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AASS: American Anti-Slavery Society
 AEC: Alaskan Engineering Commission
 AF of L: American Federation of Labour Association
 ATT: American Tobacco Trust
 BC: Bureau of Corporations
 BLS: Bureau of Labour Statistics
 BUS: Bank of the United States
 BWRI: Bureau of War Risk Insurance
 CB: Children's Bureau
 CLC: Child Labour Committee
 CND: Council of National Defense Commission
 ECS: Ethical Culture School
 FA: Farmers' Alliances
 FBVE: Federal Board for Vocational Education
 FCPA: Federal Corrupt Practices Act
 FDA: Food and Drug Administration
 FDRB: Federal District Reserve Bank
 FECC: Federal Employees' Compensation
 FELA: Federal Employers Liability Act
 FLRAL: Female Labour Reform Association of
 FMIA: Federal Meat Inspection Act
 FRA: Federal Reserve Act
 FSIS: Food Safety and Inspection Service
 FTC: Federal Trade Commission
 FTCA: Federal Trade Commission Act
 GLO: General Land Office
 HIC: International Harvester Corporation
 ICC: Isthmian Canal Commission Lowell
 NAWSA: National American Woman Suffrage
 NCLC: National Child Labour Committee
 NLU: National Labour Union
 NML: National Municipal League
 NSC: Northern Securities Company
 RNC: Republican National Committee
 SDP: Social Democratic Party
 SOC: Seneca Oil Company
 SOC: Standard Oil Company
 SOT: Standard Oil Trust
 UMW: United Mine Workers
 USCS: United States Conciliation Service
 USGS: United States Geological Survey
 USST: United States Steel Trust
 WCA: Workmen's Compensation Act (1908)
 WRIA: War Risk Insurance Act
 WWI: World War I
 WWPU: Working Women's Protective Unions

List of Abbreviations

Introduction

"Since history has no properly scientific value, its only purpose is educative. And if historians neglect to educate the public, if they fail to interest it intelligently in the past, then all their historical learning is valueless except in so far as it educates themselves." **G. M. Trevelyan.**

Any society that aspires to evolve and advance for the benefit and welfare of its members needs periodical inventories that show its operation, management, and successes and failures. The purpose of these inventories is to allow people to understand how their socio-economic and political problems occurred and their effects, and to think about what should be done to create a society with fewer problems. At the stage when such problems are understood, the duty of the authorities is to undertake reforms that would make up for the deficiencies in the system of government and right the wrongs that infringe the rights of the citizens.

The process of reforming the human current conditions is a natural social phenomenon in any society that seeks perfection. To reform means to change to what is perceived to be a pure original state. It is any intended change thought to be positive, and generally distinguished from revolution.¹ The latter moves toward basic or radical change, whereas to reform is no more than fine tuning or redressing serious wrongs without

¹ *New Dictionary of the History of Ideas*. USA : Charles Scribner's Sons. Edited by Thompson Gale. Vol. 6. 2005. P. 2025.

altering the fundamentals of the system. In other words, the action of reforming never seeks to overthrow the socio-economic and political system of the country, but to improve it. Reforming is a vital source of innovation in modern societies because new plans, ideas, and ideals for living are generated through questioning and challenging the norms and values that people take for granted. The result of serious socio-economic and political reforms is to make the country progress for a better future for all citizens.

Progress² is the process of improving or developing, or moving forward to achieve certain objectives. It is the ultimate objective of any country, government, political party, or individual. Politicians use this word in their speeches and political programmes to attract voters and convey the certitude that they could lead the country to development, prosperity, and then to better life for all citizens.

Throughout history, influential thinkers, philosophers, politicians, and economists contributed to the processes of change in society, economy, and law and government. The origin of contemporary reform movements can go back to the Renaissance, which was the launching pad for all reforms in the Western civilisation. The word Renaissance, meaning 'rebirth', is given to a period of broad cultural achievement covering three centuries from the 15th to the 17th centuries. The revolutionary works of scholars, scientists, philosophers, architects, artists, and even rulers, who

² The word *Progress* is a late Middle English noun from Latin word *progressus* meaning an advance, from the verb *progredi* (pro- forward + gradi to walk). The verb became obsolete in British English use at the end of the 17th century and was readopted from American English in the early 19th century.

were inspired by Humanism,³ marked the point of departure from the medieval to the modern world and, as such, laid the foundations for modern Western thought, values, and society.

The ability to challenge fixed and inherited ideas and doctrines in Western civilisation is credited to scholars like Martin Luther who advocated reforms of the Catholic Church during the 15th century. His thoughts and writings gave birth to the Protestant Movement and the creation of the Protestant Church that renounced the Papacy itself, the sale of indulgences, pilgrimages, the excessive veneration of saints, and the moral and intellectual standards of ordained priests.

Politically, King Henry VIII (1509-1547) did the same thing as Martin Luther, but for different reasons. He renounced Roman Catholicism, taking England out from under Rome's religious control, and declared himself as the reigning head of the State and the Church. This new branch of the Christian Church, neither Roman Catholic nor truly Protestant, became known as the Anglican Church or the Church of England. His first act was to defy the wishes of Rome by funding the printing of the first Bible in English.

The next stage in wearing down institutionalised traditions came in the 18th century with the emergence of fresh currents of thought, new ideas, and new approaches that paved the way for great revolutions to

³ Humanism in its broadest sense can be traced to the philosophical movement that originated in Italy in the second half of the 14th century and that affirmed the dignity of the human being. Although over the centuries there have been numerous varieties of humanism, both religious and nonreligious agreed on the basic tenet that every human being should be the measure of all things. Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 1246.

come. The intellectual movement called the 'Enlightenment' is usually associated with 18th century activities of certain European thinkers and writers such as David Hume, John Locke, Montesquieu, Descartes, and Jean Jack Rousseau. They believed that they were more enlightened than their compatriots were, and that human reason could be used to combat ignorance, superstition, and tyranny to build a better world. Therefore, social movements appeared in different countries and different times with the objective to reform society in order to progress.

The term "social movement"⁴ was introduced in 1850 by the German Sociologist Lorenz von Stein in his book *History of the French Social Movement from 1789 to the Present*. It is a modern concept that indicates the relatively spontaneous gathering of people whose relationships are not defined by rules and procedures, but share a common outlook on society. It is a loosely organised but sustained campaign in support of a social goal, typically either the implementation or the prevention of a change in society's structure or values.⁵ The growth of social movements during the 19th century was connected to broad economic and political changes including the creation of parliaments, market capitalisation, and the emergence of the proletariat.

Sociologists distinguish between several types of social movements as regards their scope, targets, methods of work, and range. The scope of a social movement is either to reform or to change things radically. Reform

⁴ *Encyclopædia Britannica Ultimate Reference Suite*. Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica. CD. 2011.

⁵ *Ibid.*

movements are dedicated to change some norms, usually legal ones. Examples of such movements would include a trade union with a goal of increasing workers' rights, a 'green movement' advocating a set of ecological laws, or a movement that supports the introduction of capital punishment or to abolish it, or the movement for the right to abortion, or simply a movement that advocates a change in custom and moral norms. The nature of such movements is not just related to the issue they intend to resolve, but also to their range and the methods they adopt.

The methods of work of a social movement depend on its nature and the objectives it intends to achieve. Peaceful movements use non-violent methods and techniques in their struggle. The American civil rights movement and the nonviolent civil disobedience-orientated wing of the Indian independence movement fall into this category. Violent movements are those movements that take arms to achieve their goals.

The range of a social movement designates the area or level in which its actions take place. Global movements are social movements with global objectives and goals. Movements like the communist or anarchist movements seek to change society at a global level. On the other hand, local movements are social movements with local scope objectives to protect a specific natural area, or the consumers. Multi-level movements, like the Progressive Movement in the USA, recognise the complexity of governance and aim to have an impact at the local, regional, national, and international levels.

The origin of reform movements in the USA would go back to the settlement of English colonies in North America during the 17th century.

The Puritan colonists who came to settle in North America in 1620 intended to reform the English society by establishing a colony on the precepts of their religious convictions to create a perfect social model. They lived by religion and worked towards the establishment of moral and societal reforms. Their strong spiritual beliefs shaped the community's laws and customs, and governance mainly in the Puritans colonies such as Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island.

The Enlightenment provided the groundwork for the break out of revolutions such as the American Revolutionary War (1776-1783) and the French Revolution (1789–1799). The growth of political and intellectual independence in the English North American colonies and the visible social differences from the mother country led to the break out of conflicts between the colonists and the English Government during the second half of the 18th century. The differences in thoughts, interests, and general life had developed between the mother country, Great Britain, and its growing colonies to the point that local colonial social and political institutions and practices diverged significantly from English ways, social customs, beliefs, and economic interests.

Political and economic reforms to alleviate wrongs perpetrated by the English Government against the colonists came when the American Revolution (1776-1783) broke out and ended with the independence of the United States of America in 1783. The system of government of the country was no longer monarchical but a federation of states with a republican form of government. After independence, the country witnessed a series of reforms in the form of constitutional amendments, administrative adjustment, and institutional establishment that intended

to fit new exigencies as the country's socio-economic and political life became more and more complex.

The most outstanding reforms that the USA witnessed were achieved by social movements. During the 19th century and beginning of the 20th, different factors played an important role in the emergence of social reform movements in the USA such as the growth of large cities with soaring demography, galloping industrialisation, the development of the press, and democracy. The process of urbanisation facilitated social interaction between people and helped greatly in the emergence of different social movements.

Early social movements in the USA first appeared in cities, where people with similar goals could meet and organise themselves. Similarly, the process of industrialisation, which gathered large masses of workers in limited and specific working and dwelling areas, was responsible for the fact that many of those early social movements were concerned with matters important to the emerging working class. The development of the press also played an important role in the spread of the ideals and activities of social movements to increase people's awareness about the different political, economic, and social problems. In addition to that, the political and civil rights guaranteed by the US Constitution made it easier for social movements to be created and to function. Such movements include the abolitionist, prohibition, prison reform, abolition of child labour movement, women suffrage movement...etc.

These reform movements intensified their activities in the decades following the Civil War, after which the United States emerged as an

industrial giant where old industries expanded and many new ones were created including petroleum refining, steel manufacturing, and electrical power industry. Railways expanded significantly, bringing remote parts of the country into a national market economy. Industrial growth gave birth to a new class of wealthy industrialists and produced a vastly expanded underprivileged blue-collar working class that made industrialisation possible.

The fact that not everyone shared in the economic prosperity of this period caused the frustration of the people that did not get their share of the country's wealth. This frustration contributed to the emergence of movements mainly related to labour and social welfare at the local, state, and national levels. These movements were generally motivated by common ideals and goals like the repudiation of individualism and laissez-faire, much more concern for the poor, and the enlargement of governmental power in order to bring industry and finance under popular control.

The reform movement that had a great share in the realisation of the above objectives was the Progressive Movement (1890-1921) because it launched its reform programmes from the city, state and federal governments. Progressivism was the response of various individuals and groups to problems raised by the rapid industrialisation and urbanisation that the country witnessed mainly after the Civil War (1861-1865). These problems included the spread of slums and poverty, the exploitation of labour, the breakdown of democratic government in the cities and states caused by the emergence of political organisations allied with business interests, and a rapid movement toward financial and industrial

concentration. Gigantic combinations of economic and political powers endeavoured to destroy responsible democratic government and free economic opportunity for all.

The study of the Progressive Movement in the USA is best undertaken through a thematic approach that reveals the political, economic, and social reforms undertaken between 1890 and 1921. This approach is adopted because it suits the analyses of the American dynamic society where political, economic and social changes were constantly synchronous and interdependent. These three themes (political, economic, social) are dealt with in separate chapters to demonstrate the evolution and accumulation of the different reforms realised during the Progressive Era.

The evolutionary method adopted in this research enables the study of the Progressivism Movement in its historical perspective, that is, as a growth, divided into specific periods that develop one out of the other. This method is undoubtedly the best to fit such study because it stands on a hypothesis elaborated into a plan that divides the subject into historical phases. The hypothesis in this research concerns the way to achieve economic prosperity, social development, and political integrity and efficiency in any society through intellectual stature, strong sense of patriotism, and altruism of the political class that favour the interests of the country rather than those of their respective parties and persons.

Several questions in this problematic arose in the study of the Progressive Movement in the USA as regards the reasons why did the Progressives start thinking that their country needed reforms? Who were

they? What were their objectives? What were their programmes? How did they achieve their objectives? Therefore, the study of the Progressive Movement in this research paper takes the form of a political, economic, and social audit that reveals the failures and successes of the United States of America in its evolution.

The plan of study in this thesis is divided into five chapters each with specific objectives to construct a clear image of the evolution and achievements of the Progressive Movement in the USA. The aim of the first chapter is to provide a historical background to the Progressive Movement through three themes that should help understand the origins and emergence of the Movement. The first theme exposes the industrialisation of the USA and the deteriorated socio-economic conditions it had created before 1890. While the second theme deals with the measures undertaken by the different and succeeding US Governments to solve such socio-economic problems, the third provides examples of the reform movements that emerged in the USA as a reaction to the general situation in the country and the inefficiency of government at all levels.

The second chapter studies the emergence of the Progressive Movement in the USA by providing necessary details as regards the permeation of progressive ideology in the national political parties during the 1890s, and the progressive political, economic and social reforms that the early Progressives succeeded in realising in the same period. This step in the study of this Movement is important because it determines the birth of progressivism, its advocates, and the main domains that the Progressives targeted to reform. In other words, this

step reveals the nature, and character of the Progressive Movement, and the objectives of the Progressives that they maintained throughout the existence of the Movement.

The third chapter marks the end of the preparatory phase in the history of progressivism in the USA between 1890 and 1901 in which the Progressives were not in power but as lobbies within their respective parties and associations to induce the authorities to undertake certain reforms. This chapter also marks the beginning of the phase in which the Progressives came in power when Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt was sworn as the President of the USA after the assassination of President McKinley in 1901. This chapter is devoted to the study of the first theme related to the achievements and failures of the Progressives from a political perspective during the Presidencies of Theodore Roosevelt, Howard Taft, and Woodrow Wilson between 1901 and 1921. On the other hand, chapters four and five are respectively devoted to the study of the major economic and social reforms realised by the Progressive Presidents within the same period.

Therefore, the aim of this study is to understand through socio-economic and political examples why the Progressive Movement was a successful movement, and in which domains it failed. Such examples in turn indicate the domains in which the Americans were mostly interested to reform, which would be a kind of route plan to be followed or imitated in the realisation of a reform projects.

The studies consulted in this research that dealt with the Progressive Movement were of two categories. The first mentioned the existence of

this Movement as part of the historical development of the USA that lacked detailed information and further inquiry. The second category studied the Progressive Movement from the achievements of Presidents Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson separately within the framework of their respective biographies, or achievements in specific domains. What is particular in this thesis is that it provides the tracing back of the origins of the Progressive Movement in the USA, its emergence and early activities of the Progressives during the 1890s, the study of important progressive laws between 1890 and 1921, the study of the progressive elite, and a comparative study between Republican and Democratic progressivism.

In short, this thesis contributes in providing an example of the determination of the political leaders in the USA to reform their country by taking the necessary political, economic, and social decisions. It also contributes in re-discovering the Progressive Movement in the USA as an evolutionary reform movement that enabled the country to be a civilised one, and paved the way for it to become a world power and leader.

Chapter One

Historical Background: Contributing Factors to the Emergence of the Progressive Movement in the USA up to 1890.

The development of the American industry caused great and abrupt changes in an agricultural and conservative society. The industrialists hailed these changes because society was on its way to be developed in an unprecedented economic and industrial greatness. However, this belief was not shared by all people since religious men and groups, secular utopians, and socialists believed that the country was moving in the wrong way and was badly managed.

The objective of this chapter is to provide a historical background to the emergence of the Progressive Movement in the USA in three main points. The first is to introduce the US industrialisation during the 19th century and its adverse effects on the American economy and society. The second point deals with the US Government's measures to counter-act the most devastating effects of the growing industrialisation of the country, whereas the third studies the reaction of the most important religious and non-religious groups to solve the problems that the American society suffered from.

I. The Industrialisation of the USA and its Impact on the Country's Economy and Society to 1890.

The industrial development of the USA depended greatly on the industrial policies of the succeeding Governments that ruled the country from its inception in 1783 to 1890. These Governments had in common the policy of encouraging creative inventive minds to produce, and companies to exploit natural resources to manufacture goods by giving them charters that would protect them from any competition. This policy was very successful since new industrial sectors emerged and the existing ones developed from being local in scope to gigantic corporations that conquered international markets.

The great bulk of the inventions and technologies that stimulated the Industrial Revolution reached the USA after its independence in 1783. Such inventions and technologies were related to many domains such as textile, steel and iron, railways...etc. Industrial growth transformed the American society since it produced a new class of wealthy industrialists, a prosperous middle class, and a vastly expanded working class. The labour force that made industrialisation possible was made up of millions of newly arrived immigrants and numbers of migrants from rural areas. The USA gained a lot from its industrialisation since industries flourished and the country developed technologically and economically. However, this development was accompanied with varied and complex social and economic problems. The object of this section is to debate the birth and development of the US industry up to 1890 and its impact on the American economy and society.

A. Birth and Growth of the US Industry to 1890.

Since the Founding Fathers rejected any kind of despotic policy, they founded the American Government on the repudiation of all control over the industrial and commercial activities.⁶ The general belief was to avoid governmental interference in the industrial world, let competition be free, and promote individual initiatives. In this policy, industry and commerce were subject to free exploitation by the ambition of and the warfare among individuals. Justice could be achieved in commerce and industry by banishing government regulations, and applying the law of "Might makes right."⁷ Therefore, wages and salaries, opportunities for working and investing, and entering business were not left to the arbitration of justice.

The Constitution of the USA, which was adopted in 1787, established the nation's economy as a unified and single market by levying tariffs and taxes on interstate commerce. The Constitution stipulated that the Federal Government could regulate commerce⁸ with foreign nations and among the States, establish uniform bankruptcy laws, create money and regulate its value, fix standards of weights and measures, establish post

⁶ David C. Reid. *Effective Industrial Reform*. Massachusetts: Press of the Eagle Printing and Binding Co. 1909. P.2.

⁷ Ibid., P. 7.

⁸ These prerogatives were stipulated the US Constitution in Article I, Section 8, Clause 3, in which the United States Congress has power "To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes."

offices and roads, and fix rules governing charters, patents, and copyrights.

One of the first advocates of government intervention in the economy was Alexander Hamilton who advocated an economic development strategy in which the Federal Government would help in the emergence and development of small industries by providing overt subsidies and imposing protective tariffs on imports. He also urged the Federal Government to create a national bank and to assume public debts that the colonies had incurred during the Revolutionary War. These proposals were not fully applied, but retained the right of the Federal Government to set tariffs on foreign trade.

While Hamilton believed that the United States should pursue economic growth through diversified shipping, manufacturing, and banking, his political rival, Thomas Jefferson, based his philosophy on protecting the common man, the farmer, from political and economic tyranny. He particularly praised small farmers as '*the most valuable citizens*.' In 1801, Jefferson became President of the USA from 1801 to 1809 and turned to promoting a more decentralised agrarian policy. He was against the creation of a national bank because it would serve the interests of the rich and undermine the rights of the farmers. Eventually, Hamilton's belief prevailed since the country headed towards its industrialisation.

The origins of the US industry go back to the development of the textile industry. The textile industry started when William Slater,⁹ who is

⁹Samuel Slater (1768, England /1835, USA) was the Son of a yeoman farmer, who became involved in the textile industry at the age of 14. He was apprenticed to Jedediah Strutt, a

considered as the father of the American industry, immigrated secretly to America in 1789 to seek fortune. Although there were British mechanics that had immigrated to the USA before him, Slater was the first that built and operated textile machines. Funded by investors from Providence and assisted by skilled local artisans, he built the first successful water powered textile mill in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1793.

Slater's organisational methods, later known as the Rhode Island System, became the model for the newly planted textile companies in the Blackstone River Valley in Rhode Island. The Blackstone River's steep drop and numerous falls provided ideal conditions for the development of small rural textile mills around which mill villages could develop. The Rhode Island System consisted of enlisting entire families, including children, to work in the mills. These families often lived in company owned houses located near the mills, shopped at the company stores and attended company schools and churches.

The next phase in the development of the US industry started with the technological development of the iron industry that enabled the growth of the existing small industries. During the 1830's, industrialisation increased rapidly throughout the Eastern States like in Pennsylvania where the iron industry made great advances in the production of agricultural tools, railway track, and a variety of structural uses.

partner of Richard Arkwright and the owner of one of the first cotton mills in Belper. Slater worked for Strutt for eight years and rose to become superintendent of Strutt's mill. It was in this capacity that he gained a comprehensive understanding of Arkwright's machines.

Before 1840, furnaces and forges typically stood at the centre of rural iron plantations where forests and often iron ore deposits existed. However, the iron industry experienced profound changes in technology including a major shift in its source of energy from charcoal to coal in the form of anthracite, bituminous, or coke. During the 1850s, furnaces fuelled by anthracite superseded charcoal furnaces, and rolling mills replaced forges. Highly skilled workers, called puddlers, refined and shaped smelted metal producing high-quality wrought iron. The quality and price of American iron enabled US iron makers to compete in the international market from the 1850s.

The iron industry witnessed great technological innovations. The 'Bessemer converter facilitated the manufacture of steel in large quantities at prices cheaper than iron. The major advances in fuel sources and technology enabled ironmasters to improve in efficiency, decrease costs, and increase output. The steel industry in the USA started when mills manufactured iron and then converted it into steel. Steel mills integrated coke-fuelled iron furnaces to supply pig iron to steel furnaces. The Pennsylvania Steel Company began the first commercially successful production of steel in the nation in 1867 in Steelton at railways' request for stronger, more durable rails.

The steel rail production enabled the American railways system to become a nationwide transportation network. The distance of all railway lines in operation in the United States soared from about 9,000 miles (14,500 km) in 1850 to almost 200,000 miles (320,000 km) in 1900. Further development of the railways came in 1869, when workers laid tracks that joined the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railways near

Ogden, Utah. This event marked the completion of the world's first transcontinental railway system that linked the United States by rail from coast to coast. The new railways spurred economic growth by providing rapid and safe transportation of people, raw materials, and finished products throughout the country. The railways became a highly profitable business for railway magnates such as Cornelius Vanderbilt and Jay Gould.

The US industry was further boosted by the emergence of the petroleum¹⁰ industry. Chemistry revealed petroleum chemical properties and constituents¹¹ to produce kerosene and other by-products. Kerosene was used as a source of illumination in the USA from the 1850s. The global petroleum industry started first in the Appalachian Basin in Titusville, north-western Pennsylvania, because of the oil seeps that it contained. Although Titusville is in Crawford County, the first oil well was drilled outside of town, less than a mile inside Venango County.

The drilling operations for petroleum extraction were initiated by the Seneca Oil Company (SOC), which was formed on March 23, 1858 with a

¹⁰ The word Petroleum is derived from the Latin word '*Petra*' meaning Rock, and '*Oleum*' meaning Oil. The word 'oil' is usually used as a colloquial synonym of petroleum. While the word 'gasoline' or shortly gas is used in the USA to designate the derived product from petroleum for car engines.

¹¹ Historically, Benjamin Silliman Jr. (1779-1864) analysed petroleum chemically and fractionated it by distillation in 1854. He analysed oil samples from Titusville oil seeps, Pennsylvania, by separating the crude oil into its component parts, or its fractions, and observed the characteristics of each fraction. Silliman concluded that petroleum was "*a raw material from which...they may manufacture a very valuable product.*" His report is widely viewed as the original impetus for the advancement of the petroleum refining industry and the expansion of oil as an illuminating fuel. Samuel John Mills Eaton, *Petroleum, A History of the Oil Region of Venango County, Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, J.P. Skelly & Co., 1866, p.73.

capital of \$300,000. In the history of the petroleum industry, the Seneca Oil Company is the first oil company to undertake operations of financing, drilling, and commercialising petroleum.

The SOC appointed Edwin L. Drake as General Agent and sent him to Titusville in the spring of 1858 to drill for oil. There, he hired a salt well driller, William A. Smith, in the summer of 1859. On August 27, Drake reached the oil bearing strata. Therefore, the petroleum industry in the USA emerged from 1859 as an answer to a growing demand for better and cheap source of illumination. The distillation of crude oil to produce kerosene provided an affordable illuminant for all social backgrounds. The growing factories also benefited from this product since the manufacturers could employ workers for night shifts to boost their production and eventually their profits.

The petroleum business boom triggered a sharp increase in investments in the stocks and bonds of petroleum corporations, and bank loans. The growing investments provided capital that companies needed for expanding their operations, which led to the emergence of newly founded banks that helped in financing the nation's economic growth. Some bankers of the era, especially J. P. Morgan, assumed key positions in the American economy because of their ability to grant huge sums of capital to various businesses. Such businesses included among others coal mining, petroleum, railway companies, textile, and the manufacturers and sellers of such products as steel, industrial machinery, clothing...etc.

Technological advances in the USA were not restricted to the manufacturing of goods but helped in the development of the production of services. Development in communication technology boosted the country's economy with the invention of the telegraph that provided vital smoothness in commercial transactions. Further development in communication came with the invention of the telephone by Alexander Graham Bell in 1876, and the invention of radio waves that enabled people to send messages over long distances in virtually no time. Such technological developments could not be realised without the discovery of electricity and the development of its industry. By the 1880s, electricity supplied people with light and factories with power to run machines.

The economic prosperity of the USA, which was engendered by the development of its industry, did not reach all Americans. The industrialisation of the country had negative effects on the citizens of low ranks. Therefore, it is primordial to expose the socio-economic situation in the USA up to 1890.

B. Impact of Industrialisation on the US Economy to 1890.

The economy of the United States during the 19th century was shaped by the growth of its industry that required human endeavours, technological advances, and above all financial resources. The need for money gave birth to the State chartered corporation that could accumulate capital from many investors who received dividends from the

corporations' profits. Since the investors had 'limited liability,' they were financially responsible for the corporation's debts only to the extent of their investments.

The corporate system had the effect of creating monopolies¹² that controlled the US economy. Among the corporations that created monopolies to fix prices and control the market there were the Carnegie Steel Company, the Pacific Railroad Company, and the Standard Oil Company. These monopolies were at the basis of the growth and development of the US economy and industry to become an industrial giant during the second half of the 19th century. They controlled the production, distribution, and retail price of their manufactured products. This powerful position enabled them to influence government and to a certain extent control it. The railway monopolies had not only a great influence on transportation, but also on the political and financial activities of the States.¹³ Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Maryland were among the various States that encouraged the railways and financed them through credits, and eventually became powerless to confront the

12 The United States inherited the monopolies from the English colonial administration. The latter granted some companies exclusive contracts to accomplish certain works. As the cities grew larger and larger during the 19th century, it was common for the municipalities to grant monopolies to certain companies for the sewage works, canal navigation, gas works, railroads transportation, coal mining and lumber on public lands and their transportation. In order to raise revenue, it was customary for US State Governments to grant to different individuals, special monopolies on different articles of industry and commerce, the government received a large percentage of the profits or a large sum, paid outright for the privilege granted.

13 Horace Greeley, Leon Case, Edward Rowland, et. al. *The Great Industries of the United States*. Hartford: J. B. Burr, Hyde &, CO. 1872. P. 1035.

consolidated monopolies created by railway corporations. It was the price to pay to realise the country's Westward expansion.

The above States attempted to get rid of such influence by setting committees to investigate the business operations of the railway companies. The Pennsylvania Legislature Committee was set to investigate the Reading Railroad in 1875 because it had taken part in a combination to raise the price by cutting the sales. The Committee discovered that the economy of the State was in the hands of certain corporations like the Reading Railroad and other fifty trades¹⁴ including labour associations that developed into trade unions to form combinations to fix the price of labour.

Further development of monopolies in the USA occurred when the first trusts¹⁵ were organised from 1882. The existing monopolies and combinations that formed trusts sought to control the market horizontally and vertically. Horizontal control of the market would

14 Henry Demarest Lloyd: "The Lords of Industry," in: *North American Review*. N° 331, June 1884. P.1.

15 A trust is a means of separating legal and beneficial ownership of property. In a trust a person or a group of people enter into an agreement with a trustee to oversee the management of certain assets for the beneficiaries of the trust. Trusts have always been used as a method of limiting the exposure of assets to taxes and other legal claims as well as to specify the use of those assets in ways not otherwise recognised under the law. The trust form of corporate organisation first appeared in the petroleum industry. The latter enabled many people to build fortunes in a short time like John D. Rockefeller who built the world's greatest individual fortune and is credited to be the first billionaire. Rockefeller's fortune came from the corporation that he established namely the Standard Oil Company of Ohio, which he and his partners organised in 1870 under the laws of Ohio. From this original company developed the giant organisation known as the Standard Oil Trust (S.O.T) from 1882.

happen by fixing the prices of manufactured products under specific agreements, which created combinations of corporations that did not necessarily produce the same products. On the other hand, the trusts sought to control their respective industries and markets vertically by combining the different sectors that composed the industry into one corporation managed under a 'trust agreement.'

The first famous and powerful trust in the USA was the Standard Oil Trust (SOT) that started as the Standard Oil Company in 1867 under the partnership of Rockefeller, Andrews & Flagler. In 1870, the partners took the corporate form of the Standard Oil Company of Ohio, with a capitalisation of \$ 1 million. At that time they controlled no more than 10 % of the refining business of the country, but within ten years from that date, Rockefeller and his partners controlled from 90 to 95%¹⁶ of the refining industry through combinations that caused the disintegration of many oil companies either by extermination or by integration.

When the SOC partners further concentrated their holdings under the Standard Oil Trust they included the entire stock of fourteen companies and a majority interest in twenty-six additional concerns. They controlled the pipe-line business and the refining and retail of petroleum and its by-products in 1882. The capitalisation of the SOT amounted to \$70 million, and the appraised valuation of its property was over \$55 million. The nine trustees of the SOT owned together more than \$46 million out of the \$70 million of the issued trust certificates in 1882. The success of the SOT

¹⁶ In 1873, nearly all Cleveland petroleum refineries were acquired by S.O.C. Bacon Raymond Foss and Hamor William Allen, *The American Petroleum Industry*, New York, McGraw-Hill Company, Inc., First Edition, Vol. I, 1916, p.260

encouraged other industries to establish their own trusts such as the American Tobacco Trust, the Bell Telephone Trust, the US Steel Corporation, and others.

The influence of the trusts was not just economic, but also political. The authorities became under the mercy of giant and powerful corporations. In several cases the authorities tried to break such monopolies but without great success. The industrialisation of the USA created a privileged class of big businesses that fully benefitted from a situation where the authorities could provide only a minimal checking over their activities. It is important to stress the fact that such situation was created by the rapid pace of the development of the economy that the existing administrations at the city, state, and federal levels could not cope with. The result was that the citizens mainly the lower class had to pay the price of the incompetency of the authorities to protect them from the exploitation of the big businesses.

C. Effects of Industrialisation on the American Society to 1890.

The Americans experienced enormous changes in their lives from the 1840s. Their major source of light, for example, would change from candles, to kerosene lamps, and then to electric light bulbs. They would see their transportation evolve from carriages and horseback to steam-powered locomotives, later to electric trolley cars, and then to gasoline-powered automobiles. Born in a society in which the vast majority of people were involved in agriculture, the Americans experienced an

industrial revolution that greatly changed their way of working and living.

Population overgrowth in the American cities was caused by the migration of people from rural areas to the industrial cities and the immigration that the country witnessed during the 19th century,¹⁷ which benefitted the existing industries that needed skilled and unskilled workers to work in mass production factories. Therefore, the country changed to a great extent from being agrarian to become an urban nation. In 1860, the USA did not have a city of one million inhabitants, but 30 years later cities like New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia each had a population exceeding such a figure. The big cities attracted capital, business and financial institutions, railway termini, factories, and masses of manual and clerical workers.

The largest cities that witnessed the highest rates of immigration were New York, Boston, Pittsburgh, and Chicago that provided a hard urban environment for families that came from rural areas. The urban environment forced the newcomers to change their work habits and even family size and organisation. Parents and children often worked in widely scattered locations. Both the work of the mothers and the spread of diseases caused birth rates to drop and urban families' size to shrink as compared with families in rural areas. Family ties loosened by the fact

¹⁷ The USA witnessed three great waves of immigration between 1815 and 1915. The first happened between 1815 and 1860, where 5 million immigrants settled permanently in the United States, mainly English, Irish, Germanic, Scandinavian, and others from north-western Europe. In the second wave 10 million immigrants settled permanently in America, again mainly from north-western Europe between 1865 and 1890. The third wave between 1890 and 1914 witnessed the immigration of 15 million people to the USA from different origins.

that the workers were subject to unemployment at any time. Unemployment and the work of the parents in sweatshops for nearly 15 hours a day caused at the same time an increase in divorce rates, and also a decrease in marriages.

Social problems such as delinquency, divorce, alcoholism, and child labour among others were for the most caused by poverty that threatened the social stability of the country. Poverty was associated with a number of factors among the more prominent of which were the delinquency of parents, the dependency of parents upon poor-relief, early withdrawal from school, low intelligence, and broken homes.¹⁸ Other specific conditions were parental conflicts, divorce, desertion, low income...etc, that constituted determinant factors in the increase in crime rates.¹⁹ The situation in New York City for example was alarming because it became infested by professional thieves, ruffians, and corrupt unscrupulous politicians, and greedy businessmen. The municipal government shared in the vices of the people, and the city was paralysed in the hands of its rulers.²⁰ At this level of deterioration in the cities, the US Government attempted to find solutions to the numerous social, economic, and political problems, which were considered by the social workers and reformers as insufficient and deplorable.

¹⁸ Lawrence Veiller. *Housing Conditions and Tenement Laws in Leading American Cities*. New York: The Evening Post Job Printing House, Prepared for the Tenement House Commission. 1900. P.42.

¹⁹ Theodore Roosevelt. *American Problems*. New York: The Outlook Company. 1910. P. 31.

²⁰ Edward Crapsey. *The Nether Side of New York, or the Vice, Crime, and Poverty of the Great Metropolis*. New York: Sheldon & Company, 1872. P. 9.

II. US Governments' Measures to Counter-act the Social Problems Engendered by the Country's Industrialisation to 1890.

In general, a society that shows evidence of disorganisation is infected by ills directly connected with economic conditions.²¹ The population influx supplied the big cities with workers, consumers, and voters, and caused insalubrities, promiscuity, crimes, diseases, high death rate, illiteracy...etc. These social evils were a real threat to the social stability of the country. The authorities at the city, state, and federal levels tried to solve the socio-economic problems by the extraordinary situation engendered by the country's economic and industrial growth.

Government actions to be debated in this section are limited to those undertaken to provide for the poor, ameliorate people's tenements, and to regulate child labour. The reason for the inquiry in government actions for these three categories is that they constituted the weakest portions of society and could not struggle to obtain their rights mainly through the official institutions such as political parties, social associations, or trade unions.

²¹ Harold A. Phelps. *Contemporary Social Problems*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 3rd Edition. 1932. P. 19.

A. Government Provisions for the Poor.

Assistance to the poor in the USA during the 19th century was undertaken by the States and not by the Federal Government. The State Governments passed legislation to provide for the poor, the orphans, the old-aged, women, and veterans of wars among others. The degree of responsibility that each government felt towards the poor people varied according to the state's financial situation and the political and ideological principles of its leaders.

City municipalities also had the task of providing for the poor, but they were hampered by their structures and constitutions that did not fit the new exigencies of the industrial era. The form of city government during the 19th century was a sort of volunteer corps from the state and national systems that was not seriously thought of and accepted as it was the most available and easily understood.²² Such municipalities had to combat crimes of thefts, robberies, murders committed by gangs, prostitution, gambling...etc, which was insurmountable in view of the rudimentary means at their disposal.

In the main, the municipalities applied four different systems in providing relief for the poor namely in chronology: overseeing the poor, auctioning off the poor, the contract system, and finally the establishing of poor houses. In the first system, the people that did not find enough assistance from families, a congregation or a local church could make

²² Thomas C. Devlin. *Municipal Reform in the United States*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons. 1896. P. 4.

application to an elected local official called the Overseer of the Poor. The Overseer could provide them with food, fuel, clothing, or even permission to get medical treatment to be paid out of tax funds. In 1821, New York Legislature ordered inspections by supervisors at least once a month to examine into the condition of the poor boarded out and see if they were provided with the necessary meat, drink, washing, lodging, and attendance in sickness and in health. In 1823, Massachusetts' Legislature defined the criteria for the paupers to be put under the charge of the Overseer by ordering the Overseers to certify that no charges made were for the support of any male person able to labour, above the age of twelve and under the age of sixty.

Since the overseeing system proved to be difficult to manage for the municipalities it developed a new system known as the *auctioning off the poor* system used to deal with the paupers. The people who could not support themselves and their families were put up for bid at public auction usually for a specific period in the year mainly in winter. In an unusual type of auction, the pauper was 'sold' to the lowest bidder that had the obligation to provide room, feeding, clothing, and health care for the pauper. In return, the latter worked for free for the contractor. This was actually a form of indentured servitude as it was applied during the colonial period. However, the success of this method depended greatly on the kindness and fairness of the bidder. If the latter was motivated only by a desire to make the maximum profit from the labour of the pauper, then he would infringe the right of the pauper to have adequate food, safe and comfortable shelter, and necessary medical treatment.

The drawbacks of the auction system led to the introduction of a third method that concerned the contracting with someone in the community to care for a number of paupers. The number of paupers was delegated to the person or persons who would contract to provide care at the lowest price. This system established a contract between the municipality and the contractor that guaranteed to a certain extent the good treatment of the paupers. Although municipal and community officers supervised this operation, abuses could not totally be eradicated.

The above methods were abandoned when the system of poor houses was established. The first poor house was established in 1824 by the State of New York. This system was adopted because local communities discovered that a place to house paupers helped reduce the cost of poor relief. The poorhouses or “poor farms” were farms instituted to receive paupers where they could work and cultivate their own food in order to make them self-sufficient, and thus rely less on local tax funds. However, the authorities preferred to place children in families rather than in the poor houses. In 1853, the New York Children's Aid Society²³ transported poor children from Irish, Italian and Eastern European families in “orphan trains” to be raised in rural Protestant homes away from the bad influences of their families in inner city neighbourhoods.

The States of New York and Massachusetts and their respective municipalities had great difficulties to deal with the increasing number of

²³ Charles Loring Brace and a group of social reformers founded The Children's Aid Society in New York City. To reduce the incidence of crime, vagrancy and prostitution, C.A.S opened its first industrial schools and initiated the first free school lunch program in the United States. They also began the Emigration-Placing-Out Program, in which children were removed from institutional care and/or urban influences, and sent to live with rural families.

the poor. The total number of the poor in almshouses, hospitals, and asylums in New York State was 3,824 in 1854.²⁴ The increasing number of the poor in 1864 forced the State to support only 169 paupers because of budget reduction, which burdened the treasuries of the towns and the cities that partially supported approximately 21,000 in the same year.²⁵

The measures taken for the relief of paupers in Massachusetts did not differ in perspective from those of New York. The expense of relieving the poor in Massachusetts attained nearly an equal amount with the whole expense of relieving the settled poor of the country.²⁶ As an attempt to control the number of paupers coming to Massachusetts, the State Legislature enacted in 1820 a law entitled "*An Act to prevent the introduction of paupers from foreign ports or places.*" In this Act, ship masters were required to present to the Overseers of the Poor or selectmen a list of passengers, and of their places of residence, under penalty of \$200 if they failed to provide such information.²⁷ In 1840, the Legislature required town and city treasurers to use annual returns of taxes received from alien passengers in their relief and support. Passengers that were considered by special officers as lunatic, idiot, maimed, aged or infirm incompetent persons were not allowed to land.

24 John Cummings. *Poor-laws of Massachusetts and New York*. New York: Macmillan & Company. 1895. P. 61

25 Ibid.

26 Robert Pashley. *Pauperism and Poor Laws*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1852. P. 352.

27 John Cummings. *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

The immigration laws remained in practice until 1872 when the Supreme Court of the United States decided that all state immigration laws were unconstitutional and void. The State Boards of Massachusetts and New York conferred with Representatives in Congress to nullify this decision, which resulted in the enactment of a general immigration law in 1882 that was similar in many respects to the nullified Massachusetts immigration law, but less effective.²⁸ This law laid a tax of fifty cents head-money on aliens that landed in US ports, to be paid into the United States Treasury to reimburse the States back for the regulation of immigration, and to care for the immigrants. The State Board, which was designated to enforce this law, took charge of the neglected children and placed them in families, and provided for them at the expense of the town. On September 30, 1894, the Massachusetts' Board dealt with 2,041 children. It placed 1,459 in families without payments, and retained 582 to be cared at its expenses.²⁹

B. Government Measures for Better Tenement.

The word 'tenement' (from the Latin root *tenere* meaning "to hold") was used to refer to houses built specifically for multiple working-class families from the mid-nineteenth century until the Multiple Dwelling Law of 1929. Tenement buildings referred to the dwelling of various families in one building. Tenements were associated with overcrowding, poverty, and working-class life mainly in New York and Chicago. The first wave of

²⁸ Ibid., p. 39.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 59.

tenement constructions in the USA started with the immigration influx during the 1850s that gave the land-owners in New York the opportunity to make profit from building cheap houses for the poor immigrants by housing as many low-wage renters as possible on a single building lot. By 1865, there were 15,309 tenements in New York.³⁰

There were no laws passed by the Federal or State Governments or the Municipalities before 1867 that had required building contractors to provide their tenants with running water, gas, or adequate light and ventilation.³¹ The buildings were built next to each other which restricted ventilation and light only for the rooms facing the street and rear yard. The toilets were situated in a small rear yard that quickly became filthy and unsanitary for the health of the dwellers. Builders cut costs by not installing water and gas plumbing. By 1864, approximately 500,000 of New York's 800,000 residents (more than 62%) lived in 15,500 city tenements.³² The Citizen's Association Council of Hygiene reported that by 1867 the East Side of Manhattan north of 40th Street contained approximately 3,286 one-or-two family houses, 1,061 tenements, and 1,016 squatter shacks.³³

30 Richard Plunz. *A History of Housing in New York City: Dwelling Type and Social Change in the American Metropolis*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1990. P. 34.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid., p. 54.

Facing such deteriorated conditions, the New York State enacted laws to regulate the tenements to provide better living conditions for the tenants. New York State's *Tenement House Act of 1867* was the country's first comprehensive housing reform law. This law required from the builders to install fire escapes and one toilet for every twenty inhabitants to be connected to the city sewers if possible. Unfortunately, the law had little effect because there were few provisions that enforced it. The *Tenement House Act of 1867* was enforced by an act of the same name in 1879, which outlawed the construction of buildings that had interior rooms without windows. Therefore, all rooms had to open onto the street, the rear yard, or an air shaft. Housing legislation was enforced by the Board of Health and the Department for Survey and Inspection of Buildings.

The measures undertaken by the New York State to better tenements were in general similar to those applied in Chicago. However, the Chicago Great Fire of 1871 obliged the Chicago Municipality to put restrictions on building wood-frame structures in the centre of the city and encouraged the construction of lower-income dwellings on the city's outskirts to cluster tenements around centres of employment, such as stockyards and slaughterhouses.

Such measures were not considered as satisfactory for the well being of the residents because the children still suffered not only from illnesses due to the unsanitary dwellings, but also from the poverty of the parents that were obliged to send them to work on the expense of their education. Children were mainly employed in the mining and textile industries, in addition to small private or familial enterprises. State and

city authorities reacted against the employment of children by regulating child labour gradually to permit the safeguard of their health and ensure their proper schooling.

C. Government Measures to Regulate Child Labour.

During the 19th century, child labour in the USA was tolerated. The industrialisation of the country supplied jobs for children even at the age of 5-year old. Working children in the hard and hazardous work places in textile factories, coal mining and others were subject to physical injuries and illnesses and (in many cases) to death. Legislation regulating child labour was first passed in the industrialised States such as Massachusetts, New York, and Illinois.

Women's associations were the first to denounce the employment of children. Child labour in factories can be traced back to 1790 when Samuel Slater employed 9 children in his mill.³⁴ With the introduction of the textile industry, children were more and more employed because, as it was argued, their small bodies enabled them to move in very tiny places between the machines to knot broken threads. On the other hand, children had to work because they constituted a valuable source of revenue for the parents.

34 George Brown Tindall and David E. Shi. *America, a Narrative History*. USA: W.W. Norton & Co. 4th Edition, Vol. 1. 1984. P. 468.

Only seven states enacted laws to regulate child labour before 1880.³⁵ But, such laws were not enforced and were mostly enacted to appease the growing condemnation of child labour. In 1836, Massachusetts' State Legislature passed a law to regulate the work of children for the purpose to secure their literacy. It prohibited the employment of children under 14 who hadn't received at least three months of schooling in the previous year.³⁶ It was the first law of its kind in the USA that set a penalty of \$50 for any violation of its provisions. The penalty was used in the budget of the common town schools where the offending factory was situated.

Child labour policy changed in the 1850's when legislation was enacted to forbid child employment under 12 in Rhode Island and Connecticut respectively in 1851 and 1855. The State of Ohio followed in 1852 by banning the work of children under 14. It was not until 1856 that a bill was passed in Massachusetts to set a 10-hour work for minors in textile factories and other incorporated establishments. Since then, several states adopted laws that regulated the work of children under 12 to no more than 10 hours a-day. The most effective law concerning child labour was again passed in Massachusetts in 1874 that set a 10-hour work for minors under 18 in manufacturing establishments.³⁷ Nevertheless, child labour continued to gain popularity as sweatshops formed the bulk of the garment industry and other industries.

35 Joseph G. Rayback, op. cit., p. 182.

36 *Report on the condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States*. 61st Congress 2nd Session, Senate Document N° 654. Prepared by Elizabeth Lewis Otey. Washington Government Printing office. 1910. P. 73.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 82.

As in Massachusetts, New York State's interest in children regarded their education. In 1832, the Superintendent of Schools drew the attention of the State Legislature on the education of children in a report on child labour in which he explained: "*in many of these establishments, children are employed at a very early age ... the necessities or cupidity of parents and guardians will, in too many cases overcome their obligations to their children and to society and induce them entirely to neglect their education.*"³⁸ However, all attempts to introduce child labour legislation failed. The State of New York never enacted a law that forbade the work of children under a specific age nor limited their working hours.³⁹

The industrialisation of the USA and its adverse effects spurred religious and secular groups that shared the belief that the country was badly managed and was changing to the worst. Each religious or secular group had its view on how to reform the country and solve its socio-economic and political problems. The following section exposes the most important religious and secular reform groups that emerged in the USA before 1890.

III. Attempts of Religious and Secular Groups to Reform the American Society up to 1890.

Historically, the USA witnessed two great and influential reform movements during the 19th century. The first was initiated by religious

³⁸ Ibid., p. 105.

