

CHAPTER 10

THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

(1890-1914)

The decades prior to World War I proved to be a time of great change within the total fabric of American life and indeed of the entire world. As increase in industrialization, the demand for social reform, the proclaiming of new “scientific” theories and an overall radical approach toward life produced a pervading state of restlessness within human society. Developing technology produced a greater social and physical mobility, which in turn generated a greater awareness of the world at large. By the close of the nineteenth century, individuals were beginning to question long-accepted views. In politics, social order, philosophy, and religion, basic positions were being reexamined. The resulting effects of this reevaluation were sometimes favorable but were more often detrimental. While some social ills were corrected, overreactions to these needful situations sometimes tarnished legitimate reforms. Basic Biblical and philosophical truths came under attack, and many people were led away into error. However, God’s Word has withstood every wicked onslaught of the ages and will ever emerge triumphant.

RELIGIOUS LIBERALISM

A. Liberal Trends

1. **Biblical Criticism**. Nineteenth-century religious thought was highly influenced by German rationalism and idealism. Transported to America, these schools of thought attempted to redefine historic Christian orthodoxy, claiming to make it “more meaningful for the modern age.” Setting the stage for all future iconoclasts was the German theologian and philosopher Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher, who has been called the “Father of Modern Theology.” Schleiermacher tried to find the middle ground between what he considered to be sterile orthodox dogmatism and the equally sterile rationalistic intellectualism of his day. (1768-1834). The basis of Schleiermacher’s theology, which bordered on pantheism, was that true Christianity consisted merely of a growing inner consciousness of our dependence upon “the Infinite.” Schleiermacher particularly attacked the orthodox views of both the Incarnate Word and the Written Word. Concerning the Incarnate Word, he denied that Christ had come to bear sin on mankind’s behalf. Concerning the Written Word, he considered the Bible to be authoritative only as it appealed to our inner consciousness – only when it “spoke to us” – and he purported that the writers of the Bible were inspired only to the degree that their natural powers of perception were somehow

intensified and elevated. Such a view eliminates any possibility of an *inerrant*,¹ *verbal plenary*² inspiration of the Bible and is contrary to what the Word of God clearly states in II Peter 1:20, 21. Inerrancy of Scripture became the major conservative-liberal issue of debate throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and continues to this day.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, Schleiermacher's mantle in the field of German criticism fell to Albrecht Ritschl (1822-1889). Greatly influenced by Schleiermacher, Ritschl wholly accepted his predecessor's idea of a growing inner consciousness of dependence, but Ritschl wholly accepted his predecessor's idea of a growing inner consciousness of dependence, but Ritschl insisted that this inner consciousness was activated within the Church rather than within the individual. He emphasized the ethical and social aspects of religion in the community and did not agree with individual piety. Salvation consisted merely in the discovery of and dedication to a set of ethics taught by Jesus Christ. Ritschl accepted the history of Jesus Christ but not His miracles, believing that the Bible should be subjected to 'scientific' and historical investigation in the same way one would deal with any fallible human record of the past. It was this approach to Biblical study that opened the door to the subjective *higher criticism*³ school of Biblical study. Ritschl's concern with the Christian community, rather than with the individual, also tended to pave the way for the social gospel movement.

Every era, it seems, has had its own unique brand of heresy with which to contend. Abusive Biblical criticism has been the heresy for several centuries. The origins of higher criticism can be traced back, a full hundred years before the writings of Albrecht Ritschl, to a French physician named Jean Astruc. In 1753 Astruc claimed that the book of Genesis was derived from two separate and earlier sources. Astruc's ideas were not received with much acclaim in his own day, but his "Documentary Theory" became the basis of later scholarship. In 1878 Julius Wellhausen published a paper that rearranged the "sources" previously identified by another critic, Karl H. Graf. The Graf-Wellhausen Theory listed four separate sources for Genesis, and it denied the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, the inspiration of the Bible, and the direct revelation of God.

Nevertheless, we do not have to argue for or defend the inspiration of the Bible. God's Word is its own defense, initiating with *In the beginning God . . .* (Genesis 1:1) The Bible makes no apology nor explanation in regard to this dogma. If a person can accept and believe these first

¹ inerrant – without mistakes

² verbal plenary – refers to the doctrine of full, word-by-word inspiration of the Bible

³ higher criticism – effort by unbelievers to define literary sources of the Bible

four words of Genesis, he will be convinced of the entire Bible. God is either God, or He is a liar. The Bible is either inerrantly inspired, or it is a lie; it cannot be both inerrant and inaccurate.

Both the Old and New Testaments carry with them their own authoritative credentials. David the Psalmist verified in II Samuel 23:2, *The Spirit of the LORD spake by me, and his word was in my tongue.* In the New Testament, the apostle Paul also assures that *All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: That the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished until all good work.* (II Timothy 3:26,16) For these and other reasons, Christians should NEVER accept anything less than that all the Bible (in the *autographa*⁴) is the verbal plenary inspired and inerrant Word of God.

1. Decades prior to World War I proved to be a time of great _____ within the total fabric of _____ life.
2. Nineteenth century religious thought was highly influenced by German _____ & _____.
3. Friedrich Schleiermacher has been called the “_____.”
4. Inerrancy of Scripture became the major _____ issue of debate throughout the 19th and 20th centuries and continues today.
5. Albrecht Ritschl accepted the _____ of Jesus Christ but not His _____.
6. Abusive Biblical criticism has been the heresy for several _____.
7. The theory of _____ was made popular by Charles Darwin in 1859.
8. The theory of evolution has no real _____ basis.

2. Evolution. The theory of evolution as popularized by Charles Robert Darwin in 1859 had an even greater effect on the Christian world than did the heresies about the Bible. Charles Darwin did not originate the theory of evolution. Similar theories had been hypothesized by many men throughout history, including Charles' own grandfather, Erasmus Darwin. The theory of evolution has no real scientific basis, and even Darwin himself expressed doubts as to its veracity. It is composed of two major parts, neither of which are unique to Darwin. Simplistically stated, “Darwinism” contends that: (1) all of life had a single common ancestor, and it took millions of years for all other plant and animal forms to develop, and (2) plants and animals prey upon one another, and those organisms best adapted to the environment are the ones

⁴ autographa – the original manuscripts of the Bible

that survive. This second part of the Darwinian theory is called “natural selection” or “survival of the fittest.” To Darwin, natural selection was the mechanism that activated the process of gradual evolution.

Darwinism is merely an attempt to explain the origin of biological species by natural means rather than through the design of God. Darwin was never able to prove his ideas, even to himself; but within a decade Darwinian evolution was accepted by the scientific world. Evolution contradicts the beginning chapters of Genesis, and Darwin succeeded in turning himself and many others from acceptance of Scripture to utter disbelief of the Word of God.

The theory of evolution asks us to believe that all of life developed from some *primordial*⁵ protoplasm, but the Bible clearly explains that God created each organism (Ge 1:24-25)

Again Darwinism would have us believe man is descended from some less highly organized form. Such supposed intellectualism flies in the face of Biblical reality and unsuccessfully attempts to explain away the Biblical record. God's Word is plain and true. (Ge 1:26, 2:7, 2:21,22)

The so-called contradiction between science and the Bible is based on a faulty assumption. That faulty assumption is that evolution is true. Not only is evolution untrue Scripturally, but it does not even make good science. The only honest reason anyone can give for supporting evolution, faced with present-day scientific evidence, is that Darwinian evolution gives natural man an alternative to the fact of Biblical Creation.

