:
 - Using recent 16th Amendment, Congress enacted graduated income tax beginning with moderate levy on incomes over \$3,000 (average wage earner's annual income only \$740)
 - By 1917, revenue from income tax shot ahead of revenue from tariffs

III. Wilson Battles the Bankers

- Antiquated and inadequate banking and currency system
 - Nation's financial structure creaked along under Civil War National Banking Act
 - Most glaring defect was inelasticity of currency (1907 panic)
 - Since most banks located in New York, hard to mobilize bank reserves elsewhere in times of panic
 - Calls for reform supported by Louis D. Brandeis in book: *Other People's Money and How the Bankers Use It* (1914)

III. Wilson Battles the Bankers (cont.)

- Wilson in June 1913 appeared personally before Congress again and called for sweeping bank reform:
 - Endorsed Democratic proposal for decentralized bank in government hands
 - Opposed Republican demands for huge private bank with fifteen branches
- **Federal Reserve Act (1913):**
 - Wilson appealed to the sovereign people
 - Most important economic legislation between Civil War and New Deal



III. Wilson Battles the Bankers (cont.)

- **Federal Reserve Board:**
 - Appointed by President
 - Would oversee nationwide system of twelve regional reserve districts
 - Each with its own central bank
 - Final authority of Federal Reserve Board guaranteed a substantial measure of public control
 - Board would be empowered to issue paper money
 - “Federal Reserve Notes”—backed by commercial paper
 - Thus amount of money in circulation could be swiftly increased as needed for legitimate requirements of business

IV. The President Tames the Trusts

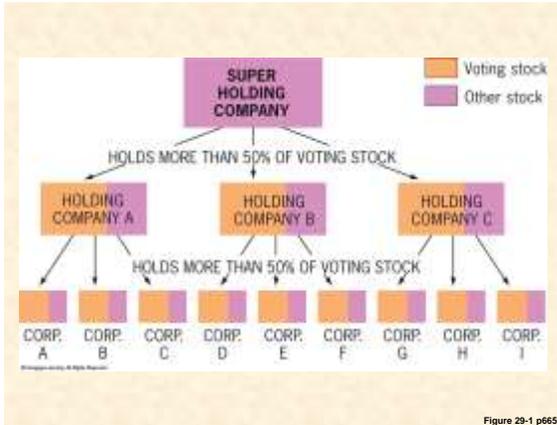
- Wilson's third appearance before Congress led to **Federal Trade Commission Act (1914):**
 - Presidentially appointed commission could research industries engaged in interstate commerce
 - Commission could crush monopoly at source by rooting out unfair trade practices:
 - Including unlawful competition, false advertising, mislabeling, adulteration, and bribery



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IV. The President Tames the Trusts (cont.)

- **Clayton Anti-Trust (1914):**
 - Increased list of practices deemed objectionable:
 - Price discrimination and interlocking directorates (where same individual served as director of supposedly competing firms)
 - Achieved through **holding companies** (see Figure 29.1)
 - Conferred long-overdue benefits on labor:
 - Exempted labor and agricultural organization from anti-trust prosecution, while explicitly legalizing strikes and peaceful picketing
 - Samuel Gompers, Union leader, hailed act as Magna Carta of labor



V. Wilson at the Peak

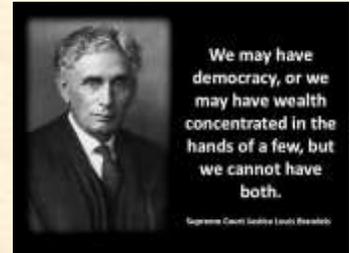
- Other progressive legislation:
 - Federal Farm Loan Act (1916):
 - Made credit available to farmers at low rates of interest—long demanded by Populists
 - Warehouse Act (1916):
 - Authorized loans on security of staple crops—another Populist idea
 - Other laws benefited rural areas by providing for highway construction and establishment of agricultural extension work in state colleges

V. Wilson at the Peak (cont.)

Workers made gains under the Progressive-minded Wilson.