³⁹ Joseph G. Rayback, op. cit., p. 183.

men and the second was founded by secular utopian groups. The religious reform movement known as the Second Great Religious Awakening started in 1840 and lasted until the 1850s.⁴⁰ In this period, awakening preachers sought to review God's covenant with America and to repudiate the materialistic, acquisitive, and corrupt world of an affluent society. They believed that the changes that the American society went through were evil and the salvation of America was to bring the message of the church to the people to convert them in great numbers through the work of itinerary revival priests.

On the other hand, secular reform groups were also against the socio-economic and political changes that the USA underwent during the 19th century. They emerged as isolated utopian societies to provide an alternative socio-economic and political organisation. This section studies a few cases of the religious and secular reform groups that had a great impact on the evolution of the existing and future reform movements in the USA.

A. Religious Revivalism and the Founding of Religious Communities before 1890.

The religious revival movement of the 1840s and 1850s labelled the Second Great Awakening⁴¹ occurred as a reaction to the industrialisation of the USA. It addressed the un-churched through the founding of

⁴⁰ The First Great Awakening lasted nearly 20 years between the 1730s and the 1740s. It focused on people who were already church members to strengthen their faith and preserve them from being corrupted by the socio-economic and political changes that occurs in the colonies.

religious reform societies in attempt to reform the American society and take it back to its original and 'pure' form. It was marked by the expansion of religious fervour and unprecedented increase in church membership.

The religious revitalisation during the Second Great Awakening manifested itself in different ways with respect to the local population and church establishment, but it was definitely a Protestant phenomenon.⁴² Methodist and Baptist churches witnessed a surge of membership, often at the expense of the Anglican, Presbyterian and Congregationalist Churches.⁴³ The success of the Methodists and Baptists lay primarily in their reliance on itinerant preachers who actively brought the message of the church to the people, converting great numbers through emotionally charged revivals announcing the beginning of the age of evangelicalism led by the Protestants. Religious revivalism helped in integrating huge numbers of people under the Protestant Church. The Awakening was a national redemption and a collective effort towards social improvement. Moral and social reforms were the two principles upon which the Second Great Awakening was based.

The American society, which was predominantly agrarian, experienced an industrial development that greatly changed people's

41 Maxson Charles Hartshorn, *The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1920, p. 57.

42 Ibid.

43 Samuel, Lord Bishop of Oxford, *A History of the Episcopal Protestant Church in America*, London, Gilbert and Rivingtons, 3rd Edition, 1856, p. 171.

lives. These changes frightened certain people to the point that they decided to leave society and build theirs on the principles of their forefathers. This way of thinking was encouraged by the fact the US Constitution provided great freedom of religion and speech and ample space for communities to isolate themselves from society.⁴⁴ Consequently, religious utopian societies and communities emerged seeking religious guidance and alternative ways of living. They tried to create their own perfect societies by experimenting with different forms of social organisation.

Although the American religious sectarian groups relatively varied in their beliefs and practices, they had in common the principle of dissociation from society. Among the diverse religious groups in the USA that existed during the 19th century there were the Amish and the Quakers who built new social models. They believed that they were pathfinders moving into a future better than the present and the past.

The Amish were a religious sect founded by Jakob Ammann (1644–1730), who was a Mennonite leader. Jakob Ammann’s controversial teachings caused a schism among his coreligionists in Switzerland, Alsace, and southern Germany. The Amish communities began gradually to disappear in Switzerland when they started immigrating to North America during the 18th century. They first settled in eastern Pennsylvania where a large settlement still remains. 19th century Amish

44 As stipulated in the US Constitution Article 3 : “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.” *The Constitution of the United States of America*. Washington: Government Printing Office. Literal Print. 1920. p.26.

settlements were mainly located in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Illinois, and Kansas.

The Amish did not build churches because they considered the settlement itself as a church. Their settlements were divided into 'Church Districts' each with an autonomous congregation of about 75 baptised members, with a bishop, two to four preachers, and an elder. When the district became much larger, it was divided into new church districts so as not to grow as a large city. The small size of the districts enabled members to meet in each other's home.

The Amish believed in family ties, community solidarity, humility as a behavioural conduct, and separation from the changing world. They had no interest in politics nor did they serve in the military. However, in case of illness they visited the physician or dentist, and took the proposed medication. The simple way of living of the Amish enabled them to be part of the world but not really of it.⁴⁵

Separation from the existing social order, meant for the Amish to create theirs. Everyday life and customs were governed by an unwritten code of behaviour called the *Ordnung*, and shunning (*Meidung*). Religious services were conducted in High German and held on a rotating basis in family homes and barns. After each service, all the members of the Church District participated in a collective lunch. The Amish and Mennonite communities had their national newspaper *The Budget*, which was established in 1890 and published in Sugarcreek, Ohio.

45 "The Amish." *Encyclopaedia Britannica Ultimate Reference Suite CD*. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2011.

The second religious sect, the Shakers, was founded around 1750 in Manchester, England, when James and Jane Wardley separated from the Quakers or Society of Friends. The Shakers were also known as the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing or the Shaking Quakers.⁴⁶ The history of the Shakers in the USA started when Mother Ann and eight of her followers arrived in New York on August 6, 1774. They settled at Niskayuna near Albany where they established the first Shaker settlement. There, they cleared the land for agriculture and the building of their village.

Considered as a 'prophet' of this sect, Mother Ann insisted on the spiritual necessity of celibacy and equal treatment of people regardless of sex, race, education, or wealth. She justified her belief that females had the right to preach and lead a religious group arguing that "*when the man is gone in a family, the right of government belongs to the woman; so is the family of Christ.*" She advocated separation from society in order to attain a purest and perfect state of the soul. In 1850, there were approximately 6000 Shaker members that centred in New England, with 20 major Shaker communities in New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Maine.

A Shaker village was organised in a way so that men and women did most of their activities separately. It was governed by a team of elders composed of two men and two women and divided into groups or families of the same sex living together as brothers and sisters. Since procreation was forbidden, the shakers added children to their communities through indenture, adoption, or conversion. However, they

⁴⁶ Ibid., "The Shakers."

granted young shakers reaching the age of 21 the freedom to remain in the community or to leave it. The newly joining shakers had to sign a written covenant where they had to confess their sins, nullify their marriages, and consecrate their property and their labour to the community.

In the long run, the experience of the Amish and the Quakers in establishing a 'perfect' society proved to be possible but at a small scale since they did not consider themselves as responsible for the reforming of the whole society. However, the rapid and dynamic social changes that the American society witnessed during the 19th century made it difficult for such social models to spread.

B. Attempts of Secular Utopian Communities to Establish a 'Perfect' Social Model.

Non-religious utopian communities flourished in the USA during the second half of the 19th century when socialist ideology started to be adopted in America. The word utopia is a term coined by the English statesman Sir Thomas More in his book *Utopia* in which he describes a perfect political and social system on an imaginary island. Robert V. Hine defines a utopian community in his book *California's Utopian Colonies* as follows: '*A utopian colony consists of a group of people who are attempting to establish a new social pattern based upon a vision of the ideal society and who have withdrawn themselves from the community at large to*

*embody that vision in experimental vision.*⁴⁷ This idea found many adepts in the USA that desired to establish or start over an unspoiled America.

Similarly to the religious communities, secular utopian communities sought to realise a perfect society by isolating themselves from society. Between the 1840s and the 1860s, individuals who believed in the ideal of creating a perfect society tried to establish communities or colonies in different parts of the USA. The two main successful societies were Robert Owen's⁴⁸ New Harmony Society and the Brook Farm Experiment. These communities hoped that they would gradually convert the entire world to their system by a practical demonstration of its feasibility and benefits in a miniature society.⁴⁹

Robert Owen argued that men were born without their consent which made society morally responsible for the conduct of the individuals.⁵⁰ The New Harmony society was built on his philosophy that centred on the idea that man's character was formed by circumstances over which he had no control, and therefore, he was not a proper subject of either praise or blame. These convictions led Owen to the conclusion that the great

47 Robert V. Hine. *California's Utopian Colonies*. USA: Univ. of California Press. 1983. P. 5.

48 Robert Owen (1771-1858) was a Welsh manufacturer. He was one of the most influential utopian socialists of the 19th century. His welfare programmes included the improvement of his workers' working and housing conditions at Lanark mills in Lanarkshire, Scotland, the opening of a store at which goods could be bought at little more than cost price, and the strict control of the sales of alcoholic beverages. *The New Encyclopædia Britannica*. Ibid., Vol. 9. PP. 23-24.

49 Morris Hillquit. *History of Socialism in the United States*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company. 5th Edition. 1910. p. 18.

50 Ibid., P. 21.

secret in the right formation of man's character was to place him under the proper influences from his earliest years. The non-responsibility of man and the effect of early influences were the hallmarks of Owen's entire system of education and social reform.

Robert Owen was the first to experiment utopian communities when he purchased New Harmony commune in Indiana in 1825. Originally, George Rapp Harmony founded New Harmony in 1814 mostly with German immigrants. New Harmony was the first of seven Owenite communities founded between 1825 and 1826. It was composed of 180 buildings that could house 800 people, four mills, a textile factory, two churches, and a brewery.⁵¹ It was an ideal launch pad for Owen's theories of educational and social reforms.

The laws that Owen established were radical in several respects. The Constitution of New Harmony asserted that no man was born with rights of either possession or exemption superior to those of his fellows.⁵² It fostered the equality of duties, co-operative union in the business and amusements of life, community of property, freedom of speech, and the obedience to the laws of the country, communal experimentation, and widespread education.⁵³ Although the Owenites promoted gender equality, they did not give women the right to vote.

51 Frank Podmore. *Robert Owen, a Biography*. London: Hutchinson & Co. Vol. I. 1906. P.290.

52 Arthur John Booth. *Robert Owen, the Founder of Socialism in England*. London: Trübner & Co. 1869. P.109.

53 Ibid.

Owen divided the growing industrial society into two classes. While the first class was productive and the labour of which increased national income, the second class was a “diminishing class”⁵⁴ or a non-productive class of rich capitalists. Labour created all wealth, which implied that the working class was always a driving force for any revolutionary movement because of its central position in the process of production, its large number of workers, and because its status of exploited class. In practice, reliance on the working class proved to be difficult because of the existing trade unions that already had their visions and principles to fight for the rights of the workers. In addition, isolation from society was not accepted within the US labour movement during the 19th century.

New ideas were imported from Europe as regards the establishment of new socio-economic and political order based on the organisation of isolated communities. Albert Brisbane⁵⁵ (1809–1890) came back from Europe bringing Charles Fourier’s⁵⁶ philosophy and beliefs that centred on the idea that competitive capitalism could be peacefully abolished through the establishment of large, single-dwelling communes called

54 Asa Briggs, “Language of ‘Class’ in Early 19th Century England”, in *Essays in Labour History*. Edited by Asa Briggs and John Saville. Great Britain: Macmillan. 1967. P. 50.

55 Albert Brisbane (Aug. 22, 1809, Batavia, N.Y., May 1, 1890, Richmond, Va.) was a social reformer who introduced and popularised Fourierism in the United States. Brisbane called Fourier’s system *Associationism*. His ideas were at the basis of the creation of many societies. These societies, including his, all failed and the public lost interest in Associationism. *The New Encyclopædia Britannica*, op. cit., Vol. 2. P. 522.

56 Charles Fourier (April 7, 1772, Oct. 10, 1837) was a French social theorist who advocated a reconstruction of society based on communal associations of producers known as phalanges (phalanxes). The phalange, in Fourier’s conception, was to be a cooperative agricultural community bearing responsibility for the social welfare of the individual, characterised by continual shifting of roles among its members. *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 906.

“*phalanxes*.” Brisbane was unsuccessful in his attempt to raise money to create a Fourieristic commune in the United States but instead he settled for publishing the *Social Destiny of Man* in 1840, which was the first thorough explanation of Fourier's theories in English. Brisbane successfully converted Horace Greeley to the ideas of Fourier, and both succeeded in erecting an experimental community in West Roxbury, Massachusetts. In the 1840s, more than forty Fourierist phalanxes were established, but all failed and disappeared.⁵⁷

The most successful Fourierist community was The Brook Farm that was founded in 1841 by the Unitarian minister George Ripley (1802–1880) with the help of Nathaniel Hawthorne and other writers and intellectuals from the Boston-Concord area. In 1845, Brook Farm officially became a Fourierist phalanx, which was rather a modest experimental commune composed of no more than 120 members with a shifting population of temporary members and visitors. Its experiments in agricultural self-sufficiency were mostly disappointing, but the community school was considered a success. Labour remained divided along traditional gender lines, with women completing domestic tasks and men engaged in hard labour.

While it was functioning, Brook Farm became a centre for transcendentalist⁵⁸ activity. Ralph Waldo Emerson, who was an American poet, essayist, and the leading exponent of New England transcendentalism, declined Ripley's invitation to join but made frequent visits to lecture there along with the writer and critic Margaret Fuller, the theologians William Ellery Channing and Theodore Parker, and

⁵⁷ Commons, et al. *History of Labour*. New York: The Macmillan Co. Vol. I. 1940. pp. 60-61.

philosopher and educator Amos Bronson Alcott. However, the Brook Farm experiment lasted only five years from 1841 to 1846, and then was disbanded after being destroyed by fire. The Brook Farm experiment proved more accurately that the struggle for the establishment of an ideal society based on fair distribution of wealth without the exploitation of the workers was practically difficult to realise.

C. Reform Movements in the United States to 1890, Selected Cases.

Although the religious and secular utopian communities, so far discussed, sought to reform the American society by disassociating themselves from it in the hope of building their own societies free from all social evils and human vices, other social groups and movements viewed things differently. Women's rights movement, the Socialists, and the Populists, among others, believed in working actively to reform society from inside through the realisation of specific objectives generally set in their own appellations. The above three reform movements are selected to be introduced in this study because of their presence and participation and influence on the political and socio-economic development of the USA.

1. Women's Rights Movement's Struggle for Equality and Dignity.

58 Transcendentalism appeared from 1830 to 1855 in the area around Concord, Mass., as a movement of writers and philosophers such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, and George Ripley who adhered to an idealistic system of thought based on a belief in the essential unity of all creation, the innate goodness of man, and the supremacy of insight over logic and experience for the revelation of the deepest truths. *The New Encyclopædia Britannica*. Op. cit.

American Women were not allowed the freedoms that men enjoyed during the 19th century. They could not vote, hold elective office, attend college, and make legal contracts, divorce an abusive husband, or gain custody of their children. However, the Industrial Revolution helped greatly in the elimination of inherited practices, customs, and preconceived ideas that caused great prejudice to women.

The early attempts of American women to reform society started with two groups of women namely those who worked as social reformers within the temperance movement and the abolition of slavery and those women within the labour movement that attempted to organise women trade unions. These two movements enabled women to participate in a common cause, and to put into practice their own ideas and opinions.

It was due to their work within the Abolitionist Movement that women activists first became aware of their own slavery. They were invited to join the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS), which was founded in Philadelphia in 1833, but they were not allowed to speak. The general belief at that time, especially within the clergy, was that speaking in public took away from women their chaste and feminine demeanour.⁵⁹ Women discovered that their number in the AASS and in the abolitionist movement was enough to form their own anti-slavery society.

The first Women's Rights Convention came about as a result of the frustration felt by Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton when they

⁵⁹ Eugene A. Hecker, *A Short History of Women's Rights*. New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbockers Press, 1910, p. 158.

were denied seating at the World Anti-Slavery Convention in England in 1840. The Women's Rights Convention was organised by Stanton and Mott joined with other like-minded women in Seneca Falls, New York, in July 1848. Their 'Declaration of Sentiments,' based on the US Declaration of Independence, demanded equality with men before the law, including the right to vote, and education. Over 300 people attended the convention, but only 68 women and 32 men signed the document.

The Convention in Seneca Falls announced the beginning of a revolution concerning women's rights. Gradually, women were allowed to speak in public, something that had been strictly forbidden before, and individual states adopted laws protecting the rights of married women, granting them the right to own property, to keep their own earnings, and to retain guardianship of their children in case of divorce.

The spread of awareness among women as to their unprivileged situation gave birth to the suffrage movement that struggled for women's political rights. Before 1866, the suffrage movement had been sponsored by women associations with the objective of spreading awareness mainly among women about their discriminatory situation through conventions and the establishment of associations. In 1866, the American Equal Rights Association, led by Lucretia Mott, was founded with the purpose to secure for all Americans their civil rights irrespective of race, colour, or sex.

The first attempt to introduce a constitutional revision as regards women suffrage took place in 1867 when women such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Lucy Stone addressed a subcommittee of

the New York State Constitutional Convention requesting that the revised State Constitution should include woman suffrage. Their efforts failed, but the suffragists were not discouraged since two women suffrage associations were created in 1869 namely the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Henry Ward Beecher as their respective presidents.

At the federal level, suffrage was granted only to black American males as stipulated in the 15th Amendment but not to women. It was not until 1882 that the House of Representatives and the Senate appointed a Select Committee on Woman Suffrage, but without concrete measures in favour of women. Undoubtedly, women were still in a weak position to force state and federal legislatures to grant them the right to vote. Therefore, it was necessary to strengthen the movement in order to achieve concrete results. The suffrage movement was further strengthened by two main events. The first event was the merger of the National Women Suffrage Association and the American Women Suffrage Association to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in 1890 with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Lucy Stone as officers, and the second was the entry of the States of Wyoming and Utah in the Union respectively in 1890 and 1900 with State Constitutions that gave women the right to vote. By 1900, women had full suffrage in Colorado and Idaho.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ On March 8, 1908, International Women's Day was celebrated for the first time, and by 1920, Tennessee was the final state to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment that gave women full suffrage. On August 26 the Nineteenth Amendment was adopted and American women were finally enfranchised.

The second type of women movements involved in the struggle for women's rights started when workingwomen organised trade associations to defend their rights during the 1830's. Although women were found in 100 different industries,⁶¹ their trade associations were not affiliated into the existing trade unions. Apparently, this was due to the fact that women were considered either as a source of competition for jobs. By 1837, women of the weaving industry initiated a movement to ask for their rights because they were paid lower wages than those of workingmen. To back their claims, they engaged in the application of the 'work shop' system.

The industries that employed women were those established in the North of Boston where the textile industry was flourishing. The workingwomen came from the farms of New England and were lodged in pensions built up by the administration. This new procedure was called the '*Lowell System*,' in which the workers were kept in the nearest place possible to the plant.⁶² This system was somehow idealised since workingwomen established their periodicals like the *Factory Girls* and the *Factory Girls' Album* to denounce the exploitation of women in the textile industry. In fact, women were paid \$ 1.56 a week and worked from 14 to 16 hours a day.⁶³ In these hard working conditions, women felt the need to organise themselves into associations to defend their rights.

61 Joseph G Rayback. *A History of American Labour*. New York: The Free Press. 1966. P. 75.

62 George Brown Tindall and David E. Shi. Op. cit., p. 489.

63 Joseph G. Rayback. Op. cit., p. 93.

Therefore, the first known organisation founded by workingwomen was the *Female Labour Reform Association of Lowell* (FLRAL).

Under the leadership of Sarah Bagley, the FLRAL organised a petition campaign by 1847 to which the authorities responded positively. The Democrats, who controlled New Hampshire, issued legislation to fix the legal working day to 10 hours unless the workers accepted to extend the working hours under contract. Similar laws were applied in Maine. These measures were not totally effective since the workers were obliged to work under the conditions set by the employer because they were afraid of being on blacklists. The clause in this legislation which stipulated that the working hours could be extended under contract was in fact a way out for the employers to force the workers to work extra hours.

The Secession War had a positive impact on working women because their hired different industry, which gave strength and recognition to their associations by the existing labour unions. Workingwomen were supported by influential personalities like Moses Beach, who was the editor of the *New York Sun*. Beach initiated the organisation of women into Working Women's Protective Unions (WWPU). Later, protective unions appeared in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago. The problem of separate unions for women was presented to the congress of the National Labour Union (NLU) of 1868. After negotiations, the congress of the N.L.U admitted Susan B. Anthony, Mary Kellogg Putman, and Mary Macdonald as delegates of the Protective Unions, and thus, affiliated women's unions.

2. The Permeation of Socialism in the USA and Socialists' Attempts to Reform the American Society to 1890

The main objective of most 19th century American socialist reformers was to seek ways to oblige the capitalist system to operate equitably. The growing capitalism contributed directly to the emergence of ideologies such as socialism, communism, and anarchism that sought to reform the capitalist system or eliminate it radically. This task was not easy, but it seduced many Americans who saw in European socialism a solution to their problems.

The socialist movement in the USA was led by several personalities. The original leader of the movement was Herman Kriege, who came to the USA in 1845. He was a member of the *Bundder Gerechter*, which was a secret organisation of German workers formed in Germany to overthrow the capitalist order. Kriege tried to organise a group of Germans in the USA into a *Socialistic Society*, which did not last long.⁶⁴ Later, Wilhelm Weitling headed the movement when he arrived in the USA in 1849 with the belief that the creation of Banks of Exchange controlled by the workers was the best way through which society could be reformed. However, his plans did not succeed. By 1852, Joseph Weydemeyer appeared as a socialist figure with different views from those of Weitling. Weydemeyer aimed at using direct actions to overthrow the capitalist system through the trade unions whose members could be educated to work for socialistic objectives. He organised the *Proletarian League* in New York City in 1852 with the objective to reform the conditions of

⁶⁴ Jessie Wallace Hughan. *American Socialism of the Present Day*. New York: John Lane Company. 1911. P. 35.

labour by increasing the wages of the workers. However, the League disappeared in the recession of 1854, and until 1865, little was heard of socialism in the United States of America.⁶⁵

After the Civil War, Socialism reappeared in the USA with two imported European tendencies that aimed at overthrowing capitalism. The first, which was led by Ferdinand Lassalle,⁶⁶ gave importance to independent political action to solve the problems of the workingmen. The workers, according to Lassalle, had to organise themselves politically to secure the control of government, and then overthrow capitalism.⁶⁷ The 'Lassallians' formed the German Workingmen's Union in New York City in October, 1865, and three years later, they reorganised their union as the Social Democratic Party (S.D.P), under the leadership of Friedrich A. Sorge.

The second socialist tendency was led by Karl Marx who also focussed on the trade unions, but with a different vision from that of Lassalle. Marx thought that through the organisation of trade unions, the workers could set up *producers' cooperative*. The workers could then organise politically to seize the control of government, and then establish a socialistic state.

65 Joseph G. Rayback. Op. cit., p. 149.

66 Ferdinand Lassalle (1825-1864) created the Democratic Socialist Party in Germany in 1862 in opposition to Marxism. Lassalle believed that the proletariat represented community, solidarity of interest, and reciprocity of interest. He believed also in the State, as Hegel did, as the organ of right and justice. He explained that "The aim of the State is the education and development of liberty in the human race." Therefore, any attempt to eradicate the State was not necessary. The New Encyclopædia Britannica. Op. cit. Vol. PP. 173-174.

67 Kirkup Thomas. *A History of Socialism*. London: Adam and Charles Black. 5th Edition. 1913. P.225.

However, the progress of socialism was difficult in America because it inspired at the same time hope and fear.⁶⁸ It did not find breeding ground in a capitalist society. Great political success of the workingmen was not realised by the trade unions but by the farmers' associations when they gave birth to the Populist Movement.

3. The Populist Movement's Struggle for the Farmers' Rights.

Populism was the dominant radical tendency in 19th-century Russia. It was first developed by Alexander Herzen, who was a political thinker, activist, and writer and editor of *Kolokol* (The Bell) newspaper. He saw in the peasant communes the embryo of a future socialist society, arguing that Russian socialism might skip the stage of capitalism and build a cooperative commonwealth based on ancient peasant tradition. Herzen's disciples inspired many students and intellectuals that endeavoured to engage the people in revolutionary action.

However, the emergence of the Populist Movement in the USA occurred during the decade between 1877 and 1886. The Populist Movement in the USA was a politically oriented coalition of agrarian reformers in the Middle West and the South, who advocated a wide range of economic and political legislation in favour of the farmers in the late 19th century. Throughout the 1880s, local political action groups known as the Farmers' Alliances (FA) was founded by Mid-Western and Southern

⁶⁸ Jessie Wallace Hughan. *American Socialism of the Present Day*. New York: John Lane Company. 1911. P.17.

farmers, who were discontented because of crop failures, falling prices, and poor marketing and credit facilities. Natural catastrophes added to their misfortune in 1887 when the Plains were swept by a catastrophic blizzard in January that killed a great number of cattle, followed by a dry and hot summer that destroyed the crops.

The wrecked farmers sought relief through political action. In 1888, they expressed their discontent through local political groups, commonly known as Farmers' Alliances (FA), which quickly spread through parts of the West and in the South. The Alliances won some local victories and contributed to the discomfiture of the Republicans in 1890. Since the Alliances were not an effective vehicle for concerted political action, their leaders formed the People's (Populist) Party in 1891. This Party could not compete with the traditional old parties such as the Republican and Democratic Parties because most of its members and supporters were people of agrarian stock.

The Populists demanded an increase in the circulating currency, to be achieved by the unlimited coinage of silver, a graduated income tax, , a tax on revenue only, government ownership of the railways, the direct election of U.S. senators, and other measures designed to strengthen political democracy and give the farmers economic parity with business and industry. The Populists nominated General James B. Weaver of Iowa as their candidate for the Presidential Election in 1892.

James B. Weaver polled 22 electoral votes and more than 1 million popular votes. By fusing with the Democrats in certain states, the Populist Party elected several members to Congress, three governors, and

hundreds of minor officials and legislators mainly in Northern Middle West states. In the South, however, most farmers refused to endanger white supremacy by voting against the Democratic Party. The defeat of the Democratic presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan in the 1890s signalled the collapse of one of the most challenging protest movements in the USA since the Civil War. Some of the Populist causes were later embraced by the Progressive Party in 1912.

The socio-economic and political conditions so far discussed in this chapter provide the ground in which the Progressive Movement in the USA emerged and developed. These conditions contributed in the forging of a movement that would solidify and crystallise all forces of the reform movements that existed during the 19th century to stand against all socio-economic and political evils. Therefore, the Progressive Movement that emerged during the 1890s was a movement that gathered religious men, social reformers, politicians, economists, socialists, educators, unionists...etc.

Chapter Two

Emergence and Development of the Progressive Movement in the United States of America from 1890 to 1901.

The socio-economic and political conditions as well as the introduction of the reform movements exposed in Chapter One were intended to provide an overview of the ground in which progressivism germinated and then emerged. From its inception in the 1890s, different opinions were made concerning the nature and meaning of the Progressive Movement in the history of the USA. There were those who confirmed its existence not only in the period between 1890 and 1921, but also throughout time making it a permanent and constant social phenomenon. Others denied its existence thinking that there was no progressive phenomenon since counteracting social evils and economic disturbances constituted the task par excellence of any government.⁶⁹

Therefore, the objective of this Chapter is to study the history of progressivism in the USA between 1890 and 1901. The first step is to examine the emergence of the Progressive Movement through the study of the progressive ideologies and its elite that were of different political tendencies. The second step studies the different political reforms that the Progressives endeavoured to introduce by inducing the State and Federal Legislatures to enact, and the third covers the main economic and social reforms that they succeeded to put into practice.

I. The Permeation of Progressivism in the US National Political Parties during the 1890s.

⁶⁹ Peter G. Filene. "An Obituary for the Progressive Movement." In: *American Quarterly*. USA: The Johns Hopkins University Press. Vol. 22, N° 1. Spring 1970. P.1. (PP. 20-34.)

There was no doubt for the Americans that considered themselves as Progressives that their country had to be reformed politically, economically, and socially. Their priority was start with reforming the city, state, and federal governments in order to eradicate corruption, bribery, and mismanagement. It is therefore primordial to study the progressive ideology, the people that started it, and its permeation in the different existing political formations to understand the emergence of the Movement.

A. Progressive Ideology and its Advocates.

Whatever the difference of opinion that exist concerning the meaning of the Progressive Movement, it is undeniable that the USA was passing through severe social, economic, and political crises during the second half of the 19th century. This alarming situation was engendered by an unprecedented industrial and commercial expansion, during which little or no attention had been given to the problems of government. The laymen felt that government was not functioning properly and that radical changes were needed. The Progressives sought to solve different problems, which opened numerous battlefronts for them.

The emergence of the Progressive Movement in the USA was not bound to an individual or a group of people as in the formation of associations or political parties, but to a general feeling that the country as a whole was going in a wrong way. The Progressive Movement emerged from the frustration of seeing the country getting so powerful and rich, but with unequal distribution of wealth.

It is difficult to set the origins of progressivism in the USA; however, in the vanguard of the movement there were various agrarian crusaders, such as the Grangers and the Populists, and Democrats led by William J. Bryan that demanded stringent railway regulation and national control of banks and money supply. At the same time, a new generation of economists, sociologists, and political scientists was undermining the philosophical foundations of the laissez-faire state and constructing a new ideology to justify democratic collectivism.

Two categories of instigators, namely the social workers and the Muckrakers, took the task of exposing the alarming living and working conditions of millions of Americans. While the social workers investigated big city's tenement houses and went to the slums to discover the extent of human degradation, the journalists called "muckrakers" wrote about the dark side of American life in factories, politics, and the country's economy. Their message was to reform the nation through newspaper and magazine mass-circulation. These investigations brought the support of a growing body of politicians, religious men, and philanthropists who struggled to arouse public concern and awareness. These activities and agitation announced the beginning of the Progressive Era.

Historians situate the Progressive era between 1850 and 1919, i.e. from the uprising movements and associations such as the suffrage movement, trade unionism, abolitionism, the Second Religious Awakening ...etc, to the end of the First World War, precisely the end of President Woodrow Wilson's second term in 1921. Other American

historians such as Charles Beard and Frederick Charles Turner designated the widespread socio-economic and political reforms that swept the country from 1890 to 1921 as the Progressive Era. This designation is the most accepted and approved in the academic community because it justifies the setting of the emergence of the Progressive Movement in 1890 when the government took action against existing trusts and monopolies, and its end with the second presidential term of Woodrow Wilson in 1921, who is considered as the last Progressive President.

The fact that the Progressives were of different backgrounds gave the movement the faculty to represent a large portion of the American society. They were young men that sought to make America a place where good living, fair working conditions, and justice could prevail.⁷⁰ To achieve this objective, they aimed at modernising society, promoting democracy, and to reform family and nutrition, education, medicine, as well as rid the American society of unprecedented social evils through constitutional changes. The method that the Progressives chose to achieve their objectives was different from that of the preceding reformers.

The previous reformers tried to find appropriate solutions to the existing problems through strikes, and petitions to the legislative bodies, or providing relief for the needy persons. They gathered around one central idea that might oppose other associations, social groups, or the authorities. However, the Progressives sought to reform the government

70 George E. Mowry. *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt 1911-1912*. New York. Harper & Brothers Publishers. 1958. PP. 178-179.

itself through which the socio-economic problems could be solved. The main goal that they focused on as a priority was the purification of government by exposing corruption and municipal abuses and mismanagement. They also made efforts to reform finance, insurance, industry, railroads, and combat the monopolies and the trusts. They shared a common belief that government, which was intended to serve the people and the country, became corrupt in the hands of a tiny economic and political elite.⁷¹ This belief engendered three main tendencies and plans of action that might be distinguished in the political agitation that accompanied the progressive activities from its inception in 1890:

- 1-The removal of the minority that corrupted and influenced government at the city, state, and national levels.
- 2-The demand to change and modify government structure and machinery, which allowed such minority to control it, in a way to enable the majority regain its control.
- 3-The extension of Government constitutional prerogatives and functions to relieve social and economic distress.⁷²

The Progressives were political national leaders such as Theodore Roosevelt, William H. Taft, Robert M. La Follette Sr., Charles Evans Hughes and Herbert Hoover on the Republican side, and William Jennings Bryan, Woodrow Wilson and Al Smith on the Democratic side. There were also

⁷¹ Benjamin Parke De Witt. *The Progressive Movement, a Non-Partisan, Comprehensive Discussion of Current Tendencies in American Politics*. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1915. P. 4.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

social workers and reformers such as Jane Addams, Felix Adler, educators like John Dewey, muckrakers such as Ida Tarbell, Sinclair Lewis, civil rights activists and men of religious tendency, and even businessmen. In addition to this elite of society, there was a class of urban middle-class citizens including lawyers, teachers, physicians, ministers, farmers, and workers.

Progressivism as an ideology emerged in both the Republican and Democratic Parties as well as in the various social associations and other political formations. The Progressives operated chiefly at the local level during the 1890s. Later, they expanded their activities to state and national levels. The Progressives strongly supported scientific methods as applied to government, industry, finance, medicine, schooling, theology, education, and family.

B. Progressivism in the Democratic and Republican Parties.

Progressivism appeared in the USA during the 1890s as a force when it was adopted by politicians in the different political formations. The views of such progressive politicians were varied as to the way their objectives could be achieved, but they agreed on reforming the ailing economic and political systems that the American citizens suffered from. Historically, the Progressive Movement appeared first as a political

tendency in the Democratic Party and then was spread to the Republican Party and other political formations.

Progressivism emerged in the Democratic Party because the economic crisis in the 1890s discredited the traditional laissez-faire wing of the Democratic Party also known as *Bourbon Democrats*, and led to the rise of the Populists and the Progressives within the Party. Progressivism in the Democratic Party went through two different periods between 1868 and 1900. The first period, which spanned from 1868 to 1890, was a period of preparation, whereas the second (1890-1900) was that of emergence and development.⁷³

The first period (1865-1890) was characterised by the birth of progressive ideas during the Presidency of the Democrat Andrew Johnson (1865-1869). These ideas developed over the currency issue or the free silver campaign in 1868 and other issues such as railroads, corporations, and centred on the one great issue that a minority used the government against the majority of citizens. This period also witnessed the emergence of the partisans of the silver issue namely the *Greenbackists*,⁷⁴ who believed that much of the distress of the country was caused by the currency austerity, and advocated the continuing use of the “Greenbacks” that had come into existence during the Civil War.

73 Op. cit., p. 32.

74 The *Greenbackists* were persons with agrarian interests that wanted to maintain or increase the amount of paper money in circulation. Between 1862 and 1865, the U.S. Government issued more than \$ 450 million in paper money not backed by gold (greenbacks) to help finance the Union cause in the American Civil War. In 1874, champions of an expanded currency like Butler, Woodhull and Weaver formed the Greenback-Labor Party. *The New Encyclopædia Britannica*, op. cit. vol. 6, p. 377.

They saw in the withdrawal of the Greenbacks a deliberate attempt on the part of the Eastern bankers with the aid of government and law to compel the debtors of the country to pay on a gold basis what they had borrowed on a gold and silver basis. They contended that the scarcity of gold would make it more valuable and therefore purchased more. That meant that farmers would receive less for their products and would have to pay more on their debts.

To redress this situation the *Sherman Silver Purchase Act*⁷⁵ was passed in 1890 to authorise the Secretary of the Treasury to buy 4.5 million ounces of silver,⁷⁶ which was regarded as insufficient. The silver advocates saw in this new law another move against it, and lobbied effectively to have it repealed in 1893. This event announced the end of the period of preparation and the beginning of the Progressive Movement in the Democratic Party.

Therefore, the Progressive movement began in the Democratic Party from 1890 as outcry dissatisfaction with the existing economic conditions, which announced the beginning of the second period in the development of progressivism in the USA from 1890 to 1900. The Democrats came to a decisive moment in the history of the Party during the Presidency of Democrat Grover Cleveland when they had to free the Party from the control of those who found their inspiration in Wall Street and followed the advice of the businesses, and to stand with the people

⁷⁵ *Sherman Silver Purchase Act (1890)*. ch. 708, 26 stat. 209.

⁷⁶ Alex Mathews Arnett. "The Populist Movement in Georgia." In: *Studies in History Economics and Public Law*. New York: Columbia University. Vol. 104. 1922. P. 137.

that they represented. However, this political standpoint caused the Party's defeat in the Congressional elections of 1895.⁷⁷

The Democrats' standpoint against the influence of Wall Street in politics came in a period when the country was hit by a severe economic crisis in 1893 that resulted in closing factories and mills, unemployment, and accentuated poverty. This panic was attributed partly to the tinkering with the tariff and partly to the inadequacy of the currency system.⁷⁸ It caused public discredit to Cleveland and his wing in the Democratic Party, and to the inevitable Democratic defeat of Bryan in the Presidential Election of 1896. Bryan's defeat was a serious blow to himself and to the Progressives in the Democratic Party with whom he was so closely identified. The loss of the presidency in 1896 was mainly due to the policy that Bryan stood for such as the lowering of taxes, direct primaries, and control of corporations. The corporations played an important role in such defeat because they supported financially the party that could safeguard their interests.

On the other hand, the development of progressivism in the Republican Party started when the first battles were engaged against the trusts and monopolies between 1890 and 1900. The starting point in this

⁷⁷ During the Presidency of Grover Cleveland, the 53rd Congress of 1893 to 1895 was composed of 218 Democrats, 127 Republicans, and 11 members from other formations in the House of Representatives, and 44 Democrats, 38 Republicans, and 3 from other political formations in the Senate. The Democrats lost their majority in the 54th Congress in 1895 since they had in the House of Representatives only 105 seats against 244 for the Republicans and 7 seats for other formations. In the Senate, while they got 39 seats, the Republicans got 43, and 6 seats for the other formations.

⁷⁸ Benjamin Parke De Witt. *op. cit.*, p. 33.

preliminary phase in the history of the Progressive Movement in the USA was the enactment of the Sherman Anti-trust Act (1890) under the Presidency of Benjamin Harrison (1889-1893). Republican Progressives were the most influential and most effective because they were in power and could boost measures and laws for the benefit of the country though they were not popular among businesses. Among the eminent Progressive Republican figures of the 1890s, there were Theodore Roosevelt, Howard Taft, La Follette, Beveridge, Bristow, Clapp, Cummins, Dolliver, and others. It should be noted that the Democratic and Republican Parties were not the only parties that endorsed progressive ideas, but other political formations of lesser importance adopted progressivism since they were created as a reaction to the adverse effects of industrialisation on the American society.

C. Progressivism in other Political Formations.

Even though the existing political parties other than the Democratic and Republican Parties were small, they called for the elimination of business influence on government, the modification of its structure, and its intervention to solve economic and social problems. Such political parties were of different tendencies and goals. They included the Green-Back Party, the Populist Party, the Anti-Monopoly Party, the United Labour Party, and the Socialist Party.

The Greenback Party was created to back the silver issue from 1868 because its members failed to get support for their concerns either in the

Democratic or in the Republican Parties. The advocates of the "Greenbacks" formed a party of their own and held a national convention in 1876. Although the Greenback Party had no subsequent history, it was important because it was the predecessor of the Populist Party, which sided with the Democrats in support of Bryan for the Presidency during the free silver issue in 1869. On the other hand, the Populist Party was created as a reaction against the exploitation of the farmers. The Populist Party's platform, issued at its convention in Omaha in 1892 summarises the situation as follows:

The conditions which surround us best justify our cooperation: we meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political, and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized; most of the States have been compelled to isolate the voters at the polling-places to prevent universal intimidation or bribery...The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind; and the possessors of these, in turn, despise the republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes: tramps and millionaires.⁷⁹

The situation in the country was so alarming by 1884 that new political parties were founded proposing different solutions to the various problems that the country suffered from. Monopolies had attracted such general and widespread attention and public discontent - that a party called the Anti-Monopoly Party was founded in 1884. Since corporations were created by law, they had to be controlled by law as the Party argued. This meant that the immediate duty of government was to exercise its constitutional prerogative to regulate commerce between the states and control the corporations. The members of the Anti-Monopoly

⁷⁹ Alex Mathews Arnett. *Op. cit.*, p. 138.

Party supported the creation of both state and national bureaus of labour statistics. The Anti-Monopoly Party's platform included the demand for an eight-hour day and the imposition of an income tax.

The fight against the spread of corruption was endorsed by three political parties namely the Union Labour Party, the United Labour Party, and the American Party in 1888. In its platform, the United Labour Party criticised the Democratic and Republican Parties for being '*hopelessly and shamefully corrupt, and by reason of their affiliations with monopolies equally unworthy of the suffrages of those who do not live upon public plunder.*'⁸⁰

On the other hand, the Progressives in the Socialist Party differed from the others in their vision of government intervention. The ideal and normal state of society for the Socialists was that all functions had to be exercised by government. They believed that Government intervention had to be directed to safeguard the rights of the working class and not the interests of a special class. Here lies the difference between the progressive socialists on one side and the Republican and the Democrat progressives on the other. While the latter wanted the control of government for the interests of the whole society both rich and poor, the former wanted to control it for the workers' interests.

Progressive socialists in the USA were aware that socialism was practically difficult to realise due to the complex economic, social, and political conditions in the USA. This complexity had the effect of making American socialism evolve through three stages: the community stage,

80 Benjamin Parke De Witt. op. cit., p. 29.

the labour stage, and the political stage, i.e. from social repudiation to class struggle, and finally to the creation of a political party advocating more individualism and less socialisation.

Not all socialists shared the opinion of the socialist progressives who believed in cooperation with all the members of society for their own common welfare. Some still believed in complete socialisation of the American society through peaceful means, whereas others believed in the overthrow of the capitalist system by violence and bloodshed. During the 1870's and the 1880's, the USA witnessed the organisation of strikes that culminated into riots, pillage, assault, and murder. The Gould South Western strike, and the Haymarket incident, confirmed the impression amongst the Americans that their labour force was inherently criminal in character. This violence was mainly instigated by anarcho-syndicalist elements that believed in direct and violent actions to overthrow not only capitalism but also the State since it was just a tool in the hands of the capitalists to oppress the working class.

Within the political and ideological agitation that characterised the post-Civil War period, progressivism grew out of a widespread discontent of the Americans with the overall situation in the country. Adherence to the Progressive Movement was not only bound to a specific ideology or political inclination, but also to the feeling that something had to be done to reform the country's politics, economy, and social conditions. During the 1890s, progressive elements worked and lobbied within their respective political formations and social organisations to introduce reforms through legislation. The reforms that they introduced were in some cases successful, but in others they were a total failure.

II. Progressive Political Reforms Introduced between 1890 and 1901.

During the period between 1890 and 1901, the progressives were not in power but worked efficiently to influence the authorities at the state or federal levels to adopt some of their reform ideas and plans. They played effectively the role of the opposition by exposing the mismanagement and corruption of the businesses and the authorities, which brought hope that the country could be reformed. Henceforward, a new culture of reform was born.

The Progressives worked mainly on political, economic, and social axes. They sought to reform city governments, and tried to influence the State and Federal Governments to undertake measures both to regulate the economy and the industry and to distribute the nation's wealth on a fairer basis. Socially, the work of the progressives was to denounce the precarious and hard living conditions of the citizens, and provide relief for the underprivileged.

Politically, the Progressives repudiated the inherited doctrines upon which the Founding Fathers built the nation, mainly the view that the human beings were born free. John Dewey contested this view arguing that freedom was not "*something that individuals have as a ready-made possession,*" it was "*something to be achieved.*"⁸¹ In this view, freedom was not a gift of God or nature, but a product of human making, a gift of the state. Man was a product of his own history, through which he collectively

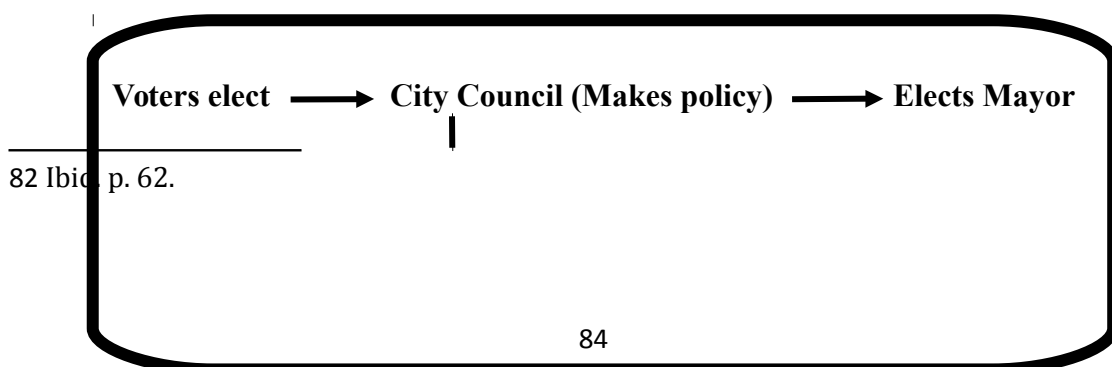
81 John Dewey. *Liberalism and Social Action*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1935. p. 61.

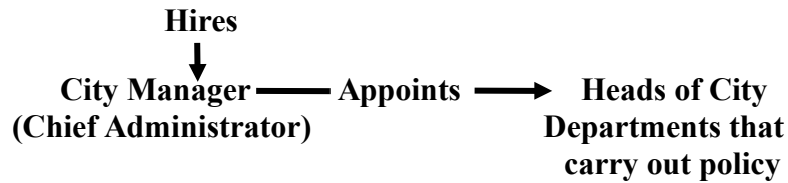
created himself as a social construct. Since human beings were not naturally free, there could be no natural rights or natural law. Dewey also wrote “...*natural rights and natural liberties exist only in the kingdom of mythological social zoology.*”⁸²

The Progressives shared the view that democracy and freedom would be realised only when government at the city, state, and federal levels were reformed. This section demonstrates the current city and state systems of organisation and the progressive reforms introduced for better management of the municipality and more efficient state governorship.

A. Early Systems of Managing City Governments.

Local governments in the USA during the 19th century were organised in a way that did not fit the new exigencies created by industrialisation and urban growth. Some cities such as New York, Boston and others had bicameral legislatures with many boards of aldermen or council members. ^(see diagram below) The officers of the municipal departments were either elected or appointed, which gave the Governors and the State Legislatures free hand to interfere in local affairs. City governments’ accountability was not clear, and waste, inefficiency, patronage and corruption were widespread.





Mayor-Council Model Form of the Organisation of a Municipality⁸³

The principle of electing local officials by popular vote was adopted in the constitutions of cities such as New York, Detroit, Philadelphia, Boston, St. Louis, and Baltimore. The new constitution of New York that was established in 1821 granted new municipal charters with the novel principle of electing city mayors by popular vote.⁸⁴ This principle was later adopted in the charters of Boston and St. Louis both issued in 1822, and that of Detroit in 1824. The mayor of Philadelphia was made elective in 1826 and those of Baltimore and New York in 1833 and 1834, respectively. This new method of selection served to give the mayor a more distinct and independent place in the municipality, and paved the way for him to endorse larger powers.