In more recent times, men have begun to apply Darwinian thought to social relationships, resulting in “social Darwinism.” The survival of the fittest applied to business practices and politics has had disastrous consequences. The Nazism of the German Third Reich, Soviet International Communism, and more recent ethnic cleansing have tried to justify their horrific acts of terror, oppression, and racism with the theory of social Darwinism, but to born-again Believers and our Christian nation, this is never acceptable. God loves and values all mankind. That is why He gave His Son. (John 3:16)

3. Socialism. At the center of nineteenth-century liberalism was Georg W.F. Hegel. It was his semi theological ramblings that influenced the development and growth of liberal theology, higher criticism of the Bible, Darwinian evolution, and Marxist socialism. Hegel's philosophy was essentially humanistic and liberal – as manifested in religious modernism, higher

⁵ primordial – refers to something in a primitive or early stage

criticism and socialism. In Hegel's system, mankind is the result and purpose of every expression of life in the universe. Hegel's also maintained that all human endeavor is but a manifestation of the Absolute Spirit's (God's) mind functioning in us and our coming to a conscious awareness of that fact. In other words, we perceive God by means of a gradual evolutionary consciousness. It was Hegel's teachings concerning this process of philosophical evolution that influenced Charles Darwin and Karl Marx.

Karl Marx, a German-born iconoclast of the nineteenth century and author of *The Communist Manifesto* and *Das Kapital*, has been touted as the "Father of Communism." Communism as a form of socialism is atheistic, satanic, and conspiratorial. Marxist Communism of the early 1900s was an international conspiracy and was not limited by conspiracy and was not limited by any geopolitical boundaries. Marx did not originate this Godless system; he borrowed much of his philosophy from earlier socialistic thinkers. Communism in the twentieth century was not a social system or an economic system, rather it was an international conspiracy that attempted to destroy the church, the family, and all legitimate governments. Lingering apparitions of such Communism remain apparent in some societies and nations today.

Marx, in one of his many essays, set forth the Communist hatred for anything and everything akin to God. "Religion," he stated, "is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the sentiment of a heartless world, . . . It is the opium of the people." Communism, like other forms of socialism, denies God and His authority in this world. The Psalmist, through Divine inspiration, summarizes the Biblical view on such philosophical thinking, *The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God...* (Psalm 53:1)

9. List the two major parts of "Darwinism."

(a) _____

(b) _____

10. Darwinism is merely an attempt to explain the origin of _____ species by natural means rather than through the _____ of God.

11. Not only is evolution untrue but it does not even make good _____.

12. Georg Hegel's semi theological ramblings influenced what four things?
- (a) _____
 - (b) _____
 - (c) _____
 - (d) _____
13. Karl Marx is known as the “_____.”
14. Communism as a form of socialism is _____, _____, & _____
15. Communism in the 20th century was an international conspiracy that attempted to destroy the _____, the _____ & all legitimate _____.

B. Fundamental Response

1. Bible Conference Movement. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, many serious Christians were greatly concerned with the rapidly growing liberal trends in America. At the same time, an interest was awakening in the *millenarian*⁶ approach to *eschatology*⁷. In 1872 a New York City Baptist preacher, James Inglis, initiated the first of a series of Bible conferences. Most of these conferences met in Canada at Niagara-on-the Lake, Ontario, and thus received the name, the Niagara Conference. This Niagara Conference met nearly every year until 1899. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, the men of the Niagara Conference attempted to meet the challenges of Biblical criticism and arrive at some consensus in regard to the millennial reign of Christ. Near the end of the century, the famous evangelist Dwight Lyman Moody lent his support to the Bible conference movement by establishing his Northfield Conferences as another influential platform for the conservative Christian thinkers of his day.

The Niagara Conference survived after Iglis died and was continued under the leadership of Presbyterian James H. Brooks. Brooks, who was the editor of a millenarian periodical called *The Truth*, guided the conferees to the adoption of two vital doctrinal positions: the premillennial coming of Christ and the full authority and inerrancy of the Scriptures. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, division began to grow within the millenarian ranks. Great disagreement arose concerning the premillennial, gradual (or progressive) millennial, and postmillennial positions. Brooks was able to hold the factions together during his lifetime, but soon after his death, the Niagara Conference was abandoned.

⁶ millenarian – refers to the thousand-year reign of Christ on Earth

⁷ eschatology – study of last things, especially prophecy

2. Birth of Fundamentalism. Probably the most significant contribution of the Niagara Conference was the establishment of a series of regional Bible and prophetic conferences in major cities. The two most important of these regional conferences were held in New York City (1878) and Chicago (1886). Basically, the same group of men was in attendance at both gatherings. The American fundamentalist movement (the term “fundamentalist” was not actually used until later), which emphasized and held to a literal interpretation of the Bible, may be said to have begun with these two conclaves. The men who “founded” fundamentalism were solid Biblical literalists, premillennialists, and primitive dispensationalists. They believed in at least three distinct *dispensations*⁸ in God’s dealing with man: the Old Testament Age, the New Testament Age, and the Millennial Age.

In 1886, the same year as the regional conference in Chicago, twenty-one men at the new York Bible and Prophetic Conference. This committee of brilliant Biblicists came from the following locales.

California	1	Missouri	1	Canada	3	New York	1
Illinois	2	Ohio	2	Indiana	1		
Pennsylvania	2	Kansas	1	Virginia	1		
Massachusetts	4	Wisconsin	1	Minnesota	1		

From November 16 through November 21, 1886, these men presented papers and considered resolutions. Although the conclusions reached were the same as those arrived at in earlier meetings, the twenty-one Biblical scholars explored the issues in much more depth, and the basic tenets of what was to be labeled as “fundamentalism” were defined.

3. Five “Fundamentals.” In 1895 the Niagara Conference met at Niagara, New York. Under the leadership of a Boston Baptist preacher, Adoniram J. Gordon, the delegates drafted a list of five fundamental doctrines that they considered essential to the Christian faith. These five basic beliefs, which are still accepted by fundamentalists today are:

- (1) The inerrancy of the Bible.
- (2) The Virgin Birth and deity of Christ.
- (3) The substitutionary Atonement.
- (4) The bodily Resurrection.
- (5) The physical Second Coming.

⁸ dispensations – a period of time determined by God’s ordering of Biblical events

The conference that met in Philadelphia in 1901 was the last meeting of the Niagara Conference. Before World War I began, all the original participants had passed away, and the second generation became ever more fragmented over their various eschatological views.