- La Follette Seaman's Act (1915):
 - Required decent treatment and living wage on American merchant ships
- **Workingmen's Compensation Act** (1916):
 - Granted assistance to federal civil-service employees during periods of disability
- 1916: Wilson signed law restricting child labor on products flowing into interstate commerce (but Supreme Court later voided it)

- Wilson named **Louis Brandeis** to the Supreme Court—the 1st Jew to sit on the bench. But, Wilson's Progressivism did *not* reach out to blacks in America. His policies actually moved toward greater segregation.



V. Wilson at the Peak (cont.)

- **Adamson Act** (1916):
 - Established eight hour day for all employees on trains in interstate commerce, with extra pay for overtime
- Supreme Court:
 - Wilson endeared himself to progressives when he nominated prominent reformer Louis D. Brandeis—first Jew to high court
- Limit on Wilson's progressivism:
 - Stopped well short of better treatment for blacks

VI. New Directions in Foreign Policy

- Wilson's reaction to earlier foreign policies:
 - In contrast to Roosevelt and Taft, he recoiled at first from aggressive foreign policy
 - Hating imperialism, he was repelled by TR's big-stickism
 - Suspicious of Wall Street, he detested Taft's dollar diplomacy
 - In office only a week, he declared war on dollar diplomacy:
 - Proclaimed government would not support American investors in Latin America and China

VI. New Directions in Foreign Policy (cont.)

- Persuaded Congress to repeal Panama Canal Tolls Act of 1912 –
 - It had exempted American coastwise shipping from tolls
 - Thereby provoked sharp protests from injured Britain
- **Jones Act (1916):**
 - Granted Philippines territorial status and promised independence as soon as a "stable government" could be established
 - Wilson's racial prejudices did not expect this to happen for a long time
 - On July 4, 1946—30 years later—United States accepted Philippine independence

Emilio Aguinaldo



★ **Leader of the Filipino Uprising.**

★ **July 4, 1946: Philippine independence**



Puerto Rico

Puerto Rico: 1898

★ 1900 - **Foraker Act.**

- PR became an "unincorporated territory."
- Citizens of PR, not of the US.
- Import duties on PR goods

★ 1901-1903 → **the Insular Cases.**

- Constitutional rights were not automatically extended to territorial possessions.
- Congress had the power to decide these rights.
- Import duties laid down by the Foraker Act were legal!

Puerto Rico: 1898

★ 1917 - **Jones Act.**

- Gave full territorial status to PR.
- Removed tariff duties on PR goods coming into the US.
- PRs elected their own legislators & governor to enforce local laws.
- PRs could NOT vote in US presidential elections.
- A resident commissioner was sent to Washington to vote for PR in the House.



VI. New Directions in Foreign Policy (cont.)

- Haiti's chaotic political situation caused Wilson to assume more active stance abroad
- Political turmoil climaxed in 1914-1915 when outraged populace literally tore to pieces brutal Haitian president
- Wilson dispatched marines to protect American lives and property
- Marines remained in Haiti for nineteen years making Haiti an American protectorate



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VI. New Directions in Foreign Policy (cont.)

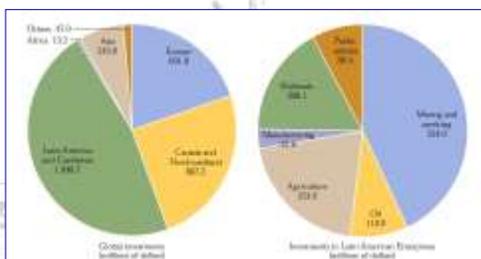
- In 1916, Wilson used Roosevelt's corollary to Monroe Doctrine and concluded treaty with Haiti:
 - » Provided for U.S. supervision of finances and police
- In 1916, he sent marines to debt-cursed Dominican Republic
 - » Came under American control for eight years
- In 1917, United States purchased the Virgin Islands from Denmark
- Uncle Sam tightening its grip in Caribbean Sea, with its vital approaches to Panama Canal (see Map 29.1)