The expansion of urban population gave more importance to the activities of municipal governments. The urban population had increased from a relatively constant annual rate of 4.93% to 12.49% in 1850.⁸⁵ The most important centres reached the dimensions of large cities: New York had over half a million, Philadelphia over 400,000, Boston and Baltimore

⁸³ Benjamin Parke De Witt. *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁸⁴ Thomas C. Devlin. *Municipal Reform in the United States*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1896. P. 08.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

had both a population of over 200,000 each.⁸⁶ The period between 1880 and 1900 witnessed an unprecedented growth since thirty eight (38) cities in the USA had a population of over 1 million according to the census of 1890.⁸⁷

It became urgent to reform the existing municipal functions because of the growing needs of the cities. Cities such as Chicago and Baltimore adopted the municipal water supplies respectively in 1853 and in 1854. New York and Philadelphia established large public parks, disciplined police forces, paid fire departments, and extensive waterworks and sewer systems. The scope of former municipal activities, such as street paving, schools, and poor relief, was rapidly increased, which increased municipal expenditures and debt, and taxation.

The mismanagement of the municipalities was attributed to the ineffective method of control that did not secure an impartial and effective check on wrongdoing.⁸⁸ Chicago municipality might be taken as a good illustration of this situation in which laws were passed arbitrarily by the parties in power. When the Republicans controlled the Chicago State Government in 1861, the Governor appointed a new Board of Police composed just of Republicans. However, when the Democrats gained control of the State in 1863, they passed an act reducing the term of the police commissioners from six to three years in order to appoint their

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Department of the Interior, Census Division. *Abstract of the Eleventh Census: 1890*. Washington: Government Printing Office. 2nd Edition. 1896. P. 4.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p.20.

board composed only of Democrats.⁸⁹ The expansion of municipal activities increased the number of positions which the local governments offered as rewards party members. This made the large cities a strategic point for the political parties. The control of state and municipal governments was of great importance to the national parties in their struggle for the control of the Federal Government.

Therefore, the general movement toward democracy and popular election grew out of the discontent over municipal management. The 1870s and 1880s witnessed the reorganisation of municipal government in many important cities. After the overthrow of the Tweed Ring, The New York Charter of 1870 was amended in 1873 to extend the prerogatives of the Mayor to remove and appoint heads of departments and other low-ranking officers. Municipal development was characterised in the period between 1850 and 1880 as follows:

1. The extension of municipal functions.
2. The constant growth of special and partisan legislation for cities
3. The steady decline of the council.
4. The organisation of the municipal government in independent departments with no unity or harmony of purpose and action.
5. The development of the mayor's veto power and authority to appoint and to remove.

B. Progressive Reforms of City Governments.

City governments were ruled by political machines such as New York City's famous Tammany Hall⁹⁰ that was the organisational force of the Democratic Party, and the Tweed Ring whose members were businessmen and politicians. Tammany Hall and the Tweed Ring were

⁸⁹ Ibid.

synonymous with corruption in politics and plunder of the New York City's wealth in the mid-19th century. William M. Tweed led the Tweed Ring and achieved a position of political and financial power in New York in the 1850s and 1860s.

At the peak of Tweed's power, there was little beyond his control. He controlled nominations and ensured elections through intimidating Republican voters, paying crooks and drifters to vote and ensuring naturalisation for sympathetic aliens. Between 1869 and 1870, municipal malfunctioning and mismanagement plunged New York City in huge debts. The streets were left dirty, the sewerage system was neglected and buildings were dilapidated.

The New York press instigated Tweed's downfall. The cartoons of Thomas Nast in *Harper's Weekly* magazine began to portray Tweed as corrupt and lecherous vulture. At the same time, the *New York Times* began to investigate the Tweed Ring and the way the city was run. The press investigations led to the prosecution of the members of the Tweed Ring on corruption charges. Tweed himself was prosecuted and sentenced to prison where he died.

It was primordial for the Progressives to start with the reforming of city government in order to eliminate corruption in cities. To achieve this objective, the progressives adopted tactics such as the regulation of

90 In the late 19th century and beginning of the 20th, **political machines** flourished in several large cities: Tammany Hall in New York, Frank Hague in Jersey City, the Pendergast family in Kansas City, and Richard Daley in Chicago. Political bosses, mayors, and party leaders used their control of patronage jobs to reward party loyalty and to provide a broad range of social services for their ardent supporters. Reforms in the civil service and the growth of primary elections gradually brought an end to machine politics.

government through civil servants, the manipulation of the elections through non-partisan votes, and meticulous scrutiny of public expenditures. Therefore, the cities were run more efficiently when the officials were chosen for professional expertise rather than political connections.

They also encouraged local governments to adopt scientific management techniques as introduced by Frederick Winslow Taylor,⁹¹ which they dubbed the “*Gospel of Efficiency*.”⁹² The latter was applied in the municipality in the form of careful budgeting and accounting practices because of the growth of city infrastructures, including public transportation, utilities, sanitation...etc. Practical reforms started with mayors such as Seth Low of New York, former president of Columbia University, who worked to clean up the political process, but with modest success. Mayor Samuel “Golden Rule” Jones in Toledo fostered municipal ownership of utilities, as did San Francisco Mayor James D. Phelan and Detroit’s Hazen Pingree.

For the Progressives, the domestic policy of government had two main concerns. The first was that government should among others protect the poor and other victims of capitalism through fair

91 Frederick Winslow Taylor (1856-1915) was an American inventor and engineer commonly known as the father of scientific management. His system of industrial management has influenced the development of virtually every country enjoying the benefits of modern industry. In 1881, at 25, he introduced time study at the Midvale plant. Taylor suggested that production efficiency in a shop or factory could be greatly enhanced by close observation of the individual worker and elimination of waste time and motion in his operation.

Encyclopaedia Britannica Ultimate Reference Suite CD. Op. cit.

92 Arthur Hastings Grant, Harold Sinley Battenheim. *The American City*. New York: the Civic Press. Vol. July-December XI. 1914. p. 55.

redistribution of wealth, anti-trust laws, government control over the details of commerce and production, i.e. dictating at what prices things must be sold, methods of manufacture, and government participation in the banking system. The second concern was that government should be involved in the intellectual development of its citizens through the promotion of their education, environment conservation, and spiritual uplift by promoting arts and culture.

Such government should be composed of experts⁹³ capable of governing and not mere representatives. The Progressives wanted to sweep away what they regarded as amateurs in politics and replaced them by professionals namely those educated in prominent universities, preferably specialised in the social sciences arguing that politics was too complex for ordinary citizens to cope with. Only government agencies staffed by experts informed about the most advanced modern sciences could manage tasks previously handled by private entrepreneurs. Government, it was thought, needed to be led by those who could understand, and foresee the evolution of society steps ahead. In this way, politics in the sense of favouritism and self-interest would disappear and be replaced by the universal rule of enlightened bureaucracy.

The belief that local governments had to be reformed first gave reason to a group of progressives to found the National Municipal League (N.M.L) in 1894 in Philadelphia. The municipalities were seen as the cornerstone and the launching pad for further political reforms of the

93 The Founding Fathers thought that laws should be made by a body of elected officials with roots in local communities. They should not be "experts," but they should have "most wisdom to discern, and most virtue to pursue, the common good of the society," as Madison put it.

State and Federal Governments. Among the founders of the NML there were some of the leading thinkers and activists of the progressive era including Theodore Roosevelt, Louis Brandeis, Frederick Law Olmsted, and Mary Mumford. It was a civic organisation for the betterment of the socio-economic conditions of the citizens. It intended to reform and to influence city governments with actions such as short ballots, non-partisan elections, proportional representation schemes, city manager plans, popular legislative procedures, and administrative procedures. To achieve these objectives, it set model city charters that proposed measures to solve city problems, model acts, and model state constitutions as prescriptions for the cities. In its history, the League had had a substantial share in the improvement of the management of civic affairs.

From the beginning in 1894, the League's leaders⁹⁴ and members had a determination to change the conditions that prevented the realisation of 'good government' and to simplify the machinery, and in turn interfered with free expression and practical enforcement of the will of the public. Edmund J. James, who was then a lecturer in political science at Pennsylvania University and later the President of the University of Illinois, first laid out the elements of a model charter for American cities. He emphasised that a model city charter would be adapted to local and temporal conditions. The ideal scheme of government would be the one that could work in all conditions under good influence, and at the same

94 The presidents of the National Municipal League between 1894 and 1927 were: James C. Carter (1894–1903), Charles J. Bonaparte (1903–1910), William D. Foulke (1910–1915), Lawson Purdy (1915–1919), Charles E. Hughes (1919–1921), Henry M. Waite (1921–1923), Frank L. Polk (1923–1927).

time would make it hard for anyone to influence it badly. The form of government needed would be the one that fostered the excellences of the citizens, and would give the people of the city the greatest degree of self-determination to decide what form the government should be adopted as well as the activities and powers it should have.

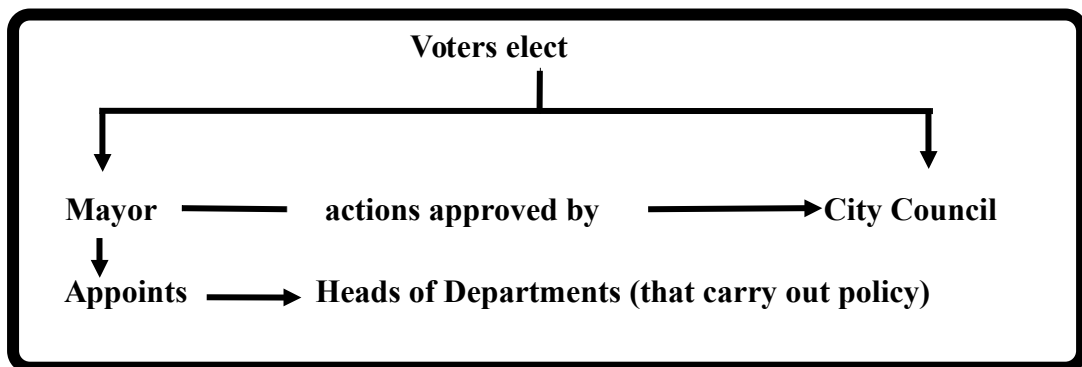
In practical terms, the Executive Committee of the N.M.L appointed a committee of seven distinguished scholars and civic reformers to the task of developing a municipal program in 1897. The Committee was composed of Horace E. Deming from New York as Chairman, George W. Guthrie and Charles Richardson from Pittsburgh, Clinton Rogers Woodruff and Leo S. Rowe from Philadelphia, and Frank J. Goodnow and Albert Shaw from New York. This Committee incorporated the essential principles that had to underlie successful municipal government and set forth a working plan or system in order to put such principles into practical operation.

The Committee reported its recommendations in 1899 and published them in 1900 under the title of *A Model Municipal Program*. The final report included a proposed state constitutional amendment defining the relation of the municipality to the state and a model charter in the form of a 'Municipal Corporations Act.'⁹⁵ The first 'Model City Charter' issued by the League stressed the election of a council for six-year staggered terms, a strong elected chief executive system with very extensive powers assigned to the mayor, including appointment of all major municipal officials (except the comptroller) without advice and consent of the City

95 Report of a Committee of the National Municipal League. *A Municipal Program*. New York: The MacMillan Co., Ltd. 1900. p.225.

Council. It also called for an independent civil service commission and recommended civil service regulations.^(diagram below) The fundamental propositions of this Committee were:⁹⁶

1. The municipal corporation should be invested with the governmental powers requisite to determine all questions of local public policy. There should be no excuse, and, if possible, no opportunity to apply to the Legislature for additional powers; and, on the other hand, the Legislature should have no excuse, and, if possible, no opportunity to intermeddle with the local government by granting or taking away any power which enables the city to decide for itself any question of local public policy ;
2. The citizens of the municipality under general laws should be free to make and amend their own form of municipal government, provided it be based upon democratic-republican principles, and to determine their own methods of administration of the local governmental powers, according to their own ideas of what will best satisfy their local needs.
3. In so far as the municipal corporation is made the agent of the State to enforce and administer general laws within the corporate limits, it should be under the supervision of and responsible to central State administrative departments, and not subject to the sport of special legislation.



⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 54-55.

Council-Manager Organisation of a Municipality as Proposed by the National Municipal League.⁹⁷

These recommendations were not welcomed mainly the adoption of a strong elected executive because it was a radical change from the inherited system. There was unwillingness to entrust such extensive powers to a mayor, and to interpose boards or commissions between the executive and the operating department heads to provide protective cover for many services such as boards of public works, health, parks, recreation and planning.

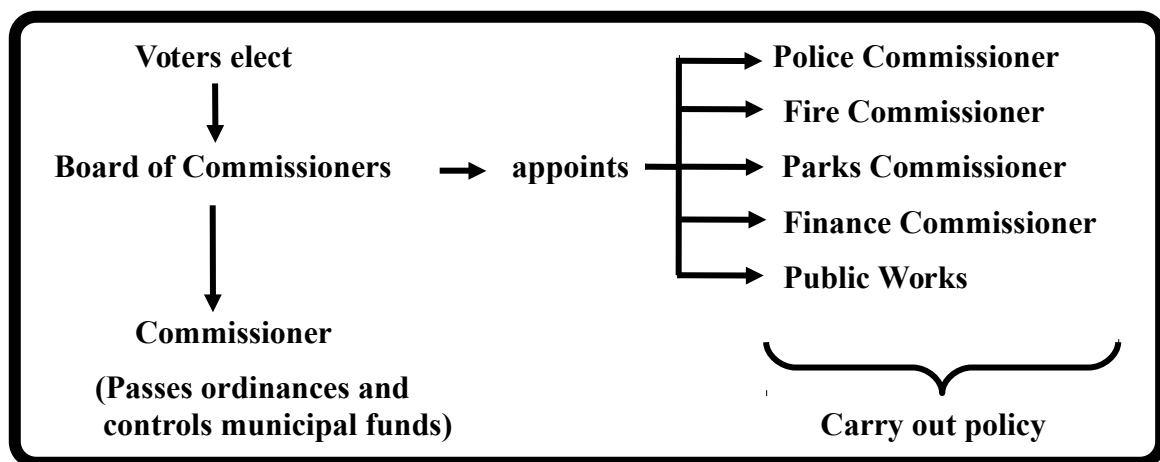
The League developed the provisions of its City Charter by time passing. The Municipal Plan of 1898 provided for the inclusion of a “home rule charter”⁹⁸ to give more power and autonomy to local officials, a unicameral city council with nonpartisan elections, and a hands-on mayor to appoint and remove department heads. City employees were to be hired and promoted under the merit system. Although many local governments embraced the “strong mayor” plan for municipal reform, their success was not immediate.

Other municipalities adopted a different plan that had emerged on the Gulf Coast of Texas in the island city of Galveston. The Galveston Plan was created in 1900 after a terrible hurricane that hit the city and nearly destroyed it. In the period that succeeded the hurricane the city departments did not function. To cope with the disaster, Governor of

⁹⁷ Thomas C. Devlin. op. cit., p. 158.

⁹⁸ Report of a Committee of the National Municipal League. pp. cit., p. 54.

Texas Joseph D. Sayers (1899-1903) appointed a five-member commission to oversee the rebuilding of the city. The Commission was so successful that it was made permanent, and the new form of government known as the City Commission was born. City officials Houston, Dallas, Des Moines, and Kansas were inspired by this form of government and established theirs.



Commission-Form Organisation of a Municipality.⁹⁹

As mentioned earlier, the Progressives had to fight on many fronts to reform institutions that became a source of prejudice to the public instead of performing their natural task of being in the service of the citizens. The proposed reforms of the municipalities found their supporters from the public and from the officials. There were reluctant city officials in many cities that refused the idea of reform, but eventually agreed at least for the sake of being re-elected. The Progressives attempted to reform the State Government as a second step for the perfection of the system of governance in the USA.

⁹⁹National Civic League. *Model City Charter*. Washington: National Civic League, Inc. 8th Edition. 2003. p. 13.

C. Progressive Reforms of State and Federal Governments' Administrations.

At the state level, the Progressives supported the nomination of intellectuals to serve as governors in States such as Wisconsin, California, Georgia, New York, Massachusetts, and others. California's Governor Hiram Johnson attacked business and political corruption by passing laws regulating utilities and child labour as well as workers' compensation mainly for state employees. Georgia's Governor Hoke Smith achieved railroad regulation, juvenile courts and better funding of public education.

1. Measures introduced to Reform State Governments.

The most outstanding progressive reformer at the state level was Robert La Follette¹⁰⁰ Governor of Wisconsin. While trying to reform Wisconsin State Government, La Follette was engaged in a continual struggle against a conservative legislature and a Republican political machine dominated by interest groups mainly the corporations. With his election as Governor of Wisconsin in 1900, Robert La Follette fought

100 Robert La follette (1855-1925) was a US leader of the Progressive Movement. He was Governor of Wisconsin (1901–06) and US senator (1906–25), and was noted for his support of reform legislation. He was the unsuccessful presidential candidate of the Progressive Party or the League for Progressive Political Action in 1924. He believed that politics was a never-ending struggle between "the people," all men and women in their common roles as consumers and taxpayers, and the "selfish interests" for control of government; law-given privileges allowed "selfish interests" to dominate all facets of American life. "La Follette, Robert Marion." *Encyclopædia Britannica Ultimate Reference Suite CD*. Op. cit.

corruption in local politics by putting into practice his 'Wisconsin Idea,' which centred on entrusting the administration to non-partisan civil servants drawn largely from the University of Wisconsin.¹⁰¹ The advocates of the 'Wisconsin Idea' proclaimed that the boundaries of the University of Wisconsin were the boundaries of the State. It meant that a university should not only be an ivory tower institution, but should serve all the people of the State in relevant ways,¹⁰² which was not the case with most private institutions of higher education that were restricted to few privileged people, and emphasised a 'classical' education in Greek and Latin.

Wisconsin University was a pioneer in introducing new ideas, procedures, and practices. In 1860, the University introduced continuing education for professionals by offering short-term courses.¹⁰³ It admitted its first full-time women students in 1863, and established an experimental farm in 1866. It pioneered correspondence courses and the establishment of a continually operating radio station in the United States to serve the public. Professor John R. Commons, who was one of the graduates of Wisconsin University, is known for drafting the state's

101 In 1906, Wisconsin University President Charles Van Hise declared that he should never be content until the beneficent influence of the University reached every family in the state. The Wisconsin Idea became nationally famous to the point that in 1912 Theodore Roosevelt was so impressed by the way in which Wisconsin had achieved substantial improvements without resorting to sweeping experiments that he declared: "all through the Union we need to learn the Wisconsin lesson of scientific popular self-help, and of patient care in radical legislation."

102 Charles McCarthy. *The Wisconsin Idea*. New York: the Macmillan Company. 1912. p. 141.

103 *Ibid.*, p. 125.

first civil service law, and helped in the drafting of the nation's first worker's compensation law.

Motivated by the idea of making government a faithful representation of the will of the people, the Progressives introduced the processes of initiative, referendum, and recall. Initiative centred on the principle of allowing the citizens to introduce legislative proposals at the state or local levels through petitions, which required political bodies to address areas of concern, or place issues directly on the ballot. Referendum was the process of allowing voters to pass judgment on proposed legislation, like the issuance of bonds to raise capital for public expenditure. As to recall, it allowed voters to demand special elections to recall or “un-elect” an incompetent official.

These proposals were introduced because during the 19th century the American electoral system was based on the widespread and inherited belief that the public did not have the necessary qualifications to elect officials in direct primaries. The officials were nominated behind closed doors under political compromises and corrupted means, which the Progressives were determined to fight by calling for direct primaries that allowed the people to vote in primary elections so as to make the electoral process more transparent. The State Legislatures originally elected senators, and as they were known for being under the influence of powerful business interests, the progressives introduced a bill project for the amendment of the constitution to allow the election of Senators

through direct primaries. Unfortunately, they had to wait until 1913¹⁰⁴ to realise this project.

The reforming of the electoral system was a battlefield where the Progressives realised certain victories. The task was neither easy to implement through legislation nor to put into practice because the inherited system enabled strong interest groups and lobbyists to control the country's politics. At the same time, the task was vital because it enabled them to realise all the ideals and principles of basic human rights, the pursuing of happiness, and equality that the Constitution granted.

A further development from the reforming of the State Government of Wisconsin happened when Robert La Follette decided to take his program to Washington and try to make it a national one. However, he did not achieve the success he realised as Governor despite his long tenure in the Senate. His failure was presumably due to his unwillingness to compromise and to his ideology for which the public labelled him as an adept of the Far Left.¹⁰⁵

104 The 17th Amendment was passed by Congress on May 13, 1912, during Taft's Presidency, and ratified on April 8, 1913, during Wilson's. It modified Article I, section 3, of the Constitution by allowing voters to cast direct votes for U.S. Senators. Prior to its passage, Senators were chosen by state legislatures.

105 David P. Thelen. *Robert M. La Follette and the Insurgent Spirit*. Boston: Little Brown. 1976. p. 65.

2. Progressive Reforms of Federal Government's Administrations.

Politically, the USA was administered through the 'Spoils System' that began with President Andrew Jackson's Administration (1829-1837). The 'Spoils System' was a means of control and reward practiced by the victorious parties at the polls. It should be noted that this system was not established by a party but by the Constitution¹⁰⁶ since it specified that the appointment of important office department heads, foreign ministers, judges, and the like were in the hands of the President, subject to the advice and consent of the Senate. However, it did not specify the appointment of officers of lesser rank. The appointed officers by the President were vested with the power to choose subordinates at their discretion. The 'Spoils System' was born when government posts became to be considered as the property of the successful party and not of the state.

The appointment of loyal party adherents to important administrative posts enabled the party in power to control the whole administration at the City, State, and Federal Governments. It became a custom and a rule that the Senators and the House Representatives belonging to a party in power controlled respectively the places and appointments in the States and Districts where they were elected. They had also an equitable share in general appointments from the nation, the consulship, foreign

106 Article II, Section 2, paragraph 2 of the US Constitution clearly states that the method for appointment of higher officials, namely "Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, shall be Presidential nomination and Senate confirmation."

missions, and clerk-ships in the departments.¹⁰⁷ However, this system paved the way for unqualified opportunist individuals to accede to important posts of the public service, which increased political corruption and inefficiency in public administration.

The first action undertaken to reform the Civil Service was the passing of the *Pendleton Act* in 1883.¹⁰⁸ The intention of the legislators was not principally to provide an efficient Civil Service but to remove the temptation to use the offices of the government for personal or party ends, i.e. to remove political corruption, which was nourished by the hope to be appointed to an office. This Act was passed on January 16, 1883 under the Presidency of Chester A. Arthur (1881-1885) to establish a merit-based system of selecting government officials and supervising their work. It provided for a Civil Service Commission of three members to be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. Only two out of three members could be adherents of the same political party. The *Pendleton Act* protected Federal Civil Service employees from removals, demotions, and assessments by elected

107 William Dudley Foulke. *Fighting the Spoilsmen: Reminiscences of The Civil Service Reform Movement*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1919. p. 5.

108 *Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act January 16, 1883*. ch. 27, 22 Stat. 403. This Act was passed during the 47th Congress that was composed of 38 Republicans and 36 Democrats in the Senate, and 197 Democrats and 118 Republicans in the House of Representatives. It was introduced by Senator George H. Pendleton of Ohio and passed under the title of "*An Act to Regulate and Improve the Civil Service of the United State*." The reason for the passing of this Act was that the assassination of President McKinley in 1901 by Charles J. Guiteau. The latter thought that the President denied him a job appointment in the government that he rightfully deserved as a reward for his efforts in the electoral campaign of McKinley. This assassination led to a public outcry for civil service reform. *Encyclopædia Britannica Ultimate Reference Suite CD*. op. cit.

officials and political appointees. However, this law was not applied for state and municipal governments.

The *Pendleton Act* stipulated that the appointments should be made from those who could obtain the highest grades in practical examinations, without preventing women from taking the exam and being appointed to a post. This announced the introduction of employment by merit in federal services or commonly known as the Competitive Service. For the first time, certain federal jobs were filled with the best qualified applicants without regard to political considerations through competitive examinations opened to all citizens.

Shortly after President Arthur signed the Pendleton Act into law, the first members of the Commission namely Dorman B. Eaton, chairman, John M. Gregory and Judge Leroy D. Thoman met to draft the original Civil Service guidelines. The first rules divided the competitive service into three branches: the departmental service in Washington DC, the postal service, and the customs service. Age limit for recruitment was between 16 and 35 in the postal service, and between 18 and 45 in the other services.

When this Act came into force, only some 13,900 clerkship positions that ranged in salary from \$900 to \$1,800 a year were placed in the competitive civil service system.¹⁰⁹ This represented only 10.5% of the 132,800 positions of the Civil Service of the time. The first person appointed under law merit was Ovington E. Weller of Maryland on August 29, 1883 to a post-office clerkship with a salary of \$1,000 a year.

¹⁰⁹ *Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act January 16, 1883. op. cit.*

Miss Mary F. Hoyt of Connecticut, the second appointee, was the first woman appointed on September 5, 1883, to the Treasury Department as a clerk in the Bank Redemption Agency with a salary of \$900 a year.

The pace of reforming the government was slow. The Progressives could not entirely eliminate the Spoils System because it was advantageous to the party in power. They were able to a certain extent curb down the power of the officials through the provisions of the Pendleton Act. The Progressive had to wait until the Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt from 1901 to 1909.

III. Progressive Economic and Social Reforms from 1890 to 1901.

The Progressives' main victories in reforming the country's economy during the last decade of the 19th century concerned the regulation of monopolies. In 1890, the American Congress passed the Sherman Anti-trust Act to restrain the power of big businesses by outlawing any practice that restrained inter-state commerce. During the 1890s, the Progressives attempted to reform three main economic policies. The first issue was the tariff policy, the second was the control of the trusts, and the third was the conservation of the country's natural resources from being depleted by industrial over-exploitation.

A. The Tariff Issue and the Early Attempts to Control the Businesses from 1890 to 1901.

The struggle between the Democrats and the Republicans over the tariffs continued during the 1890s. During the Presidency of Grover Cleveland, the Democrats favoured lower tariffs and attempted to pass an income tax in 1894 that would permit the compensation of the lost revenues from the reduction of the tariff. The new income tax was the first to be introduced from the end of the Civil War, and was set at 2% on incomes over \$4,000.

Democrat William L. Wilson, who was then Chairman of the U.S. House Ways and Means Committee, introduced a bill to lower significantly the tariff rates in accord with Democratic platform promises. The Bill dropped the tariff to zero on iron ore, coal, lumber, and wool, which of course angered the American producers. Congress passed this Bill after more than 600 amendments were added by Democrat Senator Arthur P. Gorman of Maryland with the help of protectionists in the Senate. They not only nullified most of the reforms, but also raised tariff rates. The final version of the Act was named and codified as the *Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894*.¹¹⁰ This Act favoured greatly the Sugar Trust in particular that lobbied successfully to make changes in its favour at the expense of the American consumers.

President Grover Cleveland (1885-1889), who had campaigned to lower the tariff and supported Wilson's version of the Bill, was disappointed that his program had been ruined. He denounced the revised measures as a disgraceful product of 'party perfidy and party

110 *Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894*, ch. 349, §73, 28 Stat. 570, August 27, 1894.

dishonour,' but still allowed it to become law without his signature. He believed that it was better than nothing, and was at least an improvement over the McKinley Tariff.

However, the income tax¹¹¹ provision was struck down in 1895 by the U.S. Supreme Court case *Pollock v. Farmers' Loan & Trust Company*.¹¹² The provisions of the *Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894* that lowered the rates were superseded by those of the *Dingley Tariff of 1897*,¹¹³ which was introduced by Representative Nelson Dingley, Jr. of Maine to raise tariffs in the United States, The *Dingley Act*, which was fully supported by the Republican President William McKinley, raised tariff rates to an average of 46.5%, and in some cases up to 57%.¹¹⁴ The *Dingley Act* remained in effect until the *Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act of 1909*.

The tariff issue was a good illustration of the struggle between conservative and progressive ideologies. The conservatives in the Republican Party wanted to maintain tariff rates at higher levels to protect national industries from foreign competition. This allowed the domestic industries and corporations to control the market and eliminate

111 It is worth noting that the American Federal Government did not have any constitutional grounds to levy income taxes. The ability to raise an income tax was granted to the Federal Government when the Revenue Act of (October) 1913 was signed into law by President Woodrow Wilson, as a result of the ratification of the 16th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in February 1913.

112 *Pollock v. Farmers' Loan & Trust Co.*, 157 U.S. 428 (1895).

113 *Dingley Tariff Act of 1897*, ch. 11, 30 Stat. 151, July 24, 1897.

114 *Ibid.*

any competition that threatened their interests. On the other hand, the Progressives in the different political formations, mainly in the Democratic Party, campaigned for the lowering of the tariffs to benefit competitive industries to develop and offer the consumers the best products at the lowest prices. The struggle of the Progressives to lower the tariffs went along with the struggle against the monopolies. The Progressives realised certain successes at the legislative level to control the businesses that became very powerful to the point that they influenced the country's politics and controlled its economy.

During the second half of the 19th century, the American businessmen were animated by a new philosophy known as Social Darwinism that justified their conducts of greed, cut throat competition, immoral and unethical practices. Inspired by Charles Darwin's book *The Origin of Species*, the concept of Social Darwinism suggested that those who could not survive in a rigorous competitive social environment should be allowed to fall by the waysides. Therefore, the weaker members of society were to be eliminated, which would ultimately strengthen the entire group. Social Darwinists held the belief that the life of humans in society was a continuous struggle for existence ruled by "survival of the fittest," a phrase expounded by the British philosopher and scientist Herbert Spencer.

However, Social Darwinism had pernicious effects on the American economy. Under the pressure of the public, the Progressives, and many politicians, the Government was obliged to react against the monopolies that eventually developed into a new form of industrial organisation

known as the Trust. In 1879, C. T. Dodd, an attorney for the Standard Oil Company of Ohio, had devised a new type of trust agreement to overcome Ohio State prohibitions against corporations owning stock in other corporations. Undoubtedly, such corporations detained great fortunes that gave them enormous power and enabled them to have a say in matters that concerned not only their personal affairs, but also the politics of the whole nation.¹¹⁵

As stated earlier, the Progressives' main successful reform of the economy was the passing of the *Sherman Anti-trust Act* in 1890¹¹⁶ that prohibited among others industrial monopolies, combinations, and trusts. This Act was passed in the Senate on April 8, 1890 by a vote of 51-1 and a vote of 242-0 in the House of Representatives on June 20. President Benjamin Harrison signed it into law on July 2, 1890. This Act was named after its author Senator John Sherman, who was a Republican Senator of Ohio and the Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. The Sherman Act was the first Federal statute to limit cartels and monopolies, and it still forms the basis for most antitrust litigations by the United States Federal Government.

The Sherman Act attempted to regulate inter-state commerce by preventing the monopolisation of the markets by big businesses. In its provisions, the Act was intended to protect competition, and to protect the public from the failure of the market and not the competitors from

115 Everett N. Curtis. *Manual of the Sherman Law, a Digest of the Law under the Federal Anti-Trust Acts*. New York: Baker, Voorhis & Co. 1915. P. 53.

116 *The Sherman Anti-Trust Act July 2, 1890*. ch. 647, 26 Stat. 209, 15 U.S.C.

the market.¹¹⁷ The law was issued against any conduct unfairly tended to destroy competition. In its *Section 1*, the Sherman Act made illegal: “Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations.”¹¹⁸ Section 1 was enforced by Section 2 entitled: *Monopolising Trade a Felony, Penalty*, which stipulates that every person who was convicted of monopolising or attempted to monopolise trade between the States or with foreign countries would be punished by a fine not exceeding \$5 million for corporations and \$350,000 for any person, or by imprisonment not exceeding \$5 thousand, and imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both stated punishments under consideration of the court.¹¹⁹

However, the Sherman Act failed to specify the definition of the terms such as combination, trust conspiracy and monopoly that were very important to avoid any interpretation that would help in the evasion from the law’s enforcements.¹²⁰ In 1895, the Sherman Act became obsolete in the case *United States v. E. C. Knight Company (1895)*,¹²¹ in which the court ruled for the E.C. Knight Company that it did not violate the law even though the company controlled about 98% of all sugar refining in the

117 Everett N. Curtis. Op. cit.

118 *The Sherman Anti-Trust Act July 2, 1890. Section 1.* Ch. 647, 26 Stat.209, 15 U.S.C. § 1-7.

119 Ibid.

120 Everett N. Curtis. Op.cit., p. 161.

121 *United States v. E. C. Knight Company (1895)*. 156 US 1, 15 S. Ct. 249, 39 L. Ed. 325, 1895.

United States. The Court's opinion reasoned that the company's control of sugar manufacture did not constitute a kind of control over inter-state trade.¹²²

B. Progressive Land Conservation Measures to 1901.

The third battlefield for the Progressives was the conservation of the country's natural resources. In the 1890s, they initiated a conservation program to regulate land and to preserve the national natural assets. The first of the progressive laws that preserved forests was passed in 1891 under the label of *The Forest Reserve Act*. This Act was a law passed by the United States Congress under Benjamin Harrison's Administration to allow the President of the United States to set aside forest reserves among public land. Successively, under this Act Harrison put 13 million acres (53,000 km²) of land into national forests, Grover Cleveland put in 25 million acres (100,000 km²), and William McKinley put in 7 million acres (28,000 km²).

The main statutory basis for the management of the created natural reserves was provided by the *Organic Act of 1897*,¹²³ or the *Sundry Civil Appropriations Act of 1897* as formally entitled. It was signed into law by

¹²² Ibid. Section 9.

¹²³ *Forest Service Organic Administration Act of June 4, 1897*. 16 U.S.C. §§473-478, 479-482 and 551.

President William McKinley to manage and protect the nation's forest reserves by:

1. Establishing reserves as well as their administration and protection.
2. Granting the Secretary of the United States Department of the Interior the authority in rule-making and regulations of reserves.
3. Allowing the General Land Office (GLO) to hire employees for the necessary administrative tasks and open the reserves for public use.
4. Stating the criteria for new forest reserve designations, which were timber production, watershed protection and forest protection.

Besides the protection of forests, the intention behind the passing of the Organic Act of 1897 was to secure favourable conditions of water flows, and to furnish a continuous supply of timber for the use and necessities of the Americans. The last item gave birth to two separate branches of the Department of the Interior namely the General Land Office (GLO) for the sale, claims, and administration of the reserves, and the United States Geological Survey (USGS) for the drawing of boundaries and land maps.¹²⁴

The protection of the environment was dealt with in the *Rivers and Harbors Appropriation Act of 1899*.¹²⁵ It is considered as the oldest federal environmental law in the United States. This Act considered any

¹²⁴ Ibid., §478.

¹²⁵ *Rivers and Harbors Appropriation Act of 1899*, ch. 425, 33 U.S.C. § 407.

discharge of wastes or refuse matter of any kind into the navigable waters or tributaries without a permit as a misdemeanor.¹²⁶ This Act also stipulated that it was a misdemeanor to excavate, fill, or alter the course, condition, or capacity of any port, harbour, channel, or other areas within the reach of the Act without a permit. It also made it illegal to dam navigable streams without a permit from Congress for the purpose of hydroelectric generation, at a time when the electric utility industry was expanding rapidly. *The Rivers and Harbors Act* was administered by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

These reforms were at that time of great value and breakthroughs in the campaign for the reforming of the countries' politics and economy. Politically, the Progressives achieved some victories mainly over the Spoils System and corruption in politics, and introduced the Civil Service as an independent body from politics since recruitment to Civil Service posts became operational through examination. Economically, the Progressives also lobbied to pass the Sherman Anti-Trust Act in 1890, which was an important legislation that was advocated to bridle the corporations and trusts and outlaw monopolies. They also tried to lower tariff rates to open the national market for fairer competition, which eventually should provide the consumers with better products at reasonable prices. The conservation of natural resources for the future generations was also given importance because the constant growing industries were in their way to deplete and spoil the country's natural resources.

¹²⁶ Ibid., Sec. 9, 30 Stat. 1151.

However, the social problems engendered by the industrialisation of the USA such as poverty, the exploitation of the workers and children, old-age pensions, health care, were difficult to tackle and achievements of great importance were rare during the 1890s. The social issues were considered as state concerns, which hampered the Federal Government from enacting laws for the benefit of the deprived population. Another reason for such attitude was that the politicians thought that the realisation of political and economic reforms would necessarily lead to a better life for the citizens. The objective of the following section is to study the important social reforms that were achieved at the city, state and federal levels.

C. Progressive Social Reforms between 1890 and 1901.

As stated above, the Progressives within the political parties were mostly interested in reforming the country's political and economic systems believing that once these were achieved the social problems would gradually disappear. The number of Congressional Acts devoted to the reforming of the country's economic and political matters superseded those passed to overcome social problems. Before the 1890s, the Federal Government left the treatment of social problems to the States, which in turn left them to caritative associations or ad hoc committees established for different emergencies such as epidemics, natural disasters, or serious social evils. This view continued to exist throughout the 1890s, but it gradually disappeared since the following

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US Presidents undertook social measures with varied intensity mainly during and after the First World War.

The social reforms of the 1890s were initiated by different non-partisan Progressive elements like the muckrakers who undertook the task of exposing the social problems. Social workers worked actively to solve the social problems or at least to alleviate the sufferings of the poor. Without belonging to any particular class, the common interest among the non-partisan Progressives was to urge an extension of governmental functions to introduce remedies where needed.

1. Role and Impact of Muckraking Journalism in the USA in the 1890s.

The development of the means of communication in the USA from the 1890s onwards helped greatly in the widespread of progressive ideas and ideals. Newspapers and magazines became a force of great importance that shaped American life in this period. *McClure's* and *Collier's Weekly* were two of the most important magazines that served as a medium to inform and enlighten the public of what was going on in the country. The industrialisation of the country, which affected adversely the socio-economic and political life, gave birth to a new brand of journalists

nicknamed by Theodore Roosevelt as “muckrakers”¹²⁷ such as Ida Tarbell, Jacob Riis, Upton Sinclair, and Lincoln Steffens, who wrote books and articles exposing the flaws of United States’ capitalist society. This new trend in journalism was at the origin of what we know today as investigative journalism.

The writings of these journalists and writers were very influential at all levels because they exposed the poverty affecting millions of people and revealed the true nature of big business that exploited the country and its people. They exposed fraud, waste, corruption and other evils in government and business, and they shed light on the slums of the cities. They undertook investigations on bossism, profiteering, child labour, public health and safety, prostitution, alcohol, and almost every aspect of public and even private life. They achieved some spectacular successes at almost every level, from supporting child labour laws across the country to constitutional amendments such as the direct election of Senators, women's suffrage, prohibition of alcohol, and income tax.

Many journalists and historians of the Progressive Era in the USA like Charles Beard considered Julius Chambers as the father of muckraking journalism because he was the first to undertake a journalistic investigation of Bloomingdale Asylum in 1872. His articles and accounts

127 The muckrakers provided detailed, accurate journalistic accounts of the political and economic corruption and social hardships caused by the power of big business in a rapidly industrializing United States. The name muckraker was pejorative when used by President Theodore Roosevelt in his speech of April 14, 1906, when he borrowed a passage from John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, which referred to “*the Man with the Muckrake . . . who could look no way but downward.*” But “muckraker” also came to take on favourable connotations of social concern and courageous exposition. “Muckraker” *Encyclopædia Britannica Ultimate Reference Suite CD. op. cit.*

of the experience were published in the *Tribune*, and led to the release of twelve patients who were not mentally ill, a reorganisation of the staff and administration of the institution and, eventually, to a change in the lunacy laws. His works were later compiled in a book entitled *A Mad World and Its People* in 1876.

Taking Chambers as a model, Nellie Bly wrote articles and journalistic reports in 1887 on patient abuse at Bellevue Mental Hospital. First, she published a series of articles in *The World* and then a book under the title of *Ten Days in the Mad-House*. She wrote articles on corrupt politicians, sweat-shop working conditions, and on other societal injustices. On the other hand, Lincoln Steffens targeted corruption in politics. He published *Tweed Days in St. Louis* in *McClure's Magazine* in 1902 in which he profiled corrupt leaders in St. Louis.

The most spectacular success of muckraking journalism in fighting the industrial monopolies was Ida Tarbell's¹²⁸ accounts on John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company (SOC). She sought interviews with leaders of the S.O.C who assumed that she would write a favorable account on the company. They gave her free access to their activities and records. The result was a series of articles that were later published as a book in 1904 entitled *The History of the Standard Oil Company*. Tarbell's account was a devastating one since it revealed the ruthless illegal practices of Rockefeller and his associates in monopolising the petroleum

128 After graduating from Allegheny College as a biology, where she was the only woman in her class of 1880, Tarbell became a teacher, but soon turned to her life's work, writing. While doing graduate work in Paris, where she wrote biographies of historic figures, she was hired as editor for *McClure's*. Ibid.

industry from the well to the consumer. Her accounts helped in the breakup of the company in 1911 under antitrust laws.

The revelations of these journalists and writers increased the circulation of the newspapers and magazines where they were published. However, the managers of the newspapers and magazines, who were motivated by competition for profits from the sensational findings of their reporters, contributed to the emergence of what we know today as the '*yellow journalism*.' Circulation battles between men like Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst sometimes encouraged irresponsible reporting.

Muckraking reports were a novelty that even ordinary people read and followed because they made them aware of their own situation and that of the country. Exposing such evils did not only push progressive politicians to seek solutions in politics, but also pushed educators and social reformers respectively to find solutions in new educational methods and relief measures for the poor.

2. John Dewey's Progressive Education.

The educational reformers of the Progressive Era shaped the educational system in the USA with their new philosophical, pedagogical, and administrative ideas that were at the basis of modern schooling in the USA and in many countries. Progressive education was an integral part of the movement of reforms that the country witnessed with an impulse directed towards its democratisation because it was confined to

those who could financially afford it. The progressive educators believed that the spread of education could ease the tensions that were created by the immense social, economic, and political turmoil engendered by the industrialisation of the country. When undertaken correctly, education could play a leading role in preparing the American citizen for active civic participation in a democratic society.

One of the leading figures of such philosophy was John Dewey¹²⁹ (1859–1952), who was a noted philosopher, psychologist, and educational reformer. Later remembered as the “Father of Progressive Education,” Dewey established pragmatism as a school of philosophy that emphasised on a child-centred pedagogy. In Chicago, he experimented his pedagogical approach to develop habits of multiple leadership, self-reliance, and democratic cooperativeness. His vision for the school was strongly tied to his larger vision of what he labelled as the *good society*,¹³⁰ in which education was a deliberately conducted practice of investigation, of problem solving, and of both personal and community growth that should eventually spur democracy. For Dewey, each classroom represented a microcosm of the human relationships that constituted the larger community. Therefore, a ‘*little democracy*’ could be created at school for a ‘*more lovely society*.’ Democracy, he wrote in his

129 John Dewey was an American philosopher and educator who was one of the founders of the philosophical school of pragmatism, a pioneer in functional psychology, and a leader of the progressive movement in education in the United States. During his long and distinguished career, Dewey generated over 1,000 books and articles on topics ranging from politics to art. Some of his outstanding works there are: *The School and Society* (1899), *The Child and the Curriculum* (1902), and *Democracy and Education* (1916). Ibid.

130 John Donohue. ‘Dewey and the Problem of Technology.’ In: *John Dewey: His Thought and Influence*. New York: Fordham University Press. Ed. John Blewett. 1960. P. 131.

book *Democracy and Education* (1916): “is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience.”¹³¹

Dewey was inspired by the ideas of philosopher and psychologist William James (1842–1910) who focused on the relationship between thinking and doing. He believed that his educational philosophy could equip each child with the problem-solving skills required to overcome obstacles between a given and desired set of circumstances. He also believed that, education was not simply a means to a future life, but instead represented a full life in itself.¹³² Education was ultimately about growth, Dewey argued, and the school played a crucial role in creating an environment that was responsive to the child's interests and needs, and would consequently allow the child to flourish. The Progressives connected childhood and democracy with education, which means that if children were taught to understand the relationship between thinking and doing, they would be fully equipped for active participation in a democratic society.

The child-centred pedagogy meant to build education upon an experience-based curriculum to be developed by both students and teachers. Teachers would play a special role by merging their deep knowledge of, and affection for, children with the intellectual demands of the subject matter. Although the practice of pure Dewey's progressive education was rare, his educational ideas were implemented in private

¹³¹ John Dewey. *Democracy and Education*. New York: Macmillan, 1916. P. 101.

¹³² Ibid.

and public school systems alike. Progressive education was associated with private independent schools such as Dewey's Laboratory School, Margaret Naumberg's Walden School, and Lincoln School of Teacher's College.

Progressive education was implemented in large school systems such as those in Winnetka schools in Illinois, and Gary schools in Indiana. Acting Superintendent Carleton Washburne of Winnetka schools, some twenty miles north of Chicago, rejected traditional classroom practice in favour of individualised instruction that let children learn at their own pace. The schools used the child's natural curiosity as the point of departure in the classroom and developed a teacher education program at the Graduate Teachers College of Winnetka to train teachers on this approach. The Winnetka schools balanced progressive ideals with basic skills and academic rigor.

Like the Winnetka schools, the Gary schools applied a Progressive system led by Superintendent William A. Wirt, who studied with Dewey at the University of Chicago. The Gary schools attracted national attention for their *work-study-play* system, which increased the capacity of the schools since they allowed children to spend considerable time doing manual work in laboratories, shops, and on the playground. The schools also stayed open until the evening hours and offered adult education courses that met certain needs in the community.

In short, by focusing on learning-by-doing and adopting an educational program that centred on larger social and community needs, the Winnetka and Gary schools closely mirrored Dewey's progressive

educational theories. By linking the home to school, and viewing both as integral parts of a larger community, Progressive educators sought to create an educational environment where children could see that through the *hands-on work* activities they could have a role in society. Progressive educators sought to eliminate academic education for the few and to enlarge vocational training for the masses.

Similar to Dewey's vision of the educational system, Colonel Francis W. Parker privileged the happiness of the individual and combined education and experience in pedagogical practice. He worked as Superintendent of Quincy schools in Massachusetts, and later as the head of the Cook County Normal School in Chicago. Parker rejected discipline, authority, regimentation, and traditional pedagogical techniques and emphasised warmth, spontaneity, and the joy of learning. Parker also believed in learning-by-doing, arguing that genuine delight should be the by-product of manual work.