4. Fundamentalists. The early days of the twentieth century were a time of both victory and defeat for conservative Christianity. Division concerning millenarianism was slowly tearing down the united front of conservatives against liberalism. In 1902, however, the common belief in Biblical inerrancy affected an amalgam of millenarians in founding the American Bible League. In 1908 two oil-rich California brothers, Lyman and Milton Stewart, established the Bible Institute of Los Angeles (BIOLA) and made Dr. R.A. Torrey the first dean. The following year the same two Stewart brothers donated 300,000 dollars for the publication of a series of twelve pamphlets collectively entitled *The Fundamentals: A Testimony to the Truth*. The articles in the pamphlets, written anonymously by some of the leading evangelical Christians, were edited by A.C. Dixon and R.A. Torrey. From 1909 to 1915, nearly three million copies of *The Fundamentals* were distributed free of charge to ministers, evangelists, missionaries, Bible teachers, seminary students, Sunday school students, and religious editors all across America. It was from the title of these pamphlets that the term “fundamentalist” derived. The publication and circulation of *The Fundamentals* resulted in a violent controversy throughout American Christendom. The Baptist, Presbyterians, Methodists, Disciples of Christ, and other denominations split into modernist and fundamentalist camps. These splits were not always amicable. Both camps should have realized that division and strife are clearly not of the Lord. In settling their conflicts, both sides needed the wisdom that is from above.

Transcending all other controversy between the modernists and the fundamentalists was the ultimate question, which is still bantered about today, “Who is a Christian?” Is it only those who subscribe to the fundamentals of the faith, or can it include those who hold modified and less-than-orthodox theological views? In I Corinthians 2:5, God’s Word states, *That your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.*

16. a. James Inglis was a New York City Baptist _____.
- b. He initiated the 1st of a series of _____.
17. The American fundamentalist movement believed in at least three distinct dispensations in God’s dealing with man. (a) _____, (b) _____, & _____.

18. List the 5 fundamental doctrines considered essential to the Christian faith.
- (a) _____
 - (b) _____
 - (c) _____
 - (d) _____
 - (e) _____
19. Lyman and Milton Stewart established the _____
and made Dr. R.A. Torrey the first dean.
20. The publication circulation of *The Fundamentals* resulted in a _____
throughout American Christendom.

C. Social Gospel Movement

1. Practical Christianity. Between the War Between the States and World War I – due to the increase in population, growth of urban centers, and development of industrialization – the need for tremendous social reform became ever more apparent. For a while American churches responded to that challenge, but as the turn of the century approached, the cause of legitimate social reform was increasingly abandoned by evangelicals and was left largely to the liberals. The newly arising fundamentalist movement, formed to counteract growing modernism, tended to concentrate on “contending for the faith” and to neglect other aspects of practical Christianity.

The basic life view of those on each side of the fundamentalist-modernist controversy showed itself in the respective approaches to the day’s social problems. The fundamentalists, especially those of a pre-millennial position, saw depraved, fallen men living in a gradually worsening world. The fundamentalists believed that it was impossible for man to make himself better; only the Lord Jesus is able to change the heart of an individual and make him a new person. Those favoring a “social gospel” optimistically believed man was inherently good and perfectible and could make the world a better place in which to live.

2. “Applied Christianity.” The concept that Christianity has a social action aspect was not original with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Christian involvement with society and the correction of its ills was clearly in evidence among English Independents, Puritans, and Quakers who came to America. Indeed, most Christian minorities who immigrated to the New World implemented some practical applications of the teachings of Jesus, and these legitimate

historic roots, further encouraged by Ritschlian theology, paved the way for what would be called the “social gospel movement.” In the 1870s Washington Gladden, a Congregational pastor from Columbus, Ohio, began to espouse what he called “applied Christianity.” Gladden attacked *laissez-faire* capitalism on the basis that *laissez faire* all too often meant “let ill enough alone.” He further accepted evolution and socialism – even to the point of advocating public ownership of all utilities.

3. “Kingdom Movement.” In the 1890s a movement was started at Grinnell College in Iowa. The two prime movers of the crusade, George D. Herron and Dr. George Gale (the president of Grinnell), called for the total restructuring of society based on their interpretation of the New Testament. To circulate their views, the two men published a magazine known as *The Kingdom*, which caused the Grinnell group to be labeled the “Kingdom movement.” Herron proved to be a powerful speaker, and he produced a lasting impact wherever he spoke. Through the implementation of Herron’s speaking and *The Kingdom* (magazine), the Kingdom movement spread its message nationwide. The movement, however, only lasted as long as Herron lived. Before its demise the Kingdom movement attempted to establish a community in Georgia patterned after Herron’s ideas. The group published a periodical called *Social Gospel*, and the movement took on the name “social gospel.” This movement moved in the same direction as other liberal movements of the day wherein Jesus was redefined simply as a prophet and teacher, opposed to his being God-man incarnate. The logical outcome of the social gospel message was the acceptance of the concept of the Fatherhood, of God, and the brotherhood of man. However, according to John 1:12, we can only be a part of God’s family by receiving the Lord Jesus as Savior. The social gospel message also declared God to be solely a God of love and not the God Whose justice demands punishment for sin. However, the fact that God gave His only Son to die to pay the penalty for sin shows that God is not only a God of love, but He is also a God Whose justice demands punishment for sin.

21. Due to the increase in _____, & growth of urban _____, & development of _____, the need for tremendous _____ became more apparent.
22. Most Christian minorities who immigrated to the New World implemented some _____ applications of the teachings of _____.

4. Walter Rauschenbusch. The most prominent name in the social gospel movement was that of Walter Rauschenbusch. (1861-1918), a Baptist pastor in New York City and a teacher at Rochester Theological Seminary. In 1907 Rauschenbush wrote a book, *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, which espoused the social gospel approach to Christianity. *Christianity and the Social Crisis* brought Rauschenbush nationwide recognition, and he became the author of many other books with a similar message. In the formulation of his theology, Rauschenbush drew upon the ideas and writings of Hegel, Darwin, Marx, and Ritschl. To Rauschenbusch, the Kingdom of God would be a society where reason, liberty, and justice would reign. God would show himself to be democratic and would no longer be sovereign; man, as the most important being, would be regarded as essentially good.

The social gospel movement, as espoused by Rauschenbush, was anti-individual, anti-eschatological, and anti-Scriptural. When fulfilling social responsibilities, man's reasoning and methods should never diminish the sovereignty of God nor elevate the essential goodness of man. It is important for Believers to be concerned about social responsibilities, but Biblical principles must be followed in carrying out these responsibilities. The best example is the Lord Jesus, Who was always focused on bringing glory to God, and Whose first concern for man was the condition of his heart and his relationship with God.

II. TERRITORIAL EXPANSIONISM

A. Background to the Spanish-American War

1. Neo-Manifest Destiny. At the turn of the twentieth century, changing patterns of American life affected every strata of society. The idea of an American frontier had come to an official end by 1890, and American expansionists began to look with growing fondness at trans-oceanic territories. On both a national and international scale, the rapid growth of industrialization necessitated an accompanying increase in the discovery of new markets and new sources of raw materials. Along with the rise of big business, the development of efficient transportation also accelerated the desire to secure overseas possessions. These expansionistic ideas did not come just at the turn of the century; their origins had begun early in the mid 1800s.

American expansionism was first given the title "manifest destiny" in 1845. At that time newspaper editors in the United States were attempting to discover a rationalization for the annexation of the vast territory of Texas. In the July-August 1845 issue of the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, John L. O' Sullivan initiated the use of the phrase when he stated that the expansion to the Pacific was "the fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread

the continent allotted by Providence...” In the broadest sense, the concept of “manifest destiny” proposed that Americans were a chosen people predestined by God to create a nearly perfect society. Further, it was considered God’s will that this vastly superior American culture should spread to all corners of the North American continent. The benighted Indians would be among the many beneficiaries of God’s provision.