Mexico

VII. Moralistic Diplomacy in Mexico

- Mexican revolution (1913):
 - Mexicans resented exploitation by foreign investors
 - In 1913 new revolutionary president murdered and replaced by General Victoriano Huerta:
 - Caused massive migration of Mexicans to United States
 - More than a million Spanish-speaking newcomers came and settled in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California
 - Built highways and railroads, followed fruit harvests as pickers
 - Segregated in Spanish-speaking enclaves:
 - » Helped create unique borderland culture that blended Mexican and American folkways

U. S. Global Investments & Investments in Latin America, 1914



The Mexican Revolution: 1910s

- ★ Victoriano Huerta seizes control of Mexico and puts Madero in prison where he was murdered.
- ★ Venustiano Carranza, Pancho Villa, Emiliano Zapata, and Alvaro Obregon fought against Huerta.
- ★ The U.S. also got involved by occupying Veracruz and Huerta fled the country.
- ★ Eventually Carranza would gain power in Mexico.

The Mexican Revolution: 1910s

Emiliano Zapata



Venustiano Carranza



Pancho Villa



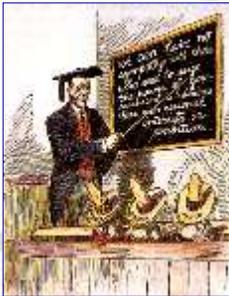
Francisco I Madero



Porfirio Diaz



Wilson's "Moral Diplomacy"



- ✦ The U. S. should be the conscience of the world.
- ✦ Spread democracy.
- ✦ Promote peace.
- ✦ Condemn colonialism.

VII. Moralistic Diplomacy in Mexico (cont.)

- Revolutionary bloodshed menaced American lives and property in Mexico:
 - Hearst called for intervention in Mexico
 - Wilson again refused to practice diplomacy of his predecessors:
 - » Deemed it "perilous" to determine foreign policy "in terms of material interest"
 - Wilson tried to steer a moral course in Mexico
 - Refused to recognize Huerta's bloody-handed regime
 - In 1914 he allowed American arms to flow to Huerta's principal rivals, Venustiano Carranza and firebrand Francisco ("Pancho") Villa

VII. Moralistic Diplomacy in Mexico (cont.)

- **Tampico Incident:**
 - Mexico volcano erupted at Atlantic seaport of Tampico in April, 1914:
 - Small party of American sailors arrested
 - Mexicans released captives and apologized
 - Refused demand by U.S. admiral for 21-gun salute
 - Determined to eliminate Huerta, Wilson asked Congress for authority to use force against Mexico
 - Before Congress could act, Wilson had navy seize port of Veracruz to block arrival of German weapons

VII. Moralistic Diplomacy in Mexico (cont.)

- Shooting conflict avoided by offer of mediation from ABC powers—Argentina, Brazil, and Chile
- Huerta collapsed in July 1914 under pressure from within and without
- Succeeded by his archrival, Venustiano Carranza who resented Wilson's military meddling
- "Pancho" Villa, chief rival to President Carranza,
 - Killed 16 American mining engineers traveling through northern Mexico in January 1916
 - One month later, Villa and his followers crossed border into Columbus, New Mexico and murdered another 19 Americans



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Searching for Banditos



General John J. Pershing with Pancho Villa in 1914.

VII. Moralistic Diplomacy in Mexico (cont.)

- General John J. ("Black Jack") Pershing ordered to break up bandit band
 - His hastily organized force of several thousand mounted troops penetrated deep into Mexico
 - Clashed with Carranza's forces
 - Mauled Villistas but missed capturing Villa
 - As tensions with Germany mounted, Wilson withdrew Pershing from Mexico in January 1917