Although John Dewey, Francis Parker and others not cited in this research were better known as the founding fathers of progressive education in America, Felix Adler and Jane Addams' contribution was not less significant to illustrate how a school could provide social cooperation in connection with an education that served ethical ends. As a young professor of religious history and literature at Cornell University, Adler believed that private charity alone could not solve the problems of the poor. He believed that philanthropy had to "*penetrate to the root itself and help the poor to help themselves.*"¹³³

133 Felix Adler. *Creed and Deed*. New York: Putnam. 1877. P. 63.

3. Social Workers' Progressive Achievements during the 1890s.

Social workers such as Felix Adler and Jane Addams reacted against the miserable conditions that a large portion of the population lived in. Adler's most beneficial and influential social activities were the creation of a free kindergarten for the poor, and the establishment of the Workingman's School. In 1878, he and his friend Alfred Wolff distributed handbills through New York's poorest areas announcing the opening of a free kindergarten. The latter was the first full-service philanthropic institution in the city that provided washing, feeding, and often clothing for the children, and help for the mothers. In 1880, Adler established the Workingman's School in New York, an institution with innovative techniques far superior to what he called the revolting practices of the day applied in private and public schools. Adler condemned the "common schools," saying they were organised as a "*combination of the cotton mill and railroad with the model State-prison.*"¹³⁴

Felix Adler's Workingman's School was changed to the Ethical Culture School (E.C.S) in the 1890s and was moved to a site on Central Park West. It provided a program where laboratory studies were given, as well as the teaching of food and cooking was introduced. The E.C.S gave the students the opportunity to study in classes small enough to encourage individuality, in contrast with the overcrowded classes of the city schools in the 1880s. On December 27, 1891 a reporter from the *New York Tribune* wrote, "*Eureka! I have found it at last! A school where children actually like to go ... A school which teaches the eye and the ear and*

¹³⁴ Ibid.

educates the fingers while it is expanding the brain."¹³⁵ In 1888, Adler helped organise a society for the scientific study of children, a group that became the Child Study Association in 1907. His school became a model for other schools.

Jane Addams' venture in the world of education and relief for the poor started when she and her friend Ellen G. Starr visited a settlement house called Toynbee Hall in London's East End. This visit had a great impact on them to the point that they decided to open a similar house in an underprivileged area of Chicago. In 1889, they leased a large home built by Charles Hull at the corner of Halsted and Polk Streets, where they moved in with the purpose: *'to provide a centre for a higher civic and social life; to institute and maintain educational and philanthropic enterprises, and to investigate and improve the conditions in the industrial districts of Chicago.'*¹³⁶

By its second year of existence, Hull-House hosted about nine thousand people every week.¹³⁷ There were kindergarten classes in the morning, club meetings for older children in the afternoon, and courses for adults were given in the evening, which later developed into a night school. The first facility added to Hull-House was an art gallery, the second was a public kitchen, then came a coffee house, a gymnasium, a swimming pool, a cooperative boarding club for girls, a book binder workshop, an art studio, a music school, a drama group, a circulating

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Jane Addams. *Twenty Years at Hull-House*. New York: The McMillan Co. 1911. P. 112.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 395.

library, an employment bureau, and a labour museum. Addams and Starr made speeches about the needs of the neighbourhood, and succeeded in raising money and convincing young women of well-to-do families to help, to take care of children, and to nurse the sick.

These initiatives were local in scope and undertaken individually, but without undermining their importance as a step towards the reforming of the American society. The efforts of the Progressives in the period between 1890 and 1900, in fact, exposed the evils and showed the way for reform to the politicians, who gradually passed legislation that translated their aspirations.

The Progressive Movement in the USA during the 1890s focused on reforming the country's politics, economy and the introduction of certain social reforms. The political reforms were aimed to make the government at the city and state levels more efficient and capable of realising people's needs. The economic reforms covered mainly three domains namely the elimination or at least the control of monopolies and trusts, the reforming of the country's tariffs, and the conservation of the country's natural resources.

Socially, the Progressives attempted to reform the social and working conditions of the deprived classes of society including women and child health through the abolition of child labour, and the elimination of all forms of women exploitation. They also attempted to introduce pension and compensation programmes to provide for the aged and the disabled workers that were injured or died by operating industrial machinery. These progressive political, economic and social objectives were the main

domains of reform that the Progressives focused on during the Progressive Era from 1890 to 1921.

Chapter Three

Progressive Political Reforms during the Presidencies of T. Roosevelt, H. Taft, and W. Wilson from 1901 to 1921.

The Progressive Movement emerged during the last quarter of the 19th century from the awareness of the majority of the Americans that their government was not functioning in a way so as to achieve efficient

social life. It became clear that reforming government had to be the first step towards economic prosperity and a perfect society.

The coming in power of the first Progressive President namely Theodore Roosevelt in 1901 after the assassination of W. McKinley announced the end of the preparatory phase in the development of progressivism in the USA that lasted from 1890 to 1901. It also announced the beginning of the period of the Progressive presidential reforms from 1901 to 1921, which could be divided into three phases. The first and the second phases covered the Republican Presidential terms of both Theodore Roosevelt (1901-1909) and William Howard Taft (1909-1913). The third phase witnessed the coming in power of Democrat President Woodrow Wilson from 1913 to 1921. These three phases constituted a period in which the development of progressivism in the USA especially during the 1900s and the 1910s reached its climax.

Since Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Howard Taft were Republicans, their version of progressivism was formulated in their executive decrees and legislative acts that reformed social, economic, and political aspects of life in the country. President Woodrow Wilson also brought the same trend of reforms as those of his predecessors, but introduced others that reflected his Democrat ideology. This chapter is devoted to the study of the progressive political achievements realised between 1901 and 1921.

I. Progressive Political Reforms under Republican Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt from 1901 to 1909.

With the coming of Theodore Roosevelt in power in 1901, the Progressives were no longer spectators of national politics, but were in power and they could put into practice their reform policies. President Roosevelt's progressive policies touched nearly all fields of general public interest. Politically, the reforms that he undertook concerned three main fields namely the composition and management of his administration between 1901 and 1909, the electoral system for better representation of people's will, and the US progressive foreign policy during the same period.

A. Progressive Elite in President Theodore Roosevelt's Administration (1901-1909).

President Roosevelt¹³⁸ chose his secretaries among men of great intellectual qualifications and academic merit to carry on his policies. He was very receptive to the suggestions and solutions of the experts in political, economic, and social matters. His Administration was composed of nine departments most of which witnessed changes at their heads between 1901 and 1909. As State Secretary, he appointed John Hay from 1901 to 1905, and then Elihu Root between 1905 and 1909, who again was succeeded by Robert Bacon until the end of his second presidential term. Before becoming the Secretary of State, Elihu Root had been appointed as Secretary of War between 1901 and 1905, when he left to the office of Secretary of State, he was replaced by William Howard Taft who served from 1905 to 1908 as Secretary of War. Taft was again replaced by Luke E. Wright in order to prepare for his presidential campaign of 1909. Three men succeeded at the head of the Secretary of the Treasury: Lyman J. Gage (1901-1902), Leslie M. Shaw (1902-1907),

138 Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919) was the 26th President of the United States (1901-09), writer, naturalist, and soldier. He graduated from Harvard College, and then studied briefly at Columbia Law School but soon turned to writing and politics as a career. Elected as a Republican to the New York State Assembly at 23, Roosevelt quickly made a name for himself as a foe of corrupt machine politics. Roosevelt remained active in politics and again battled corruption as a member of the US Civil Service Commission (1889-95) and as president of the New York City Board of Police Commissioners. President William McKinley appointed him as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, which he exploited to lobby for the war with Spain. He was elected as Governor of New York in 1898 and became an energetic reformer by removing corrupt officials and enacting legislation to regulate corporations and the civil service. His actions were so unpopular within the Party that the bosses conspired to get rid of him by drafting him for the Republican vice presidential nomination in 1900 to assign him just a ceremonial role. However, the assassination of President McKinley made him the youngest person ever to enter the presidency at the age of 43. From what he called the presidency's 'bully pulpit,' Roosevelt gave speeches aimed at raising public consciousness about the nation's role in world politics, the need to control the trusts that dominated the economy, the regulation of railroads, and the impact of political corruption. *Encyclopaedia Britannica Ultimate Reference Suite CD*. Op. cit.

and George B. Cortelyou (1907-1909).

President Roosevelt appointed successively three Attorneys: Philander C. Knox (1901-1904), William H. Moody (1904-1906), and Charles J. Bonaparte (1906-1909). The Secretary of the Interior was given to Ethan A. Hitchcock from 1901 to 1907 and then to James Rudolph Garfield between 1907 and 1909. During the two presidential terms of Roosevelt, the Secretary of Agriculture was headed by one man, James Wilson from 1901 to 1909. The President alternated the Secretary of Commerce and Labour between three men: George B. Cortelyou (1903-1904), Victor H. Metcalf (1904-1906), and Oscar S. Straus (1906-1909). Between 1901 and 1909, Roosevelt appointed five men as Postmaster General for a term not exceeding two years. They were Charles E. Smith, Henry C. Payne, Robert J. Wynne, George B. Cortelyou, and George von L. Meyer. Finally, he appointed six men at the head of the Secretaries of the Navy: John D. Long, William H. Moody, Paul Morton, Charles J. Bonaparte, Victor H. Metcalf, and Truman H. Newberry.

Office	Name	Term
President	Theodore Roosevelt	1901-1909
Vice President	Charles Fairbanks	1905-1909
Secretary of State	John Hay	1901-1905

	Elihu Root Robert Bacon	1905–1909 1900
Secretary of the Treasury	Lyman J. Gage Leslie M. Shaw George B. Cortelyou	1901–1902 1902-1907 1907-1909
Secretary of War	Elihu Root William Howard Taft Luke E. Wright	1901-1904 1904-1908 1908-1909
Attorney General	Philander C. Knox William H. Moody Charles J. Bonaparte	1901–1904 1904–1906 1906–1909
Postmaster General	Charles E. Smith Henry C. Payne Robert J. Wynne George B. Cortelyou George von L. Meyer	1901–1902 1902–1904 1904–1905 1905–1907 1907–1909
Secretary of the Navy	John D. Long William H. Moody Paul Morton Charles J. Bonaparte Victor H. Metcalf Truman H. Newberry	1901–1902 1902–1904 1904–1905 1905–1906 1906–1908 1908–1909
Secretary of the Interior	Ethan A. Hitchcock James Rudolph Garfield	1901–1907 1907–1909
Secretary of Agriculture	James Wilson	1901–1909
Secretary of Commerce and Labour	George B. Cortelyou Victor H. Metcalf Oscar S. Straus	1903–1904 1904–1906 1906–1909

President Roosevelt's Administration from 1901-1909.

Most of the members of President Roosevelt's Administration attended and graduated from law schools and colleges and worked as lawyers. John Hay and Elihu Root attended respectively Springfield Law College and New York Law School. Leslie M. Shaw graduated from Des Moines College of Law and George B. Cortelyou from Georgetown Law schools. Ethan A. Hitchcock studied law at the University of Mississippi and in his father's office, and then was admitted to the Bar. He served for eight years as Tennessee Attorney General. Philander C. Knox attended

Mount Union College where he graduated in 1872 with a Bachelor of Arts degree, and then was admitted to the Bar in 1875. While Robert Bacon, William H. Moody, and Charles J. Bonaparte attended Harvard Law School, James Rudolph Garfield and Oscar S. Straus graduated from Columbia University Law School. On the other hand, Victor H. Metcalf attended Yale Law School.

James Wilson was the only member that graduated from Iowa College and became Professor of Agriculture at what is now Iowa State University. Lyman J. Gage was the only member who occupied different posts. He was educated at an academy in New York, which enabled him to work as a bank clerk, bookkeeper, assistant cashier, vice-president and then president of the First National Bank of Chicago.

The President appointed highly educated lawmen was intended to manage and put into practice his progressive policies. Such choice certainly emanated from his belief that that lawmen were the best fit persons to write laws efficiently, understand them, and find legislative solutions to different problems that he intended to solve.

B. President Roosevelt's Reforms of the American Political System from 1901 to 1909.

The belief of reforming the government at all levels as the most effective means to achieve reforms in all domains was carried on during the Presidency of T. Roosevelt. However, the Progressives were not unanimous as regards the way to achieve this objective. Some wanted to start with reforming the electoral system in the country by electing the

Senators directly and giving suffrage to women, which meant that good government could be best achieved only by expanding democracy in the country. Others believed that political reforms had to be started at the local level, i.e. reforming the city governments.

As stated in Chapter One, the Progressives that opted for urban reforms to start with attacked what they called the “*invisible government*” or the forces and lobbies that operated behind the political scene and corrupted the democratic process of the country. For them, reforming city governments started with nominating professional civil service workers, who could bring their professional guidance to tackle local problems. Therefore, elected Progressive local officials built coalitions, using university professors, engineers and other experts as advisors, and invited businessmen to cooperate in reform efforts for the public good. Elected officials did not have to run everything, but boards of commissioners and professional city and county managers were employed to provide stability and expertise as city governing became more and more complicated. This would ensure the best representation of the citizens in government at all levels and the best services for all people.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the electoral campaigns in the USA required large financial means, which pushed the candidates to government posts to seek donations and contributions from businesses.

Such practice was considered as immoral since the representatives of the people became mere puppets in the hands of big corporations and wealthy people, but it was not considered illegal until 1907.

The federal disclosure laws or publicity laws were the first initiated reforms of the electoral system by President Theodore Roosevelt after his victory in the Presidential Election of 1904. These laws were initiated as a response to the allegation of the defeated Democrat candidate Judge Alton B. Parker who declared that his opponent, Theodore Roosevelt, received large sums of money from big businesses to fund his campaign.¹³⁹ It was impossible to prove the verity of such allegation because there was no law that obliged the candidates to reveal their campaign financiers.

President Roosevelt waited until 1907 to initiate and help secure passage of the *Tillman Act (1907)*,¹⁴⁰ after its sponsor Senator Benjamin Tillman of South Carolina, under the title of “*An Act to prohibit corporations from making money contributions in connection with political elections.*” The Tillman Act prohibited only corporate contributions, but did not require any form of disclosure of campaign records. Nevertheless, both candidates of the Presidential Election of 1909 namely the Democrat William Jennings Bryan and the Republican William Howard Taft voluntarily agreed to publish lists of their contributors and the

139 On October 1, 1904, Parker took up the Charge of *The New York Times* that denounced the Republican National Chairman, Cortelyou, of collecting vast sums of money from large industrial trusts by methods almost approaching blackmail and was using it virtually to purchase the election. George E. Mowry. op. cit., pp. 178-179.

140 *The Tillman Act of January 26, 1907.* 34 Stat. 864.

amounts contributed and expended, following the election. It was the first time that a complete campaign record was disclosed in federal elections in the USA.

The *Tillman Act* made it illegal for the corporations and banking institutions to contribute financially in federal electoral campaigns.¹⁴¹ This Act asserted penalties for offenders but did not provide for the creation of a commission that would assure the enforcement of its provisions.¹⁴²

Despite the fact that this Act was currently in force, the candidates accepted contributions from financial magnates and interest groups in exchange of promised future favours. Therefore, campaign finance records tended to be incomplete and not readily available to the public. Even the reform factions within the two major parties, in which the Progressives sought to abolish this practice, relied primarily on large contributors who financed both of them at the same time regardless of party inclination or ideology. What was important was to side with the individual that made public policies and awarded government contracts, rather than challengers.

141 Ibid.

142 It was not until 1975 that the American Congress created the Federal Election Commission (FEC) to administer and enforce the Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA) the statute that governs the financing of federal elections. The duties of the FEC, which is an independent regulatory agency, are to disclose campaign finance information, to enforce the provisions of the law such as the limits and prohibitions on contributions, and to oversee the public funding of Presidential elections.

An influential lobby group known as the National Publicity Law Association that started working during Roosevelt's first term made further demands for public disclosure of campaign finances. This association succeeded first at encouraging New York to adopt a disclosure law at the state level, and finally helped convince Congress to adopt the *Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1910*,¹⁴³ better known as the *Publicity Act of 1910*, which was a disclosure law for the election of House committees.¹⁴⁴

It is clear that President Roosevelt did not venture in undertaking deep reforms in a political system inherited for over a century. His role was to do the groundwork for the implementation of future political reforms. He was more inclined to intervene in the country's economy to right the wrongs that adversely affected the US politics and the citizens.

C. President Roosevelt's Progressive Foreign Policy (1901-1909).

President Roosevelt's foreign policy was much more aggressive than that of Taft or Wilson. It was labelled 'Big Stick'¹⁴⁵ diplomacy because he frequently repeated his favourite proverb: "*Speak softly and carry a big stick, and you will go far*" whenever he spoke about the role of the USA on

143 *Federal Corrupt Practices Act of June 25, 1910*, ch. 392, 36 Stat. 822.

144 Corruption in the Senate was revealed by David Graham Phillips in his book *The Treason of the Senate: Aldrich, the Head of it All*, which he published as a series of articles in *Cosmopolitan* magazine in February 1906

145 The 'Big Stick' policy was not only applied in dealing with foreign affairs but also used in controlling the big businesses.

the international scene. In dealing with foreign affairs, Roosevelt is considered as an adept of the Monroe Doctrine¹⁴⁶ because he thought that the objective of the US Congress, Army, and Navy was to secure justice for the Americans and for the others.

The progressive tendency in Roosevelt's philosophy was that he considered the USA as an enlightened country that had the duty to lead the other nations and make them benefit from its democratic experience. He argued that the US foreign policy towards the other nations, whether weak or strong, had to aim at realising peace and justice.¹⁴⁷ He also argued that such aim should be supported by potential force. He considered that if "*there was no intention of the Americans to build a force to back their claims, it was better not to assume any attitude vis-à-vis foreign affairs.*"¹⁴⁸

President T. Roosevelt adopted three different policies with respect to foreign affairs depending on the issues he had to deal with. The first method was the direct intervention in the internal affairs of countries

146 The Monroe Doctrine was a declaration of President James Monroe (1817- 1825) in his 7th Annual message to Congress on December 2, 1823, in which he warned the European Countries not to interfere in the Western Hemisphere. He stated that: '... the American Continents ... are henceforth no to be considered as subjects for future colonisation by any European powers.' This doctrine became the cornerstone of the future American foreign policy. Alfred A. Stockton. *The Monroe Doctrine and Other Addresses*. St. John (Canada): J. & A. McMillan. 1898.

147 Theodore Roosevelt. *Social Justice and Popular Rule, Essays, Addresses, and Public Statements Relating to the Progressive Movement (1910-1916)*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1935. p. 557.

148 Addresses and Papers of Theodore Roosevelt. *Fourth Annual Message to Congress, December 6, 1904*. New York: The Unit Book Publishing Company. 1909. p. 228.

mainly in Central and South America to preserve American interests. The second was the implementation of the Monroe Doctrine by preserving the American Continent or the Western Hemisphere from European influence, and providing protection and assistance to countries that were in conflict with European countries. Finally, the third policy was to offer mediation to settle disputes between belligerent countries.

President T. Roosevelt used the 'big stick' policy in different occasions notably in Latin America. He intervened in Venezuela (1902), Santo Domingo (1904), and Panama (1903). The incursions of European countries in Latin American affairs pushed the President to intervene on the basis of the Monroe Doctrine by warning the European powers that the USA would not remain a spectator. This situation was created by the incapability of some Latin America countries such as Venezuela, Nicaragua, Haiti, Cuba, and Santo Domingo to pay their debts back to some European countries. The latter resorted to military force to oblige them to pay back, and in some cases offered alternative ways for compensation. The intervention of the USA was to relieve the indebted countries from European domination, but put them under its partial occupation and economic hegemony.

President Roosevelt took a firm standpoint as regards the German military intervention in Venezuela in 1902 against the self-proclaimed dictator Castro in order to oblige him to pay his country's debts. With the help of British war ships, the Germans blockaded five Venezuelan ports and bombarded a coastal base. As an alternative solution to the debts, the Germans proposed to the Venezuelan authorities to permit the building

of a German port on the coast. Although, President Roosevelt considered the request of the European creditors to be legitimate, he threatened to attack the German ships if the siege of Venezuela was not levied.¹⁴⁹ Shortly afterwards, the Germans ceased fire and the negotiations to solve the debt issue were undertaken successfully under the aegis of the USA.

Fearing that the same events in Venezuela would be repeated in Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic), which could not pay back its debts to different European countries, President Roosevelt formulated his Latin American foreign policy later known as the Roosevelt's 'Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine.' This policy revealed his conviction that if the Latin American countries or those in the western hemisphere continued to have financial and economic problems because they could not repay their debts to the Europeans, they would be soft targets for the European powers. Therefore, he declared that the USA would intervene directly in any Latin American country that manifested serious economic problems. This policy was met with much resentment because it fostered US hegemony over them.

In order to appease the fears of the Latin American Governments, President Roosevelt made it clear in his 5th Annual Message that the aim of the USA was not in any way to expand its territory but to safeguard its interests from being jeopardised by European interests and the misconduct of the authorities of the Latin American countries.¹⁵⁰ It was

149 George E. Mowry. op. cit., p. 157.

150 Addresses and Papers of Theodore Roosevelt. *Fifth Annual Message to Congress, December 5, 1905*. New York: the Unit Book Publishing Company. 1909. pp. 284-285.

this misconduct that gave reason to the European powers to seek hegemonic control over the American continent once again. He argued that the attitude of the USA would be adopted by any Latin American country because “*no stable and growing American Republic wishes to see some great non-American military power acquire territory in its neighbourhood.*”¹⁵¹ He expressed that the desire of the USA was “*that the other republics on this Continent shall be happy and prosperous; and they cannot be happy and prosperous unless they maintain order within their boundaries and behave with a just regard for their obligations toward outsiders.*”¹⁵²

Roosevelt’s ‘Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine’ became a constant principle in the US foreign policy vis-à-vis Central and South America. Apparently, the fact of preventing the European powers from having any interest in America gave a free hand to the USA to take advantage of the whole continent. Such advantage took different shapes such as the direct military intervention, the deposition of presidents and the nomination of others, and the establishment of economic projects like the Panama Canal.

President Roosevelt found it of primordial importance to the USA that a sort of canal, like the Suez Canal in Egypt, to be built in Central America to join the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans for navigation and commercial activities. This canal would enable the USA to have direct access and free navigation to safeguard its interests in South America as well as in the Far

151 Ibid., p. 285.

152 Ibid.

East. The US interest in building a canal in Central America goes back to 1899 when the US Congress created the Isthmian Canal Commission (ICC) to examine the possibilities to build a navigable route from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.

The ICC first proposed a route through Nicaragua, but because of the political and social unrest in the country it proposed the strip of Panama that was at that time part of Columbia. In 1901, The Senate approved a route through Panama contingent upon Colombian approval. When Colombia resented the terms of the agreement, Roosevelt supported the Panamanian revolution¹⁵³ with money and a naval blockade, which prevented Colombian troops from landing in Panama. In 1903, the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty¹⁵⁴ with Panama gave the United States perpetual control of the canal for a price of \$10 million and an annual payment of \$250,000.¹⁵⁵

153 Roosevelt declared that the people of Panama stood in their revolution as one man. The press replied that that man was named Theodore Roosevelt.

154The Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty was (Nov. 18, 1903) agreement between the United States and Panama granting exclusive canal rights to the United States across the Isthmus of Panama in exchange for financial reimbursement and guarantees of protection to the newly established republic. On the November 18, 1903, Philippe Bunau-Varilla, representing Panama, met with Secretary of State John M. Hay in Washington, D.C., to negotiate the treaty that gave the United States in perpetuity a strip 10 miles (16 km) wide across the isthmus for canal construction. The treaty was ratified by both countries in 1904, and the Panama Canal was completed in 1914. "Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty." *Encyclopædia Britannica Ultimate Reference Suite*. CD. Op. cit.

155 John W. Bennett. *Roosevelt and the Republic*. New York: Broadway Publishing Co. 1908. p. 166.

President Roosevelt was also concerned with the disputes that arose mainly between the world powers to promote peace as well as the safeguard of the US interests in jeopardy. He mediated the French-English conflict over North Africa specifically about Morocco and Egypt in 1905, and the German-French-English Conflict over their African colonies. The following year he settled the Russo-Japanese War, although it did not satisfy the Japanese that won the war. For these activities and others, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize that made him the first American to earn it.

President Howard Taft succeeded Roosevelt with relatively the same progressive political programme. However, in his inaugural address as the 27th President of the USA on March 4, 1909, he noted that his tasks would be to “complete and perfect” the progress Roosevelt had made. Taft also noted that Roosevelt's function had been to preach reform, and his was to enact it.¹⁵⁶

II. President Howard Taft's Progressive Political Reforms (1909-1913), and the Birth of the Progressive Party in 1912.

¹⁵⁶ George E. Mowry. op. cit., p. 260.

Theodore Roosevelt supported Howard Taft¹⁵⁷ as his successor because he found in him the best man to carry out his policies. Taft won the Election of 1909 by defeating the Democrat candidate William Jennings Bryan. However, practice revealed that President Taft drew a line of demarcation from his mentor and predecessor. He proved to be of different character and personality, which was reflected in his progressive policies.

President Taft was more a man of law rather than a skilful politician. He declared that he considered himself a progressive because of his deep belief in the law as the scientific device that should be used by judges to solve the problems of society. In this second section, stress is put on three themes in the political reforms of President Taft. While the first deals with the improvement of democratic government by the admission of more democratic methods that improved its organisation and operation, the second concerns the fight against corruption and the reforming of the

157 William Howard Taft (1857-1930) attended Woodward High School in Cincinnati. He followed family tradition and went to Yale. After graduation, he returned to Cincinnati and received his law degree from The Cincinnati Law School. Taft first public office was as Assistant Hamilton County Prosecutor in 1881. Then, at the age of 30, he served as judge on the Superior Court in Cincinnati for three years, before being appointed Solicitor General of the United States in 1890. He was appointed by President Benjamin Harrison as a judge of the newly created Sixth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati. Taft's political career commenced when President William McKinley appointed him as chief administrator in the Philippines. His charge was to transfer government from military to civilian rule. He served as civil governor there from 1901-1904. Taft was widely praised for his work in the Philippines, in sponsoring land reform, road building, and honest and efficient government. In the Philippines, Taft demonstrated that his talent as an administrator was equal to his prowess as a jurist. Roosevelt recognized Taft's extraordinary abilities by naming him Secretary of War in 1904, and then backed his candidacy for the Presidential Election of 1908. *Encyclopædia Britannica Ultimate Reference Suite*. CD. Op. cit.

electoral system. The third studies Taft's foreign policy that opposed Roosevelt's 'Big Stick' diplomacy.

A. Progressive Elite in President Taft's Administration and His Political Reforms from 1909 to 1913.

President Taft's Administration did not differ greatly from that of Roosevelt mainly concerning the educational background of the men that composed it. He wrote to his newly appointed Secretary of State, Philander C. Knox, "*I need a Cabinet of as many experienced lawyers as I can get . . .*"¹⁵⁸ His Administration was composed of nine (9) members. He retained three (3) members of Roosevelt's Cabinet namely Philander C. Knox as Secretary of State, Attorney General Frank H. Hitchcock, and James Wilson. The new members were Secretary of the Treasury Franklin MacVeagh, Secretary of War Jacob M. Dickinson between 1909 and 1911. Dickinson was succeeded by Henry L. Stimson from 1911 to 1913. President Taft appointed George W. Wickersham as Postmaster General, and George von L. Meyer as Secretary of the Navy. The Secretary of the Interior went to Richard A. Ballinger (1909-11), and then to Walter Lowrie Fisher (1911-13). Finally, Charles Nagel was appointed as the Secretary of Commerce and Labour.

Office	Name	Term
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¹⁵⁸ George E. Mowry. Op. cit., p. 237.

President	William Howard Taft	1909-1913
Vice President	James S. Sherman <i>None</i>	1912-1913
Secretary of State	Philander C. Knox	1909-1913
Secretary of the Treasury	Franklin MacVeagh	1909-1913
Secretary of War	Jacob M. Dickinson Henry L. Stimson	1909-1911 1911-1913
Attorney General	George W. Wickersham	1909-1913
Secretary of the Navy	George von L. Meyer	1909-1913
Postmaster General	Frank H. Hitchcock	1909-1913
Secretary of the Interior	Richard A. Ballinger Walter L. Fisher	1909-1911 1911-1913
Secretary of Agriculture	James Wilson	1909-1913
Secretary of Commerce & Labour	Charles Nagel	1909-1913

President Taft's Administration from 1909 to 1913.

The members of President Taft's Administration came from different law schools and occupations, but had more or less the same educational background. While George von L. Meyer graduated from Harvard in 1879 with a B.A., Franklin MacVeagh graduated from Columbia Law School and was an American banker and Treasury Secretary. Jacob M. Dickinson studied law briefly at Columbia Law School and continued his studies

abroad in Leipzig and Paris, and was later admitted to the Tennessee Bar in 1874. Henry L. Stimson studied at Harvard Law School in 1890 and became a lawyer and soldier. George W. Wickersham studied law at the University of Pennsylvania, then entered the old established law firm of Strong and Cadwalader and became partner for four years. Richard A. Ballinger studied at Williams College and passed the Bar exam in 1886. Charles Nagel graduated from Washington University Law School then travelled to Europe to learn political economy at the University of Berlin. Finally, Walter Lowrie Fisher studied at Hanover for his Bachelor's degree in 1883. Then, he studied law before moving to Chicago to open his own law practice.

Similar to Roosevelt's Administration, President Taft preferred appointing men of law so as to the key posts to enable his Administration to work efficiently since every measure whether political, economic, or social had to be taken within the framework of the country's laws. This view was well expressed in his speech delivered at State Fair Grounds, Macon, Georgia on November 4, 1909, where he emphatically stated:

"I still insist that it is the law and the lawyer that make popular government under a written constitution and written statutes possible, because if you depart in any way from the law as it is, you enter upon a path, which, while entirely certain for one issue in your mind with respect to the higher moral aim of your own soul and that of your fellow-citizens, nevertheless leads into a wilderness, and by which you cannot subsequently guide your steps. Therefore, let us first make the

laws to accord to our desires and our ambitions, and then follow them.”¹⁵⁹

President Taft expressed his willingness to initiate reforms during his Presidency, but he did not act unless he found the power to do so in the Constitution or in law. He started his electoral reforms when Congress the *Publicity Act of 1910*, also known as the *Federal Corrupt Practices Act*,¹⁶⁰ for the extension of the provisions of the *Tillman Act (1907)* to introduce primary elections. The *Publicity Act of 1910* and the *Tillman Act* were both amended in 1911 to add more regulation on the electoral campaigns.

The *Federal Corrupt Practices Act (FCPA)* was enacted in 1910 to limit the influence of wealthy individuals and special interest groups on the outcome of federal elections, and to regulate campaign spending for federal offices.¹⁶¹ It also required public disclosure of campaign finances to deter abuse educating the electorate, and reforming the electoral system for the best representation of the public in Congress. Initially, the FCPA concerned election to House only, and setting spending limits for all Congressional candidates later in 1911, it was amended to cover Senate election¹⁶² with the objective of making office holders and candidates less

159 *Presidential Addresses and State Papers of William Howard Taft from March 4, 1909, to March 4, 1910. Message to the Two Houses of Congress at the Session of the 61st Congress(December 7, 1909)*. New York: Doubleday, Page, & Company. Vol. I. 1910. P. 403.

160 *The Federal Corrupt Practices Act (FCPA), June 25, 1910*. Codified at 2 U.S.C. Section 241.

161 Jasper B. Shannon, *Money and Politics*. New York: Random House. 1959. p. 55.

162 *The Federal Corrupt Practices Act (FCPA) 1911*. 7 Stat. 25.

influenced by large contributors, which would spare them the suspicion of being bought.¹⁶³ The Act of 1911 was intended to enable voters to know the supporters of each candidate, and vote accordingly. The FCPA also required the National Committees of the political parties to file post-election reports regarding the contributions to their candidates and their expenditures by reporting receipts and disbursements to the Clerk of the House following each election. Yet again, active enforcement mechanisms were not provided and the Act was rarely put into practice.

The lack of adequate enforcement of the FCPA enabled the corporations to circumvent its provisions by directing their officers or directors to make personal contributions to their favoured candidate, which was not prohibited by law. Then, the corporations reimbursed their employees for their contributions through yearly bonuses. Although the FCPA was not enforced, it constituted the cornerstone for future regulations of the electoral campaigns and reforms of the electoral system like the 17th Amendment that provided for the direct election of US Senators (passed by Congress on May 13, 1912, and ratified on April 8, 1913).

B. President Taft's Progressive Foreign Policy.

¹⁶³ Jasper B. Shannon. *op. cit.*, p. 65.

As regards the US foreign policy, President Taft was also an expansionist and believed that such expansion was necessary and beneficial for the rest of the world. However, his foreign policy was different from that of Roosevelt with respect to the means but not to the goals. In his final Annual Message to Congress on December 3, 1912, he noted that:

The diplomacy of the present Administration has sought to respond to modern ideas of commercial intercourse. This policy has been characterized as substituting dollars for bullets. It is one that appeals alike to idealistic humanitarian sentiments, to the dictates of sound policy and strategy, and to legitimate commercial aims.¹⁶⁴

It was the word 'dollars' in his address that labelled his foreign policy as 'Dollar Diplomacy.'

The objective of President Taft's diplomacy was to make the United States a commercial and financial world power. Therefore, his Administration concentrated on assisting American businessmen in the protection and expansion of US investments and trade especially in Latin America and the Far East.¹⁶⁵ Contrary to Roosevelt, Taft came to the Presidency as a lawyer who considered that the USA had little or no interest in the events happening in Europe. Taft avoided mediation in the second Moroccan crisis in 1911, and was not interested in mediating either the Italo-Turkish War in 1911 or the first Balkan War that occurred

164 President William Howard Taft. *State of the Union Address of December 3, 1912*.
ww.loc.gov.

165 George E. Mowry. *Op. cit.*, p. 282.

in the following year. Taft was interested in the 'developing' nations of Latin America and the Far East where the United States and Europe shared interests.

1. President Taft's 'Dollar Diplomacy' in Latin America.

President Taft chose Philander C. Knox to carry out his foreign policy for two main reasons. First, Knox was a wealthy conservative lawyer, Senator of Pennsylvania, and had been Attorney General between 1901 and 1904, which suited Taft to constitute his Cabinet only of lawyers. Second, he thought that Knox's strong relations with big businesses, since he had been the lawyer of corporations like the Carnegie Steel Corporation, would bring and enhance the role of big business in his 'Dollar Diplomacy'. He was aware that if his foreign policy was to serve the commercial expansion and interests of the country, the businesses would be involved in his projects.

President Taft constructed his view on two main facts.¹⁶⁶ The first was that the Panama Canal was about to be completed, which required a foreign policy that centred on the important role of the Canal in the international trade. The second was the fact that the Far East nations such as China and Japan represented a great potential market for the US products and investments. In Latin America, President Taft and his State Secretary, Knox, were aware that the Panama Canal would be lucrative only if political stability was established in the neighbouring countries. To achieve this goal, Knox set a goal for stable governments and

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 279-280.

prevention from financial collapses in Central America.¹⁶⁷ Fiscal intervention would make military intervention unnecessary as he told an audience at the University of Pennsylvania on June 15, 1910: “*True stability is best established not by military, but by economic and social forces... The problem of good government is inextricably interwoven with that of economic prosperity and sound finance; financial stability contributes perhaps more than any other one factor to political stability.*”¹⁶⁸

President Taft and Secretary Knox believed that the way to control the finances of the Caribbean countries was to take over their customhouses following the example of Roosevelt’s intervention in the Dominican Republic. They continued the application of Roosevelt’s ‘corollary to the Monroe doctrine,’¹⁶⁹ since they considered that the countries in the Caribbean and in Central America should no more be indebted to the Europeans. If so, the USA should be able to repay their debts through American loans that could be provided by banks, businessmen, American multinational groups or at least those in which the Americans participated. Practically, the Taft Administration established refunding schemes in Nicaragua¹⁷⁰ in 1911 and 1913 and in Honduras in May 1912. Although approved by the US Senate, these schemes were rejected by Guatemala in July 1911 and Haiti in 1911.

¹⁶⁷ *Presidential Addresses and State Papers of William Howard Taft from March 4, 1909, to March 4, 1910. Message to the Two Houses of Congress at the Session of the 61st Congress (December 7, 1909).* Op. cit., p. 459.

¹⁶⁸ Philander C. Knox. *Address at the Commencement Exercises of the University of Pennsylvania Entitled: The Spirit and Purpose of American Diplomacy.* Pennsylvania. June 15, 1910. p. 46.

¹⁶⁹ George E. Mowry. Op. cit., pp. 156-157.

President Taft thought that fiscal control would lessen the need for intervention, which would benefit both the United States and the nations of the Caribbean and Latin America. He also believed that an increase in trade, investments, and a secured Panama Canal would procure peace, prosperity, and improve social conditions for the local population.

However, the USA intervened militarily in Nicaragua in October 1909 because the situation became complex because of the outbreak of a civil war. The country also witnessed another revolution that broke out in July 1912, which again pushed the USA to send the Marines to protect its citizens and property and to suppress the revolution that eventually faded by early October. The USA also undertook a military intervention in Honduras for the second time on January 26, 1911, because of the civil war that the country witnessed. One year later, a small force landed to prevent the local government from seizing an American owned railroad at Puerto Cortes. In the same year, the US government intervened in Nicaragua for the second time between August and November to protect American interests from an attempted revolution, and in Cuba from June 5 to August 5 to protect American interests in the Province of Oriente and Havana. The only demilitarised US intervention was in Panama on request of the local political parties to supervise elections outside the Canal Zone.

170 The Treaty of February 26, 1913 with Nicaragua was submitted to the Senate by the terms of which Nicaragua agreed to give the USA an exclusive right of way for a canal through her territory and a naval base in Fonseca Bay in return for the payment of 3 million dollars. This treaty was not completed as the Taft Administration was about to leave.

Although the USA was the dominant power in Latin America, President Taft's 'Dollar Diplomacy' realised meagre results and did not meet his aspirations in his progressive foreign policy. He initiated his 'Dollar Diplomacy' in the Far East precisely in China from 1911 hoping that it would prove the veracity of his progressive political vision.

2. President Taft's 'Dollar Diplomacy' in the Far East.

China was the second target for President Taft's 'Dollar Diplomacy'. The situation in the Far East was different and difficult since those nations were ancient civilisations with different customs, traditions, languages, and religions not like those of Latin America. The President and his State Secretary decided that the best way to increase US influence in China was to invest in railroads and grant loans to the Chinese Government.

Taft expressed his intention to the Chinese that it was his personal interest to make China benefit from American capital to promote its development and welfare.¹⁷¹ Such development would certainly induce China's material prosperity without infringing its political power and territorial integrity. Therefore, Philander Knox encouraged American financiers to seize this opportunity and join the program of the President by assuming part of the American loan to China known as the '*Hukuang Loan*'. Although the Europeans somehow accepted Taft's 'Dollar Diplomacy' in Latin America, they totally opposed it in China. It would

171 Robert Lee Dunn. *William Howard Taft American*. Boston: The Chapple Publishing Company Ltd. 1908. P. 111.

not be a surprise that this opposition in the long run, was one of the causes that incurred the failure of Taft's projects in China.

In spite of all the good intentions that Taft expressed, it was in Manchuria that he contracted his first failure in 1909 when his State Secretary Knox proposed to European bankers to purchase the Chinese Eastern Railroad already held by Russia, and the South Manchurian Railroad that was possessed by Japan. The objective of this initiative was to make Manchuria a neutral territory open to all commercial activities.¹⁷² In 1910, the 'Knox plan' was rejected by the Europeans, the Russians, and the Japanese because they considered it as a means to strengthen American influence in the region. Unintentionally, this plan had the effect of driving the former enemies namely Russia and Japan to forge an alliance against the USA in Manchuria. Only the Chinese showed interest, but Russo-Japanese virtual alliance made them withdraw from the plan fearing reprisals from both sides, which led to an unofficial agreement to leave Manchuria in a status quo.¹⁷³ Eventually, the American investors backed out of the loan, and the last of the 'Dollar Diplomacy' schemes came to an end.

The failure of Taft's 'Dollar Diplomacy' was partly caused by the fact that he constructed a narrow view of foreign relations because it depended on the natural alliances between the corporate lawyers who became members of Taft's Administration and the bankers and

¹⁷² *Presidential Addresses and State Papers of William Howard Taft from March 4, 1909, to March 4, 1910.* op. cit, p. 61.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 461.

businesses that had been their clients. In the long run, Roosevelt's foreign diplomacy proved to be more efficient and realistic than Taft's because it took into consideration the balance of power between the belligerent nations in Asia. It was clear for Roosevelt that Japan was the dominant power in China and it would stand against any plans that would affect its interests in Asia. This fact caused the failure of Taft's 'Dollar Diplomacy' in the Far East. Nevertheless, President Taft was successful to a certain extent in his economic domestic affairs, which counter-balanced his unsuccessful foreign diplomacy.

President Taft's policies mainly those related to the tariff rates gave the progressives the certitude that he was far from being a progressive but rather a conservative. On the other hand, the conservatives objected to his policy of dissolving the trusts, which angered both the politicians and businesses. Such policies were the direct cause of the split that occurred in the Republican Party, mainly when the Party was getting ready for the Presidential Election in 1912. The split in the Party became evident when Theodore Roosevelt decided to return to the political arena as a Republican candidate for the Presidential Election of 1912.

C. The Split in the Republican Party in 1912 and the Birth of the Progressive Party.

The Republican National Committee (RNC), dominated by President Taft's supporters, had the power to decide on the disputes that arose between the delegates. Incidentally, out of the 53 members of the RNC, 15 had not been elected delegates to the convention in 1912; 4 came from

the US territorial possessions and 10 from Southern States where the Republican Party or the Grand Old Party politics was completely controlled by presidential patronage. These three groups accounted for 29 members of the RNC, forming the majority. It was this combination that tilted the nomination in favour of Taft and excluded Roosevelt.

Roosevelt's supporters, who were mostly Progressives, considered what happened as a fraud. As a result, they walked out of the Convention and held a mass meeting in which it was decided to bolt the Republican Party and to found a new party with Theodore Roosevelt as its nominee candidate in 1912. The frustration of the Progressives gave birth to the Progressive Party.

The organisation of a party in the USA was not bound to very strict legislature since there were no particular provisions as to the political parties in the Constitution. The foundation of a party had to be officially declared in a national convention that elected its officers and nominees and drafted its platform. Therefore, on the next day of the Republican Convention, some 300 progressive supporters of Roosevelt met to form a new party.¹⁷⁴ California governor Hiram Johnson was de facto appointed Chairman, and a new convention was scheduled for August 5. Publisher Frank A. Munsey provided much of the funds for the new organisation, and financier George W. Perkins became its Executive Secretary. In six weeks, the advocates of the founding of a new party succeeded in creating local progressive organisations all over the country except in South Carolina. The National Progressive Convention was held in Chicago

¹⁷⁴ Executive Committee of the Progressive Party. *The Progressive Party, Its Record from January to July 1916*. New York: Press of Mail and Express Job Print. 1916. p. 107.

on August 5, 1912, with a number of 10,000 including men and women.¹⁷⁵

The National Convention of the Progressive Party nominated Theodore Roosevelt as the Party's candidate for the Presidency and Governor Hiram W. Johnson of California as Vice-President. This Convention was very special in many proportions. It was the first party convention in the history of the USA that allowed a woman, Jane Addams, and a black man from New York to give a nominating speech at a major convention.

However, the Progressive Party did not succeed in its first attempt to win the Presidency. Third parties in the USA might have succeeded to put their nominees in district, city, or state offices, but never in winning the Presidential Election. Although the Progressive Party struggled for its candidates, the outcome of the Presidential Election of 1912 was in favour of the Democrat Woodrow Wilson. The loss of the Presidency might have been deplorable for the Republican and Progressive Parties, but not for the Progressive Movement in the USA because Woodrow Wilson was himself a Progressive. This shift in power enabled the Progressive Democrats to put in practice their progressive policies since Congress and the Presidency were in their hands for two Presidential terms between 1913 and 1921.

The Progressive Party and the Progressive Movement were two different things and should not be confused as an evolution of the

¹⁷⁵ George Henry Payne. *The Birth of the New Party or Progressive Democracy*. New York: J L Nichols & Company. 1912. p.65.

movement into a political party. While the Party was born in August 1912 and lived for a short period of time and disappeared, the Movement started like a river that got its strength from a multitude of sources and flowed down into numerous channels that irrigated the whole country and served its people. The Party failed, but the Movement was permanent and triumphant and remained in the political agendas of every party. The outstanding achievements of the Progressives were attained within the Movement and not through the Party.

III. President Woodrow Wilson's 'New Freedom' Policy for Political Reforms (1913-1921).

Progressivism was associated with the Republicans because they were in power during the period that stretched from 1893 to 1912. In the Presidential Election of 1912, the Democrats defeated both the Progressives and the Republicans when their candidate Woodrow Wilson¹⁷⁶ won with a large comfortable majority of electoral and popular

¹⁷⁶ Thomas Woodrow Wilson was born in Staunton, Virginia, December 29, 1856, son of a Presbyterian minister. He went on to Princeton where he graduated in the class of 1879. He tried studying law at the University of Virginia Law School, but withdrew. He then went to Johns Hopkins University to study politics and history. In 1890, he went back to Princeton but as a teacher. Twelve years later he was the first non-clergyman to become president of Princeton. He instituted many reforms, wrestled with a conservative faculty and put many progressive ideas of education to work. In 1910, Wilson was invited to run for governor of New Jersey as a progressive candidate on the Democratic ticket. He resigned from Princeton and was elected. As governor he fought machine politics and built a solid reputation as reformer. Wilson was nominated by Progressive Democrats on the 46th ballot along with Governor T. R. Marshall of Indiana as vice-president. *Encyclopædia Britannica Ultimate Reference Suite*. CD. Op. cit.

votes.¹⁷⁷ While Woodrow Wilson and Thomas Marshall got 6,296,284 popular votes (41.84%) and 435 electoral votes (81.9%), their opponents Theodore Roosevelt and Hiram Johnson candidates of the Progressive Party got 4,122,721 popular votes (27.40%) and 88 electoral votes (16.6%).¹⁷⁸ The candidates of the Republican Party namely Howard Taft and Nicholas Butler came in third position with 3,486,242 popular votes (23.17%) and eight (8) electoral votes (1.5%).¹⁷⁹ According to these electoral statistics, the sum of the electoral votes summed 100 %, but that of the popular votes of the three candidates was 92.41%. The remaining 7.59% of the popular votes probably represented the abstainers or the people that could not vote.

The split in the Republican Party shattered the chances of both Roosevelt and Taft in winning the presidency, and paved the way for the Democratic Party's candidate to the White House. It was the first time in the history of the Republican Party to come third in a presidential election ending a period of 16 years in power. From the beginning of the electoral campaign, public attention was focused on Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt who ran their campaigns respectively under 'New Freedom' and 'New Nationalism' programmes.

177 The popular vote is the total number of people who voted in an election. The electoral vote is the number of points a candidate receives nationwide, but the person with the highest popular vote in a state gets the points for a state. The points are based on the population of the concerned state.

178 <http://www.presidentelect.org/e1912.html>. "1912." President Elect. Ed. James R Whitson. 16 Jan. 2009.

179 Ibid.

President Woodrow Wilson had the opportunity to carry on his progressive policies and reforms with little political opposition. He was backed by his Party that controlled Congress both in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, and the other partisan and non-partisan Progressives. He inherited the 62nd Congress (1911-1913) from his predecessor Howard Taft with a Democratic majority in the House of Representatives with 228 seats against 161 for the Republicans, but with a narrow majority in the Senate for the Republicans with 51 seats against 41 for the Democrats. He got rid of the Republican majority in Senate when the 63rd Congress (1913-1915) was formed. The Democrats got the majority in Congress with 51 seats in Senate against 44 for the Republicans, and 291 seats against 127 for the Republicans in House. The Democratic Party's domination helped greatly the President to succeed in carrying out significant administrative revisions, political reforms, and changes in the US policy as regards foreign affairs. This section is devoted to the study of President Wilson's 'New Freedom' policy, the political reforms that he realised in his two presidential terms, and his foreign policy.