The idea that a more advanced culture had a moral obligation to bring civilization to the uncivilized was not an American product only. The turn of the century was accompanied by an age of imperialism on a world-wide scale. In order to justify their colonial outgrowth, European nations, especially France and England, assumed the “white man’s burden” of taking civilization to the nonwhite peoples of the world. In 1885 social gospel advocate Reverend Josiah Strong wrote a book espousing American adoption of the “white man’s burden” motif. Strong’s book became immensely popular upon its publication in 1891. It and similar works greatly influenced American thinking in relation to foreign policy.

Antecedent to the War Between the States, manifest destiny had included the hopeful acquisition of Cuba on the part of the United States; however, that desire dwindled during the war and postwar years. Manifest destiny had begun life as a slogan of the Democratic Party but was later adopted by the Republicans. In November of 1896, Republican William McKinley linked manifest destiny to a redefinition of the Monroe Doctrine. This neo-manifest destiny called for United States intervention in the affairs of Latin America and the Pacific. Although McKinley favored manifest destiny, when he became President of the United States, he was strongly opposed to going to war to support expansionism. The United States was just emerging from the effects of the depression of 1893, and McKinley felt that war, or even the threat of war, might throw the country back into a state of depression.

23. Walter Rauschenbusch, a Baptist _____ in New York City and a _____ at Rochester Theological Seminary was a prominent person in the _____ movement.
24. The _____ movement was anti-individual, anti-eschatological & anti-Scriptural.
25. a. The idea of an American frontier had come to an official end by _____.
b. American expansionists began to look with growing fondness at trans-oceanic _____.

26. The concept of “manifest destiny” proposed that _____ were a chosen people predestined by _____ to create a nearly perfect _____.
27. France & England assumed the “_____” of taking civilization to the nonwhite people of the world.

2. Ten Years' War. Even though most Americans opposed war to support the expanded interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, they did heartily disapprove of Spanish misrule in Cuba. It was no secret that most Cubans worked for near starvation wages. The Spanish government in Madrid, Spain, further exploited the Cubans by antagonizing both the landowners and their workers. Spanish oppression in Cuba resulted in unrest and often revolution. The violent insurrection that occurred during the years 1868 to 1878 was known as the Cuban Ten Years' War. Many Americans sympathized with the Cuban rebels, and Cuban refugees fled to numerous American port cities in large numbers. The presence of these Cuban patriots and why they had fled continued to contribute to anti-Spanish feelings in the United States.

By employing Spanish troops, General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, marqués de Tenerife, brought the Ten Years' War to an end, but the unnecessary brutality of General Weyler toward the Cuban people earned him the epithet, “the butcher.”

3. 1895 Cuban Revolution. The 1890 McKinley Tariff Act allowed Cuban sugar, the major crop of that island, to enter the United States duty free. As a result of this act, United States-Cuban trade prospered to the amount of 100 million dollars or more per year. In 1894, however, the United States adopted the Wilson-Gorman Tariff Act, which placed a forty percent duty on all imported raw sugar. The result for Cuba was a diminishing market, and this caused sugar to pile up in Cuban warehouses, plantations to close down, and thousands of Cubans to lose their jobs.

The Spanish government failed to provide appropriate reforms, and in 1895 a new Cuban revolution broke out. This rebellion, under the leadership of General Máximo Gómez, was especially bloody. Gómez's bands of revolutionaries roamed the islands of Cuba, killing, burning, and plundering. General Weyler returned to Cuba from Spain and attempted to repeat his brutal repression of the earlier insurrection. Weyler ordered that all Cubans living in rebel-infested areas be confined in concentration camps; then Spanish soldiers swept through the proscribed zone, burning all buildings and killing anyone found there without official permission. Large portions of Cuba were utterly destroyed by Cuban revolutionaries, the Spaniards, or both.

The conflict appeared to be endless. The rebels were not strong enough to repel Weyler's troops, but neither could the latter quell the revolt.

4. Yellow Press. As the situation worsened in Cuba, emotions escalated in the United States. Many Americans began to press for armed American intervention. For nearly a year after assuming office, President McKinley struggled to maintain official United States neutrality, but pressure from the American public continued to mount.

American opinion was, to a large extent, influenced by the exaggerated stories of Spanish atrocities carried in the "yellow press." Chief among these sensationalistic newspapers were William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* and Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*. These two newspapers were in a battle to outstrip each other in building readership, and both saw the Cuban revolution as an advantageous opportunity to accomplish their goal.

When Hearst bought the *New York Journal* in 1895, that paper had thirty thousand readers, but three years later the Journal's circulation had increased to over a million. Other periodicals soon followed the example of the Hearst and Pulitzer papers, each trying to outdo the others in printing vivid accounts of the oppression suffered in Cuba, and in November 1897 a harassed President McKinley pressured Spain into granting Cuba limited self-government within the Spanish empire. These concessions, however, did little to stop the fighting because the Cuban rebels refused to settle for anything less than total independence.

28. Most Cubans worked for near starvation _____.
29. Spanish oppression in _____ resulted in unrest and often revolution.
30. The Cuban Ten Years' War was from _____ to _____.
31. Cuban sugar was brought to the United States duty _____ because of the 1890 McKinley _____ Act.
32. a. The Wilson-Gorman Tariff Act placed a 40% duty on all imported raw _____.
b. In Cuba this caused a diminishing _____, where sugar piled up in their _____, _____ closed down and thousands of Cubans lost their _____.
33. List the two newspapers and their owners that were in battle to outstrip each other's readership. (a) _____, (b) _____

5. De Lôme Letter and the *Maine*. Events in Cuba built up to a crescendo in an amazingly short time. On February 9, 1898, the *New York Journal* published a letter written by Enrique Dupuy de Lôme, Spanish minister to the United States. De Lôme had written the letter to a friend in Havana, Cuba, but the de Lôme letter had been stolen from the mails by a rebel sympathizer and sold to Hearst. In the letter de Lôme states that President McKinley was "... weak and a bidder for the admiration of the crown..."

The outrage of the American people over this insult had hardly subsided when, six days later, a second shock occurred. Because of rioting in Havana, the American battleship *Maine* had anchored in Havana Harbor to protect Americans from the rioters. On February 15, 1898, the *Maine* suddenly and mysteriously blew up and sank. Two hundred sixty-six American seamen were killed. To this day, no one knows who was responsible for the *Maine* tragedy, but the American press was quick to blame Spain. The news media and many citizens interpreted the sinking of the *Maine* as an act of aggression against the United States. "Remember the *Maine*!" became a popular slogan among the war hawks, yet President McKinley was reluctant to plunge the United States into war.

In March, President McKinley sent three notes to Spain demanding full independence for Cuba. On April 19, 1898, the United States Congress passed a resolution declaring that Cuba was indeed independent. Although Congress disavowed any United States intention of acquiring Cuba, it authorized the use of the American army and navy to force Spain to withdraw. On April 25, 1898, the United States formally declared that as of April 21, 1898, a state of war did exist between the United States and Spain. Some Americans seemed eager for war, but others did not.

B. Spanish-American War

The Spanish-American War marked the emergence of the United States as a world power. While it may be thought of as America's last national war, it was also the war that catapulted her into the international arena. Even though the Spanish-American War was extremely short-lived, lasting only from April to August of 1898, it acted as an effective adhesive in unifying the nation, which was still disunited a full generation after the War Between the States. During the Spanish-American War, many former Confederate officers were given commissions in the armed forces due to the Act of Indemnity that had been passed two years earlier.