A. President Woodrow Wilson's 'New Freedom' Policy.

As an intellectual who studied and taught history and political science, Wilson developed ideas about the role and function of a government that he expressed in articles and books. Contrary to most political thinkers and theoreticians, Wilson had the chance to put his ideas into practice once elected as President of the USA. His 'New

Freedom' electoral programme included progressive projects and measures based on the Democratic Political Platform of 1912. This Platform was largely written by William Jennings Bryan, which made it a more progressive than the previous ones and helped in the elaboration of Wilson's 'New Freedom' programme.

One of the intellectual issues that Woodrow Wilson was greatly concerned about before and during his Presidency was how to achieve vigorous leadership and effective administration in a democracy.¹⁸⁰ Wilson wrote about this theme in a book entitled *Congressional Government: A Study of Government by Committee*, which he published in 1885, and then submitted in 1886 to the authorities of John Hopkins University as a Ph.D. thesis. In his book, he defines a constitutional government as "*one whose powers have been adapted to the interests of its people and to the maintenance of individual liberty.*"¹⁸¹

He also wrote articles mainly on government, administration, separation of powers...etc. Wilson is considered as the father of public administration because of the views he expressed on the subject in the article he wrote in 1887 entitled *The Study of Administration*. In this article, he explains that "*... it is the object of administrative study to discover, first, what government can properly and successfully do, and, secondly how it can do these proper things with the utmost possible*

¹⁸⁰ *President Wilson's State Papers and Addresses*. New York: George H. Doran Company. 1918. p. 3

¹⁸¹ Woodrow Wilson. *Constitutional Government in the United States*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1917. p. 2.

efficiency and at the least possible cost either of money or of energy."¹⁸² Wilson advocated that the efficiency of the administration could be best achieved through the following four rules:

1. Separation of politics and administration.¹⁸³
2. Comparative analysis of political and private organisations.
3. Improving efficiency with business-like practices and attitudes towards daily operations.
4. Improving the effectiveness of public service through management and by training civil servants, and merit-based assessment.

It is important to note that only the first point retains much attention and debate. Wilson's view on the separation of administration and politics was based on the function of each. While politics was the expression of the will of the people, administration was the execution of the will of the people. Politics should be performed by politicians, but administration should be practiced by civil servants. The politician and the civil servant were different in the way they accede to their respective appellations. The politician became a politician by his popularity, whereas the civil servant attained his administrative post by his intelligence and skills.¹⁸⁴ He argued that civil servants were professionals through their training and selection, but there was no prior training to

182 Woodrow Wilson. 'The Study of Administration.' In: *Political Science Quarterly*. New York: The Academy of Political Science. Vol. 2. N° 2. June 1887. p. 197. (PP. 197-222).

183 Ibid., p. 210.

184 Herbert Croly. *Progressive Democracy*. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1914. P. 372.

become a politician, and the only way to attain political posts was election. Finally, he further argued that while the central preoccupation of politicians was to capture power and retain it, the central focus for the civil servants was the successful management of the administration.

Wilson advanced further analyses of the role and purpose of the government in his book *The State* (1889), which should be to accomplish the object of organised society through constant adjustment of governmental assistance to the needs of a changing social and industrial organisation.¹⁸⁵ Wilson's tendency was to emphasise those aspects of progressivism that could be interpreted as the creation of an efficient system free from corrupting and perverting parasites. On the other hand, this would not empower the government, for he believed that the history of human liberty was the history of the restriction of governmental functions.¹⁸⁶

Wilson explained his 'New Freedom' program in his speech entitled *New Freedom* saying: "*We are witnessing a renaissance of public spirit, a reawakening of sober public opinion, a revival of the power of the people, the beginning of an age of thoughtful reconstruction, that makes our thought hark back to the great age in which democracy was set up in America.*"¹⁸⁷ This excerpt from his speech is significantly important because it stresses two main ideas of his version of progressivism. The first idea is conveyed through the use of three words: renaissance,
185 Woodrow Wilson. *The State*. New York : D.C. Heath & Co. 1918. P. 62.

186 Herbert Croly. op. cit., p. 17.

187 Ibid., p. 19.

reawakening, and revival, which denote the rebirth of the American spirit and the power of the people that lost its strength throughout the years. The second idea is that the breeding ground of such rebirth is democracy as conceived by the Founding Fathers.

This excerpt also poses a paradox between Wilson's alleged progressivism and his conservative vision of the way to re-establish American democracy by going back to the democratic spirit of the early years of the Republic. It was a mixture that combined the progressive aspirations and the conservative ideals that gave Wilson a consensus within all the factions in the Democratic Party in the Presidential Election of 1912, which was not the case within the Republican Party. To ensure the realisation of these policies and theories, President Wilson had to choose the right person in the right place in his Administration.

Wilson's 'New Freedom' program was set on a theoretical basis that emanated from his intellect and contemplation of the socio-economic and political conditions that existed in the USA. His views were not unique and novel because the Progressives in other formations had relatively the same ideals and objectives. The difference between the Democrat and the Republican Progressives was mainly in the order of priority and the way to achieve their objectives.

B. Progressive Elite in President Wilson's Administrations (1913-1921).

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During his two mandates, President Wilson formed his Cabinet and constituted the different State-Secretaries according to a scheme that was not totally different from his predecessors. Because of his intellectual stature and standpoints, he chose only progressive intellectuals and experts as members of his Administration that had the task of putting his 'New Freedom' programme into practice.

President Wilson formed his first Cabinet according to the geographical distribution of Democratic centres of power across the United States and the various factions within the Party. The State Secretary, William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska, had been three times the Democratic presidential candidate representing particularly agrarian interests. The Secretary of the Treasury, William Gibbs McAdoo of New York, spoke for the independent anti-Wall Street financial elements. James C. McReynolds of New York was appointed as the Attorney General because of his reputation of being a relentless trust-buster. The Secretary of War, Lindley M. Garrison, was a New Jersey judge with no political base. The Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels of North Carolina, represented Southern Progressives. Albert S. Burleson of Texas, the Postmaster General, had served many terms in the House of Representatives. The Secretary of Labour, William B. Wilson of Pennsylvania, had been Secretary-Treasurer of the United Workers of America and was the frank spokesman of the American Federation of Labour (AF of L). Wilson chose the remaining three cabinet members namely Franklin K. Lane of California as Secretary of the Interior, David E. Houston of Texas as Secretary of Agriculture, and William C. Redfield of New York as Secretary of Commerce.

There were several changes in President Wilson's Cabinet. Bryan resigned in 1915 and was replaced by Robert Lansing of New York, a professional international lawyer. Lansing was replaced by Bainbridge Colby from 1920 to 1921. McReynolds resigned in 1914 to accept appointment to the Supreme Court, and was succeeded by Thomas W. Gregory of Texas, and then by Alexander M. Palmer of Pennsylvania in 1919. In general, President Wilson's Administration resembled those formed by Roosevelt and Taft since the only criterion for selection was expertise rather than political influence. His Secretaries were technocrats and highly educated law experts.

Office	Name	Term
President	Woodrow Wilson	1913–1921
Vice President	Thomas R. Marshall	
Secretary of State	William J. Bryan Robert Lansing Bainbridge Colby	1913–1915 1915–1920 1920–1921
Secretary of Treasury	William G. McAdoo Carter Glass David F. Houston	1913–1918 1918–1920 1920–1921
Secretary of War	Lindley M. Garrison Newton D. Baker	1913–1916 1916–1921
Attorney General	James C. McReynolds Thomas W. Gregory A. Mitchell Palmer	1913–1914 1914–1919 1919–1921
Postmaster General	Albert S. Burlison	1913–1921
Secretary of the Navy	Josephus Daniels	1913–1921
Secretary of the Interior	Franklin K. Lane Edwin T. Meredith	1913–1920 1920–1921
Secretary of Commerce	William C. Redfield Joshua W. Alexander	1913–1919 1919–1921
Secretary of Labour	William B. Wilson	1913–1921
Secretary of Agriculture	David F. Houston Edwin T. Meredith	1913–1920 1920–1921

President Wilson's Administration from 1913 to 1921.

These Secretaries were of varied educational backgrounds. William Jennings Bryan entered Illinois College where he graduated as valedictorian in 1881. Then, he studied law at Union Law College in Chicago. Robert Lansing graduated from Amherst College in 1886 and was admitted to the Bar in 1889. Bainbridge Colby studied at Columbia Law School and New York Law School in 1892 where he was admitted to the New York Bar. William G. McAdoo attended the University of Tennessee and was admitted to the Bar in Tennessee in 1885. Lindley M. Garrison studied at Phillips Exeter Academy for one year before attending Harvard University as a special student from 1884 to 1885. He studied law in the office of Redding, Jones & Carson, and received a law degree from the University of Pennsylvania, and was admitted to the Bar in 1886. Newton D. Baker graduated from Johns Hopkins University in 1892. After receiving his law degree from Washington and Lee University School of Law in 1894, he became the private secretary to Postmaster General William L. Wilson in Washington, D.C. James C. McReynolds was a lawyer and judge, and Professor at Vanderbilt University Law School. He graduated from the prestigious Green River Academy, and later from Vanderbilt University in 1882. Then he graduated from the University of Virginia School of Law in 1884. Thomas W. Gregory graduated from the Webb School in Bell Buckle, Tennessee in 1881, then from South-Western Presbyterian University in 1883, and was a special student at the University of Virginia. Then he studied at the University of Texas at Austin in 1884 and graduated with a degree in law. Alexander Mitchell Palmer was a statesman and lawyer. Albert S. Burleson graduated in 1881 from the Law Department of the University of Texas at Austin in 1884, and was admitted to the Bar in 1884. He was active in promoting the development

of agriculture on behalf of Texas State that he represented in the House of Representatives.

President Wilson's Administration included Josephus Daniels who was a newspaper editor and publisher. He was educated at Wilson Collegiate Institute and Trinity College (now Duke University). He edited and eventually purchased a local newspaper, the *Wilson Advance*. Within a few years, he became part owner of the *Kinston Free Press* and the *Rocky Mount Reporter*. He studied law at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and was admitted to the Bar in 1885, but did not practice law. He was North Carolina's state printer in 1887-93 and Chief Clerk of the Federal Department of the Interior under Grover Cleveland Administration from 1893 to 1895. On the other hand, Franklin K. Lane attended the University of California while working part time as a reporter. He became a New York correspondent for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and later became editor and part owner of a newspaper. He attended Hastings College of Law San Francisco and was admitted to the Bar in 1888. John B. Payne was admitted to the Bar in 1876 in West Virginia. Edwin T. Meredith studied at Highland Park College in Des Moines, and then he became an agricultural journalist. In 1902, Meredith started his own company and began publishing *Successful Farming*. He served as vice-president and president of the Agricultural Publishers Association. Joshua W. Alexander was a lawyer that attended Christian University in Canton, Missouri and later moved to Gallatin, Missouri, where he served as Mayor and then as a representative in the Missouri General Assembly (1882-1887). He served as judge on Missouri's 17th Circuit until 1905.

President Wilson's Cabinet included four members that did not graduate from law schools namely David F. Houston, Carter Glass, William B. Wilson, and William C. Redfield. Houston was an American academic, businessman and politician. He graduated from the University of South Carolina in 1887 and went on to graduate work at Harvard University, where he received a M.A. in political science in 1892. Glass was a newspaper publisher and politician from Lynchburg, Virginia. On the other hand, William B. Wilson was enrolled in public school in Arnot. At the age of nine (9), he was removed from school and sent to help his father in the mines where he worked for nearly two decades. He later became one of the United Mine Workers officials. He was elected as a Democrat Representative to the 60th, 61st, and 62nd Congresses. He served as Chairman of the United States House Committee on Labour during the 62nd Congress. Woodrow Wilson appointed him in his Cabinet as the United States Secretary of Labour serving from March 5, 1913, to March 5, 1921. Finally, William C. Redfield attended public schools and received home instruction. He was employed in the Pittsfield post-office and later as a travelling salesman for a paper company in New York City. At the age of nineteen he was employed in the stationery and printing business, and in 1883, he became connected with the manufacture of steel and iron forgings in Brooklyn, N.Y. He became commissioner of public works for Brooklyn Borough in 1902 and 1903. Then, he was appointed Secretary of Commerce in the Cabinet of President Wilson and served from March 4, 1913, to November 1, 1919. After he resigned, he engaged in banking, investment, and insurance business in New York City.

C. President Wilson's Progressive Political Reforms to 1921.

In the political arena, President Wilson wanted good government at all levels. He shared with Roosevelt the belief that the presidency should be used for initiating and guiding national legislation in accordance with the will of the people. In his Inaugural Address of 1912, he announced his dedication to the task of improving national life in all possible aspects.¹⁸⁸ Among his progressive political reforms there was the direct election of Senators and women's suffrage which expanded democracy and honesty among public officials.

1. Reforming the Election of Senators and the Enfranchisement of Women.

The Constitution, as it was adopted in 1788, made the Senate as an assembly where the states would have equal representation. Each state legislature would elect two senators to a term of six years. Late in the 19th century, there was much debate over the election of senators when special interests or political machines gained control over the State Legislatures. The Progressive reformers proposed to dismiss individuals elected by such legislatures (State legislatures or the Senate) because they were not directly elected by the people. They considered the Senators as mere puppets in the hands of interest groups.

¹⁸⁸Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: New Freedom*. New Jersey: Princeton Univ. Press. 1956. p. 13.

The response to these progressive concerns was the "Oregon System,"¹⁸⁹ which utilised a state primary election to identify the voters' choice for senators while pledging all candidates for the state legislature to honour the primary results. This system was initiated by men like William S. U'Ren, Will Daly, Harry Lane, as well as the suffragette Abigail Scott Duniway. This system presented a new vision to encourage the average voter to participate in government by choosing directly the officials to tilt the balance of power against the corporations and interest groups. William S. U'Ren also created the People's Power League by 1905 that aimed at introducing a series of initiatives on the ballot including a direct primary measure to allow voters to choose State Senators even though the Federal Constitution still required their election by State Legislatures.

The condemning findings of a Senate investigation of bribery and corruption against Senator William Lorimer of Illinois in his election urged a constitutional amendment for the direct election of Senators by state citizenry.¹⁹⁰ The House of Representatives proposed legislation for the direct election of Senators in 1910 and 1911. The proposition included a 'race rider' system that barred federal intervention in cases of racial discrimination among voters. This would be done by vesting state governments with complete control on Senate election. A substitute amendment was proposed by Senator Joseph L. Bristow of Kansas to provide for the direct election of Senators, which was adopted on a close

189 Herbert Croly. op. cit., p. 292.

190 William E. Dodd. *Woodrow Wilson and His Work*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company. 4th Edition. 1921. P. 165.

vote before the proposed constitutional amendment itself passed the Senate. Over a year later in 1912, the resolution became the 17th Amendment.

The 17th Amendment was passed by Congress on May 13, 1912 during Taft's Presidency but was ratified on April 8, 1913 during Wilson's first term. It is to be noted that the 17th Amendment amended *Article 1, Section 3*¹⁹¹ of the US Constitution stipulated that the Senate of the United States should be composed of two Senators from each State to be elected by the people for a senatorial term of six years with one vote for each Senator. The Amendment provided that the States might empower their respective executives to make temporary appointments to fill their respective vacant seat in the Senate for a period to enable the people to elect their representative.

Democratic representation of all social categories in Congress could not be realised unless women were enfranchised. The suffrage movement in the USA was given much power when the Progressives came in power during the Presidencies of Roosevelt and Taft. Both of them claimed their support to the suffrage movement, but considered that it was the duty of Congress to enfranchise women first, and then the States would follow. However, American women had to wait until 1919 when Congress passed the 19th Amendment to the US Constitution on June 4 to give them full suffrage, and on August 18 it was finally adopted when all 36 States ratified it. The 19th Amendment stipulated that the right of the citizens of

¹⁹¹ *Article 1, Section 3* reads as follows: "The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislatures thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one Vote."

the United States to vote should not to be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.¹⁹² The 19th Amendment empowered Congress to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. It cost the American legislators the effort to write only two sentences to enfranchise women after a century of struggle.

The previous political issues that the US Government dealt with were aimed to ensure the full representation and participation of all citizens in decision-making. The objective was also to make political life in the USA more democratic than before. This philosophy was also reflected in President Wilson's foreign policy that he elaborated during his two presidential mandates. The progressive ideology of Wilson was present during the First World War in his 14 Points that aimed to end it on a fair basis.

2. President Wilson's Progressive Foreign Policy (1913-1921).

Foreign affairs had an important share in President Wilson's general policy. He deplored the US foreign policies vis-à-vis other nations and its interference in their internal affairs during the presidential mandates of his predecessors namely Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft. The latter had viewed the United States as an emerging power that needed to extend its influence throughout the world in order to serve its national interests. This imperialist policy was justified by the commonly held belief that it was America's duty as a Republic and a Christian country to

¹⁹² *19th Amendment of the US Constitution*. 66th Congress of the United States of America. 1st Session. May 19, 1919.

spread democracy throughout the world. These three Presidents significantly expanded America's influence abroad with the annexation of colonies such as the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico.

President Wilson designed his 'New Freedom' programme to redress the grievances caused by the Republican governments. According to him, the role of the USA was to strengthen its diplomatic relations with the other nations on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. He believed in making the other nations enjoy the benefit of the progressive policies applied in the USA, and thereby take the lead of the world towards better life. Although this sounds idealistic, it had at that time the effect of rallying the nation's progressive forces behind him. The only foreign question that he mentioned in his 'New Freedom' program was his standpoint vis-à-vis the Philippines, to which he pledged to work for its independence.

a. President Wilson Foreign Policy from 1913 to 1916.

President Wilson's foreign policy was not aggressive. He openly expressed his dislike of both Roosevelt's 'Big Stick' policy and Taft's 'Dollar Diplomacy.' In his first term, he disliked imperialism and disagreed with US interventions abroad. He believed that the United States was the most politically enlightened nation in the world that had the duty to enable all its peoples to have the right to self-determination and the right to choose their own governments. It was from this view that Wilson, along with his Secretary of State Bryan, started to intervene

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where necessary in the world to protect democracy and to free peoples in other countries.

President Wilson revealed his foreign policy in his address before the Southern Commercial Congress at Mobile, Alabama, on October 27, 1913 that the USA during his Administration “*would never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest.*”¹⁹³ He believed that the progressive ideals of human rights, friendship, liberty, the fight against material exploitation, the protection of the weak and bringing the strong to reason if not to justice...etc, could bring international relations to a level of cooperation and comprehension to solve the pending problems. In his address in 1913, he declared that:

Comprehension must be the soil in which shall grow all the fruits of friendship, and there is a reason and a compulsion lying behind all this which is dearer than anything else to the thoughtful men of America. I mean the development of constitutional liberty in the world. Human rights, national integrity, and opportunity as against material interests that, ladies and gentlemen, is the issue which we now have to face. I want to take this occasion to say that the United States will never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest. She will devote herself to showing that she knows how to make honourable and fruitful use of the territory she has and she must regard it as one of the duties of friendship to see that from no quarter are material interests made superior to human liberty and national opportunity.¹⁹⁴

193 Woodrow Wilson. *President Wilson's State Papers and Addresses*. New York: George H. Doran Company. 1918. P. 35.

194 *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

Immediately after his inauguration, President Wilson started his fight against Roosevelt's 'Big Stick' policy, and Taft's 'Dollar Diplomacy.' One week after, he announced that American investors in Latin America and China would not receive special help from the government. This pushed many American bankers to stop their investments and withdraw their loans to China the day following this announcement. In this perspective, he signed a treaty with the Colombia to apologise for Roosevelt's acts of aggression during the Panama Revolution in 1903. Then, he succeeded in persuading Congress to repeal the 1912 Panama Canal Act that exempted many American ships from paying the required toll for passage through the Canal.

He also believed that if the USA was forced to intervene in other countries' affairs, it would be for the benefit of the people in those countries. He took different actions to settle issues in the Philippines, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, the Virgin Islands, and in Mexico. As regards the Philippines, he signed the *Jones Act in 1916*, which made the Philippines a territory and assured the Filipinos that they would be given their independence only when they obtained a stable government.¹⁹⁵ However, the Philippines got its independence on July 4, 1946, 30 years after the enactment of the *Jones Act* in 1916.

The paradox in Wilson's foreign policy was that in his first term, he disliked imperialism and disagreed with US interventions abroad, but in his second term, he engaged in the First World War and expanded the political and economic hegemony of the USA to become the world's

¹⁹⁵ Arthur S. Link. *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era. 1910-1917*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers. 1965. P. 227.

leading power. It was impossible for the President to remain out of the domestic affairs of the other countries mainly when these were swept along by troubles and revolutions. Wilson's Presidency coincided with the Mexican revolt against Americans living in the country in 1913. Although General Pershing was able to quell the threat, the conflict was to be heightened with the entry of the USA into the First World War because of different reasons among which there was the Zimmermann Telegram¹⁹⁶ that was sent by the Germans to Mexico in order to wage war against the USA.

President Wilson intervened in Haiti between 1914 and 1915 because the people there revolted against their President Jean Vilburn Guillaume Sam, which constituted a threat to the American economic interests. The reaction of President Wilson was to send 330 US Marines to Port-au-Prince on July 28, 1915, to help protect both the American citizens and properties. Within six weeks after the landing of the US Marines, representatives from the US Government controlled Haitian customhouses, banks, and the national treasury. Under the mission of the Marines to extend and to bring peace in Haiti, Wilson succeeded to

196 In an effort to nullify or at least to reduce US intervention in Europe, Arthur Zimmermann, the German foreign secretary during part of World War I (1916-17), planned to embroil the United States in war with Mexico and Japan. In pursuit of this goal, on January 16, 1917, he sent a secret telegram in code (through the German ambassador in Washington, D.C.) to the German minister in Mexico, authorizing him to propose an alliance to Mexico's President Venustiano Carranza. The offer included "an understanding on our part that Mexico is to re-conquer her lost territory in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona." Carranza was also asked to "invite the immediate adherence of Japan." Intercepted and decoded by British Admiralty intelligence, the telegram was sent to President Woodrow Wilson, who authorised its publication on March 1, 1917. In convincing Americans of German hostility toward the United States, the "Zimmermann Note" became one of the factors leading to the US declaration of war against Germany five weeks later. *Encyclopædia Britannica Ultimate Reference Suite*. CD. Op. cit..

conclude a treaty with Haitian officials in 1916, in which the USA was allowed to supervise finances and the police.

Along with Haiti, the United States sent troops to the Dominican Republic to end riots in 1916 against the Government of Juan Isidro Jiménez. The US intervention led to the resignation of Jiménez and the election of Dr. Francisco Henriquez Carvayal, who again was deposed by the US Government because he did not meet the exigencies set by President Wilson. The latter announced the imposition of a US military government in the Dominican Republic with Rear Admiral Harry Sheppard Knapp as Governor. Wilson assured that the military government should have the mission to implement institutional reforms as those that had been carried out in the USA during the Progressive Era. These reforms included the reorganisation of the tax system, accounting and administration, expansion of primary education, the creation of a national police force, and the construction of transportation infrastructure.

Despite the troubles in the Caribbean and with Mexico, President Wilson realised successes mainly prior to World War I. Wilson's foreign diplomacy completely changed during his second term because of the US entry in the Great War.

b. President Wilson's Second Term Foreign Policy from 1917 to 1921.

President Wilson's foreign policy during the First World War was to keep the USA and the American Continent neutral. He succeeded in solving the issue of the Virgin Islands in the West Indies through the purchase of the three islands namely Saint Thomas, Saint John, and Saint Croix from Denmark in 1917.¹⁹⁷ Two important events pushed both parties to conclude this transaction. From the Danish perspective, the Virgin Islands became economically without prospects since the steamers and ships no longer halted at the port of Saint Thomas because of the opening of the Panama Canal. In Addition, the Americans wanted to purchase the Islands because the Germans wanted to establish a naval base there. The transfer of the three Islands took place on March 31, 1917.

Almost a year before the end of the First World War, President Wilson still believed that peace could be reached on the basis of fair propositions that would satisfy most nations. On January 8, 1917, he delivered a message to Congress in which he stated the war aims and peace terms of the United States. It was in this message that he introduced his Fourteen Points proposal as a solution to realise and keep international peace. The main points of the proposal were:¹⁹⁸

1. No more secret treaties.
2. Freedom of the seas was to be maintained.

197 48 USC sec. 1541. Under the title of *Territories and Insular Possessions*, Chapter 12: Virgin Islands. Sub-chapter I.

198 Ibid., pp. 468-470.

3. A removal as far as possible of economic barriers among nations.
4. Reduction of armament burdens.
5. Adjustment of colonial claims in the interests of natives and colonizers.
6. "Self-determination," or independence for oppressed minority groups.
7. The creation of a general association of nations that was later called the League of Nations with the objective to keep the peace and settle world disputes.

As regards the War in Europe, President Wilson declared in his address to the United States Senate on January 22, 1917, that peace was inevitable, and to be a lasting one there should be no victory, only a peace between equals that could last for a long time.¹⁹⁹ He clearly expressed that his opposition was to the Prussian Government and not to its people. In his opinion, it was autocracy and the marginalisation of the people's will and opinion that gave birth to such government. In his address entitled "*Address to Congress Advising that Germany's Course Be Declared War against the United States*," which was delivered in a Joint Session on April 2, 1917, he expressed that the Americans had "*no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war.*"²⁰⁰ This view was essentially derived from his progressive principle that governments "*derive all their just powers from*

199 Ibid., p. 352.

200 Ibid., p. 378

*the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property.”*²⁰¹

Therefore, the war aims of the USA as determined by President Wilson were different from those of the warring European Governments. After America entered the war, President Wilson continued to advance the same ideas as to the ultimate conditions of peace he set in his addresses to the American Congress. While the Allies were more interested in respecting their treaties and in the spoils of the war, Wilson was interested in fighting for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples including the Germans. He declared that “*the world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty.*”²⁰² He openly expressed the aims of the USA in participating in the war saying that the Americans “*have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.*”²⁰³

President Wilson continued advocating his ideals even after the War ended on November 11, 1918. The Germans that overthrew their Kaiser contacted President Wilson through the Swiss Government hoping that they could get a peace settlement based on his Fourteen Points. However,

²⁰¹ Ibid., p. 353.

²⁰² Ibid., p. 381.

²⁰³ Ibid.

most of these proposals did not find their way to application because Wilson, the idealist, had to fight against imperialists whose main concern was material spoils.²⁰⁴

It would have been possible to avoid future conflicts if the Allied nations adopted Wilson's peace plans. He intended to put the war belligerents on the same footing to discuss the issues that were at the basis of their discords. However, greed fuelled the provisions of the Versailles Treaty (1919-1920) as regards issues related to the frontiers in Europe and the war compensations imposed on Germany for the benefit of the Allied countries, which later were some of the causes that led to the break out of the Second World War in 1939. Nonetheless, President Wilson's declarations and actions for sure paved the way for the US leadership exercised during and after the First World War over the European powers.

²⁰⁴ John Holladay Latane. *From Isolation to Leadership: a Review of American Foreign Policy*. New York: Doubleday, Page, & Company. 1922. P. 193.

Chapter Four

Progressivism and the Reforming of the US Economy, from 1901 to 1921.

Every country has a political economy of its own, suitable to its own geographical position on the globe, and to the character, habits, and institutions of its people. In the history of the USA, the last three decades of the 19th century were labelled as the Gilded Age²⁰⁵ because the country

²⁰⁵ The name Gilded Age came from the title of Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner's book *The Gilded Age: A Tale of Today* (1873). The word gilded is given to something that is not made of gold but covered with it on the outside. This suggests that although this period was

witnessed unprecedented technological, industrial, and economic progress. Great opportunities to build great fortunes were created during the Reconstruction of the South after the Civil War. Captains of industry also called 'Robber Barons' like Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, J. P. Morgan, Cornelius Vanderbilt, and Jay Gould revolutionised business and modernised corporate economy in the form of giant trusts. Although this period enabled the USA to become one of the leading industrial countries, the ordinary people did not have their share of this progress.

The Progressive Presidents namely Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson intervened in economic matters to right the inherited wrongs from the previous practices that destroyed free-market economy based on fair competition. They undertook effective reforms of the country's economy that affected different domains mainly the control of the trusts, the tariff rates, and the conservation of the natural resources. The Progressives were animated by the desire to find a reasonable balance between *laissez-faire* capitalism and outright socialism.

I. Economic Reforms under President T. Roosevelt's Administrations from 1901 to 1909.

Economically, the greatest challenge for the Progressives during the Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt was to control the businesses. Through his 'Big Stick' policy, he attempted to elaborate equitable tariffs, and introduce conservation measures. The trusts and the tariffs were the main fronts of battle that President Roosevelt dedicated his characterised by economic growth and prosperity, it was a period of disparity between the rich and the poor and disinterestedness in society in general.

Administration to regulate in a way that would eventually benefit the ordinary American. By 1901, he received the Presidency after the death of McKinley in the middle of industrial disputes in which he intervened because they caused prejudice to the public.

The first action of the President was to direct his Attorney General Knox to use the *Sherman Act of (1890)* in pursuit of monopolistic practices. Since the Sherman Act was not sufficiently enforced, it became urgent to pass additional laws to strengthen the government's authority to regulate business practices and to control giant corporations. As for the tariffs, President Roosevelt maintained the *Dingley Act of 1897*,²⁰⁶ which was supported by President McKinley.

A. President Roosevelt's 'Square Deal' Policy and the Anthracite Coal Strike in 1902.

President Roosevelt focused on the industrial disputes because they threatened the country's stability. The last quarter of the 19th century witnessed explosive and violent conflicts between the forces of industrial capitalism and militant workers. Armed conflicts broke out repeatedly between the workers and private militias backed most of the time by State Governments. Examples of such conflicts comprised the Great Railroad Strike of 1877 that triggered armed confrontation and ended in bloodshed, the 1892 strike at Andrew Carnegie's Homestead steel plant that ended with a bloody battle, and the strike at Pullman Palace Car

²⁰⁶ *Dingley Act 1897*. ch. 11, 30 Stat. 151.

Company in 1894, in which army troops were brought to settle peace and end the strike. The Army troops found themselves engaged in a violent clash with the workers in the streets of Chicago on the 4th of July. This period also witnessed the rise of the Populist Movement²⁰⁷ that initiated marches of rural farmers angered by the cyclical economic downturns.

Relief for the workers did not come from the Federal Government because it was considered unconstitutional for the President to intervene in industrial disputes. Those who were obliged to intervene in such disputes generally sided with the employers. For example, President Andrew Jackson became a strike-breaker in 1834 when he sent troops to the construction sites of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. While Rutherford B. Hayes sent troops to prevent obstruction of the mails in the violent rail strikes of 1877, Grover Cleveland used soldiers to break the Pullman Strike of 1894.

This attitude was abandoned when President Theodore Roosevelt introduced his 'Square Deal' policy as regards industrial and commercial disputes. His motto "*a square deal for every man*"²⁰⁸ was to a certain extent idealistic because it assumed that all the belligerents in an

207 The Populist Movement in the USA was a politically oriented coalition of agrarian reformers in the mid-western and southern states that advocated a wide range of economic and political reforms in the late 19th century. Farmers' Alliances sprang up discontented because of crop failures, falling prices, and poor marketing and credit facilities. In 1892 the Populist or People's Party was organised after the merger of the Farmers' Alliances. While trying to broaden their base to include labour and other groups, the Populists remained almost entirely agrarian-oriented. They demanded an increase in the circulating currency (to be achieved by the unlimited coinage of silver), a graduated income tax, government ownership of the railroads, a tariff for revenue only, the direct election of U.S. senators, and other measures designed to strengthen political democracy and give farmers economic parity with business and industry. *Encyclopædia Britannica Ultimate Reference Suite*. CD. Op. cit.

industrial dispute should step out with concrete positive results. The most famous industrial dispute that broke out during his Presidency was the Anthracite Coal Strike of 1902. In this strike, Roosevelt intervened to settle an agreement between the miners and the employers so as not to cause prejudice to a third party: the public. Under the leadership of John Mitchell, the United Mine Workers (UMW) organised the Anthracite coal strike of 1902 as a reaction to the low wages that the Pennsylvania mines offered to the miners although they worked for long hours in hazardous jobs.

The leaders of this strike were encouraged by the unexpected advantageous results of the strike in the bituminous or soft coalfields in 1897. John Mitchell hoped in 1898 to achieve the same results for the anthracite miners as the UMW realised in the soft coal fields. However, it was hard for the UMW to organise a strike in an industry controlled by a few large independent mine owners, coal railroads, and bankers. In addition, anthracite coal was a strategic source of energy to the American industries and homes because of its cleanness and tenure in carbon. The President was aware that any shortage in the supply of coal would paralyse the country.

In the early months of 1902, the miners presented four demands. These demands were a reduction of working hours from 10 to 9, a wage augmentation of 20%, the payment according to the weight of coal mined, and the recognition of the UMW. The mine operators refused to negotiate, and on May 9, 1902, the famous anthracite strike began. More

208 Theodore Roosevelt. *A Square Deal for Every Man*. Address delivered at a banquet in Dallas, Texas. April 5, 1905.

than 150,000²⁰⁹ miners stood out for approximately five months. The strike was financed by a levy of one dollar per week upon all employed miners in the country, which yielded over \$2,000,000.²¹⁰ The total sum of donations and levied money totalised \$ 2,645,324.52.²¹¹ The donations came in from other trade unions and from the public in general.

It was clear that the country was facing a serious coal shortage. There was hope for a settlement as long as firemen, engineers, and pump men remained at work. But, when these maintenance crews walked out on June 2, a long and bitter struggle between the miners and the employers started. Although Mitchell exhorted the miners to strike peacefully, strikers attacked scabs, terrorised their families, and lashed out at private police forces and armed guards hired by the mine owners.

President Roosevelt responded to this critical situation by assigning his Commissioner of Labour, Carroll D. Wright on June 8, 1902, to investigate the strike. Wright headed for New York City, where he met with the presidents of coal railroads, independent mine operators, financiers, mine foremen, and superintendents. He also summoned John Mitchell to New York to hear from him about the miners' demands. Within 12 days, Wright submitted to the President a substantial report accompanied with tables and statistics.

209 Andrew Roy. *A History of the Coal Miners of the United States*. Columbus, Ohio: I. L. Trauger Printing Company. 3rd Edition. 1907. p. 397.

210 Ibid. p. 388.

211 Ibid.

On the basis of the findings of Wright, President Roosevelt invited the representatives of the United Mine Workers and coal operators to the White House on October 3, 1902. In this historical meeting, John Mitchell proposed to call off the strike if a tribunal was appointed by the President composed of his representatives, UMW representatives, and those of the coal operators to carry on dealing with the issues of the strike. He also asked for an immediate small increase to the miners' wages until the tribunal worked out an agreement.

The coal operators refused to deal with the United Mine Workers despite the pleas of President Roosevelt. Since neither the miners nor the employers were willing to negotiate or back down, the President threatened both of them that he intended to send military forces to take over and operate the anthracite mines. This action helped greatly in forcing both sides to reach a compromise. Therefore, he appointed a commission to arbitrate the negotiations. The representatives from both sides met with the Commission members and agreed to follow their recommendations to end the strike, and on October 23, 1902, the coal miners went back to work. The coal miners achieved a 10% wage increase and a reduction of 9 hours work a day, but without the recognition of the UMW.²¹²

President Roosevelt's efforts to end the strike were successful. Both sides finally agreed to the findings of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, and peace was restored in the coalfields. More important in this event was the new role established for the Federal Government in

²¹² Samuel Gompers. *Seventy Years of Life and Labour, an Autobiography*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. Vol. II. 1925. p. 116.

labour disputes as the representative of the public interest. On October 3, 1902, Roosevelt declared: "*I speak for neither the operators nor the miners but for the general public.*" His intervention was motivated by the fact that "*the third party, the great public, had vital interests and overshadowing rights.*"

He maintained this standpoint when dealing with the trusts to safeguard of the public interests. He was against the trusts when they caused prejudice to the public. He considered that it was his duty to safeguard such interests to realise social justice.

B. President Roosevelt's Trust-Busting Policy to 1909.

President Roosevelt advocated the Eighth Commandment: '*thou shalt not steal*'²¹³ as regards what he considered as bad trusts. The trusts were wrong as long as they infringed the constitutional rights of the people. His policy was based on his view that they were necessary evil²¹⁴ and they had to be checked when they transgressed the provisions of the *Sherman Antitrust Act (1890)*. For Roosevelt, when a trust was found guilty of employing illegal practices, it had to be prosecuted but without asking the court to dismantle it. For him a fine and a warning were enough to bring the delinquent back on track. Under various progressive federal and state pieces of legislation, businesses were required to follow

213 Edward H. Cotton. *The Ideals of Theodore Roosevelt*. New York: D. Appleton and Co. 1923. p. 99.

214 Theodore Roosevelt. *Theodore Roosevelt, an Autobiography*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1922. p. 424.

equal pricing policies, with no under-the-table deals for favoured customers. It was evident that strong regulation was the key to reduce trusts' hegemony over the country's economy, with better wages and job protection for the workers.

In his Annual Message of December 1901, Roosevelt clearly announced that he gave the trust issue the first place in his list of recommendations. He created the Department of Commerce and Labour in which the Bureau of Corporations (BC) was lodged. The BC had the task to collect and publicise information about interstate commerce and industry to facilitate and accelerate antitrust prosecutions.

The BC was empowered by the passing of the *Elkins Act*²¹⁵ on February 19, 1903, which barred the granting of rebates on freight shipments. Republican controlled Congress passed this Act with a House vote of 251 to 10. The main criticism to the *Elkins Act* was that it provided only monetary fines for violations of the law and avoided the imposition of criminal penalties. This fact gave reason to the suspicion that it was enacted by Congress on behalf of some railroad companies to allow them to continue in their practice of providing rebates to their customers and realise huge benefits by curtailing other railroad companies.

Based on the information collected by the BC, Roosevelt set his Attorney General Philander Knox to the task of using existing legislation more forcefully against the trusts. The Justice Department initiated dozens of cases against businesses that violated the *Sherman Act (1890)*.

²¹⁵ *The Elkins Act 1903*. 57th Congress, Sess. 2, ch. 708, 32 Stat. 847.

Among the major trust suits there were those initiated against the Northern Securities Company and the Standard Oil Company.

The first trust suit the Attorney General initiated was against the Northern Securities Company (NSC) in 1902, which had been formed shortly before Roosevelt became President. It was a union or merger of practically the entire railway system of the Northwest, i.e. the Northern Pacific and Great Northern Railroads companies owned respectively by J. Pierpont Morgan and James J. Hill who were undisputed kings of both the financial and railway sectors.

The Attorney General filed a bill in equity against the NSC in the United States Circuit Court at St. Paul, Minnesota on March 10, 1902. The Court rendered a decision in favour of the Government on April 9.²¹⁶ The Court's decision was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, which rendered a majority decision that the merger was in violation of the Sherman Act. The power of the Government to exercise control over combinations since then was permanently established. It should be noted that President Roosevelt was not in favour of dismantling the NSC, but against the merger of the two railway companies that created the trust. The decision in favour of the Government by the St. Paul Circuit Court gave the Attorney General impetus to begin proceedings on May 10, 1902 against the Beef Trust. The Court of the Northern District of Illinois rendered a decision in favour of the Government on May 20, 1903, and was later affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States on January 31, 1905.

²¹⁶ *Washington v. Northern Securities Co.* 185 US. 254. (1902).

President Roosevelt continued his progressive programme related to trust-busting when he was elected in 1904 with 56% of the popular vote and 336 electoral votes.²¹⁷ In 1906, Congress passed the *Hepburn Act (1906)*²¹⁸ to strengthen the Interstate Commerce Commission of 1887. This coincided with the launching of the most important suit that the Government instigated against the Standard Oil Trust (SOT). The attacks on the SOT of John D. Rockefeller, were justified by the writings of Ida Tarbell in a series of articles in *McClure's*. Later these articles were compiled in a book in 1904 entitled *The History of the Standard Oil Company*. She revealed a devastating account of the ruthless practices of Rockefeller and his subordinates.

The SOT was seen as a monopoly because it refined in 1904 over 84% of the crude oil run through refineries, and produced more than 86 % of the country's total output of illuminating oil, and maintained a similar proportion of the export trade in illuminating oil.²¹⁹ It transported through pipe lines nearly nine-tenths of the crude oil of the old fields of Pennsylvania, and 98 % of the crude of the mid-continent, or Kansas territory oil field, and secured over 88 % of the sales of illuminating oil to retail dealers throughout the country. The SOT obtained in certain large

217 www.presidentelect.org.

218 *Hepburn Act June 29, 1906*. ch. 3591, 34 Stat. 584. 59th Congress, Sess. 1

219 Circuit Court of the United States For the Eastern Division of the Eastern District of Missouri. *United States of America Vs. Standard Oil Company and Others*. Brief of the Law on behalf of the defendants of Standard Oil Company and others by John G. Johnson and John G. Milburn, of Counsel. New York. p. 96.

sections as high as 99 % of such sales.²²⁰ It controlled practically similar proportions of the production and the marketing of gasoline and lubricating oil. The SOT also handled a much smaller proportion of the oil, both crude and refined, in the Gulf of Mexico and California fields.

These facts gave the Government the basis on which it built its prosecution of the SOC for violating the *Sherman Antitrust Act (1890)*. In this case, Herbert Knox Smith Commissioner of Corporations elaborated two reports on May 2, 1906, and on May 20, 1907, respectively. While the first report focused on the transportation of petroleum, the second was issued as an analysis of the petroleum industry, most of it related to the Standard Oil Company. These investigations based a fine of \$29 million that was imposed on the Standard Oil Company of Indiana.²²¹

President Roosevelt did not urge his Attorney General to dismantle the SOT because his antitrust policy emanated from his political skill to please both the Progressives that wanted to keep the monopolies under check, and the businesses by avoiding the dismantling of the trusts. Such policy shows his political skill to reach a balance of power between the Government and the Progressives on one scale and the powerful businesses on the other. 'Control' was the key word in President T. Roosevelt's policy that characterised his programme for the conservation of the country's natural resources.

220Ibid.

221 Henry H. Klein. *Standard Oil or the People, the End of Corporate Control in America*. New York : Published by the Author. 1914. p. 94.

C. President Roosevelt's Conservation Measures (1901-1909).

President Roosevelt applied systematic efforts to control or put an end to the wasteful and over-exploitation of the country's natural resources. He continued the expansion of conservation programs through the creation of parks of million acres and enlarging timberland reserves. He also backed efforts to control the outbreak of forest fires and to plant new trees in areas that had been over-exploited.

The Progressives made the conservation of the country's natural resources the cornerstone of the reforms that they aimed to realise. The safeguard of the country's natural resources such as coal, iron, wood...etc, from being dilapidated by the overgrowth of the industries was considered as a responsibility towards the future generations. The conservation of the Western natural resources was one of the primary concerns of President T. Roosevelt. On the basis of the provisions of the *Forest Reserves Act of 1891*, He supported two main conservation Acts namely the *National Reclamation Act* (Newlands Act) of 1902, and the *Antiquities Act of 1906*.²²² These three Acts constituted the three main axes in his conservation policy.

The first axis in Roosevelt's conservation policy was to withdraw land under the *Forest Reserve Act of 1891*,²²³ which gave him the power to withdraw 235 million acres of public timberland from sale to be set aside

²²² *The Antiquities Act of 1906*. 16 U.S.C. § 431 to § 433.

²²³ *Forest Reserve Act of 1891*. ch. 561, 26 Stat. 1103.

as national forests in 1905. To manage such vast domains, Roosevelt created the US Forest Service (USFS) under the administration of Gifford Pinchot, a college-trained forester. Pinchot argued that natural resources of the West required scientific management to prevent their destruction by private developers. Under the USFS's administration, much of the western public lands came under federal regulation, subordinating local communities and business interests to the federal jurisdiction.

The second axis in President Roosevelt's conservation policy was to reclaim semi-arid lands. He backed the reclamation of the Western semi-arid lands by the enactment of the *National Reclamation Act of 1902*,²²⁴ which was authored by Nevada Representative Francis G. Newlands. Under this Act, President Roosevelt authorised western irrigation projects in 1906 to be paid for by the sale of land in 16 semi-arid states.²²⁵ He also initiated the construction of western dams to reclaim the desert in the South-West. For the management of this project, he established a new federal agency called the Reclamation Service, to bring scientific expertise in the management of water in the West. The Western lands of the USA could not have been inhabited and exploited without the water projects provided by this Act.²²⁶

The third axis in President Roosevelt's conservation policy was also to extend federal control over the West's scenic wonders under the

²²⁴ *National Reclamation Act of 1902*. ch. 1093, 32 Stat. 388.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, Section 1.

²²⁶ By 1925, the Bureau of Reclamation Statistics reported that 600 dams on waterways in the West provided the irrigation of about 10 million acres of farmland.

provisions of the *Antiquities Act (1906)*. Although the law had been enacted to protect Native American artefacts and relics, which were being systematically looted from archaeological sites, Roosevelt expanded its use to preserve historic landmarks.²²⁷ By Presidential Proclamation in 1908, he set aside 800,000 acres in Arizona as Grand Canyon National Monument to protect it from developers. However, it took the US Congress 12 years to acquire the political will to establish Grand Canyon as a national park. He established other national parks and monuments in 1908 namely the Muir Woods National Monument in California, the Pinnacles National Monument, California, and the Jewel Cave National Monument, South Dakota. He also established the Natural Bridges National Monument in Utah, the Lewis and Clark Cavern National Monument in Montana, and Wheeler National Monument in Colorado among others. In the same manner, Roosevelt created 16 national monuments, 51 wildlife refuges and 5 new national parks, preserving Crater Lake in Oregon and the Anasazi ruins of Mesa Verde in Colorado.

The importance of conservation required the combination of the efforts of influential people in all domains and not just the Federal Government. For this reason, Roosevelt called for a conference in the White House in 1908 to debate the issue of the conservation of natural resources. He invited governors, university presidents, businessmen and scientists to establish policies to preserve the nation's resources. The main effect of this conference was the creation of National Conservation Commission, and the establishment of conservation commissions in 41 states.

²²⁷ *The Antiquities Act of 1906*. op. cit., Section 2 and 3.

President T. Roosevelt made several changes in the country's economy to the point that his Presidency is considered as a turning point in the history of the USA. By the end of his Presidency, he decided to back his Secretary of Navy William Howard Taft for the Presidential Election of 1909. Roosevelt's choice was based on his belief that Taft was the right man that could continue and develop the progressive policies that he had started.