1. First Encounter. The first important battle of the Spanish-American War did not occur in Cuba, but in the Philippines. As soon as hostilities appeared imminent, the United States Asiatic Squadron of six ships, under the command of Commodore George Dewey, sailed from Hong Kong to Manila Bay in the Philippines. On May 1, 1898, the United States Asiatic Squadron utterly destroyed the entire Spanish Pacific fleet of ten vessels. This victory was accomplished without loss of American life or serious damage to the American squadron. Only seven Americans were even slightly wounded. The Spaniards suffered losses of 167 killed and 214 wounded. Commodore Dewey then proceeded to blockade Manila Harbor until the United States land troops could arrive. Meanwhile, the United States North Atlantic Squadron, commanded by Rear Admiral William R. Sampson, began the partial blockade of Cuba. At the same time, Sampson's men patrolled the Caribbean looking for the Spanish Atlantic Fleet under Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete's command.

2. Battle for Cuba. On June 22, 1898, Major General William R. Shafter landed 18,000 American troops on the island of Cuba near the towns of Siboney and Daiquiri. The Americans encountered little Spanish resistance during the landing. On July 1 Major General Shafter launched a full-scale, two-pronged attack on the important city of Santiago de Cuba. Half of Shafter's men advanced against the small, but strongly entrenched, Spanish force defending the stone fort of El Caney. The remainder of the American army made a frontal attack on the main Spanish positions at Kettle Hill and San Juan Hill. Because the American press made heroes of the famous Rough Riders Regiment led by Colonel Leonard Wood and Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, the battle of San Juan Hill is the best remembered engagement of the Spanish-American War. Oddly enough, in their cavalry charge up San Juan Hill, the "Rough Riders" did not ride; they walked! Their horses simply did not arrive in time for the battle. Another bureaucratic slip-up caused most of the American soldiers to be wearing winter woolen uniforms in the hot July Cuban sun. In spite of these blunders, the Rough Riders captured the blockhouse on San Juan Hill, but they were immediately trapped by a Spanish counterattack. The famous Rough Riders were finally rescued by African-American soldiers under the command of First Lieutenant John J. (Black Jack) Pershing, who said, "White regiments, black regiments. . . fought shoulder to shoulder, unmindful of race and color . . . mindful only of their common duty as Americans." By nightfall of July 1, 1898, the United States army gained sole control of the heights overlooking Santiago de Cuba. In order to gain this objective, however, the Americans

lost 1,600 men. Sixteen days later General Ramon Blanco, Spanish commander of Santiago de Cuba, surrendered.

34. a. The American battleship _____ anchored in the Havana Harbor to protect Americans during the rioting.
- b. The battleship mysteriously _____ up and _____.
- c. There were _____ American seamen killed.
35. a. The news media and many citizens interpreted the sinking of the *Maine* as an _____ against the United States.
- b. “_____!” became a popular slogan among war hawks.
36. a. The _____ War marked the emergence of the United States as a world power.
- b. The War only lasted from _____ to _____, 1898.
37. The first important battle of the Spanish-American War occurred in the _____.
38. a. Leaders of the Rough Riders were Colonel Leonard _____ & Lieutenant Colonel _____ Roosevelt.
- b. The _____ is the best remembered engagement of the War.
- c. The cavalry charged the hill by _____ since their horses hadn't arrived yet.
39. a. The Rough Riders became trapped by the _____ and were rescued by African-American soldiers.
- b. The African-Americans were under the command of First Lieutenant _____.

3. Destruction of Cervera's Fleet. Admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete had sailed the Spanish Atlantic Fleet into Santiago de Cuba Harbor to refuel. On May 28, 1898, the United States Navy fortuitously discovered the Spanish fleet, and Rear Admiral William T. Sampson and Commodore Winfield S. Schley proceeded to blockade the harbor. The Spanish Atlantic Fleet was still trapped in the harbor when Major General William Shafter arrived with American troops. When Cervera realized that American land forces were within a mile and a half of Santiago de Cuba, he decided to make a dash for the open seas through the naval blockade. On

Sunday morning July 3, 1898, Cervera made his attempt. American vessels, under Commodore Schley, sank or ran aground every Spanish ship. No serious damage was done to any American vessel, but one American was killed on board the *U.S.S. Brooklyn*. The Spaniards total loss was 323 men killed and 151 wounded. The destruction of Cervera's fleet greatly influenced General Blanco's decision to surrender Santiago de Cuba on July 17, 1898.

4. End of the War. With the fall of Santiago de Cuba, the island of Cuba was primarily in American hands. Other Spanish possessions were captured with relatively little difficulty.

On July 25, 1898, Major General Nelson A. Miles led the invasion of the island of Puerto Rico and encountered virtually no opposition in claiming this Spanish possession. Several American military units were also sent to the Philippines, where Commodore George Dewey continued to blockade Manila Harbor. The American troops encountered two separate sources of opposition – the regular Spanish troops and bands of Filipinos, who were fighting for Philippine independence. These freedom fighters, led by Emilio Aguinaldo, were not particularly enthusiastic about domination by either Spain or the United States.

Cut off by Dewey's blockade, surrounded by revolutionists, and threatened by an American army attack, the Spanish authorities in Manila realized they were in a desperate situation and could do little else but surrender. On August 13, 1898, the United States Army entered and occupied Manila. Ironically, however, the armistice ending hostilities had been signed the day before.

C. Aftermath of the Spanish-American War

1. Peace Treaty. After only three months of fighting, the Spanish people and their government in Madrid realized that Spain was losing the war. The Spanish armies in the Philippines and Cuba were incapable of taking the offensive, and they were isolated and abandoned due to the destruction of the Spanish fleet, the Spanish forces in the field could not be reinforced or supplied. The discouraged Spanish authorities began negotiations with the United States through the French ambassador in Washington, D.C., intermediary Jules Cambon. The Treaty of Paris between the United States and Spain was signed in Paris on December 10, 1898.

Through the terms of the treaty, Spain agreed to certain, specific provisions.

(1) Spain granted full independence to Cuba.

(2) Spain ceded Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines to the United States.

(3) The United States paid Spain twenty million dollars for the Philippines.

The total cost of the Spanish American War to the United States was 250 million dollars. More than 5,000 American soldiers and sailors lost their lives; but, of that number, less than 400 men died in actual battle or from battle-related wounds. Over ninety percent of American casualties were the result of dysentery, typhoid, malaria, and yellow fever.

2. American Reaction. On the issue of overseas territorial expansions, Americans were fairly evenly divided. Many American citizens wanted the United States to keep all the newly won territory except Cuba. A good many, however, objected to America becoming a colonial power and vociferously opposed the annexation of new possessions. The famous Populist reformer, William Jennings Bryan, warned that overseas expansionism would lead to domestic despotism. So much opposition existed that the United States Senate, on February 6, 1899, ratified the peace treaty between the United States and Spain by a mere single vote.