II. Economic Reform Measures during Howard Taft's Presidency (1909-1913).

Economically, President William Howard Taft perpetuated his predecessor's policies but in a less pronounced way. The most critical domestic economic problems that President Taft faced were the obtaining of an income tax that would raise revenue, the redistribution of national wealth, the control of big business, the reforming of the tariff, currency, the banking systems, and the conservation of natural resources.

A. The 16th Amendment and the Tariff Issue.

President Howard Taft inherited economic problems caused either by Theodore Roosevelt's mismanagement or that he intentionally postponed because he found it difficult to decide on. Taft was first caught in the middle of the tariff litigious issue, and the growing expenses of the Government that were causing a deficit of nearly \$60 million per

annum.²²⁸ Based on his progressive ideals against the trusts and monopolies, he pledged to cut rates to which the House of Representatives responded positively by passing a bill sponsored by Representative Sereno E. Payne. This Bill called for a list of goods to go with lower tariffs, which were targeted by the Progressives and the importers and exporters as well. This Bill was a compromise to help open foreign markets to American goods and to provide the US industries with a steady flow of cheap raw materials.

However, protectionists in the Senate who were mainly conservative Republicans wanted to revise the Bill and set higher rates. In the Senate, the Progressives like La Follette refused its revision and accused the conservative Republicans of working for the interests of the businesses.²²⁹ Most of the low tariffs in the *Dingley Act* were restored by Senator Aldrich and unexpectedly approved by President Taft. The latter argued that this Act had positive provisions, and that it was politically dangerous to establish extreme low tariffs as advocated by the Progressives. On April 9, 1909, Congress passed the *Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act*. Through his tariff policy, President Taft raised issues of discord that resulted in a split in the Republican Party during his Presidency into two factions namely the Conservatives and the Progressives.

228 Newton Wyeth. *Republican Principles and Policies, a Brief History of the Republican National Party*. Chicago: The Republic Press. 1916. p. 208.

229 Henry Clay Hansbrough. *The Wreck, an Historical and a Critical Study of the Administrations of Theodore Roosevelt and of William Howard Taft*. New York: The Neale Publishing. 1913. p. 136.

Following the tariff issue, President Taft was caught in the middle of the struggle between Progressive insurgents led by George Norris of Nebraska that challenged House Speaker Joe Cannon over his power to assign committees and their members, and the scheduling of debates. Such powers enabled the Speaker to accept or repeal legislation. Although the insurgents were abandoned by Taft, who sided with Joe Cannon, they succeeded in their enterprise by taking most of the Speaker's prerogatives and vested them into the Rules Committee.

The President tried to counterbalance his failure in handling the tariff issue by introducing the 16th Amendment to the Constitution. It was passed by Congress on July 2, 1909, and ratified on February 3, 1913, to establish Congress's right to impose a federal income tax for the first time in the History of the USA. In an address to Congress on June 16, 1909, President Taft proposed a 2% federal income tax on corporations as a further step to reconcile the belligerent factions in his Party. In his message to Congress he said:

I therefore recommend an amendment to the tariff bill imposing upon all corporations and joint stock companies for profit, except national banks (otherwise taxed), savings banks, and building and loan associations, an excise tax measured by 2 per cent, on the net income of such corporations. This is an excise tax upon the privilege of doing business as an artificial entity and of freedom from a general partnership liability enjoyed by those who own the stock. I am informed that a 2 per cent, tax of this character would

bring into the Treasury of the United States not less than \$ 25,000,000.”²³⁰

An income tax amendment to the Constitution was first proposed by Senator Norris Brown of Nebraska, who submitted two proposals in the Senate as Resolutions N° 25 and N° 39. The final amendment proposal was accepted by the Senate as Joint Resolution N° 40, which was introduced by Senator Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island, who was Chairman of Senate Finance Committee. On July 12, 1909, the resolution proposing the 16th Amendment was passed by the Sixty-First (61st) Congress and submitted to the State Legislatures for ratification.

Support for the income tax came from the Western States, but was strongly opposed by the North-Eastern States. In 1910, New York Governor Charles Evans Hughes, shortly before becoming a Supreme Court Justice, spoke out against the adopted Bill version of the income tax amendment expressing his belief that the expression “*from whatever source derived*” in the proposed amendment implied that the Federal Government would have the power to tax state and municipal bonds. He argued that this would excessively centralise governmental power in the hands of the Federal Government and would make it impossible for the States to keep any property.

The opponents to the income tax Bill, mainly the Conservatives, believed that an income tax amendment would never receive ratification

²³⁰ William Howard Taft. *Presidential Addresses and State Papers of William Howard Taft*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company. Volume One. 1910. P. 168.

by three-fourths of the States. Much to their surprise, the 16th Amendment was successively ratified by State Legislatures, and on February 25, 1913, it took effect under the certification of Secretary of State Philander C. Knox. The fact that the ratification of the 16th Amendment took more than three years suggests that the Americans were reticent in accepting a graduated income tax because it was a key plank in the Communist Manifesto.²³¹

According to the United States Government Printing Office, 36 out of 48 States²³² ratified the Amendment. The first State to ratify was Alabama on August 10, 1909, and the last was Delaware on February 3, 1913. After this date, six (6) States ratified it bringing the number of the ratifying states to 42. While it was rejected by three (3) States, namely Connecticut Rhode Island Utah without ever subsequently ratifying it. The State Legislatures of Florida, Pennsylvania, and Virginia never considered the proposed Amendment. It was argued that the income tax and those who enforced it had done great harm to the spirit of freedom and independence in the country.

The Amendment reads as follows: *“The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without*

231 The graduated income tax was the second of ten planks or steps in the Communist Manifesto that Marx and Engels considered necessary to destroy a free enterprise system and replace it with an omnipotent government to realise a communist socialist state. The plank reads as follows: ‘A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.’ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. Pecking: Foreign Languages Press. 1970. P. 58.

232 At that time Alaska and Hawaii had not joined the union yet. While Alaska became a State on January 3, 1959, Hawaii joined the union on August 21, 1959, as the 49th and 50th States, respectively.

apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.” However, in 1913, the tax was applied only to 1 % of the population at a rate of 1% of net income. The 16th Amendment was a very important and helpful measure during the First World War for President Wilson’s Administration because it provided the necessary financial resources to support the War efforts.

B. President Taft’s Trust-Busting Policy (1909-1913).

The difference in the trust-busting policies of Roosevelt and Taft lied in the way each of them perceived the trust issue. Roosevelt preferred regulating the trusts rather than dismantling them staying in middle course between the Progressive reformers and the Republican conservatives that advocated the ‘laissez faire’ approach.²³³ In his book *American Problems* (1910), he argued that: “The better distribution of property is desirable, but it is not to be brought about by the anarchic form of Socialism which would destroy all private capital and tend to destroy all private wealth.”

President Taft’s antitrust measures were more aggressive than those of Roosevelt since he prosecuted more trusts and signed the *Mann-Elkins Act (1910)*,²³⁴ which empowered the Interstate Commerce Committee. He

233 “The better distribution of property is desirable, but it is not to be brought about by the anarchic form of Socialism which would destroy all private capital and tend to destroy all private wealth.” Theodore Roosevelt. *American Problems*. New York: The Outlook Company. - 1910. p. 52.

234 *Mann-Elkins Act June 18, 1910*. ch. 309, 36 Stat. 539.

preferred to dismantle the trusts because they were illegal. He instructed his Attorney General to launch lawsuits against what was identified as harmful business combinations. Among the 44 important lawsuits there were those brought against the American Tobacco Trust (ATT), the Standard Oil Trust (SOT), and the United States Steel Trust (USST).

1. The Dismantling of the American Tobacco Trust (ATT).

The American Tobacco Trust was composed of five constituent companies namely W. Duke & Sons, Allen & Ginter, W.S. Kimball & Company, Kinney Tobacco and Goodwin & Company. The ATT caught the attention of progressive legislators during T. Roosevelt's Presidency. In 1907, the American Tobacco Company was indicted in violation of the Sherman Act (1890), but President Roosevelt did not sue it with the intention to dissolve it, but rather to control it by delaying the trial in order to keep a close check on it.²³⁵

Later in 1908, when the Department of Justice filed suit against the ATT, 65 companies and 29 individuals were named in the suit. In 1911, under the '*rule of reason*' justification, the Court ruled jointly for the dissolving of the ATT and the Standard Oil Trust. The Court endorsed the '*rule of reason*' enunciated by William Howard Taft in *Addyston Pipe and Steel Company v. United States*,²³⁶ which he wrote when he had been Chief

235 President Roosevelt wrote that the regulation of corporations could be "accomplished by continuous administrative action, and not by necessarily intermittent lawsuits." Quoted by William Henry Harbaugh. *Power and Responsibility, the Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt*. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Cudahy. 1961. p. 404.

236 *Addyston Pipe and Steel Company v. United States*, 85 F. 271 (6th Cir. 1898),

Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit. The ATT was guilty of breaking the provisions of the Sherman Act because of:

... the vast field which it covers, the all-embracing character of its activities concerning tobacco and its products, to at once stay the movement in interstate commerce of the products which the combination or its cooperating forces produce or control might inflict infinite injury upon the public by leading to a stoppage of supply and a great enhancement of prices... the combination, in and of itself, as well as each and all of the elements composing it, whether corporate or individual, whether considered collectively or separately, be decreed to be in restraint of trade and an attempt to monopolize and a monopolization within the first and second sections of the Anti-Trust Act...²³⁷

Therefore, the final judgment of the Supreme Court was in favour of dissolving the ATT, which confirmed the judgment of the lower court. It was anticipated that dissolving a giant trust like the ATT was not an easy task that is why the Supreme Court set a period of six months that could be extended by the Lower Court but not exceeding sixty days to dissolve the trust. In its judgment, the Supreme Court declared that:

... the court below, in order to give effective force to our decree in this regard, be directed to hear the parties, by evidence or otherwise, as it may be deemed proper, for the purpose of ascertaining and determining upon some plan or method of dissolving the combination and of recreating, out of the elements now composing it, a new condition which shall be honestly in harmony with and not repugnant to the law²³⁸ ... taking into view

²³⁷ *United States v. American Tobacco Co.* (1911). 221 U.S. 106. p.187.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

the difficulty of the situation, a period of six months is allowed from the receipt of our mandate, with leave, however, in the event, in the judgment of the court below, the necessities of the situation require, to extend such period to a further time not to exceed sixty days...²³⁹

After 8 months, a plan for the dissolution of the ATT was negotiated. Four firms were created from the American Tobacco Trust's assets: the American Tobacco Company, R. J. Reynolds, Liggett & Myers, and Lorillard. The monopoly became a group of independent producers that could affect the market but would never control it. The main result of the dissolution was an increase in advertising and promotion in the industry as a form of competition.

2. The Dissolution of the Standard Oil Trust (SOT).

Under the supervision of President Taft, the US Department of Justice sued the Standard Oil Trust in 1909, under the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890, for sustaining a monopoly and restraining interstate commerce. The Attorney General George W. Wickerham on behalf of the government identified four illegal practices that the SOT resorted to in order to control the oil market. These practices were:

- 1. Secret and semi-secret railroad rates.**
- 2. Discriminations in the open arrangement of rates.**
- 3. Discriminations in classification and rules of shipment.**
- 4. Discriminations in the treatment of private tank cars.**

239 Ibid.

The government alleged that the SOT lowered the prices to hurt competitors often by disguising its illegal actions using bogus supposedly independent companies it controlled. It also restrained and monopolised the pipelines through unfair practices against competing pipeline companies.²⁴⁰ It contracted with competitors to cut local prices of oil by-products to suppress competition. The SOT was also guilty of espionage of the business of competitors and the payment of rebates on oil.²⁴¹

Therefore, the US Supreme Court upheld the judgment of the Lower Court²⁴² and declared the SOT to be an 'unreasonable' monopoly under the *Sherman Antitrust Act (1890)*. The suit against the SOT started in 1902, but after nearly 9 years of litigation, the Supreme Court could find the Standard Oil Trust in violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act on May 15, 1911. The Standard Oil Trust dissolution decree fixed a period of six months for execution, after which the SOT was dismantled into 33 small companies.²⁴³

The decision to dissolve the SOT was received with varied appreciations. While the Administration of President Taft considered it a triumph against the monopolies, the businessmen were worried that the

240 Rockefeller himself said: "The entire oil business is dependent upon this pipe-line system. Without it every well would shut down, and every foreign market would be closed to us." Ida Tarbell. *The History of the Standard Oil Company*. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co. Vol. 2. 1904. P. 208.

241 Ibid., 274.

242 *Standard Oil Co of New Jersey v. United States*. 221, US 95. 1910. Decided May 15, 1911.

243 *Standard Oil Co of New Jersey v. United States*. Op. cit.

'rule of reason' doctrine under which the ATT and the SOT were indicted and ordered to dissolve gave the courts much freedom to read the law in a way that would be harmful for the country's businesses. On the other hand, progressive politicians feared that this decision would give the conservatives in Congress the motive to repeal the Sherman Anti-Trust Act (1890) or at least amend it in way that would render it unenforced. These standpoints did not restrain President Taft from prosecuting the trusts since the next target of his Attorney General was the United States Steel Trust (USST) and the International Harvester Company (IHC) that T. Roosevelt spared from being sued.

3. The Anti-Trust Suit against the United States Steel Trust (USST) and the International Harvester Corporation (IHC).

The US Steel Trust (USST) was founded in 1901 by a group of businessmen headed by Elbert H. Gary and J.P. Morgan who bought Carnegie's steel company and combined it with their holdings in the Federal Steel Company. These two companies became the nucleus of US Steel, which also included the American Steel & Wire Co., the National Tube Company, the American Tin Plate Co., the American Steel Hoop Co., and the American Sheet Steel Co. In its first full year of operation, US Steel produced 67 %²⁴⁴ of all the steel produced in the United States. It was the largest business enterprise with an authorised capitalisation of \$1.4 billion.²⁴⁵ In 1907, the USST bought the competing Tennessee Coal, Iron,

²⁴⁴William Henry Harbaugh. op. cit., p.315.

and Railroad Company, which further enhanced its domination over the industry.

Based on the facts that the USST monopolised the steel industry through different practices that restrained interstate trade, President Taft's Justice Department headed by George W. Wickersham filed a lawsuit against the USST in 1910. The Justice Department's suit claimed that USST should be dismantled because in its initial formation in 1901, it had violated both *Sections 1 and 2 of the Sherman Act of 1890*. The complaint also alleged that the acquisition of Tennessee Coal & Iron by the USST in 1907 was illegal.

At the same time, Wickersham filed a suit against International Harvester Corporation (IHC), without regards to the assurances that Roosevelt had given to J.P. Morgan in 1907. The suits against the USST and the IHC were in fact an open war not only against the big businesses, but also against Roosevelt who permitted their creation. As a means to back his claim, Wickersham released a collection of documents detailing Roosevelt's promises not to prosecute the IHC. These documents exposed the relationship that Roosevelt and J.P. Morgan entertained, and questioned Roosevelt's reputation of being a 'Trust-Buster.'

As a response to such accusations, T. Roosevelt condemned President Taft's anti-trust lawsuits because suing the 'good trusts' such as the USST and the HIC was hopeless and even if it were successful, it would deeply

245 Arundel Cotter. *The Authentic History of the United States Steel Corporation*. New York: The Moody Magazine and Book Company. 1916. p. 17.

harm the evolution of the country's industry.²⁴⁶ Roosevelt immediately broke off all relations with Taft and published an article in *Outlook* magazine defending his actions. He argued that he and his Commissioner of the Bureau of Corporations did not find anything related to the USST that infringed the law as in the Tobacco Trust and the SOT cases. He added that Taft himself was a member of his Cabinet and attended the debates of the issue and approved the decision taken. He declared in his letter that the aim of his antitrust policy was not to dissolve all trusts but to teach them that they were not above the law. Those trusts that he prosecuted were 'bad trusts,' but those that he did not prosecute or delayed their prosecution were in his opinion 'good trusts.'²⁴⁷

The trial against the US Steel Trust was a long and strenuous one. In 1920, the Supreme Court finally ruled in its favour deciding that it was not a monopoly and consequently its activities were legal. This decision confirmed that corporate behaviour rather than just bigness determined if a company violated the Sherman Act, and thus should be broken up.

Contrary to what it was expected, President Taft's attitude towards the big businesses brought him more foes than friends. In December 1911, he sent Congress a special message in which he made three 'wise' progressive proposals that should appeal to Wall Street, and should find favour in the political spheres. He proposed that:

1. The Sherman Act was not to be amended.

²⁴⁶ William Henry Harbaugh. Op. cit., p. 60.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

2. A supplemental law should be enacted "which shall describe and denounce methods of competition which are unfair and badges of the unlawful purpose denounced in the Anti-trust law."
3. The government control of trusts was to be strengthened by federal incorporation and by the creation of a "special bureau of commission" in the Department of Commerce and Labour.

These proposals were not passed by the first regular session of the Sixty-Second (62nd) Congress, which met in December 1911 because it did not sit until the eve of the National Conventions of the major parties for the Presidential Election of 1912. Moreover, Taft himself did not expect that the strong Democratic majority in the House (291 seats for the Democrats and 127 for the Republicans, and 7 seats for the other formations) would allow the passing of the measures that he introduced. The Democrats amended those patent laws that supported monopoly and hindered the enforcement of the Sherman Act. This event broke the Republican Party into two rival factions those who supported Taft and those who sided with Theodore Roosevelt.

President Taft adopted a different attitude vis-à-vis the trusts. He saw the problem of monopolies from a jurist view and not from a political one. He considered any offence of the law by the trusts was punishable by the law. For Taft, the Court ordered the dismantling of the trusts because they were found guilty of violating the provisions of the Sherman Antitrust Act, which was judicially legitimate. However, for the politicians like T. Roosevelt this action was a political suicide. President Taft might have thought of realising a political gain by proving to the Progressive insurgents in his Party like La Follette that he was still a Progressive. In fact, the dismantling of the trusts not only displeased some influential

Progressives, but also ruined Taft's reputation within the business world. As stated earlier, dismantling trust was the second issue that deepened the discord within the Republican Party and accentuated the opposition to Taft's policy led by Theodore Roosevelt.

Nonetheless, President Taft succeeded in bringing economic reforms by instituting the US Chamber of Commerce on April 12, 1912, and signed the Public Law on March 4, 1913, which created the US Department of Labour that consisted of the new United States Conciliation Service (USCS) to mediate labour disputes. In addition, he created four bureaus namely the Bureau of Labour Statistics (BLS), the Bureau of Immigration, the Bureau of Naturalisation, and the Children's Bureau. President Taft had also a good share in preserving the natural resources of the USA through conservation laws that either consolidated those created by T. Roosevelt or the creation of new national parks and natural monuments.

C. President Taft's Conservation Measures from 1909 to 1913.

The third issue that President Taft handled in a way that further deepened the discord among the Conservatives and the Progressives and cracked the unity of the Republican Party was his policy for the conservation of the country's natural resources. Taft adopted a different conservation policy from that of Roosevelt. While Roosevelt favoured the preservation of such natural resources, Taft wanted to classify them according to their utility and then decide what should be preserved and what should be exploited for the benefit of the nation.

Therefore, his conservation policy took three distinct forms. The first was the adoption of total preservation of certain lands from any form of exploitation. While the second was the reclamation of arid and semi-arid lands by irrigation for agricultural purposes or to encourage people to settle in, the third was to open certain public lands that contained strategic minerals for the nation such as gold, silver, coal, and water sources to be exploited by private entrepreneurs. He openly expressed his view in his speech delivered at Spokane, Washington, on September 28, 1909, where he argued: “... *there would seem to be no reason why the public might not be benefited by sharing in the profits of the transaction to an amount to be fixed upon arbitration or in some other method at the end of a stated period of fifteen or twenty years.*”²⁴⁸ Taft’s policy intended to take advantage of the exploitation of the forests, rivers, minerals and all other resources within public lands for the benefit of the people mainly those living in states where such resources existed. It was this point that angered the Progressives accusing him of treason to the principles set by Theodore Roosevelt.

He defended his policy by arguing that the national forests as reserved by Executive Order contained about 167 million acres²⁴⁹ of land that could not be managed, controlled, and mainly preserved from fire by the Forestry Bureau supervised by Mr. Pinchot, the Chief Forester and the head of the Bureau of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture. The task of preserving forests would require the best modern scientific methods

²⁴⁸ *Presidential Addresses and State Papers of William Howard Taft, from March 4, 1909, to March 4, 1910.* Op. cit., p. 270.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

of treating them. The necessity for allowing the exploitation of the forests by private individuals or companies was that the destruction by fire of such forests was estimated to \$50 million a year,²⁵⁰ which if exploited by private companies could provide substantial financial resources for the concerned state treasuries. Therefore, it was imperative for such states to exercise their jurisdiction over the forests to provide systems of fire protection and the adoption of the best methods of forestry. He expressed his opinion on the classification of public lands and conservation in general in his address to the Senate and House on January 14, 1910 saying:

One of the most pressing needs in the matter of public land reform is that lands should be classified according to their principal value or use. This ought to be done by that Department whose force is best adapted to that work. It should be done by the Interior Department through the Geological Survey. Much of the confusion, fraud, and contention which has existed in the past has arisen from the lack of an official and determinative classification of the public lands and their contents.²⁵¹

He then stressed the riches that such public lands contained and remained unexploited for the benefit of the country. He urged the classification of the lands to enable the severance of the minerals and other resources like timber from realty saying:

It is now proposed to dispose of agricultural lands as such, and at the same time to reserve for other disposition the treasure of

250 Ibid. p. 271.

251 Ibid. p. 539.

coal, oil, asphaltum, natural gas, and phosphate contained therein. This may be best accomplished by separating the right to mine from the title to the surface, giving the necessary use of so much of the latter as may be required for the extraction of the deposits. The surface might be disposed of as agricultural land under the general agricultural statutes, while the coal or other mineral could be disposed of by lease on a royalty basis, with provisions requiring a certain amount of development each year; and in order to prevent the use and cession of such lands with others of similar character so as to constitute a monopoly forbidden by law, the lease should contain suitable provision subjecting to forfeiture the interest of persons participating in such monopoly. Such law should apply to Alaska as well as to the United States.²⁵²

President Taft wanted to lease national lands to private capital for exploitation and let Congress determine whether water should be under Federal or State control. If such national lands were swamp and marginal lands, he claimed that they would be retained under Federal Government's control. He questioned the legality of Roosevelt's conservation measures especially when the latter gave a free hand to Gifford Pinchot, head of the Forestry Service in the Department of Agriculture, to grant forest and mineral right leases on land that was within the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior. Therefore, Taft undertook the task to regularise Roosevelt's extra-legal methods regardless of the consequences on conservation.

President Taft's policy was put into practice by his Secretary of the Interior Ballinger, who wanted to sell rather than lease coal lands and waterpower sites. He stopped granting waterpower permits and began restoring the right of private use. It was this point that raised the Ballinger-Pinchot dispute. The fact that the waterpower permits were

252 Ibid. p. 540.

stopped gave the existing private waterpower producers a lucrative opportunity to develop waterpower on public domains.

The opposition to President Taft's conservation policy came first from Republican Progressive conservationists spearheaded by Pinchot. The latter openly criticised the Secretary of the Interior Richard Ballinger's plan to sell Alaska coal lands and to reduce government supervision of the Western waterpower sites. For Pinchot, these measures were treason to the progressive ideals established by T. Roosevelt because they intended to aid private development of public lands. It was on November 13, 1909 that the Ballinger-Pinchot scandal began because *Collier's* magazine accused Richard Ballinger of questionable dealings in Alaskan coal fields, and charged that Ballinger improperly used his office to help the Guggenheims and other powerful interests illegally to gain access to Alaskan coal fields.

In this issue, President Taft sided with Ballinger, and fired Gifford Pinchot, which further angered the Progressives. Pinchot continued criticising both Ballinger and Taft, claiming that they violated the fundamental principles of both conservation and democracy.²⁵³ Congress, however, resolved the question of the legality of the withdrawals by passing the *Pickett Act in 1910*,²⁵⁴ which stipulated that the resources of all withdrawn lands became unavailable except the coal lands that could be sold after being classified and appraised by geological surveys. Further measures in this perspective occurred in the early Congress sessions of

253 Although Secretary Ballinger was exonerated by Congress of Pinchot's accusations, he resigned in 1911.

254 *Pickett Act, June 25, 1910.* ch. 421. 36 Stat. 847.

1912, when legislation was passed to amend the *Withdrawal Act* to open withdrawn lands to mining of metalliferous minerals, and adding California to the list of states where national forests might not be created or enlarged without Congressional approval.

The conservation issue was the third crack in the unity of the Republican Party, which eventually was a major factor in splitting it mainly during the Presidential Election of 1912. President Taft remained a true conservationist even if his methods were questioned by the Progressives. He established national parks like the Glacier National Park in Montana on May 11, 1910, and issued a Proclamation establishing Rainbow Bridge National Monument in Utah State. In an early attempt to solve the growing problem of large-scale urban water pollution, Congress passed "*An Act to prevent the dumping of refuse materials in Lake Michigan at or near Chicago.*"²⁵⁵ The preservation of natural resources was an important issue that Taft dealt with from legal and economic standpoints, which proved to be difficult to reconcile in practice.

President Taft's legislative record included many important achievements including the first tariff revision that had been maintained since 1897, the establishment of conservation on a legal basis, the improvement of railroad regulation, and an antitrust crusade. To these should be added the building of most of the Panama Canal, and the passage of two amendments to the Constitution. Taft's accomplishments must be weighed against several failures with respect to the final version of Payne-Aldrich Tariff, the poor handling of the Ballinger-Pinchot affair,

²⁵⁵ *An Act to prevent the dumping of refuse materials in Lake Michigan at or near Chicago* June 23, 1910. ch. 359, 36 stat. 593.

and his standpoints vis-à-vis the Progressive Republican insurgents. These failures eventually split the Republican Party's unity and allowed the Democrats to win Congress in 1910 and the Presidency in 1912.

III. President Wilson's Economic Reforms From 1913 to 1921.

Wilson's electoral campaign was based on a plan known as the attack on the 'Triple Wall of Privilege,' which he elaborated with Progressive lawyer Louis Brandeis. This plan consisted of three actions: the reform of the tariff, the reform of the banks, and the control of the trusts.²⁵⁶ Wilson agreed on Brandeis' suggested model of thought that expressed a strong distrust of wealthy or powerful entities.

Contrary to Roosevelt, Wilson and Brandeis believed that economic 'bigness' in the form of the present trusts was not natural because it originated from the machinations of bankers that infringed the rights and freedom of the businesses and the individuals. For Wilson centralisation weakened society, and the excessive power of big business was corruptive since it offered more power to men than they could handle, and eventually transformed them into tyrants.²⁵⁷ Wilson and Brandeis wanted to eliminate monopolies created by unregulated competition.

²⁵⁶ Woodrow Wilson. *The New Freedom, A call for the Emancipation of the Generous Energies of a People*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company. 1913. P. 20.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 21.

A. President Wilson's Tariff and Revenue Policy, and Banking Reforms (1913-1921).

The 'New Freedom' proposed three cures to the 'Triple Wall of Privilege'. The first was to lower the tariffs to free the market to competition, which eventually should lower the cost of living. The second was to stop the banks' hegemonic control over the country's economy and finances by installing a Federal Reserve System. The third was to dismantle illegal monopolies and trusts. The 'New Freedom' programme also revealed Wilson's standpoint vis-à-vis the conservation of the national natural resources to which he gave great importance.

Economically, President Wilson gave the tariff issue the first priority in 1913 to reconstruct the American political economy. The tariff reform was a basic plank in the Democratic Party's political platform used as a means to redress wrongs done to the people in general and to preserve the energies of the workingmen that had been stifled by industrial, commercial, and financial monopolists. Along with the tariff and revenue reforms, President Wilson engaged in reforming the banking system.

1. The Reforming of the Tariff and Revenue Taxes.

Low tariffs had been one of the most important economic policies in the Democratic Party since the Civil War. The aim of this policy was to benefit the consumers and to stimulate competition. The first item on Wilson's legislative agenda was, inevitably, a drastic lowering of the high rates of the *Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act of 1909*, which was considered as a

symbol of the power of special-interest groups over the legislatures at all levels. It was for this reason that he urged for a reform of the tariff during his electoral campaign of 1912.

President Wilson called for the reforming of the tariffs in his address to Congress of April 8, 1913, saying: “*We must abolish everything that bears even the semblance of privilege or of any kind of artificial advantage.*”²⁵⁸ The Ways and Means Committee, led by Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama, had already introduced a bill that cut most rates drastically. This Bill put most consumer goods and articles used by farmers on the free list, and at Wilson's demand, farm products including wool and later sugar were added. The Underwood Bill reduced the average ad valorem rates, which were reduced by the Payne-Aldrich Tariff from 40% to 29%.²⁵⁹ In order to compensate for the anticipated decrease in customs receipts, the Bill imposed a modest income tax, the first under the Sixteenth Amendment, which the Democrat majority in the House passed the Bill by a vote of 281 to 139 on May 8, 1913.

The main danger for the passing of the Underwood Bill was that the slim Democrat majority in the Senate would fail to pass it if Democrat Senators from the sugar and wool producing states voted against it. President Wilson stood firm in support of the Bill, and in a public statement on May 26, 1913, he denounced the lobbyists who were hard at work trying to wreck any tariff reform. This charge led to a Senate investigation of the private interests of senators that might be affected by

258 Woodrow Wilson. *President Wilson's State Papers and Addresses*. Op. cit., p. 8.

259 *Underwood Tariff Act or Underwood-Simmons Act (October 3, 1913)*, ch. 16, 38 Stat. 114.

tariff reductions. This investigation and Wilson's steady pressure dissipated any opposition.

The Senate approved the Underwood-Simmons Bill on September 9 by a vote of 44 to 37. The Senate Bill actually further decreased the rates of the Underwood bill by 3 % and brought the general ad valorem rates to a level of about 26 %. In addition, it increased the maximum income tax in the Underwood Bill from 4 % to 7%. The House accepted these changes, and Wilson signed the *Underwood-Simmons Tariff Act* on October 3, 1913.²⁶⁰ This Act marked a significant change in federal economic policy from protectionism to free market.

However, a reduction in the tariff meant a reduction in government revenues and eventually a deficit in the balance of payments. As a solution to avoid this eventuality, the *Underwood-Simmons Tariff Act* provided for the reinstatement of a federal income tax as a means to compensate for anticipated lost revenue.²⁶¹ This Act successfully passed in the Supreme Court's judgment because it avoided the mistake made by the legislators of the *Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894*. The latter had been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court because the tax on dividends, interest, and rents had been considered as a direct tax not apportioned by population. That obstacle, however, was removed by the ratification of the Sixteenth Amendment on February 3, 1913, which provided that:

260 Ibid. (*Underwood Tariff Act or Underwood-Simmons Act*).

261 *Revenue Act of 1913*, Section II, A. subdiv. 1, 38 Stat. 114, 166.

‘ ... subject only to such exemptions and deductions as are hereinafter allowed, the net income of a taxable person shall include gains, profits, and income derived from salaries, wages, or compensation for personal service of whatever kind and in whatever form paid, or from professions, vocations, businesses, trade, commerce, or sales, or dealings in property, whether real or personal, growing out of the ownership or use of or interest in real or personal property, also from interest, rent, dividends, securities, or the transaction of any lawful business carried on for gain or profit, or gains or profits and income derived from any source whatever ...²⁶²

Generally, taxation concerned wage earners, interest, dividends, rents, royalties, pensions, annuities, income from estates or trusts, profits of sole proprietorships and partnerships, and gain from sales of most types of property. But, it excluded taxable salaries and wages of state and local, and federal governments’ employees, and state and local governments’ bond interests. It also specified that the exempted categories from this tax included salaries and wages, interest, rents and annuities not exceeding \$3,000 per year. Married couples that earned up to \$4,000 per year were exempted, but above these two amounts the 1% federal tax was applied. This Act also provided a progressive tax structure, meaning that high-income earners were required to pay higher rates.

Therefore, incomes less than \$20,000 per year were taxed at a rate of 1%. But incomes starting from \$20,000 were taxed at a rate of 2%. The government listed the incomes to be taxed at a progressive rate of 1% from five (5) incomes ranging between \$50,000 and \$500,000 a year. A

²⁶² *Underwood Tariff Act, or Underwood-Simmons Act.1913. Op. cit.*

Normal Income Tax and an Additional Tax were levied against the net income of individuals as shown in the following table:

Revenue Act of 1913.			
Normal Income Tax and Additional Tax on Individuals			
38 Stat.166			
Income	Normal Rate	Additional Rate	Combined Rate
0	1%	0	1% bottom marginal rate
\$20,000	1%	1%	2%
\$50,000	1%	2%	3%
\$75,000	1%	3%	4%
\$100,000	1%	4%	5%
\$250,000	1%	5%	6%
\$500,000	1%	6%	7% top marginal rate

Income Tax Table for Individuals in the Revenue Act of 1913. Source: *Milestone Documents in the National Archives*. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration. 1995. P. 70. (pp.69-73).

The taxes instituted under the *Revenue Act of 1913* were initially set to expire on December 31, 1915. However, on December 17 of the same year, Congress passed a joint resolution that continued the application of this Act until the passing of another Revenue Act on September 8, 1916. Apparently, the period of six months that separated the passing of the 1916 Revenue Act and the entry into WWI, which occurred on April 6, 1917, denoted that the US Government was making preparations for an eventual participation in the War.

War preparations requested financial means that could be provided by making changes on the income amounts to be taxed and adding new ones.^(Table p. 208) President Wilson called for \$100 million in additional Federal Revenue in the event of the War, to be collected through taxing legacies and inherited personal property on a graduated scale according to the size of the estate and the degree of relationship to the deceased since the surviving husbands and wives received a general exemption. The Revenue Act of 1916 raised the lowest income tax rate from 1% to 2%, and raised the top rate from 7% to 15%.²⁶³ Exemptions remained the same except for federal estates.

This Act set a maximum rate of 15% applied to bequests from estates valued over \$1 million to distant relatives, non-relatives, or '*bodies politic or corporate*'.²⁶⁴ It also included an excise on receipts in excess of \$200,000 assessed to firms in the petroleum and sugar refining industries. It raised stamp rates and the cost of telephone calls, which is considered as the first telephone tax in US history. It also included a provision to allow the establishment of an independent study commission in 1916 known as the Federal Tariff Commission²⁶⁵ to collect information on the fiscal and industrial effects of custom duties to provide the President and Congress with advice on the proper rates for tariffs.

²⁶³ *The Revenue Act of 1916*, ch. 463, 39 Stat. 756, September 8, 1916.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁵ The Commission still exists but under the name of the International Trade Commission (ITC).

Revenue Act of 1916. Normal Tax and Additional Tax on Individuals 39 Stat. 756			
Net Income in \$	Normal Rate %	Additional Rate %	Combined Rate %
0	2	0	2
20,000	2	1	3
40,000	2	2	4
60,000	2	3	5
80,000	2	4	6
100,000	2	5	7
150,000	2	6	8
200,000	2	7	9
250,000	2	8	10
300,000	2	9	11
500,000	2	10	12
1,000,000	2	11	13
1,500,000	2	12	14
2,000,000	2	13	15

Income Tax Table for Individuals in the Revenue Act of 1916.

Source: *Milestone Documents in the National Archives*. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration. 1995. P. 72. (pp.69-73).

2. President Wilson's Measures to Reform the Banking System.

The idea of breaking the control of the banks over the economy was proposed by Democratic President Andrew Jackson (1829-1837) who dismantled the Bank of the United States (BUS) by removing from it all Federal deposits and distributed them among state banks. Wilson also

sought to decentralise the banking system from Wall Street in order to give the small regional banks more freedom and action. Such enterprise was at the same time complex and difficult, but it was an urgent reform to assure adequate money supply for the needs of a dynamic and growing economy, and to open the channels of credit to all worthy borrowers. Most of the critics to the US banking system centred on the following weaknesses:

2. The US banking system tied the money supply in large degree to the gold supply and the bonded indebtedness of the United States.
3. It provided only a primitive means of mobilizing and transferring banking reserves from one section to another.
4. It encouraged the concentration of reserves in Wall Street.²⁶⁶

President Wilson proposed in November 1912 the creation of a number of regional reserve banks owned and controlled by member banks as a first step in reforming the banking system. The 'capstone'²⁶⁷ in this system, as Wilson called it, would be the Federal Reserve Board's control of the money supply, the determination of the interest rates, and the performance of all

266 The National Monetary Commission, which was headed by Republican Senator Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island, exposed these weaknesses in its report to Congress of 1912. It proposed as a solution the creation of a single national reserve bank, with branches, owned and controlled by the banks. However this solution only intensified the widespread fear that Wall Street wanted to fasten its control over the credit resources of the country.

267 Arthur S. Link. *op. cit.*, p. 46.

the functions of a central bank. This system should enable the Federal Reserve Banks to issue notes on the basis of gold and commercial assets so that the money supply would expand or contract according to the needs of the producers and businessmen.

To concretise his banking policy, President Wilson appointed Carter Glass as Chairman of the House Banking Committee. Glass and his Committee's technical advisers completed a draft of a banking and currency bill known as the Glass Bill in May 1913, which aroused bitter controversy within the political and economic spheres. Opposition came from Democrat Progressives like W. J. Bryan who did not accept the provision that the Federal Reserve currency notes were put under the obligation of the Reserve Banks and not of the Federal Government. Neo-Populists in Congress went even further and demanded a reserve and currency system owned and controlled exclusively by the Federal Government. They also opposed the clause in the Glass Bill that stipulated that three of the nine members of the Federal Reserve Board should be bankers chosen by regional banks. The controversy was further aroused when McAdoo drafted a bill that made the Federal Reserve System an adjunct of the United States Treasury.

In addition, conservative politicians and large-city bankers mounted a furious assault on the Glass Bill or the Federal Reserve Bill. They argued that this Bill was a socialistic measure because it deprived bankers from controlling their own property, and it would politicise the banking and currency systems.²⁶⁸ Other assaults on the Bill came from agrarian

268 Ibid., p.50.

spokesmen because the Federal Reserve Bill made no provision for the re-discounting of agricultural paper.

President Wilson dealt with this controversy decisively to regain control through negotiations. He conceded Bryan's point and won his support. Then, he accepted the advice of Louis D. Brandeis that all members of the Federal Reserve Board should be appointed by the President, which Glass revised accordingly. Then, he quickly conceded the demand of the agrarians but held firm in his adherence to the principle of public control. When consensus was reached on the Glass Bill, the President went again in person before a joint session of Congress on June 23, 1913, where he delivered a speech in which he urged Congressmen to take action as regard the reforming of the banking system. As a result, Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma, and Chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, and Congressman Glass introduced identical bills respectively in the Senate and in the House on June 26.

The House of Representatives passed the Federal Reserve Bill by an overwhelming majority on September 18, and on December 19, the Senate passed it by a vote of 54 to 34. Wilson signed the final version of the Bill under the appellation of the *Federal Reserve Act* (FRA) on December 23, 1913.²⁶⁹ The FRA was one of the most important pieces of legislation of Wilson's Administration in the history of the United States. Considered as the cornerstone of the new progressive political economy, the FRA attempted to combine private initiative with public control.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁹ *The Federal Reserve Act December 23, 1913*. ch. 6, 38 Stat. 251.

The FRA was simple in its structure. The reformed banking system was seen as an irrigation system composed of several wells that were brought together into one system connected to a national reservoir. Therefore, the country was divided into 12 districts, each of which had its Federal District Reserve Bank (FDRB). In this way, any district bank could keep its reserves in the FDRB. This organisation was designed to enable the district banks to obtain easily their supplies of currency. The FDRB had its own board of nine directors, six of whom were to be chosen by the member district banks through the ballot, and three were appointed by the Federal Reserve Board, which exercised general supervision over the system.

The Federal Reserve Board was the administrative centre because it was empowered to supervise, direct, and control the whole system. It was composed of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Comptroller of the Currency, and five other members appointed by the President. The Board included a body named the Federated Advisory Council, which was chosen by the banks and consisting of as many members as there were Federal Reserve Districts. Although the powers of this body were purely consultative, it provided the banks with an organ of their own for representation to the Federal Reserve Board and united them for concerted action on matters of common interest. With the consent of the Federal Reserve Board, the FDRBs had the right to establish agencies in other states.

270 The FRA was amended significantly only once in 1935 in order to strengthen the Federal Reserve Board's power over interest rates and the money supply.

At this stage, the Progressives introduced the necessary reforms in the US tariff and banking systems that aimed at encouraging competition and eliminating all forms of industrial protectionism that partly gave birth to monopolies and trusts. The next step in Wilson's economic policy was to attack the trusts and monopolies through legislation that forbade business monopolising practices.

B. President Wilson's Antitrust Measures, Labour Regulations, and Conservation Policy from 1913 to 1921.

President Wilson dealt with the regulation of the trusts and labour jointly in the *Clayton Act (1914)*. As for the trusts, he believed that they should be dismantled through court suits if they were found guilty of violating antitrust legislation. He preferred big businesses, but condemned the trusts. Unlike Roosevelt, Wilson did not distinguish between 'good trusts' and 'bad trusts,' but considered any trust by virtue of its large size as bad. He expressed his opposition to the trusts arguing that:

'A trust is an arrangement to get rid of competition, and a big business is a business that has survived competition by conquering in the field of intelligence and economy... I am for big business, and I am against the trusts. Any man who can survive by his brains, any man who can put the others out of the business by making the thing cheaper to the consumer at the same time that he is increasing its intrinsic value and quality, I take off my hat to, and I say: "You are the man who can build up the United States, and I wish there were more of you."²⁷¹

271 Woodrow Wilson. *The New Freedom*. New York: Doubleday, Page & co. 1913. pp. 50-51.

Anti-trust policy was one of the central points of debate in the Presidential Election of 1912 that each candidate exposed in accordance with the political platform of their respective parties. Wilson elaborated an anti-trust and anti-monopoly policy in his 'New Freedom' program that was different from those of his predecessors just in some details. He signed into law the *Clayton Act in 1914*²⁷² that was considered as the cornerstone in the regulation of the trusts and monopolies.

1. The Clayton Act (1914) and President Wilson's 'Trust Busting' Campaign.

The purpose of the *Clayton Act (1914)* was to help clarify the language of the Sherman Act (1890), which had left some legal loopholes that allowed large companies to continue constructing monopolies. It was not an easy task because Wilson's predecessors did not venture into the complexities of the legal issues of the anti-trust laws. The original anti-trust program of Wilson's Administration was based on the Anti-trust Bill introduced by Representative Henry De Lamar Clayton of Alabama on April 14, 1914, known after being passed as the *Clayton Act (1914)*. The novelty in this Act was that it attempted to outlaw all known methods and devices used to strangle competition and achieve monopoly. The final version of the *Clayton Act* was passed in the House of Representatives on June 5, 1914 with a vote of 277 to 54, and passed in the Senate on

²⁷² *The Clayton Act, October, 15, 1914.* ch. 38 Stat. 730. Codified at 15 U.S.C. §§ 12-27, 29 U.S.C. §§ 52-53).

September 2, 1914, by a vote of 46 to 16. President Wilson signed it into law on October 15, 1914.

Four principles of economic trade and business were set in the *Clayton Act 1914*: Price discrimination, exclusive dealings, mergers and acquisitions, management of two or more corporations by one director. It was considered as a felony when the prices were set at a level to lessen competition or intended to create a monopoly in any line of commerce.²⁷³ *Section 3* stipulates that exclusive dealings between a seller and a purchaser under which the seller put a condition on the purchaser not to buy from his competitors was considered as an act punishable by law only when it was proved that such act restrained trade and lessened competition.²⁷⁴ The third principle in this Act dealt with the abolition of the mergers and acquisitions of corporations that effected and lessened competition.²⁷⁵ Finally the fourth principle made it illegal for any person from being a director of two or more competing corporations, if it was proved that those corporations would violate the anti-trust provisions by merging.²⁷⁶

Opposition to the Clayton Bill came from small businessmen, who claimed that the measure provided jail terms for their day-to-day practices, and from legal authorities that argued that it was impossible to

273 Ibid., Section 2, codified at 15 U.S.C. § 13.

274 Ibid., Section 3, codified at 15 U.S.C. § 14.

275 Ibid., Section 7, codified at 15 U.S.C. § 18.

276 Ibid., Section 8, codified at 15 U.S.C. § 19.

legislate against every conceivable restraint of trade. Therefore, Wilson sought the advice of Brandeis, who proposed to take up a measure known as the Stevens Bill. This Bill outlawed all unfair competition and established the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) to investigate alleged unfair trade practices.

The most important provision in this Bill was to authorise the FTC to issue 'cease and desist' orders, which would have the force of court injunctions against unfair competitors. President Wilson agreed on the Stevens Bill and urged the House of Representatives to adopt it on June 12, 1914. He considered the signing of the *Federal Trade Commission Act (FTCA)*²⁷⁷ on September 26, 1914, and the *Clayton Act* on October 15, 1914, as the climax of the reconstruction of the American political economy.

However, in reading the final texts of the Sherman Act 1890 and the Clayton Act 1914, it appears that they do not differ much to a point to make a distinction between the two. In fact, the Clayton Act was not intended to clarify the Sherman Act but to strengthen it by making corporate officials personally and criminally liable for the practices of their corporations.

²⁷⁷ The FTCA passed the Senate by a vote of 43 to 5 on September 8, 1914, and passed the House on the 10th of the same month without tally of Yeas and Nays.

Under the FTCA, the Federal Trade Commission (FTC)²⁷⁸ was created as an independent agency to replace the Bureau of Corporations with the objective to uphold the Clayton Act and to foster consumer protection. It was given the power to investigate companies to look for unfair trade practices under *Section 5* of the FTCA that reads as follows: *'The commission is hereby empowered and directed to prevent persons, partnerships, or corporations, except banks, and common carriers subject to the Acts to regulate commerce, from using unfair methods of competition in commerce.'*²⁷⁹

President Wilson did not create the FTC with the intention to breakup big businesses, but to prevent them from eliminating business competition through unfair practices. Therefore, the FTC was empowered to summon any business that would violate the provisions of the anti-trust acts to *'Cease and Desist'* (C&D). The latter was an order or request to halt an activity (cease) and not to take it up again (desist).²⁸⁰ It could also be used as an emergency measure that took the form of a temporary injunction to prevent irreparable harm. The FTCA provided the President with the right to choose the members of the FTC to serve a seven-year term, but only three of the five members could belong to the same party. President Wilson took advantage of this prerogative when he chose five members to be the FTC's first commissioners namely Democrats Joseph

278 The FTC is still active today, and is responsible for the United States National Do Not Call Registry, and investigating gasoline price gouging, i.e. to force someone to pay an unfairly high price for something or simply to raise prices unfairly.

279 *The Federal Trade Commission Act*. 15 U.S.C §§ 41-58. Section 5.

280 *Clayton Act 1914*. op. cit., Section 11.

E. Davies as Chairman, Edward N. Hurley, William Harris, and Republicans Will H. Parry, and George Rublee.

During the First World War, President Wilson was obliged to suspend temporarily the provisions of the Clayton Antitrust Act by passing the *Webb-Pomerene Act of 1918*²⁸¹ in Congress. This Act exempted certain exporters' associations from certain anti-trust regulations. It was sponsored by Republican Edwin Y. Webb of North Carolina and Democrat Senator Atlee Pomerene of Ohio. The *Webb-Pomerene Act* granted immunity to companies that formed combinations to operate the export trade of goods, wares, or merchandise that were essential to the War effort. However, this did not apply to anticompetitive conducts that had adverse affects on domestic competitors.

Therefore, associations that sought exemption under the *Webb-Pomerene Act* had to file their articles of agreement and annual reports with the Inter-State Commerce Committee. The exemptions in this Act lasted until the 1920s as the Federal Trade Commission granted stays of investigation for those companies that initially qualified for exemption under its provisions.

2. New Labour Regulations in the Clayton Act (1914).

It is worth noting that the Bill of the *Clayton Act (1914)* did not specifically and explicitly relieve the trade unions from being prosecuted for actions such as strikes, pickets, boycotts, and collective bargaining

²⁸¹ *Webb-Pomerene Act of 1918*. Sess. 2, ch. 50, 40 Stat. 516.

that were considered as restraints of the interstate commerce according to the *Sherman Act (1890)*. Section 3²⁸² of the *Sherman Act 1890* stipulated that any combination in the form of a trust or every person that engaged in any such combination or conspiracy to restrain trade or commerce between one territory and another, or between one state and another was illegal. Under this provision, State and Federal courts declared the activities of the labour unions in the form of strikes, pickets or boycotts as illegal since they restrained trade and commerce. For example, the Pullman Strike in 1894 was declared illegal since the railway workers blocked the trains that transported goods and mail from one state to another.

In an attempt to appease the leaders of the American Federation of Labour headed by Samuel Gompers, President Wilson permitted the addition of provisions in the Clayton Act (1914) that stipulated that labour unions and agricultural cooperatives should not be deemed to be conspiracies in restraint of trade, which should protect labour unions against court injunctions in strikes.²⁸³

In its final version, the *Clayton Act (1914)* contained two sections of great importance to the US labour movement to the point that it was considered by labour leaders as the worker's *Magna Carta*. Section 6²⁸⁴ stipulates that labour force should not be considered as a commodity or

282 Ibid., Section 3.

283 *Clayton Act 1914. Section 6* (codified at 15 U.S.C. § 17).

284 Ibid., Section 6.

an article of commerce.²⁸⁵ It was in *Section 20*²⁸⁶ that the labour practices in the form of peaceful strikes, sittings, boycotts, peaceful picketing, and collective bargaining were exempted from being considered as trade restraining activities. Henceforward, the labour unions were not punishable by the anti-trust laws since this Act limited the courts' intervention in the disputes that arose between labour unions and employers.

The pace of Wilson's reforms quickened as the two great parties prepared for their national conventions in 1916. Looking ahead for re-election, Wilson recognised that a second term required further reform measures. The best allies in this enterprise were the Progressives in his Party and those in the other political formations. Therefore, he produced a political agenda that attracted the Progressives, the social reformers, the farmers, and labour.

Soon after the adjournment of the Democratic National Convention, in 1916, and under the sponsor of the American Federation of Labour, President Wilson obtained the passage of the *Adamson Act (1916)*, which established the eight-hour workday on interstate railroads. The *Adamson Act* was a federal law named after its instigator Republican William C. Adamson, who was the Representative of Georgia, to establish an eight-hour workday, with additional pay for overtime work for interstate

²⁸⁵ Section 6: 'The labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce, and permit[ting] labor organizations to carry out their legitimate objective'. Ibid., Section 6, codified at 15 U.S.C. § 17.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., Section 20.

railroad workers. However, railroad employers challenged the constitutionality of the Adamson Act (1916) in Court.

The railway employers refused to apply the provisions of the *Adamson Act* while pending in court, which pushed railroad unions to prepare again to go on strike. At this instance, the Supreme Court's decision brought the employers and the union leaders into negotiations to find settlement concerning the implementation of the law. In the end, the United States Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the *Adamson Act* in 1917.

The original text of *Section 65* of the *Adamson Act (1916)* settled the 8-hour workday in the following terms: *'Eight hours shall, in contracts for labour and service, be deemed a day's work and the measure of standard of a day's work for the purpose of reckoning the compensation for services of all employees who are now or may hereafter be employed by any common carrier by railroad.'*²⁸⁷ The provisions of this Section were enforced by a penalty in *Section 66* for any person that violated them. This Section stipulates that: *"Any person violating any provision of Section 65 of this title shall be guilty of a misdemeanour and upon conviction shall be fined not less than \$100 and not more than \$1,000, or imprisoned not to exceed one year, or both."*²⁸⁸

3. President Wilson's Conservation Measures (1913-1921).

²⁸⁷ *The Adamson Act 1916*. ch. 436, 39 Stat. 721. Codified at 45 U.S.C. § 65.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, § 66. It was repealed in 1996. The language of this Act is now re-codified, with only minor changes, at 49 U.S.C. §§ 28301, 28302.

President Woodrow Wilson promised in his 'New Freedom' programme to undertake measures for the conservation of the country's natural resources. However, his Presidency started with the damming of a valley. As mentioned earlier, it was during Taft's Presidency that Congress passed legislation to amend the *Withdrawal Act* to open withdrawn lands to mining and adding California to the list of States where national forests might not be created or enlarged without its approval. Congress passed the *Raker Act (1913)*²⁸⁹ to permit the building of the O'Shaughnessy Dam by flooding the Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park, California. This Act was submitted for debate during Taft's Administration and passed during Wilson's Presidency. The House of Representatives and Senate passed the *Raker Act* respectively on September 3 and December 6, 1913, which President Woodrow Wilson signed into law on December 19.

President Wilson's conservation record of achievements during his first and second presidential terms included 16 measures of which there were seven (7) proclamations and nine (9) Acts passed by Congress that he signed into law. He signed a proclamation in 1914 to establish Papago Saguaro National Monument, Arizona, and another in 1915 to establish the Dinosaur National Monument in Utah. In 1916, he signed two other proclamations, the first of which was to establish the Sieur de Monts National Monument on Mount Desert Island in Maine. This natural monument was established on lands conveyed to the United States by a private group of citizens called the Hancock County Trustees of Public

²⁸⁹ *Raker Act, December 29, 1913. ch. 4, 38 Stat. 242.*

Reservations. The second was devoted to establish the Capulin Mountain National Monument in New Mexico. By 1918, President Wilson issued two other proclamations that established the Zion National Monument in Utah, and the Katmai National Monument in Alaska. Finally, the President issued his last conservation Proclamation in 1919 to establish the Scotts Bluff National Monument in Nebraska.

During Wilson's Presidency, Congress passed six (6) national parks, one (1) Wild Life Preservation Act, and the National Park Service Act in 1916²⁹⁰ to create the National Park Service within the Department of the Interior headed by Stephen T. Mather as its first Director. In 1915, Congress passed a bill to establish the Rocky Mountain National Park in Colorado, and two national parks namely the Hawaii National Park, Hawaii, and the Lassen Volcanic National Park in California in 1916, and in 1917, it established the Mount McKinley National Park in Alaska. Congress also passed two Bills in 1919 to establish Lafayette National Park in Maine, Grand Canyon National Park in Arizona. For the safeguard of wild life, it passed a bill entitled the *Migratory Bird Treaty Act of 1918*.²⁹¹ It was an implementation of the convention between the USA and Britain, acting for Canada, for the protection of migratory birds. This Act established responsibility for international migratory bird protection as stipulated in its provisions.

The progressive economic measures undertaken during the first term of President Wilson were of great importance. However, the US

²⁹⁰*National Park Service Act August 25, 1916. ch. 408, 39 Stat. 535.*

²⁹¹*Migratory Bird Treaty Act of July 3, 1918. Sess. 2, ch. 128, 40 Stat. 755.*

participation in the First World War altered his progressive policies in their form but not in content. During the war, he introduced important pieces of legislation within the framework of war emergency measures concerning issues of compensation, insurance, child and mother welfare...etc.

C. President Wilson's War Time Economic Measures (1916-1921).

At the break out of the First World War, President Wilson's standpoint was to provide US arbitration in the disputes between the belligerent countries. However, the USA was drawn into the War when Germany announced in February 1917 that its U-boats would attack all ships sailing in the European waters without taking into consideration their purpose, nationality, or destination. In response to this announcement, President Wilson ended diplomatic relations with the German Empire. The final blow to Wilson's peace efforts came with important events: the Zimmermann Note, and the sinking of three American merchant ships by German U-boats without warning on March 18, 1917. The next day, President Wilson decided to enter the War alongside with the Allied forces.

President Wilson requested Congress to declare war on Germany on April 2, 1917, stating that the "*The world must be made safe for democracy.*"²⁹² Congress issued a war declaration against Germany on April 6, which the President signed on April 7. From the beginning, the

²⁹² Herbert Hoover. *The Ordeal of Woodrow Wilson*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. 1958. p. 19.

President made it clear that the USA entered the War not as an allied power but as what he called an 'associate power.' The reason for such distinction was found in the war aims of each country. While the Entente Allies clearly wanted war spoils such as land, money, and the subjugation of the German people, Wilson declared that the United States was fighting only for moral reasons, namely to protect democracy from tyranny and promote peace throughout the world. To achieve such noble aims on the international scene, the President had to win battles on the national scene by adopting new domestic policies and measures. The three main policies that he gave priority were the raising of an army, Government control of the means of transport, and the levy of appropriate funds for the war efforts through war revenue income taxes.

1. War-Time Measures Regarding the Army Appropriations and the Railways.

The 64th Congress, which was dominated by the Democrats in both chambers, passed the *Army Appropriations Act of 1916 and 1917*²⁹³ as an emergency measure taken by President Wilson with the objective to authorise financial means to form and strengthen large army troops, and to create the Council of National Defense (CND). As stipulated in *Section 2*, this Act established the CND as an emergency agency on August 29, 1916 with “\$200,000 appropriated for experimental work and investigations undertaken by the council, by the advisory commission, or subordinate bodies, for the employment of a director, expert and clerical expenses and supplies, and for the necessary expenses of members of the

²⁹³ *First Army Appropriations Act of 1917, May 12, 1917.* ch. 12. 40 Stat. 39. Sess. 1

advisory commission or subordinate bodies going to and attending meetings of the commission or subordinate bodies."²⁹⁴

The CND was a Cabinet Committee composed of six State Secretaries representing the Secretaries of War, the Navy, the Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labour with the assistance of an Advisory Commission of prominent citizens. The CND had the duty to "*supervise and direct investigations and make recommendations to the President and the heads of executive departments as to the location of railroads with reference to the frontier of the United States so as to render possible expeditious concentration of troops and supplies to points of defense.*"²⁹⁵ It was organised to coordinate resources in support of the War effort including transportation, industrial and farm production, financial support for the War, and public moral.

The eight members of the Advisory Commission, who worked without remuneration, were officially appointed by President Wilson on October 11, 1916. They were Walter S. Gifford as its Chairman, who was a statistician with the American Telephone and Telegraph Company (AT&T), the Vice-President of the Hudson Motor Car Company Howard E. Coffin, a Wall Street financier called Bernard Baruch, the President of the Drexel Institute of Philadelphia Hollis Godfrey, the President of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad (B&O) Daniel Willard, the President of Sears, Roebuck & Company Julius Rosenwald, the President of the American Federation of Labour (AF of L) Samuel Gompers, and Dr. Franklin H.

²⁹⁴ *Army Appropriations Act of June 13, 1917*. 40 Stat. 188. Section 2.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

Martin, who was the Secretary-General of the American College of Surgeons. The War effort obliged the US military and the industrial leaders to cooperate, which laid the foundation of modern US military industry. The activities of the CND and The Advisory Commission were officially suspended in 1921.

The economic and industrial sector that the President gave importance to at the beginning of the War was the railways. However, his attempt to control the railways came in a time when the labour unions were strong since they succeeded in bringing the railway employers into negotiations under the *Adamson Act (1916)*. This spurred other railway employees not covered by the Act to press for similar demands by threatening their employers to go on strike. The United States entry in World War I on April 6, 1917, coincided with this agitation, which added more troubles to the President. The railways issue was strategic for the War effort to the point that he exercised the authority granted to him by the *Army Appropriations Act (1916)* to intervene in the management of the railways sector on December 26, 1917, by establishing the United States Railroad Administration.

This was not the only reason that obliged the President to intervene in a private sector like the railways. It was quickly noticed that the railways system proved inadequate to the task of serving the nation's war efforts. The railway companies attempted to coordinate their efforts and help the Federal Government, but their actions proved to be inadequate because competitive practices prevailed and hampered efficient mobilisation for the War. In addition, Government Departments sought priority for railway shipment, which created congestion in freight yards,

terminals, and port facilities.²⁹⁶ The solution came in December 1917 when the Interstate Commerce Commission recommended federal control of the railway industry to ensure efficient operation. The solution was not just to overcome congestion difficulties, but to bring all parties including management, labour, investors, and shippers together to work for the national interest.

A further novel, unprecedented, and polemic step in making the national railways work efficiently was taken by President Wilson on March 21, 1918, when he used the *Federal Control Act of 1918*,²⁹⁷ also known as the *Railroad Administration Act*, to nationalise the majority of the US railways, which Congress ratified. President Wilson appointed William Gibbs McAdoo, who was then Secretary of the Treasury, as the Director General of Railroads, and the Santa Fe Railroads Chairman Walker D. Hines as Assistant Director General.

President Wilson's war measure to nationalise the railways was repealed by the *Esch-Cummins Act*²⁹⁸ or the *Railroad Transportation Act* of March 1, 1920. This Act was a federal law that returned the administration of the railways to private operation after the First World War. It authorised the Federal Government to find settlements with railway carriers as regards prejudices caused by the nationalisation of the sector in the form of compensation. The *Esch-Cummins Act* also

296 Ernest W. Young. *The Wilson Administration of the Great War*. Boston: Richard G. Badger. 1922. p. 45.

297 *Federal Control Act of 1918*. ch. 25, 40 Stat. 451. Sess. 2.

298 *Esch-Cummins Act February 28, 1920*. ch. 91, 41 Stat. 456.

authorised the Interstate Commerce Commission to prepare and adopt a plan, known as the Ripley Plan, for the consolidation of the railway properties of the United States into a limited number of systems. The objective of this Plan was to set minimum shipping rates, to oversee railways' financial operations, to regulate acquisitions and mergers, and to establish procedures for settling labour disputes between the railway companies and their employees. Under this Act, a Railroad Labour Board was created in 1920 to regulate wages and settle disputes.

In parallel with the army appropriations and the regulation of the railways, President Wilson worked on the provision of the necessary financial means that would cover the nation's War expenses. He introduced and backed important legislation that Congress passed to allocate money for the War operations. The 16th Amendment that authorised the Federal Government to levy an income tax proved to be very useful and appropriate for the situation.

2. Development of the War Revenue Income Tax (1917-1921).

Six months after its entry in World War (WWI), the US Government was in need of more financial resources that the *Revenue Act of 1916* provided. Therefore, President Wilson urged Congress to increase federal income tax rates, to which it responded positively by passing the *War Revenue Act on October 3, 1917*.²⁹⁹ As exposed in Table 3, this Act provided that the 2% bracket that had been applied in the Revenue Act of 1916 to incomes below \$20,000, was lowered to incomes of \$7,500 a

²⁹⁹ *War Revenue Act of October 3, 1917*. Sess. 1, ch. 63, 40 Stat. 300.

year. The top bracket tax, which was applied on incomes above \$2 million, was raised from 15% to 67%.

In *Section 2*, the *War Revenue Act of 1917* stipulates that in addition to the additional tax imposed by *Subdivision (b) of Section 1* of the *Revenue Act of September 8, 1916*,³⁰⁰ the government applied an additional tax as reported in Table 3. It is noticeable from reading this table that the war expenses pushed the Government to tax all incomes heavily. For example, while the individual income of \$ 20,000 was taxed in the *Revenue Act of 1916* at a rate of 2%, it was taxed in the *War revenue Act of 1917* at a rate of 10%. Higher incomes were also heavily taxed since the individual income of \$ 2 million, which was taxed at a rate of 15% in the *Revenue Act of 1916*, was taxed at a rate of 67% in the *War Revenue Act of 1917*. Exemptions from the income tax were kept unchanged concerning the incomes of \$3,000 for single filers and \$4,000 for married couples or heads of household.³⁰¹

Net Income \$	Tax Rates from the Revenue Act of 1917		
	Like Normal Rate %	Like Additional Rate %	Combined Rate %
0	2	0	4
5,000	2	1	5
7,500	2	2	6
10,000	2	3	7
12,500	2	4	8
15,000	2	5	9
20,000	2	7	10
40,000	2	10	16

300 *Subdivision (b) of Section 1* of the *Revenue Act of September 8, 1916*, reads as follows: “...there shall be levied, assessed, collected and paid a like additional tax upon the income of every individual received in the calendar year nineteen hundred and seventeen and every calendar year thereafter...”Ibid.

301 Ibid., Section 3.

60,000	2	14	21
80,000	2	18	26
100,000	2	22	31
150,000	2	25	35
200,000	2	30	41
250,000	2	34	46
300,000	2	37	50
500,000	2	40	54
750,000	2	45	59
1,000,000	2	50	65
1,500,000	2	50	66
2,000,000	2	50	67

War Income Tax on Individuals in the Revenue Act of 1917. NB: Net income tax as calculated on the rates of the Revenue Act of 1916 plus that of 1917.³⁰²

When the War was at its height in 1918, the Government passed the *Revenue Act of 1918*³⁰³ (40 Stat. § 1057) that raised income tax rates once again. The bottom tax bracket was expanded but raised from 2% to 6%. The aim was to simplify the income tax scheme between the Revenue Act of 1916 and the War Revenue Act of 1917.

However, instead of applying a "like normal tax" and a "like additional tax" to the normal tax and the additional tax of the Act of 1916, the *Revenue Act of 1918* created a single tax structure with a Normal Tax and Surtax. The normal rate was set at 6% for incomes lower than \$ 4,000 without surtax. The other incomes that were higher than \$ 4,000 were all taxed at a normal rate of 12%. The surtax rate was to be calculated from \$ 5,000 at a rate of 1% when combined with the normal rate it became 13%. The 1918 Act set surtax rate to 65 individual incomes that started from \$ 5,000 at a rate of 1%, which was increased gradually to reach 65%

302 Ibid., Section 1.

303 *Revenue Act of 1918, Income Tax on Individuals.* (40 Stat. § 1057)

for incomes of \$ 1 million. The surtax rate was added at a rate of 12% for an income of \$ 4000 to reach a rate of 77 % for \$ 1 million income.³⁰⁴

The end of World War I brought changes in the revenue policy of President Wilson's Administration since the rates were lowered in the Revenue Acts of 1919 and 1920. The normal tax rate that was set at 6% for incomes of 4,000\$ was reduced to 4%, and the other incomes were taxed at 8% and not at 12 % as set by the 1918 Act. Therefore, the combined tax under the 1919 Act for incomes of \$ 5,000 was calculated at a rate of 9%. The combined tax on the highest income of \$ 1 million was lowered at a rate of 73%. Although only 5% of the population paid federal income taxes in 1918, which was only 1% in 1913, the income tax funded one-third of the cost of World War I.³⁰⁵ However, exemptions were set for incomes of \$1,000 for single filers and \$2,000 for married couples and heads of family, in addition to a \$200 exemption for each dependent child under 18.

As noted earlier, President Wilson's policies and measures followed one single pattern shaped by the socio-economic and political conditions that the country went through prior and during the First World War. Economically the War obliged him to adapt his policies and adopt new ones to fit the exigencies of an extraordinary situation.

The economic measures undertaken by the Progressive Presidents were breakthroughs in the history of the USA since the Federal

304 Ibid. (§ 1062).

305 Ibid.

Government intervened in economic issues that had been considered as State affairs. The measures undertaken by the Government during T. Roosevelt's Presidency could be seen as the basis on which the future measures were built. President Taft attempted to legalise the actions of his predecessor, but this brought him troubles within his Party and the opposition of the Progressives to the way he adopted to realise the progressive policies he pledged. This opposition cost him the Presidential Election of 1912 in favour of The Democrat Woodrow Wilson. The latter continued in realising the progressive policies that his predecessors initiated but from a Democratic standpoint. The progressive economic policies applied between 1901 and 1921 had a great positive effect on American politics, economy and society. The 19th century with all its problems was left behind and a new era of prosperity and development was opened.

Chapter Five

Progressive Social Reforms in the USA between 1901 and 1921.

The interests of the people are indicators and explicit guides to the problems of a society.³⁰⁶ These interests set the means and ends to reach the goals of efficient social life that most societies try to realise, and any failure in promoting such interests defines the social inefficiencies. This makes social problems as eminent obstacles to the realisation of human interests and values. They are handicaps of various types and origin, which delay the achievement of what a society chooses to accept as normal social life.³⁰⁷

The Progressives centred their focus on welfare legislation that had already been passed at the state level concerning tenement houses, labour, women and child work and health, and new issues related to food and drugs (medicines), compensation and insurance laws, building codes...etc. They were successful in finding solutions to some of these issues, but failed to solve others. Their failing attempts were not in vain since they were taken as reference by the future Progressives in the making of successful future legislation.

The Progressive Presidents namely, T. Roosevelt, H. Taft, and W. Wilson included in their political agendas some social measures to alleviate the sufferings of the deprived people and to better social conditions in general. Each President had his personal view as regards social welfare and the way to fight the social evils that plagued the country.

306 Harold A. Phelps. *Contemporary Social Problems*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 3rd Edition. 1947. p.1.

307 Ibid., p.2.

J. President Roosevelt's Progressive Reforms for the Betterment of the Social Conditions in the USA (1901-1909).

President Theodore Roosevelt declared in a speech in 1910 that the government should be “*the steward of the public welfare.*”³⁰⁸ His progressive social measures gave a new task and perspective to the role of the Federal Government in the welfare of the citizens. The legislation passed during his Presidency was so important that it is still applied with slight amendments. As an example of such legislation, we cite the *Pure Food and Drug Act*³⁰⁹ and the *Meat Inspection Act*³¹⁰ that were passed jointly by the US Congress in 1906.

These Acts were the Federal Government's response to the writings and standpoints of authors like Upton Sinclair and journalistic reports of Samuel Hopkins Adams, social activists like Florence Kelley, chemistry researchers like Harvey W. Wiley, and many politicians vis-à-vis the alarming and dangerous situation in the food production processes. In addition to these Acts, the President supported the campaign for the prohibition of alcoholic beverages to preserve the health of the citizens. Although he openly expressed his support for the prohibition campaign, he let the states take the initiative.

308 Theodore Roosevelt. *Theodore Roosevelt, an Autobiography*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1925. p. 461.

309 *Pure Food and Drug Act (1906)*. ch. 3915, 34 Stat. 76. Sess. 1.

310 *Meat Inspection Act (1906)*. ch. 2907, titles I to IV, 34 Stat. 1260. Sess. 2.

A. President Roosevelt's Measures for Pure Food and Drugs.

The *Pure Food and Drug Act* was concerned with making sure that products were labelled correctly, which was a requirement that gave way to efforts to outlaw certain products that were not safe and products that were safe but not efficacious. In *Section 1*, this Act prohibits the manufacture, sale, or transportation of adulterated or misbranded or poisonous or deleterious foods, drugs, medicines, and liquors.³¹¹ *Section 2* of this Act penalises any person found guilty to a fine not exceeding two hundred dollars (\$200) for the first offense, and upon conviction for each subsequent offense not exceeding three hundred dollars (\$300), or to be sentenced to imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court.³¹²

This Act also provided for the collection of specimen for analysis and examination, which were respectively explained in *Section 3* and *4*. The power to authorise the collection of specimen was given to the Secretaries of the Treasury, Agriculture, and Commerce and Labour. They could make uniform rules and regulations for carrying out the provisions of this Act, including the collection and examination of specimens of foods and drugs manufactured or offered for sale in the District of Columbia, or in any territory of the United States.³¹³ The 1906 Act paved

311 United States Statutes (59th Cong., Sess. I, Chapter: 3915, p. 768-772). 1906. Section One. p. 768. Also cited as 34 U.S. Stats. 768.

312 Ibid.

313 Ibid.

the way for the eventual creation of the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) that supervised the industry of food and drugs.

The examinations of specimens of foods and drugs as stipulated in *Section 4* were to be made in the Bureau of Chemistry of the Department of Agriculture to determine whether the examined articles were adulterated or misbranded within the meaning of this Act.³¹⁴ *Section 5* was intended to remind and urge the District Attorneys of the USA that they had the duty to undertake appropriate proceedings for prosecution in the proper Courts of the United States without delay to any report of violation of this Act filed by the Secretary of Agriculture, or any health or food or drug officer or agent of any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia under satisfactory evidence of any such violation.³¹⁵ The provisions of this Act were applicable to both the national market and the imported products from foreign countries.

The *Pure Food and Drug Act (1906)* was used in different suits against different companies that were suspected of violating its provisions. Coca-Cola Company was sued under this Act in 1909 because of the excessive caffeine and cocaine content in its product as considered by the Chemistry Bureau. The case was labelled *United States v. Forty Barrels and Twenty Kegs of Coca-Cola*,³¹⁶ in which the Court judged in favour of Coca-Cola deciding that it had the right to use caffeine as it saw fit.

314 Ibid.

315 Ibid.

316 *United States v. Forty Barrels and Twenty Kegs of Coca-Cola*. 241 US, 265, 36 S. Ct. 573,580,60. (1916).

Apparently, this decision was made at a time where the adverse effects of cocaine and the excessive consumption of caffeine on health were not medically well established. Practically, Coca-Cola Company reduced the amount of caffeine after a settlement with the government in fear of future prosecution and loss of money as much as that it lost in this trial.

One of the most outstanding fraudulent revelations during the Progressive Era was the one made by Samuel Hopkins Adams in a book entitled *The Great American Fraud*³¹⁷ in which he revealed the fraudulent claims and endorsements of patent medicines in America. He shed light on the false claims of the pharmaceutical companies and other manufactures about the effectiveness of their medicines, drugs and tonics. Adams proved that the tonic pharmaceutical product named *Peruna*, which was destined to enhance male virility, had in fact no great potency, although the pharmaceutical companies claimed that it was made up of seven compound drugs and alcohol. Evidently, the manufacturers sold this product at a price that enabled them to make huge profits. Adams' work forced a crackdown on *Peruna's* patent and a number of others and unveiled the fraudulent schemes of medicinal companies during that time.

B. The Meat Inspection Act (1906), and President Roosevelt's Attempt to Prohibit Alcoholic Beverages.

Following the pure food and drug investigations, Upton Sinclair's novel *The Jungle*, Theodore Dreiser's novels *The Financier* and *The Titan*,

³¹⁷Samuel Hopkins Adams. *The Great American Fraud*. New York: P.F. Collier & Son, 4th Ed. 1907. P. 31.

exposed the machinations of big capital. Lincoln Steffens' *The Shame of the Cities* and Jacob Riis's *How the Other Half Lives* revealed the depths to which urban life had sunk in poverty, depredation, and insalubrious living conditions. The revelations of these writers and journalists were so influential that President Roosevelt secured the passage of both the *Meat Inspection Act* and the *Pure Food and Drug Act* in 1906.

Keeping food clean and safe in processing from farm to consumer should be an important phase in the food processing industry for the safeguard of people's health. However, before 1906, meat products in the USA had lacked proper methods of inspecting meat obtained after the slaughter of beef, swine, chicken, sheep, and goats. Sinclair's *The Jungle*, which was sold to 1 million copies in its first edition, educated and outraged the public at the same time by the methods of meat production. He vividly described the unsanitary conditions in Chicago meat-packing plants as well as the social and working conditions that the workers lived in. His novel included descriptions of how the packers treated diseased beef with kerosene to hide its foul smell before placing it on the market. Sinclair claimed that the number of people killed by the "embalmed beef," as it was called in the meat industry, outnumbered that of those killed during the Civil War without suspecting it as the direct cause of their death.

The necessity to regulate the meat-packing industry became very urgent. President Roosevelt sent Labour Commissioner Charles P. Neill and social worker James Bronson Reynolds to Chicago to make surprise visits to the meat packing facilities. Although word was given to the meat-packers about this visit, who worked three shifts a day for three weeks to

clean the factories prior to the inspection, Neill and Reynolds found enough proofs of the conditions at the factories that sustained Sinclair's findings.

Neill and Reynolds first reported to Roosevelt, and then only Neill testified before Congress that what he had seen in the visited meat-packing factories in Chicago justified the necessity for harsher legislation. In response to these findings, Congress passed the *Federal Meat Inspection Act* (FMIA) of 1907,³¹⁸ which focused on regulate the meat industry. However, Sinclair opposed the content of the FMIA because he viewed it as advantageous to the meat-packing industry mainly in its provision where the state treasuries rather than the packers were to bear the costs of inspection estimated at \$30 million a year.³¹⁹

The FMIA, which is still in effect, required the inspection of all animals before being slaughtered to stop the commercial use of adulterated meat and meat products. This Act also required the post-mortem inspection of all carcasses and animal parts to determine their fitness for human consumption.³²⁰ It also included provisions for the proper labelling of meat, and imposed strict sanitation standards for slaughtering and packing plants as defined by the Code of Federal

318 *The Federal Meat Inspection Act 1907*. United States Statutes (59th Cong., Sess. I, Chapter: 3913, 34 Stat. 674.

319 Upton Sinclair, "The Condemned-Meat Industry: A Reply to Mr. M. Cohn Armour." In *Everybody's Magazine*, N° XIV, 1906, pp. 612-613.

320 *The Federal Meat Inspection Act 1906*. United States Statutes. 59th Congress., Sess. I, Chapter: 3913, 34 Stat. 674.

Regulations that was written to govern animal inspection, processing, and commerce.

Under the FMIA's by-laws, the Food Safety and Inspection Service (FSIS) was created as an agency within the U.S. Department of Agriculture to inspect and control all meat and poultry moving in interstate commerce. The FMIA also established the Bureau of Chemistry, which would become the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) in 1930, to undertake the analysis of the specimen collected by the inspectors of the FSIS.

The second health issue that the Progressive battled for was the abolition of alcoholic beverages. Effective lobbying against alcoholic beverages in the USA started from 1883 by women associations namely Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), which was established under the leadership of Frances E. Willard. The WCTU was very influential because it pushed the Congressmen to follow the tendency by signing pledges of abstinence to show their constituents that they were in favour of temperance. The temperance and abstinence campaigns had an ephemeral success because it was based on the free will of the individuals to comply with abstinence from drinking alcoholic beverages in public places and in secrecy.

It became clear that there was urgent need for the enactment of legislation to back the demands of prohibition campaigners. Three States allowed their counties to pass prohibition laws namely Kansas (1880), Iowa (1882), and North Dakota (1889). Then, Congress passed the

*Wilson Act (1890)*³²¹ (known also as the *Original Package Act*) to permit the states to prohibit the introduction of alcoholic beverages within their borders, which did not have great effect since no state joined the prohibition club of the 'drys,' as they were called in opposition to the 'wets.'

Effective federal legislation to prohibit alcoholic beverages was passed on June 29, 1906, under T. Roosevelt's Administration namely the *Hepburn Interstate Liquor Act (1906)* during the 57th Congress. In this Act, it is stipulated that:

"... all fermented, distilled, or other intoxicating liquors or liquids transported into any State or Territory for delivery therein, or remaining therein for use, consumption, sale, or storage therein, shall, upon arrival within the boundary of such State or Territory, before and after delivery, be subject to the operation and effect of the laws of such State or Territory enacted in the exercise of its police powers to the same extent and in the same manner as though such liquids or liquors had been produced in such State or Territory, and shall not be exempt there from by reason of being introduced therein in original packages or otherwise."³²²

When the *Hepburn Interstate Liquor Act* was passed in 1906, there were 32 'dry' States that applied prohibition laws.³²³ The prohibition of alcoholic beverages would have been realised during President Roosevelt's Administration, but the campaigners lacked only four (4)

³²¹ *Wilson Act August 8, 1890*. ch. 728, 26 stat. 313.

³²² *Hepburn Act June 29, 1906*. 59th Congress, Sess. 1, ch. 3591, 34 Stat. 584.

³²³ Wilbur F. Crafts. *A Quarter Century of Moral legislation in Congress, Extracts from Bills, Acts and Documents of United States Congress Relating to Moral and Social Reforms 1888-1911*. Washington, the International Reform Bureau. 1911. P . 6.

states to introduce an amendment to the Constitution. President Roosevelt continued his campaign to safeguard the citizens' health by introducing law projects or supporting proposed those that intended to protect the workers in their workplaces. Prohibition advocated had to wait until Presidency of Woodrow Wilson when the Senate passed *National Prohibition Act* as the 18th Amendment on December 18, 1917.

C. Labour Protective Laws and T. Roosevelt's Attempt to Abolish Child Labour.

In the domain of protective laws, President Roosevelt concentrated on two important issues namely the compensation of injured workers and the abolition of child labour or at least its regulation in a way to preserve children's health. Before the Progressive Era, work injuries and fatal accidents were common and alarming to the point that President Benjamin Harrison (1889-1893) exposed these dangers in a speech to the United States Congress in 1889.³²⁴ He stated that during 1890, 369 railway brakemen were killed, and 7,841 maimed while engaging in car coupling operations. The total number of deceased railway employees was 2,451, and the number of the injured was 22,390.³²⁵ The technology employed in railway transportation in its early stages until the beginning of the 20th century made the work of in railways hazardous and dangerous.

324 *Speeches of Benjamin Harrison*. Compiled by Charles Hedges. New York: United States Book Company. 1892. P.559.

325 Ibid.

Early workers' compensation laws in the USA were first passed at the state level from 1860 because of two main reasons. The first was that legislative machinery at the state level recognised the need for compensation laws mainly during and after the Civil War to provide for the war injuries and the families of the deceased soldiers. The second reason was the innumerable injuries and deaths caused by the industrial machines at their early technological development that pushed the authorities to respond and provide relief and help for the injured and the families of the deceased workers.

The compensation laws were the result of the work of the relief societies, reform associations, labour associations and unions, and religious caritative organisations that forced the authorities to act. The first workers' compensation law at the federal level was enacted in 1882. It covered only federal employees working in the 'life-saving' agencies like the coast guards and employees that worked in hazardous occupations. The term hazardous, which was subject to different interpretations prior to this law, was precisely defined in terms whether the occupation where a worker died was hazardous or not.

The Progressives tried to introduce laws to protect the health of workers and to compensate those that suffered from work injuries. It was not until the Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt that the protection and compensation of workers in case of injuries or death, and the regulation of child labour were introduced at the federal level. The first regulation for the workers' protection and compensation was legislated for the railway sector. The task of legislating protective laws for the railway

workers was not undertaken until 1908 when Congress passed the *Federal Employers Liability Act (FELA)*.³²⁶

Based on the alarming statistics of the injuries and deaths associated with work on the railways, the Bill of the FELA was introduced by US Representative Henry D. Flood to limit or at least decrease the dangers that the railway workers encountered in their tasks. Since there was no precedent legislation in this domain at the federal level to take as reference to write the Bill of the FELA, Flood relied on the experience of certain states which had already passed legislation similar to what he intended to realise as far as safety on the railways was concerned. Therefore, he urged Congress to follow the path of the progressive states like Wisconsin in this domain.

Under the FELA, railway workers who were not covered by regular workers' compensation laws within their respective states were able to sue companies over their injury claims. The FELA allowed monetary payouts for pain and suffering incurred by injuries based on the proof of negligence. Unlike state workers' compensation laws, the FELA required from the injured railwayman to prove that the railway company was legally negligent, at least in part, in causing the injury. After proving negligence, the injured railwayman was entitled to full compensation.

The FELA was just a first step in the way of establishing workers' compensation laws at the federal level. It was a very important demand of the labour unions that the Progressives realised during Roosevelt's Administration. Although this Act was not well enforced and had little

³²⁶ *The Federal Employers Liability Act 1906*, 45 U.S.C. § 51 et seq. 1908.

impact on the compensation issue, it provided the foundation on which the future compensation laws were later enacted.

President Roosevelt went further in supporting compensation laws when he urged Congress to pass the *Workmen's Compensation Act of 1908* (WCA).³²⁷ This Act was the answer of the Federal Government to the plight of the injured workers in the construction of the Panama Canal. It was set to cover injured workers whether artisans or unskilled in federal "*manufacturing establishments, arsenals, or navy yards, or in the construction of river and harbour or fortification work, or in hazardous employment on construction work in the reclamation of arid lands or management and control of the same, or in hazardous employment under the Isthmian Canal Commission.*"³²⁸

The novelty in the WCA of 1908 was that it provided the beneficiaries with full salary for 1 year that could be extended for another year but at lower remuneration. It also provided that the injured had to wait a period of 15 days to establish their disability, which if continued beyond this period they were awarded compensation with retroactive effect.³²⁹

Since the *Workmen's Compensation Act of 1908* was the first legislation in this domain, it showed deficiencies that required remedial amendments in the following compensation acts. It provided

³²⁷ *Workmen's Compensation Act of May 30, 1908*, ch. 229, 35 Stat. 546

³²⁸ *Ibid* Section.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, Section

compensation only for traumatic injuries, and covered only one-fourth³³⁰ of the federal work force that were in hazardous occupations. In addition, it was found that the period of 15 days was long enough to enable injured workers in their phase of total recovery to malingering to receive full compensation. In its final version, the WCA of 1908 did not urge or insist on the employers to take measures for the prevention of accidents to limit or at least reduce the number of casualties.

The second social issue that President Roosevelt attempted to regulate was child labour. Although there was a strong conviction that the Federal Government had to take measures to protect children, child labour was still left to be regulated by the States. During these two Presidencies, the Progressives found it impossible to enact laws for the Abolition of child labour during the Presidencies of T. Roosevelt and H. Taft. They could manage to set rules for the employers of children that paved the way for the abolition of child labour during Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt's Presidencies. Child labour was a difficult issue because of what it represented for the parents or tutors whether in industrial or in agrarian areas. In agrarian areas, the farmers considered the work of their children as a normal state of affairs, and part of their upbringing. In the industrial cities, the work of children was considered as a substantial source of revenue for the parents.

Muckraker John Spargo was the first to expose the evils of child labour in his book *The Bitter Cry of Children* (1905). He describes the miserable conditions of working children in the coalmines. His book was

330 Willis J. Nordlund, "The Federal Employees Compensation Act of 1916." In: *Monthly Labour Review*. New York. September 1991. P. 5.

very similar to *The Jungle* of Sinclair in the sense that it exposed the problem, but did not have immediate reaction and indignation as Sinclair's did. Spargo showed how children of twelve years of age were legally employed in the coalmines, and how the conditions were often exceedingly hard and dangerous, which he himself experienced saying that after just thirty minutes in the mine he was bleeding, bruised, and covered with coal dust.

The activities of Women such as Mary Harris called 'Mother' Jones and Florence Kelley, who led the fight for social reforms and the abolition of child labour in factories, gained in intensity during the Progressive Era. In 1903, 'Mother' Jones led a group of working children on a march to President Theodore Roosevelt's mansion asking him to ban child labour, but he refused to meet with them. Progressive activist Florence Kelley, on the other hand, was a leader in the battle by organising marches, boycotts of goods produced by children. The activities of the opponents of child labour led only nine (9) states of the 48 in the Union in 1913 to pass laws setting the minimum age of 14 for factory work.³³¹

However, President Roosevelt still believed that child labour regulation was the prerogative of the States and not that of the Federal Government. His intention was to leave the child labour issue until most of the States abolish it, which would give the Federal Government the legal basis to regulate it.

331 It is worth noting that meaningful Federal legislation was not enacted until 1938 with the passage of the Fair Labour Standards Act (FLSA) during Franklin D. Roosevelt's Presidency as part of his New Deal program for economic recovery. The FLSA set guidelines for age, hours, types of jobs and working conditions for young workers.

II. Social Reforms Undertaken by President Taft (1909-1913).

The coming of Howard Taft in power gave the Progressives the assurance that more social reforms should be realised since he pledged to continue the work of T. Roosevelt. He supported measures that safeguarded the health of working women and children, and legislation for old-age pension as applied in states like Massachusetts. He also backed measures to prohibit practices considered as immoral and degrading to the health and dignity of the people.

During his Presidency, three main social reforms were dealt with at the State or Federal levels that were addressed for three categories of people: the aged, children, and women. The first reform was the attempt to introduce old-age pensions to sustain those that could no longer work. The second was the continuation of struggle for the regulation of child labour, and the third was the elimination of sexual exploitation of women through the *White-Slavery Act of (1910)*.³³²

A. The Introduction of Old-Age Pensions during Taft's Presidency.

Prior to the industrialisation of the USA, the aged did not constitute a problem because in the American agrarian society their progeny financially and supported them morally. The problem of the aged came primarily with the industrial age because the workers that reached a

³³² *White-Slavery Act of (1910)*. ch. 395, 36 Stat. 825. Also cited as the *Mann Act (1910)*.

certain age and became no longer productive were dropped out of work and easily replaced by younger workers. The change in the economy and in the family structure relegated the aged to a marginal status in society and mostly considered as a category of the poor.³³³

Massachusetts is considered as the first State in the USA to introduce a bill in 1903 to offer assistance to the aged.³³⁴ This Bill did not pass because supporting the aged was still considered as the obligation of the children towards their parents. This attitude was basically adopted because the aged issue was rather fiscal and economic and any support of this category would burden the State Treasury.

However, this problem could not be denied forever. By 1907, Massachusetts Governor Curtis Guild appointed the Massachusetts Commission on Old Age Pensions, Annuities, and Insurance to investigate and conduct inquiry on the conditions of the aged in the State. The lack of sufficient financial appropriations made it difficult for the Commission to finish its report in a short time. On January 15, 1910, the Commission submitted its report in which it answered three main questions:³³⁵

1. What are the various systems of old age insurance, pensions or annuities proposed or adopted in this Commonwealth and elsewhere?

333 Bryan S. R. Green, Roberta Green, Robert Blundo. *Gerontology and the Construction of Old Age*. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers. 2009. P.46.

334 Ibid. p.47. Germany was the first country to introduce an old age pension system in 1889.

335 *Report of the Commission on Old Age Pensions, Annuities, and Insurance. House N° 1400*. Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co. 1910. P. 13.

2. Is it advisable to establish a system of old age insurance, pensions or annuities in this Commonwealth?
3. As a special phase of the preceding questions, what would it cost to take such action?

Although the Commission stressed the importance of the establishment of an old age pension system in its conclusions and recommendations, it declared that it found serious practical difficulties in the establishment of any general system of old age pensions in the State of Massachusetts.³³⁶ There were two main reasons behind this conclusion. First, the Commission considered that such action would place a heavy burden of taxation on the industries of the State, which would put them in a disadvantageous situation vis-à-vis the industries in the other states. Second, the system of old-age pensions would encourage the movement of workers from the neighbouring states to Massachusetts, which would create a labour surplus, and thus would depress the rate of wages.³³⁷

The Commission also recommended the States to encourage the habit of voluntary saving and provide the necessary facilities for such purpose in the form of public or private thrift and insurance agencies, and saving banks. In the end, it strongly recommended that in the prevailing situation, this action should be taken by Congress.

The introduction of an old age pension system proved to be at the same time difficult and complex during the 1900s. The first Federal Old-

³³⁶ Ibid., p.322.

³³⁷ Ibid.

Age Pension Bill was introduced in Congress in 1909 but was easily defeated. The first health insurance plans, which offered medical protection in the form of medical care for industrial workers in isolated areas, and disability benefits, were first introduced in 1910 by commercial and non-profit organisations. It was not until the First World War that a system of insurance, pensions and compensations was definitely established in the country.

B. Child Welfare Measures during Taft's Presidency.

As regards the issue of child health care, President Taft took some measures based on those undertaken by his predecessor and considered as breeding ground for future legislation in this domain. Under the sponsorship of Senator William E. Borah, Congress passed the Children's Bureau Act in 1912.³³⁸ This Act passed in the House of Representatives by 177 votes to 17 and in Senate by a vote of 54 to 20. On April 9, 1912, President Taft signed it into law as part of the Department of Commerce. The Children's Bureau (CB) was authorised to employ 16 persons with a first-year budget of \$25,640.³³⁹

The history of the (CB) went back to the incessant work of the National Child Labour Committee that lobbied for the introduction of eight Bills in the House of Representatives and three in Senate between

³³⁸ *The Children's Bureau*. April 9, 1912. ch. 73, sec. 1, 37 stat. 79.

³³⁹ Kriste Lindenmeyer. *A Right to Childhood, the US children's Bureau and Child Welfare, 1912-1946*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1997. P.253

1906 and 1912. Although all these Bills were defeated, they served as a means to develop a more positive acceptance of the necessity for a new federal agency for the welfare of children. It is also of great importance to stress the fact that the signing of this law culminated a grassroots process started in 1903 by two social reformers namely Lillian Wald of New York's Henry Street Settlement House, and Florence Kelly of the National Consumers League.

The Children's Bureau had power only to investigate conditions and report "*upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our people.*"³⁴⁰ However, it did not have the power, to make regulations that should be obeyed by the employers of children. In this instance, *Section 1* of this Act stipulates that:

" The said bureau shall investigate and report to [the Department of Commerce and Labor] upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our people, and shall especially investigate the questions of infant mortality, the birth-rate, orphanage, juvenile courts, desertion, dangerous occupations, accidents and diseases of children, employment, legislation affecting children in the several states and territories."³⁴¹

For the management of the CB, President Taft appointed Julia Lathrop at its head on April 15, 1912. She was the highest ranking woman in the US Government at that time. The investigations of the CB provided a

340 *The Children's Bureau. April 9, 1912. op. cit., Section 2.*

341 *Ibid., Section 1.*

national focus for child welfare and designed the model upon which future child welfare policies should develop throughout the 20th century.

However, the CB faced some powerful critics in its first years in operation from different institutions and interest groups that had close interference with issues related to children. From an economic standpoint, the manufacturing interests feared that the Bureau would push for the elimination of child labour. Fiscal conservatives also contended that the Bureau's prerogatives would duplicate or interfere with the work already under the jurisdiction of other federal agencies such as the US Public Health Service and the Bureau of Education. On the other hand, the Catholic Church warned that the Children's Bureau might interfere with parochial education, promote birth control, or interfere with parental authority.

Lathrop tried to quiet criticism by setting the objectives of the Children's Bureau. The latter aimed at promoting the middle-class family, in which the father worked as the sole breadwinner, the mother served full-time as a housewife, and the children attended school. In this nuclear family, the children were well-fed and cared for, had a secure future, and laboured only at household chores. Initially, Lathrop avoided the issue of child labour and instead chose to focus the efforts of the CB on lowering the nation's high infant mortality rate. She also denied any connection of the Bureau to the controversial birth control movement. Women like Lathrop from their positions in government and elsewhere worked for the promotion of women protective laws, which served as a legal basis to stop their exploitation.