3. Annexation of Hawaii. The question over the annexation of Hawaii was really not a part of the Spanish-American War, but the general expansionist thinking that produced the War helped bring about Hawaii's annexation. In 1893 Sanford B. Dole organized a revolt among American settlers living in Hawaii. The last hereditary Queen of Hawaii, Liliuokalani, was overthrown and an independent republic set up. The new Hawaiian government immediately requested annexation by the United States. President Grover Cleveland highly opposed such action, claiming that most native Hawaiians preferred total independence. In 1898, however, expansionist William McKinley espoused the cause of Hawaiian annexation, and Congress by means of a joint resolution, accepted possession of the Hawaiian Islands. Two years later Hawaii was organized as an official United States territory.

4. Panama Canal. Many nations had seen the need for a canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. After the Spanish-American War, the United States was particularly eager to build a canal so as to have better access to her possessions in the Caribbean and the Pacific. The French had already attempted to build a canal, but their effort ended in failure. In 1903 the United States sought to gain permission from Colombia to construct a canal, but the Colombia Senate rejected the American proposal, hoping to obtain better terms the following year. President Theodore Roosevelt was enraged and vowed to do something about the situation. His opportunity soon presented itself when a revolt broke out in the Colombian province of

Panama. President Roosevelt immediately dispatched American naval vessels to Panama to prevent Colombia from quelling the revolution. The new Republic of Panama then gratefully accepted the United States' proposal concerning the digging of a canal. President Roosevelt was truly able to boast, "I took the Canal Zone." The Panama Canal was constructed under the leadership of United States Army engineer George Goethals, who designed a series of locks to raise and lower vessels through the mountains of Panama. In 1914 the fifty-mile long Panama Canal became a functioning reality.

40. With the fall of Santiago de Cuba, the island was primarily in _____ hands.
41. List the terms of the Treaty of Paris
 - (a) _____
 - (b) _____
 - (c) _____
42. Over 90% of American casualties were the result of _____, _____, _____, and _____.
43. The last hereditary Queen of Hawaii was _____.
44. _____ became an official U.S. territory in 1900.
45.
 - a. The _____ was constructed under the leadership of U.S. Army engineer George Goethals.
 - b. Mr. Goethals designed a series of _____ to raise and lower _____ through the mountains of Panama.
 - c. The _____ mile long canal became a functioning reality in _____.

III. DOMESTIC PROGRESSIVISM⁹

A. Children of the Populists

The movement that led to the Populist Party in the 1890s was largely an agrarian movement, but by 1900 American's population was rapidly shifting from farms to cities. This population shift was, in large part, due to depressed economic conditions in rural America. Western and Southern farmers were becoming disenchanted with certain aspects of the economic and political systems, and the population shift simply reflected this dissatisfaction. Adding to the _____

⁹ Progressivism – movement that sees social change as progress

rural-urban population shift was the large-scale immigration of aliens into the cities of the United States.

The problems caused by rapid city growth helped bring about the movement known as progressivism. Other factors that contributed to this progressive movement were the rural Populist thinking brought to the cities by people who came from farms, the development of a larger middle class, and the growth of literacy – people were reading the newspapers.

1. Definition. Progressivism refers to a reform movement that will so change society that “progress” (betterment) will result in the total environment. Progressive reform was supported in industry, in agriculture, and in government. Reforms desired by progressives related to everything from child labor to the conservation of wildlife.

The progressive movement that gradually began in the 1890s lasted through World War I. It was not a unified movement but was, in reality, a national trend, with those interested in one type of reform not necessarily supporting other types of reform movements.

2. Problems. The problems for which progressives desired solutions were multiplex. A great deal of concern was expressed by progressive thinkers regarding economic inequality. Large scale immigration had created ghettos of poverty in cities where new alien residents lived. Often slum conditions, including poverty and filthiness, were the result. Progressives sought to eradicate these conditions from the life of the nation.

The Industrial Revolution was making many people wealthy. To some degree this wealth was the legitimate reward of industrial growth, and entrepreneurs received the profits that their risks and managerial expertise had earned them. In other cases, however, wealth had been extracted from laborers at starvation wages, and unethical deals had been made, either with government or competitors, in an effort to stifle competition. In a free market economy, competition is the natural check upon unfair price escalations; therefore, monopolistic practices result in unfair structuring, and they limit freedom.

For whatever reasons, many progressives opposed wealth inequality and thus proposed means to level the distribution of wealth throughout society. They believed that the existence of monopolies was evidence that free enterprise or *laissez-faire* capitalism was not an adequate economic system. Needless to say, many monopolies had been granted or allowed by corrupt government officials, so it is questionable whether monopolies were really the result of a free market. Progressives desired that the government disband or divide companies that were

monopolistic. This process was called “trust busting” and was to be vigorously pursued by President Theodore Roosevelt and, to some degree, by his successor William Howard Taft.

To effect the redistribution of wealth, progressives advocated a “progressive” income tax that would be based on size of income. Incomes were not taxed at that time, but progressive income taxation had long been a device advocated by socialists. It was part of the platform of Marxists and was advocated by Populists.

Poor working conditions in factories were another agitation of progressives. They opposed the practice of child labor whereby, in some cases, relatively young children worked for many hours and with dangerous equipment. They also opposed long hours and unequal pay for women workers. Progressives desired that factories and mines be made safer. Many industrial accidents occurred each year, and most mines and factories were not concerned with safety features because of the costs involved.

Some progressives were concerned about the conservation of natural resources. Certain forms of wildlife were becoming scarce, and other natural resources were being depleted by industrialization. The timber industry, for example, had been cutting trees all over the east coast without replacing them. In Georgia the famous “yellow pine” was being eradicated by axes and sawmills. Partly due to progressive outcry, these trees began to be replaced with other varieties of pine. Progressives pursued the idea of setting aside natural forests and game preserves for the benefit of future generations.

Many large cities were run by political machines that controlled elections and officeholders that were in turn run by “bosses.” The progressives sought and, in part, succeeded in doing away with the mayor-council form of city government. In 1901, after the great hurricane and tidal wave stifled the government of Galveston, Texas, citizens established a commission form of city government. This meant that a panel of commissioners, each a department head, ran the city. This form of government eventually spread to some four hundred cities across the nation. Another popular reform type of city government, the council hired a professional manager to administrate the city.

Moves were made at the state level to further democratize the state government. Power of state legislatures was diminished by such new devices as the “initiative” and “referendum,” whereby the people could override their state representatives in initiating an opposing legislation. The direct primary was an attempt to circumvent the power of political machines and “bosses.” By 1913 direct election of United States senators replaced election by the state legislatures.

Upon reflection one can see that in the wake of the Industrial revolution, real problems had arisen in American society. Much of society suffered from corruption of principle. The progressives wisely pinpointed the problems; however, their solutions were not offered to bonafide problems, the obstacle with progressivism was that it tended to erode America's free and republican political system by further democratizing or socializing it.

3. Muckrakers. Aggravating the whole situation were reform-minded writers who probed the problems of the time in great detail, both in newspaper articles and books. While many of the problems they purported did exist, some accounts were undoubtedly exaggerated. Supposedly, President Theodore Roosevelt was the first to call these journalists "muckrakers." He labeled them as "rakers of muck."

Newspapers published articles by muckrakers, and many of their writings appeared in news magazines of the day such as *McClure's*. This magazine published Miss Ida Tarbell's *History of Standard Oil* and *The Shame of the Cities* – a series by the editor, Lincoln Steffens. Others wrote books. In 1906 Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, an exposé of the meat packing industry was published.

46. The _____ population shift was the large-scale immigration of aliens into the cities of the US.
47. Progressivism refers to a _____ that will so change society for the betterment of total environment.
48. Progressive reform was supported in _____, in _____ and in _____.
49. a. The _____ was making many people wealthy.
b. The wealth was due in part to _____ from the risk and managerial expertise, but also from laborers at _____ and unethical _____.
50. Some agitations of progressives were:
(a) _____, (b) _____
_____, (c) _____
51. Progressives pursued the idea of setting aside natural _____ and game _____ for the benefit of future _____.

52. By 1913 _____ election of US _____ replaced election by the _____ legislatures.
53. In the wake of the Industrial Revolution society suffered from _____ of principle.
54. a. Reform-minded writers probed the problems of the times in great detail in _____ and _____.
- b. Many of the problems they reported did exist, but some were _____.
- c. President Theodore Roosevelt called them “_____.”
55. Upton Sinclair’s *The Jungle* was an exposé on the _____ industry.

4. Robert M. La Follette, Sr. Throughout much of the history of the progressive movement, one of its leaders, was Robert M. La Follette, Sr., who was also known as “battling Bob.” As governor of Wisconsin from 1900 to 1905, Republican LaFollette battled for reforms in state government. Direct primaries, tax reforms, and tighter railroads regulation were all accomplished under his administration. From 1905 to 1925, La Follette served in the United States Senate. There, he also worked for reform legislation and became the leader of the “Insurgents,” a group of progressive Republicans.

Although a liberal as it applied to domestic policy, La Follette was aligned with the isolationists in foreign policy. He opposed both American entry into World War I and her membership in the League of Nations. Shortly before he died, he broke with the Republican Party and, in the 1924 election, ran as a Progressive Party candidate against Calvin Coolidge. In 1955 he was one of five men elected by the Senate to its Hall of Fame.

B. Theodore Roosevelt

Theodore Roosevelt was one of the most colorful Presidents in American history. He was born a member of one of New York’s wealthy, aristocratic, Dutch families, and he received his education at Harvard. As a child he suffered from chronic asthma and very poor eyesight, but as an adult he made up for his weak and sickly childhood by carrying on a robust, athletic routine. Physical fitness was one of the mainstays of his life, and he built up his body by means of gymnastics and boxing.

Being an enthusiastic naturalist, Roosevelt began taking a great interest in taxonomy when he was a boy. There was always a lab in the Roosevelt home where “Teddy,” as he was called, loved to work. His naturalistic instincts later contributed to his promoting of conservation during his Presidency. Based on an actual event, a cartoonist was inspired to show Roosevelt

refusing to shoot a bear cub. It was the depiction in the cartoon that inspired a toymaker to make the first “Teddy” bear.

Roosevelt, before becoming President, had been engaged in a variety of activities. He had been a state legislator, a rancher in Dakota Territory, president of the New York City Police Commission, a Civil Service Commissioner for Presidents Harrison and Cleveland, Assistant Secretary of the Navy for McKinley, leader of the Rough Riders, and governor of New York.

In the election of 1900, William McKinley was elected President, and as running mate with McKinley, Roosevelt became Vice-President. After only six months in office, however, McKinley was assassinated while attending the Pan American Exposition in Buffalo, New York. On this tragic note, Roosevelt stepped into the Presidency.

1. Foreign Policy. As President, Roosevelt is probably most noted for his achievements in foreign policy. His administration and foreign policy were characterized by the phrase, “Speak softly and carry a big stick.” The “big stick” symbolized America’s willingness to use force to guard freedoms, if necessary.

During Roosevelt’s administrations the United States backed the rebellion of Panama against Colombia. Shortly thereafter the United States and Panama signed a treaty that made possible the building of the Panama Canal.

Due to fear of European interference with debt-ridden Santo Domingo (the present Dominican Republic), Roosevelt formulated the famous “Roosevelt Corollary” to the Monroe Doctrine. The principle established by the “Roosevelt Corollary” was that the United States might intervene when countries south of the border were threatened with European intervention.

2. Domestic Policy. President Roosevelt’s progressivism most clearly revealed itself in his domestic programs. One of his progressive reforms was an emphasis on conservation. During his administration more than 125 million acres were set aside as national forests. He also emphasized the reclamation and irrigation of certain barren portions of the country, especially in the West. His most extensive such project was the Theodore Roosevelt Dam in Arizona.

Roosevelt brought to the Presidency the progressive bias against monopolies. Large monopolies at the time were called trusts. Roosevelt called for the supervision and control of “combination and concentration” in business. The main emphasis in Roosevelt’s program was to stop monopolies designed to hinder competition. To this end the Roosevelt government filed

antitrust suits against many of the large corporations and some of the most powerful people in America. Some of those whose interests were challenged were banker, J.P. Morgan; oil tycoon, John D. Rockefeller; and tobacco magnate, John Duke.

Other reforms by Roosevelt included a policy of cooperation with labor unions, forbidding of railroads to rebate funds to some shippers and not to others, and passage of the Meat Inspection Act and Food and Drug Act to control abuses in the food processing industry.

56. a. Theodore Roosevelt was one of the most _____ Presidents in history.
b. He was a member of one of New York's wealthy, _____, _____ families.
c. He received his education at _____.
57. Roosevelt's _____ instincts contributed to his promoting of conservation.
58. a. Theodore Roosevelt is probably most noted for his achievements in _____.
b. His administration and foreign policy were characterized by the phrase "_____."
c. This "big stick" symbolized American's _____ to use force to guard _____.
59. During Theodore Roosevelt's administration more that _____ million acres were set aside as national _____.
60. Some other important things that Roosevelt did were: stop _____ designed to hinder competition and the passage of the _____ and _____ to control abuses in the food processing industry.

SOME QUOTES FROM THEODORE ROOSEVELT

"Let the watchwords of all our people be the old familiar watchwords of honesty, decency, fair-dealing and commonsense."

"We must treat each man on his worth and merits as a man. We must see that each is given a square deal, because he is entitled to no more and should receive no less."

"There is not in all America a more dangerous trait than the deification of mere smartness unaccompanied by any sense of moral responsibility."

"There is not a man of us who does not at times need a helping hand to be stretched out to him, and then shame upon him who will not stretch out the helping hand to his brother."

“It is not the critic who counts; not the man who points out how the strong man stumbles or where the doer of deeds could have done better. The credit belongs to a man who is actually in the arena, whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood, who strives valiantly, who errs and comes up short again and again, because there is no effort without error or shortcoming . . .”

C. Election of 1912

In 1908 William Howard Taft, who was President Roosevelt’s choice, was elected President over William Jennings Bryan. The election was Bryan’s third and final bid for the coveted office.

Taft was elected as a progressive Republican, and it angered his supporters that he worked out compromises with the “Old Guard” conservative Republicans on certain issues. He cooperated with the conservatives in passing the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, which Western progressives felt was too high and showed favoritism to New England. Because they feared the competition of Canadian farm products, progressives also opposed a reciprocal trade agreement with Canada that would have allowed “free trade” across the Canadian border. Canada herself killed this agreement, however. Among the opponents to this agreement was Robert (“Battling Bob”) M. La Follette.