C. Women Protective Laws and the White-Slavery Act of 1910.

Women welfare during Taft's Presidency did not receive much attention from the Federal Government since women protective legislation that aimed at safeguarding their health at work, and provide them with relief was still considered as State affairs.³⁴² State laws providing pensions for mothers started in the 1900s in order to enable them to keep their children with them after the loss of their respective husbands.³⁴³ The first mothers' pension law was passed in Missouri and went into effect in June 1911. Its operation was limited to Jackson County, where Kansas City is situated.

Later in 1911, a law was passed giving St. Louis the power to establish a board of children's guardians by city ordinance. This Board had authority to board out children with their own mothers. In the same year, Illinois passed the *Funds to Parents Act*, which was much more comprehensive than Missouri law. The Illinois *Funds to Parents Act*, which went into operation on July 1, 1911, was quickly copied by other states.

342 It was not until 1921 that the US Congress passed the Maternity and Infancy Act known also as the Sheppard-Towner Act, which authorised \$1,200,000 to be given each year to the States to help them improve their health services for infants and for mothers during childbearing. This Act expired in 1929, but it established the national policy that the people of the United States, through their Federal Government, share with State and local governments' responsibility for helping to provide the health and welfare services children need for a good start in life.

343 Annie G. Porritt. *Laws Affecting Women and Children in the Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States*. New York: National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, Inc. 2nd Ed. 1917. P. 89.

At the beginning of 1917, 29 states that had already passed a mother pension law.

The Illinois *Funds to Parents Act* of 1911, which was amended in the State Legislature sessions of 1913 and of 1915, provided that a widow might file an application for relief under the condition that she had resided in the county for three years and was the mother of a child or children. If after investigation and hearings the appeal was accepted, an allowance could be made to the mother not exceeding \$15 a month for one child under 14, or \$10 a month for each of the other children, but without exceeding \$60 a month. Relief might be granted for children over 14 and less than 16, if they were proved to be ill or incapacitated for work, but once the illness was cured and the incapacity removed, the relief ceased.

These measures attempted to provide relief for the deprived categories in society mainly the aged, women, and children. They were local in scope and lacked appropriate funding which prevented a large number of these categories to benefit from adequate relief. However, they raised a general public concern on these issues because everyone was personally concerned. The Federal Government during Taft's Presidency was more inclined to treat issues related to women and youngsters from a moral perspective when these constituted inter-state affairs.

The history of the fight against women sexual exploitation started with upper and middle-class women that formed anti-prostitution societies not only to reduce the number of the prostitutes but also to

rehabilitate them. New York women founded the Female Moral Reform Society in 1834 that strove to end prostitution through different tactics. Many newspapers, for example, published the names of prostitutes' patrons. In other cases, states enacted laws to punish clients as well as the prostitutes. However, the world's oldest profession continued unabated because of the rapid growing of the industrial cities that enhanced it, and the immigration influx that provided a continuous flow of foreign prostitutes.

Muckraking journalists provided stories of innocent girls kidnapped off the streets and forced to work as prostitutes. It was muckraker George Kibbe Turner that coined the term 'white slavery' in his articles which spurred a general hysteria. Edwin W. Sims, the U.S. District Attorney in Chicago, seized this opportunity for political gain by claiming that there existed a nationwide market for 'white slaves.' Sims could not prove such allegation, but his friend James Robert Mann, Chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, quickly drafted a bill to show the public that Congress was doing something about this phenomenon.

The Progressives tried to eradicate prostitution during Taft's Presidency when Congress passed the *White-Slave Traffic Act*³⁴⁴ on June 25, 1910, better known as the *Mann Act* after Congressman James Robert Mann of Illinois. This Act banned the interstate transport of females for "immoral purposes." The legislators' intent was to address prostitution, immorality, and human trafficking.

³⁴⁴ *White-Slave Traffic Act of 1910* (ch. 395, 36 Stat. 825), Section 2.

The *White-Slave Traffic Act (1910)* was one of the landmarks of the Progressive Era. The objective of this Act as stated in its preamble was to regulate interstate commerce and foreign commerce by prohibiting the transportation of women and girls for immoral purposes.³⁴⁵ In *Section 2*,³⁴⁶ it is clearly specified that any person(s), including corporations, companies, societies, and associations, transported any woman or girl to induce, entice, or compel her to give herself up to the practice of prostitution, or to give herself up to the practice of debauchery in interstate or foreign commerce, such person(s) was/were deemed '*guilty of a felony, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment of not more than five years, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.*' *Section 3*³⁴⁷ put any person(s) that provided assistance to the accomplishment of this felony as guilty as the one(s) that perpetuated it.

Section 4 of this Act³⁴⁸ specified that any person(s) that persuaded, induced, enticed or coerced a woman or a girl under the age of 18 from any State or Territory or the District of Columbia to any other place to: "*engage in prostitution or debauchery, or any other immoral practice and caused her to go and to be carried or transported as a passenger in interstate commerce upon the line or route of any common carrier or*

345 Ibid.

346 Ibid.

347 Ibid. Section 3.

348 Ibid. Section 4.

carriers was found deemed guilty of a felony and heavily sanctioned."³⁴⁹
The penalty for such felony was a fine of not more than ten thousand dollars, or by imprisonment for a term not exceeding ten years, or by both, in the discretion of the Court.

The expression '*for any other immoral purposes*' was the centre of large legal debate and the subject of many court appeals of supposed offenders of the law. The interpretation of the law in effect criminalised all premarital or extramarital sexual relationships that involved interstate travel. This gave federal prosecutors a weapon that could very easily be used in order to prosecute for example political opponents who were in the first place law-abiding citizens.³⁵⁰

Practically, President Taft remained faithful to the dictates of the Constitution concerning the prerogative of the States over the Federal Government concerning the treatment of social problems. He also still believed that social problems were the concern of the States unless they constituted an interstate matter. The political and economic reforms undertaken by the Federal Government during his presidency contributed positively in the welfare of the public. Social welfare policy did not stop by the end of Taft's Presidential term, but was continued by

349 Ibid.

350 The Mann Act has never been repealed, but it has been substantially amended in recent years. In 1978, Congress updated the definition of "transportation" in the act, and added protection for minors of either sex against commercial sexual exploitation. In 1986, the Mann Act was amended to provide further protection of minors, added protection for adult males, and replaced "debauchery" and "any other immoral purpose" with "any sexual activity for which any person can be charged with a criminal offense."

President Wilson, who introduced social reforms that surpassed those realised by his predecessor.

III. **President Wilson's Social Welfare Policy (1913-1921).**

President Woodrow Wilson did not mention any social reforms in his 'New Freedom' program because he also believed that once the economy was reformed and oriented to work for the benefit of society and that political power was given back to the people, the social problems could be solved gradually. Therefore, he concentrated on the economic and political issues that the federal government had authority on. He expressed this point of view in his book *New Freedom* (1913) saying:

Then we shall have a clear air in which we shall see our way to each kind of social betterment. When we have freed our government, when we have restored freedom of enterprise, when we have broken up the partnerships between money and power which now block us at every turn, then we shall see our way to accomplish all the handsome things which platforms promise in vain if they do not start at the point where stand the gates of liberty.³⁵¹

In practice, he was caught in a dilemma over whether to conform to the Constitution whereby social matters (family, health, education...etc) were within the jurisdiction of the States, or to extend the role of the President according to the Progressive ideals to deal with social issues. He became more and more inclined to make the Federal Government go beyond what the Constitution dictated. The US entry into WWI obliged

³⁵¹ Woodrow Wilson. *The New Freedom, a Call for the Emancipation of the Generous Energies of a People*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company. 1913. p. 31.

him to deal with the social problems by developing a social welfare program that had three basic constituents. The first dealt with the promotion of federal workmen's compensation laws and the prohibition of alcoholic beverages through the 18th Amendment. The second constituent concerned the allotments and allowances and the war risk insurance during the First World War, and the third was about the vocational and rehabilitation programs for soldiers injured in the War.

A. President Wilson's Health Care Measures.

This section aims at studying three important health measures that President Wilson introduced during his two Presidencies. Health measures concerned the compensation of federal workers for their work injuries and sickness (*Federal Workingman's Compensation Act* in 1916), the prohibition of child labour (***Keaton-Owen Act in 1916***), and the prohibition of alcoholic beverages to preserve people's health (The 18th Amendment of the US Constitution in 1920). These three laws were a novelty in the USA and the concretisation of the aspirations of the Progressives, the workers, the advocates of prohibition, and healthcare experts.

1. The Federal Workingman's Compensation Act of 1916.

It was only during the Progressive Era that the legislators became aware of the necessity of establishing a program for the workers' compensation. As stated earlier, the first real attempt to generalise the

workers' compensation occurred in 1905 and 1906 when a bill was introduced in Congress to establish a comprehensive federal program for the compensation and relief of work injuries and casualties.

The trend to develop workers' compensation was forcibly to be oriented from federal employers to cover workers in private industrial sectors. Republican Congressman Leonard Howland of Ohio introduced a bill in 1912 on which the House Judiciary Committee reported that the industrial enterprises had to follow the example of the Federal Government as regards the provision of compensation to their workers. The Committee argued that the principle of adding the cost of reparation of a machine that broke down to the cost of production had to be applied for the compensation of injured or deceased workers.

The *Compensation Act of 1908* was a start but it took eight years to be enlarged through Congressional Bills that amended it. Every attempt to enlarge this Act struck on the cost of compensation issue. The Federal Workingman's Compensation Act of 1916³⁵² was an important legislation that President Wilson supported because it authorised allowances for the benefit of civil service employees for disabilities incurred at work. This Act was passed during the 65th Congress with a vote of 288 for against six (6). After several amendments that were attached to the Bill in Senate, it was enacted on August 19, 1916, and signed into law by President Wilson on September 7, 1916. The major provisions of this Act of 1916 are:

1. Compensation for all civil employees of the Federal Government injures or killed in service.

352 *Workingman's Compensation Act of September 7, 1916*. Ch. 458, 39 Stat. 742.

2. Allocated compensation totalised 66 % or 2/3 of monthly pay with a maximum of \$ 66,66 and a minimum of \$ 33,33.
3. Compensation was granted for both traumatic injuries and diseases.
4. The waiting period was reduced to 3 days.
5. The provision of medical services to injured workers.
6. The compensation fund was to be supported by Congressional appropriations.
7. The creation of a three-member commission to administer the program labelled the Federal Employees' Compensation Commission (FECC).³⁵³

The FECC was authorised among other things to survey the federal occupations in order to determine the character and incidence of work-related activities and establishing criteria for the prevention of accidents. When it started working, the FECC dealt with the temporary disability claim as its first priority. While the second priority was to handle the payment of bills for medical and hospital services, its last priority was to deal with the claims for permanent disabilities and deaths.

In practice, it was found that the FECC was entrusted with a very hard task. President Wilson issued two Executive Decrees with a view of alleviating its burden. The first decree, which was issued on September 15, 1916 and codified as N° 2455, was designed to transfer the administrative responsibilities of the compensation program to the Governor of the Panama Canal. The second Executive Decree codified N° 2463 transferred the administrative responsibilities of the programme to the Chairman of the Alaskan Engineering Commission (AEC). The Governor of the Panama Canal and the Chairman of the AEC dealt with

³⁵³Ibid.

their respective claims for compensation to be funded from their appropriations, which the FECC reimbursed from the compensation funds. It is noteworthy that these provisions were not applicable for injured individuals employed by private companies since they had the Workers Compensation Laws of each state to cover them.

President Wilson's campaign for the protection of the workers' health covered the category of working children. The plight of child labour was at the same time a disgrace, intolerable, and unjustifiable practice in a nation that pretends to be civilised and democratic. Therefore, Wilson continued the work of his predecessors by urging Congress to enact laws to abolish child labour once for all.

2. The Keaton-Owen Act (1916) and President Wilson's Attempt to Abolish Child Labour.

As demonstrated earlier, women's associations initiated the campaign against child labour. They denounced the work of children and struggled to prohibit it at the state and federal levels but without success. It was not until the establishment of the Child Labour Committee (CLC) in 1902 that legislation at the state level to regulate child labour was introduced precisely in New York. Later in 1904, Florence Kelly, Lillian Wald, and Jane Addams developed The CLC into the National Child Labour Committee (NCLC).

The attempts of the NCLC to force the authorities to regulate child labour at the state level were defeated by the Supreme Court's decisions. But, it lobbied successfully for the creation of a Federal Children's Bureau

(FCB) in 1912, which President Taft created in order to investigate child labour. Further success of the campaigners against child labour came when President Wilson proposed the *Keaton-Owen Child Labour Act*³⁵⁴ that Congress passed in 1916 to regulate child labour at the federal level.

The Keaton-Owen Act (1916) was enacted by the US Sixty-fourth (64th) Congress to address child labour by prohibiting the sale of child-manufactured goods in interstate commerce. It was named for its sponsors Edward Keating and Robert Latham Owen, and passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 337 to 46 and received Senate approval by a vote of 50 to 12. President Wilson, who had lobbied heavily for its passage, signed it into law on September 1, 1916

In its original version, *The Keaton-Owen Act (1916)* was composed of seven sections that can be classified into three main themes: Prohibition, enforcement of the prohibition, and the penalties for violation of the Act. The prohibition of child labour is set in *Section 1*³⁵⁵ in the form of maintaining a ban on the delivery or shipment of any product or article or commodity in the United States produced by children under the age of 16, who were employed or permitted to work more than eight hours in any day, or more than six days in any week. This ban included those products from mines, quarries, mills, canneries, workshops, factories, or manufacturing establishments.

³⁵⁴ *Keating-Owen Child Labor Act of September 1, 1916*. ch. 432, 39 Stat. 675.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Section 1.

The enforcement of *Section 1* is expressed in *Sections 2, 3, and 4*. *Section 2* gives authority to the Attorney General, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Secretary of Labour to constitute a board for the purpose of publishing uniform rules and regulations that should help in the carrying out of the provisions of this Act. *Section 3* enforces *Section 1* by giving authority to the Secretary of Labour or any person that he authorises to enter and inspect at any time the places enumerated above. In addition, *Section 4* stipulates that it was the duty of the District Attorney to start prosecution after the submission of a report with satisfactory evidence of any violation of this Act by the Secretary of Labour or any state factory or mining or quarry inspector, commissioner of labour, state medical inspector or school-attendance officer, or any other person. However, *Section 4* excludes the prohibition of the products manufactured by children in the canning factories. The latter were officially spared from being prosecuted under this Act by the State Agricultural Departments. The development of modern industry created thousands of positions, which children could readily fill to perform simple machinery operations in factories such as canning shrimps, picking cotton, or making artificial flowers. The child of twelve or fourteen in these industries proved to be as useful as an adult if not better.³⁵⁶

The third theme in *the Keating-Owen Act* is the punishments reserved to those who violated this Act. Therefore, any person that violated any of the provisions of *Section 1* or refused or obstructed entry of inspectors authorised by *Section 3* would be punished for each offense prior to

³⁵⁶ Benjamin Parke de Witt. op. cit., p.247.

conviction by a fine of not more than \$200, and punished for each offense subsequent to conviction by a fine not more than \$1,000 and not less than \$100, or by imprisonment for not more than three months, or by both punishments in the discretion of the Court.³⁵⁷

This Act also stipulated that the prosecuted person should prove that the products had been produced thirty days before his factory was subject to inspection and found in violation of *Section 1*. When such proofs were provided, the producer could be released and all charges against him then dropped.² *Section 6* was aimed at defining the words used in this Act so as its provisions would not be wrongly construed. Finally, *Section 7* specifies that the *Keaton-Owen Child Labour Act (1916)* had to take effect from and after one year from the date of its passage in Congress.

However, a fatal blow to the *Keaton-Owen Child Labour Act (1916)* came on June 3, 1918, when the Supreme Court decided against it as being unconstitutional in the case of *Hammer v. Dagenhart*.³⁵⁸ Roland Dagenhart, who worked in a cotton mill in [Charlotte](#), North Carolina with his two sons, sued the United States arguing that the *Keaton-Owen Act* was unconstitutional because it prevented his children to work in their fathers' mill. The District Court ruled the statute unconstitutional, which pushed the United States Attorney W.C. Hammer to appeal to the Supreme Court. The final decision of the United States Supreme Court defeated the power of Congress to enact child labour laws.

³⁵⁷ *Keating-Owen Child Labor Act of September 1, 1916*, Section 3.

³⁵⁸ *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, (247 U.S. 251).

The Supreme Court decided that the regulation of child labour was a purely State affair, because the manufactured products by children might never enter interstate commerce, and therefore were beyond the power of Congress. Justice William R. Day delivered the final decision saying: “... we hold that this law (*Keaton-Owen Act*) exceeds the constitutional authority of Congress. It follows that the decree of the District Court must be Affirmed.”³⁵⁹

Although the Supreme Court acknowledged that child labour was a social evil, it was against any attempt to abolish it through federal legislation. Justice William R. Day based his decision on the fact that any attempt to provide relief or eliminate this ‘evil’ should come from the States and not from the Federal Government. He argued that the passing of a child labour law would destroy the US federal system because Congress lacked power to regulate the conduct of local manufacturing enterprises.³⁶⁰

3. The 18th Amendment of the US Constitution in 1919 and the Prohibition Issue.

³⁵⁹ *Hammer v. Dagenhart*. 247 U.S. 251 (1918). US Supreme Court N° 704. Argued April 15, 16, 1918, Decided June 3, 1918.

³⁶⁰ Federal protection of children would not be obtained until passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938, which was also challenged before the Supreme Court. This time, the movement to end child labour was victorious because in February of 1941, the Supreme Court reversed its opinion in *Hammer v. Dagenhart* and, in *U. S. v. Darby* (1941), which upheld the constitutionality of the Fair Labour Standards Act. It is still in force today.

The social reformers and public health advocates had for a long time demanded the prohibition of alcoholic beverages. Their objective was finally achieved with the ratification of the 18th Amendment also known as the *National Prohibition Act (1920)* or the *Volstead Act of 1920*. Wayne Wheeler of the Anti-Saloon League conceived and drafted the Bill, but it was named after Andrew Volstead, Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee who managed and endorsed the legislation. President Wilson was against the enactment of the prohibition Bill largely on technical grounds because it coincided and covered wartime prohibition. However, his veto was overridden by the House of Representatives on October 28, 1919, and by the Senate on the following day.

The 18th Amendment³⁶¹ was written in three sections that dealt with the prohibited activities related to alcoholic beverages and the date when such prohibition had to start, its enforcement, and its ratification. *Section 1*³⁶² stipulated that the prohibition of ‘intoxicating liquors,’ their manufacture, sale, or transportation, importation or exportation, was applied in the USA and all territories subject to its jurisdiction after one year from the date of its ratification. The enforcement of *Section 1* was not specified by *Section 2* of the 18th Amendment, but stated that Congress and the States Legislatures had authority to enforce the prohibition of alcoholic beverages by the ways and means they deemed necessary and efficient through appropriate legislation.³⁶³ *Section 3* made

361 The 18th Amendment was repealed by the 21st Amendment in 1933.

362 *The 18th Amendment of the US Constitution*. Section 1.

363 *Ibid.*, Section 2

it clear that the provisions of these two articles were inoperative unless the Amendment was ratified by two-thirds of the 48 States, i.e. 32 States, within seven years from the date Congress submitted it to the States' Legislatures for ratification. The legislators of the 18th Amendment sought to attain the following three main objectives:

1. The prohibition of intoxicating beverages,
2. The regulation of the manufacture, production, use and sale of high-proof spirits for other than beverage purposes, and
3. The assurance of an ample supply of alcohol for the use in scientific research and in the development of fuel, dye and other lawful industries and practices as in religious rituals.

This Act was short of two things. It did not define and clearly specify the intoxicating liquors and the penalties for the offenders. Therefore, the State Legislatures were given free hand to interpret the Amendment as regards the setting of the list of prohibited beverages and the way to enforce their prohibition. Although hailed by the prohibitionists and health care services, prohibition had unexpected adverse effects on the American society. Once legitimate businesses were stopped, the bootlegging of alcoholic beverages was undertaken by criminal gangs.

The failure of prohibition in its beginnings was due to its weak enforcement, which helped bootleggers to sustain a lucrative business.³⁶⁴ For example, there were only 134 agents designated by the Prohibition Unit to cover all of Illinois, Iowa, and parts of Wisconsin.³⁶⁵ In several major cities notably those that served as major points of liquor importation such as Chicago and Detroit, gangs gained significant political power. Judicial proceedings were seldom taken against arrested law offenders and charges were often dropped by empathetic jury members who were unwilling to convict the offenders as ‘criminals.’

At the State level, New York Legislature passed the *Mullan-Gage Act*³⁶⁶ in 1919 as a version of the Volstead Act. It stipulated that there should be no jail sentence for first law offenders. Therefore, the first 4,000³⁶⁷ arrests made by New York police ended in less than five hundred indictments that ended with six convictions and no jail sentence.³⁶⁸ The unsuccessful launching of prohibition and the problems it engendered

364 Prohibition lost advocates as alcohol gained increasing social acceptance and as prohibition led to disrespect for the law and the growth of organised crime. By 1933, public opposition to prohibition had become overwhelming. Congress passed the Blaine Act, a proposed constitutional amendment to repeal Prohibition, in February. On December 5, 1933, Utah became the 36th state to ratify the Twenty-first Amendment, which repealed the Eighteenth Amendment, rendered the Volstead Act unconstitutional, and restored control of alcohol to the states. The creation of the Federal Alcohol Administration in 1935 defined a modest role for the Federal Government with respect to alcohol and its taxation.

365 John Kobler. *Capone: The Life and World of Al Capone*. New York: Da Capo Press. 2003. p. 68.

366 Daniel Okrent. *Last Call: The rise and Fall of Prohibition*. New York: Scribners. 2010. p.253.

367 Ibid. p. 254.

gave reason to President Wilson's standpoint when he vetoed the passing of the 18th Amendment.

B. War Risk Insurance Before and During WWI.

Progressive attempts to introduce health insurance had been undertaken before 1917. The first workmen's compensation law was enacted in 1911 in Wisconsin and held constitutional. In the same year, the first contributory system of pensions covering all State employees was established in Massachusetts. Later, on December, 1912, a Social Insurance Committee was established by the American Association for Labour Legislation to promote state legislation that established an insurance system for the workers.

These attempts had limited effect and were local in scope. It was the First World War that obliged the Federal Government to establish the first insurance and pension systems in the USA. President Wilson's Administration had to take action to provide a relief scheme for the injured army men by providing them with compensation for their losses and rehabilitation programs, and allotments and allocations for the families of the deceased.

1. Allotments and Allowances in the War Risk Insurance Act of 1917.

368 The first documented infringement of the Volstead Act occurred in Chicago on January 17th, 1920 at 12:59 a.m. According to police reports, six armed men stole \$100,000 worth of 'medicinal' whiskey from two freight train cars.

Risk insurance legislation during war time had been supported by President Wilson before the US entry in World War I. Congress passed the *War Risk Insurance Act (WRIA) of 1914*³⁶⁹ to ensure the availability of marine insurance during First World War. It established a Bureau of War Risk Insurance (BWRI) within the Treasury Department to provide insurance policies and to pay claims. The US engagement in WWI on April 6, 1917, pushed President Wilson's Administration, military planners, social reformers, and legislators in Congress to establish a program of allowances and allotments for the families of the men sent to fight in the War, and compensation for war injuries and death insurance.

Therefore, a new social policy was set to deal proportionately with the consequences of the War on the American family in particular and society in general. President Wilson's Administration did not rely on the existing county and municipal poor relief agencies and private, religious, or fraternal charities to meet the needs of the families that lost their providers in the War, or the families of the men still in service. It was the first time in the history of American wars that the families of soldiers were taken in charge by the Federal Government and lived on 'allotments and allowances' that the Treasury funded.³⁷⁰ Allowances and allotments were designed to safeguard the prerogative of men as providers and

369 *War Risk Insurance Act (WRIA) of 1914*. ch. 293, 38 Stat. 711.

370 Walter K. Hickel. 'War, Region, and Social Welfare: Federal Aid to Servicemen's Dependent in the South.' In: *The Journal of American History*. USA: The Organisation of American Historians. Vol. 87. Issue N° 4. March 2001. P. 1362.

heads of households even if they were unable to support their dependents through wage labour.³⁷¹

When the system was in effect between November 1, 1917, and July 31, 1921, the number of beneficiaries reached 2.1 million³⁷² in almost every state, city, and town of the United States. The beneficiaries received payment checks officially entitled “Allotments and Allowances” as provided in the *War Risk Insurance Act* of October 1917. The system was managed by the BWRI, which quickly grew into a large federal agency that had about 15,480 employees by July 1919.

The checks distributed averaged \$570 million³⁷³ in allotments and allowances, with monthly payments that amounted not less than \$30 for wives that constituted the largest group of the beneficiaries, and as much as \$65 for wives with children.³⁷⁴ According to *Article 2* of the *War Risk Insurance Act of 1917*, such amounts of money were collected by compelling enlisted men in the army and navy, who were expected to support their 1371 families, to allot \$15 of their monthly pay, which averaged \$30 for privates and \$33 for those who served overseas, to their wives, children, and divorced wives who had not remarried and who had been awarded alimony by a court. It was estimated that almost 40 % of

371 Ibid., p. 1363.

372 Ibid.

373 Ibid., p. 1371.

374 Ibid.

the enlisted men, which averaged 1.7 million³⁷⁵ soldiers, filed applications for allotments and allowances for their families. It was estimated that 2.7 million soldiers³⁷⁶ were not concerned with the system.

Congress fixed the allotments for all enlisted service men at \$15, effective from July 1, 1918. The allotments were automatically withheld from the soldiers' pay and forwarded to the BWRI in Washington that added a monthly allowance of \$15 for a wife or a former wife who remained unmarried and had been awarded alimony by a court. Government allowances were intended to allow dependent women to dedicate themselves to the care of their homes and children. The BRWI also added \$10 for the first child, \$7.50 for the second, and \$5 for each additional child, which could average a total of \$50. The monthly cheque that a wife received averaged a maximum of \$65 in allotments and allowances.³⁷⁷

Parents, brothers and sisters, and grandchildren of soldiers could benefit from the allotments and allowances only when the concerned soldier signed a voluntary allotment and had to prove that his parents, siblings, and grandchildren were actually dependent on him for support. The dependents of the Black and White soldiers received the same amounts in allotments and allowances, which would suggest that the

375 Ibid

376 Ibid.

377 Ibid.

BWRI adopted parity between the soldiers without regard of race, or just to simplify the administrative procedures.

Two systems were developed as regards the persons who perceived the allotments and allowances. While the first referred to the allotments benefitted by widowed mothers and their children, the second was designed to provide allowances to the War survivors and disabled soldiers who returned home and had families in charge. Allotments and allowances in these two systems were more generous than those given by state authorities called mothers' pensions. Allotments and allowances became popular because they were administered by a federal agency that was beyond the control of local authorities.

The system of allotments and allowances had a great impact on the social fabric of the USA. The system had a great influence on the American family because it transformed the economic and racial status of women beneficiaries. It also allowed the Federal Government to intervene directly in family issues so far considered as a state matter. The system offered women beneficiaries material security, economic independence, and domestic authority. A good example of this change in social and economic relation engendered by the system of allotments and allowances is found in the new attitude of the Black workingwomen in the South of the USA that already had their jobs and received the allotments and allowances during WWI. These women became free and at ease to leave their current jobs if they considered their wages too low. They were likely to use this freedom, not to withdraw from the labour market altogether, but to look for more remunerative and less exhausting

work elsewhere.³⁷⁸ The President of Little Rock branch of the NAACP declared that black women “*have refused to pick Cotton for 75 cents and \$1.00 per hundred pounds..*” but “*...instead of dodging work, the women are now working in railroad shops, saw mills, etc. for \$2.00 and \$3.00 a day.*”³⁷⁹ Unintentionally, the wartime social policy of allotments and allowances enabled black women to choose their employment because they became materially secured.

2. New Provisions in the War Risk Insurance Act of 1917 after World War I.

The objective of the BRWI in issuing new provisions for compensation was to amend certain provisions under the War Risk Insurance Act of 1917 as regards compensation. It specified certain points related to the compensated disabilities, and created Districts of the BRWI to handle the requests and satisfy the needs of the injured servicemen. The new provisions determined that the compensation for the death of a man in service due to injuries prior to or after discharge or resignation should be perceived by his widow for the remainder of her life until remarriage and for his unmarried children under the age of 18. ^(See table below) The monthly payments to the parents of the deceased were only made when as long as such dependency was proved.

A widow but no children.....\$25	No widow, but one child.....\$20
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³⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 1389.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

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A widow and one child.....\$35	No widow, but two children.....\$30
A widow and two children.....\$42	No widow, but three children.....\$40
A widow and 3 children \$47	No widow, but four children.....\$45
A widow and 4 Children.....\$52	No widow, but five children.....\$50
A dependent father.....\$ 20.00	
A dependent mother.....\$ 20.00	
If both dependent father and mother exist \$ 30.00	

Monthly Payable amounts of Allocations to the Relatives of a Deceased Service Men³⁸⁰

Compensation was accorded to a dependent father and mother only for the death of one son or daughter. However, compensation was denied to a woman for the loss of a son or daughter if she already perceived it for the loss of her husband. Compensation was paid to the parents of the deceased service man when dependency arose before or after death, which the parents had to prove within a period of five years. In case the dependent persons were officially proved as mentally irresponsible, compensation had to be paid to their guardians. If there was no guardian, the payments had to be made to state, county or city asylum or hospital where the dependent person was an inmate.

Compensation for temporary disabilities was not static. It was either reduced because the beneficent was getting better after medical treatment, or maintained as the disability became permanent, or increased as the disability grew worse. Compensation payments to

³⁸⁰Treasury Department, Bureau of War Risk Insurance. *New Provisions for Compensation and Medical and Surgical Care and Supplies under the War Risk Insurance Act*. Washington: Government Printing Office. Pamphlet Bulletin L.D. 30. 1920. P. 4.

service men after discharge or resignation for temporary total disability were dealt with in the following table:

With neither wife nor child.....	\$ 80.
With wife, but no child.....	\$ 90.
With wife and one child.....	\$ 95.
With wife and two or more children.....	\$ 100. (and \$ 5 for each additional child)

Compensation for Temporary Disabilities.³⁸¹

As regards compensation for total permanent disabilities, the beneficent received a monthly compensation of \$ 100 whatever body part or organ had been lost. However, in case the serviceman had lost two limbs or organs of his body then it was considered as double total permanent disability that was compensated with a monthly payment of \$ 200.³⁸² For the bedded service men because of war injuries, he received a monthly compensation of \$20 or more to benefit from the services of a nurse.

Health care was provided for injured service men in addition to the monthly payments of compensation under the supervision of the Medical Division of the BWRI with close cooperation with the United States Public Health Service. Injured service men had access free of any charges to all government hospitals, surgical operations, medical treatment, and all

³⁸¹ Ibid., p. 7.

³⁸² Ibid., p. 9.

appliances that the Director of the BWRI determined necessary. The BWRI, hence, divided the country into 14 districts to enable injured servicemen to communicate their needs to the nearest district offices. In addition to the 14 districts in the USA, the Bureau created three (3) other districts to receive the requests of disabled servicemen outside of the USA. The first district comprised the Philippine Islands, the second included Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands, and the third was established in Hawaii.

Undoubtedly, the BWRI provided inestimable services to injured and disabled servicemen. However, such services were of medical or 'charitable' nature. The government wanted to go further in its social welfare by providing this category of the disabled with a vocational and rehabilitation programme.

C. President Wilson's Post-World War I Vocational and Rehabilitation Programme.

It is worth noting that vocational and rehabilitation programmes had been initiated in the USA before World War I. The early measures focused on medical assistance and compensation through legislation that the states passed in the form of workmen's compensation laws. Along with the development of the safety measures in hazardous industries, vocational rehabilitation became more and more considered by the States and the Federal Government. According to the official statistics relevant to the US casualties during WWI, it was reported that 4,743,991 American soldiers were in service. Of these 116,516 died, and 204,002

were wounded, without counting the personnel missing in action.³⁸³ The number of disabled American soldiers approximated 120,000,³⁸⁴ which was nearly the same number as of the deceased. Six months after the armistice was signed in May 1919, the disabled soldiers passed through the rehabilitation program set by President Wilson's Administration. Formally, the participation in this program was voluntary, but in case a disabled soldier refused to engage in rehabilitation, he was denied all compensation benefits.

The Federal Government created a new environment of social welfare for the victims and their dependents as well as the introduction of programs that were designed to reinstate the disabled servicemen. Those who could not reintegrate their jobs because of their disabilities were reinserted in new occupations that would fit their new physical conditions. For example, a mason that lost one arm could not be reinstated, but the government provided for him a vocational program to learn a new skill fit for his disability and rehabilitate him in society. Presumably, the purpose of the vocational rehabilitation program initiated by the American Government during and after WWI was to provide for the disabled people a psychological support, as they would become productive and self-sustained.

383 Congressional Research Service. *American War and Military Operations Casualties: Lists and Statistics*. www.crs.gov

384 Beth Linker. *War's Waste, Rehabilitation in World War I America*. Chicago: the University of Chicago Press. 1992. P. 8.

Vocational education started in the USA when Congress passed the *Smith-Hughes Law (1917)* or the *Vocational Education Act* that established a Federal Board for Vocational Education (FBVE) to work with men with disabilities in hospitals and encampments. The primary motivation for rehabilitating people with disabilities was to increase national production and decrease welfare spending.³⁸⁵ Once these individuals were rehabilitated, they were hired to perform certain specific jobs.

Practically, the first formal legislative effort to assist disabled soldiers by providing a vocational rehabilitation program was the *Smith-Sears Veterans' Act* passed in 1918. The objective of this Act was “to provide for vocational rehabilitation and return to civil employment of disabled persons discharged from the military or naval forces.”³⁸⁶ It was designed to enable the disabled veterans to seek competitive employment. The law that funded vocational rehabilitation was passed as World War I ended in 1919. Congress unanimously ratified the *Soldier's Rehabilitation Act (1919)* to assist returning war veterans to join the labour market.³⁸⁷

385 Jonathan C. Drimmer, “Cripples, Overcomers, and Civil Rights: Tracing the Evolution of Federal Legislation and Social Policy for People with Disabilities,” in: *UCLA Law Review*, vol. 40. 1993. P. 1348.

386 *The Smith-Sears Act of 1918*. Ch. 107, 40 Stat. 617.

387 Early statistics of rehabilitated people could not be found perhaps because of the novelty of the program. The statistics that were found concerned those between 1921 and 1930. During this period, \$12 million were allocated for the program under the presidency of Harding.

Two years after the Soldier's Rehabilitation Act was passed, President Woodrow Wilson generalised the system of rehabilitation by signing the first federal act providing vocational rehabilitation services to civilians with disabilities in close cooperation with the states that wanted to integrate the program.³⁸⁸ The progressive ideal of the President was to extend social welfare for disabled civilians through the vocational rehabilitation program that was established when Congress passed the *Smith-Fess Act* in 1920 or the *Civilian Vocational Rehabilitation Act*.³⁸⁹ The purpose of this Act was to provide vocational training, job placement, and counselling by trained professionals to persons who “*by reason of a physical defect or infirmity, whether congenital or acquired by accident, injury, or disease [are], or may be expected to be, totally or partially incapacitated.*”³⁹⁰ The novelty in this Act was that it covered congenital disabilities, a condition that was not covered in the previous Acts. It was the first time that Congress took into consideration the people born with disabilities and not just injured war veterans. However, this Act lacked enforcement and provision that could eliminate societal discrimination.³⁹¹

388 In 1924, thirty-six of the forty-eight states belonged to the program established by the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1920. By 1930, nine more States joined the program.

389 *Smith-Fess Act of 1920 or the Civilian Vocational Rehabilitation Act*. ch. 219, 41 Stat. 735 (1920).

390 *Ibid.*

391 Jonathan C. Drimmer. *Op. cit.*, p. 1365.

The Progressive Movement during Woodrow Wilson's Presidency gained in power and realised significant achievements that the Progressives reared for a long time, and shaped American politics, economy, and society in a way that is considered as a turning point in the history of the country. The importance of the Progressive Era in the history of the USA is that it marked a fundamental change in the evolution of the country because it abandoned its isolationist policy to become a world leading power after WWI.

President Wilson concentrated on three matters that brought significant reforms that constituted the basis for future reforms. Politically, he concentrated on giving the power back to the people to choose their government officials through democratic and transparent electoral process. This was achieved with the application of direct primaries in the electoral system. Economically, he focused on the elimination of all monopolies and corporations that controlled the country's economy, and the high tariffs that the Republicans passed to protect such corporations. He succeeded in this enterprise since he lowered the tariffs to foster competition to benefit the American customers with the better quality product and the lowest possible prices. This policy was aimed essentially to lower the cost of living of the citizens that the monopolies continuously raised for their profit.

The social reforms that President Wilson supported were mainly those that were intended to preserve the health of the Americans and the moral values of the American society. In this perspective, he did not oppose the prohibition of alcoholic beverages although he was against

the timing for the passing of the 18th Amendment. He supported the passing of acts that incriminated immoral practices such as prostitution, gambling, and child labour. The most outstanding and unprecedented achievement of President Wilson was his war risk insurance and vocational and rehabilitation programme, which provided relief, and financial and moral support for the disabled, and the dependents of the deceased soldiers in the war. These programmes were so successful that they were extended to the benefit of injured civilians that needed such relief. These measures show clearly Wilson's progressive tendency that aimed at pushing the Federal Government to support social welfare policies for the benefit of the deprived categories of society.

Conclusion

They that dig foundations deep,
Fit for realms to rise upon,
Little honour do they reap,
Of their generation.

J.R. Kipling.

It is a natural phenomenon in a capitalist system that economic elite emerge seeking to promote its own interests, and enjoy greater wealth and therefore influence over the ordinary citizen. The economic elite exploits these advantages politically, using them as leverage to obtain

more wealth and influence. The influence of the economic elite on politics creates concentrated political and economic power that result in the spread of corruption, bribery, mismanagement, and the squandering of public funds. It is also a social natural phenomenon that 'reform elite' emerge to face the economic elite and right the wrongs that infringe the citizens' rights.

The confrontation between the reform and economic elites in the USA started during the 1890s. Social and intellectual reformers exposed the abuses of big businesses that caused the deterioration of the political and social situations in the country. Although the efforts of the reformers had great effect in arousing public interest and awareness, they could not bring down the power of the businesses that were associated with corrupt politicians at all levels. Only the Progressives stood efficiently against the economic elite. The latter's injustice, exploitation, arrogance, and greed became intolerable to both liberals and conservatives alike. The word "progress," as the core concern of the Movement, was specifically meant to ensure justice for the American citizens.

Progressivism was a movement that represented the interests of ordinary people in their roles as citizens, taxpayers, consumers, employees, and parents, and championed government "*of the people, by the people, for the people.*" The word 'people' stands in sharp contrast to governance by the corporation and economic elite. The Progressives rebuilt the country's economy on fairer basis and established the redistribution of wealth that provided relief and welfare for the lower classes. This was realised because the progressive reforms started with

intellectuals, lawmen, thinkers and philosophers, and not from the streets with angry and violent mobs.

The elite of the Progressive Movement during the 1890s were of different trends. The movement included men and women that worked in their respective fields such as journalists, educators, social reformers, and writers. However, the Progressive elite of the 1900s and 1910s that held the political reins of the country were essentially lawmen. They worked for the foundation of the country's politics, economy, and social life on legislative basis and sought the application of the laws that emanated from this vision. The permeation of progressive reforms up to the national level was slow, but eventually it found expression not only in the US Congress, but also in the White House. For the Progressives, the Federal Government was the key to realise the reforms they aspired to realise through pieces of federal legislation.

The conclusions drawn from this research are manifold. The success of the Progressive Movement in the USA was the result of the actions of the Government. It is evident that the government orchestrated such evolution because it had the power and the means to cause things to change. The strong will of the Progressive Presidents (T. Roosevelt, H. Taft, and W. Wilson) to reform is noticed and felt in their willingness to remove all the illogic, unfair, and spoiling advantages and practices from the political and economic scenes, which the politicians and the businesses inherited and benefitted at the expense of the country's interests, welfare, and prosperity. The exhibition of such altruistic behaviour was the reason that made the movement so popular, which created an apparent symbiosis between the government and the people.

The Movement began at the local level and worked its way up to the highest levels of government. The Progressive Movement was not one single movement but various social reform movements that backed the Progressive Presidents to realise the reforms they had sought to realise for a long time.

The Progressive Movement in the USA was a peaceful and democratic evolution from corrupt and inefficient political and economic management to a system that emerged from various reforms that undertook the cleansing and preservation of the socio-economic and political life in the country. It was the extensions of the economic functions of the American Government that brought down the powerful combination of politics and businesses. There seems to be a wide difference between the policies of the three men and the political groups they represented, but in reality this difference is rather found in the methods they adopted to achieve their objectives than in their principles. Their policies were founded on principles not interests, that the State must not protect only the interests but aim for the progress of all citizens.

The Progressive Presidents concentrated on three main domains of reform. The first domain of reform was the cleansing of the political system from all corrupt practices by introducing the system of direct primaries in the elections at all levels. They enacted laws that regulated the electoral campaigns and forbid the participation of big businesses in financing the campaigns of the candidates. They enfranchised women to ensure that all categories of society were represented in the country's legislatures. The second domain was the application of what they called

'Economic Democracy' in which they lowered the tariffs to loosen the grip of the monopolies on the national economy, and to enable the small business to compete fairly and prosper. To counter-act the effect of losing revenues by lowering the tariffs, they introduced income taxes for the first time in the history of the country. The third domain of reform was the conservation of the country's natural resources. Conservation was an important demand of the Progressives from the beginning because it was regarded as the right of the future generations to be preserved from being dilapidated and over-exploited by the galloping industrialisation.

Socially, the Progressive Presidents were conservative in their policies and respected the prerogatives of the States over the Federal Government in dealing with social matters. They reacted to solve social problems when they constituted an infringement to interstate laws. They still believed that the reforming of the country's politics and economy should bring immense benefits for the citizens. Nonetheless, they achieved certain social reforms that provided for workingmen in their sickness and old age and for their widows and orphans. They also adopted a system of taxation to enable the adoption of a minimum wage in order to fight against poverty, crime, and disease. It was the First World War that changed the role of the Federal Government in providing relief and welfare for the families of the servicemen, which it generalised to the impoverished category of society.

However, every time the Federal Government launched social reforms it was hampered by the state constitutional rights over matters that directly concerned the American citizens. Therefore, the Progressive Federal Governments concentrated more on the reforming of the national

politics and economy than solving the social problems that would have provided the elements of a decent life for the American citizens such as medication, education, decent housing...etc.

State Governments had been mainly concerned with matters such as the railroads and economic growth, whereas the Federal Government had focused on the tariffs and currency. During the 1890s, there was a change in the Federal Government's policy and role in the management of the country mostly because of the influence of the muckrakers, progressive educators and politicians, and social reformers. They lobbied effectively to get state and federal governments involved in social and economic issues that were of great concern to the citizens. With the coming of Theodore Roosevelt as the first Progressive President in 1901, things changed since the traditional lines of demarcation between the State and Federal Governments in certain matters changed and in others nearly disappeared. The Federal Government became more and more concerned with issues of regulating both the social and economic life in the country.

Progressivism did not stand apart from the existing political tendencies. Progressive Presidents Roosevelt and Taft, and Wilson elaborated their progressive policies respectively from their Republican and Democratic principles. Although the three Progressive Presidents were of different backgrounds and political parties, their policies were in fact an accumulation of advantages to the American society, economy, and politics. Each President completed the works of his predecessor and compensated the deficiencies. The child labour issue, women rights, the anti-trust campaign, the conservation of national natural resources, and the compensation laws are good examples to demonstrate the

continuation of these policies from Roosevelt that initiated them to Taft that attempted to legalise them, and finally to Wilson who promoted them to be a reference and basis for future laws.

Great impetus was given to the progressive reforms when Theodore Roosevelt came to power in 1901 as the first Progressive President. Although the political advantages such as the 'spoils system', the indirect election of Senators, the women suffrage, the corporations' funding of the electoral campaigns favoured the political class, the Progressive Presidents resented them and actively participated in their elimination through legislation and constitutional amendments. This shows clearly that the Progressive Presidents favoured the development of the country, and relinquished personal and party interests. This is undoubtedly the only way to attract public attention and faith in the ruling class, and the only way to achieve successful reforms. It was during the Progressive Era that the United States made its first steps on the way of its development into a powerful country.

President Taft shared with Roosevelt the same ideas but in practice he proved that he did not agree with the way that Roosevelt adopted to realise the reforms he advocated. The difference between the two Presidents was reflected in their policies to the point that the Progressives considered that Taft betrayed Roosevelt and the progressive ideals. This betrayal or change of policy from the part of President Taft emanated from his jurist standpoint in dealing with the socio-economic and political problems that he inherited from Roosevelt. The schism in the Progressive Republican front enabled the Democrat Woodrow Wilson to the Presidential Election of 1912. At this stage, President Wilson

inherited the progressive foundation from his predecessors on which he built his reforms during his two presidential terms from 1913 to 1921.

The Progressive Movement exhibited a curious paradox because it was fundamentally conservative in nature, liberal in its extraordinary measures, and even radical at times. It was based on three principles or components: altruism, a modified Socialism, and individualism. The combination of altruism and individualism and the modification of a socialist principle to fit 'state capitalism' showed the ambivalence and difficulty of the Progressives to maintain a balance between rugged individualism and the welfare state.

The success of the Movement was in its radical thinking. It is through radical thinking that society is pushed to reform rooted if not fossilised errors. Radical thinking is merely thinking about things as they are plunging deeply into realities and causes instead of skimming the surface. During the Progressive Era, all helpful actions were the result of radical thought. True education was radical because it taught facts. The printing press was radical because it scattered information and encouraged thought. Economic and political reforms were radical because they were conceived under the irreconcilable and internal conflict between the rights of the peoples, and the interests of those in power whether political or economic.

Although, the Progressive Movement failed in realising certain reforms such as the total abolition of child labour, and the introduction of a national health insurance, it teaches us the verity that a group of people can have a tremendous effect on the way their country is governed. The

temperance and suffrage movements, the muckrakers, the conservationists, were minorities and had no power to compel the government to satisfy their demands, but gradually and insistently they forced the authorities to endeavour to realise them because a just cause cannot simply be denied. The Progressive Presidents were successful in their reforms because they listened carefully to the demands of the people and did their best to realise their aspirations. The experience of the Progressive Movement provides a plan of reforms for political leaders to follow in countries that suffer from the same problems that the Progressives faced in the USA.

The history of the Progressive Movement in the USA remains a subject of ongoing historical debate and controversy. The topic is likely to remain contentious and there will probably be future rounds of historical revisionism as contemporary conditions change and cause historians to cast a new eye on the past.

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