In 1910 Taft’s administration became enmeshed in an episode that further widened the rift between Taft and the progressives. Conflict arose between Secretary of the Interior Richard Ballinger and Forestry Service Director Gifford Pinchot. It came about because Ballinger desired to allow private businessmen to develop public lands, while Pinchot, a Roosevelt man and passionate naturalist, strongly opposed this plan. In the clash that ensued, Ballinger was wrongly accused of attempting to give coal-laden lands in Alaska to J.P. Morgan and other financial interests. Taft defended his Secretary, whereupon Pinchot appealed to Congress. Because Taft viewed this action on Pinchot’s part as an act of insubordination, he ordered Pinchot’s dismissal.

This angered conservationists and other progressives to whom Pinchot had become a hero. They were also angered that Taft refused to dismiss Ballinger as an anti conservationist. Pinchot’s forces then appealed to Theodore Roosevelt, who had been big game hunting in Africa when the events took place. Upon his return to the United States, Roosevelt took sides with the progressives and Pinchot, and he insulted President Taft by refusing an invitation to the White House.

At the Republican Convention in 1912, Roosevelt attempted to block Taft’s renomination, seeking the nomination for himself. La Follette and some other progressives were angry with Roosevelt because his involvement spoiled the bid “Battling Bob” was making for the

nomination. Conservatives, however, controlled the Convention. Early rebuffs convinced Roosevelt of his weaker delegate strength, and he bolted the Convention and the Republican Party. The conservatives stayed to re-nominate Taft.

Roosevelt then formed the Progressive Party and ran on its ticket. This party is sometimes known as the “Bull Moose” party because of the former President’s statement that he was “fit as a bull moose!”

This split of the Republican vote opened the way for the Democrats. At the Democratic Convention, four strong contenders sought the nomination. Unlike the Republicans, the Democratic Party remained unified and supported the candidate they selected, Woodrow Wilson. Wilson, who won at the Convention on the forty-sixth ballot, was governor of New Jersey and a progressive. Born a Southerner and the son of a Southern Presbyterian minister, Wilson had been a professor of political economy before serving as president of Princeton University.

Needless to say, the election went to Wilson, due in great part to the split in the Republican Party. Taft carried only two states to Roosevelt’s six and Wilson’s forty. Wilson appointed the old populist warhorse, William Jennings Bryan, as his Secretary of State.

In 1921 William Howard Taft would achieve his fondest ambition – not to be President but to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. This appointment as Chief Justice came from President Warren G. Harding, who had re-nominated Taft for the Presidency in 1912.

D. The Fateful Year: 1913

The year 1913 was one of the most significant years in American history. In that year the long period of populist and progressive effort came to fruition when much of the populist-progressive platform became part of America’s fundamental law. This important step was taken by means of two Constitutional amendments and one highly significant banking act.

1. Income Tax. The Sixteenth Amendment has been as significant in its effort upon the financial structure of the United States as the Fourteenth Amendment has been upon civil rights and the courts. This amendment is as follows: *The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several states, and without regard to any census or enumeration.*

Notice that there is no mention in the Amendment that the tax would be graduated or progressive. A graduated tax, however, was the intent of the progressive authors of the Sixteenth

Amendment. They envisioned a graduated tax on income as a way to force the equalization and redistribution of incomes, and the Amendment was advertised throughout the nation as a way to “soak the rich.” While such a tax was advocated by the populists, it had also been promoted by Karl Marx who saw it as one means of socializing an economy.

The first income tax legislation was drafted by Representative Cordell Hull (who later became Secretary of State under Franklin D. Roosevelt), and it was a graduated tax. It appeared as part of the Underwood Tariff bill and was offered as a means to offset revenue losses due to lower tariffs.

While this first tax was graduated, the percentages in that original bill were modest. It laid percentages to be paid according to income:

- (1) One percent of all income, corporate and personal over \$3,000.
- (2) One percent additional surtax on income over \$20,000.
- (3) Surtax to be graduated to a maximum of seven percent on income over \$500,000.

In comparison today's corporations are taxed about forty-eight percent, and individuals are taxed from about ten percent to as much as ninety percent. Income tax has been the means of financing massive federal spending, especially since 1933 (the year Franklin Roosevelt was inaugurated).

In actuality, the graduated income tax falls heaviest on the middle class and not, as originally advertised, on the rich. Its graduated nature also had a tendency to penalize pay raises because it advances an individual to a higher tax bracket, which may stifle initiative.

61. Before Woodrow Wilson became President he had been the governor of _____
_____, a professor of political economy and president of _____
_____.
62. a. 1913 was one of the most _____ years in American history.
b. Important steps were taken with _____ Constitutional amendments and a
_____ act.
63. What does the 16th Amendment say? _____

64. The first _____ legislation was drafted by rep Cordell Hull.

65. Income tax has been the means of _____ spending.

2. Direct Election of Senators. The Seventeenth Amendment enacted another of the programs advocated by the populists and the progressives. It reads as follows: *The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each state, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislatures. When vacancies happen in the representation of any state in the Senate, the executive authority of such state issue writs of election to fill such vacancies. Provided, that the legislature of any state may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.*

This amendment, which allowed for the direct election of senators by the people, made the government more democratic and more responsive to the people as a whole. Prior to this time, United States senators were elected by the state legislatures. Although the amendment represented an erosion of the old federal system, senators now represented the people rather than the states as a whole. As the Founding Fathers had envisioned the legislative branch, the states were to be represented in the Senate; the people were to be represented in the House of Representatives.

3. Federal Reserve System. Karl Marx, in his *Communist Manifesto*, urged a central bank as one means of revolutionizing a country: “Centralization of credit in the bank of the State, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly.”

The populists supported tighter state control over banking. Ironically, the financial instrument created in 1913 as a reaction to progressivism was structured to be controlled by bankers. Prior to that time, the American banking system had been relatively loose and decentralized.

A series of recurring booms and depressions had convinced many leaders that the United States needed more centralized control on the money supply and credit creation. The solution seemed to be a Federal Reserve System and was really the brainchild of Senator Nelson Aldrich, an “Old Guard” Republican with heavy Eastern establishment financial connections.

The new system would be composed of twelve regional Federal Reserve Banks, each owned by the member banks in its district. These regional banks would be bankers' banks. They would maintain cash reserves for regular commercial banks. They would also issue Federal Reserve Notes (paper money) and lend money to member banks. The whole system would be run by the Federal Reserve Board – appointed by the President and composed mainly of bankers. Over the years this system has grown to be the strongest influence on the money supply in America, other than government taxing and spending. It represents a restriction on free enterprise in the financial system. The money supply, due to its manipulation by the Federal Reserve Board, is further removed from such free market forces as supply and demand.

The favoritism the Federal Reserve System showed to bankers – whom both Republican and Democratic progressives disliked – is probably due to the work of Colonel Edward M. House of Texas. He was chief confidant to President Wilson and has been called Wilson's 'alter ego,' or other self. House, who had connections with the Eastern banking establishment, was active in negotiation with the high powers of finance for Wilson.

Many other reforms were initiated by Wilson as a part of his progressive "New Freedom" platform, but these three enactments of 1913 – income tax, direct election of senators, and the Federal Reserve System – far surpass the others in importance. Through Wilson was undoubtedly sincere in his espousal of free enterprise, his progressive program sowed the seeds that later sprang up to severely restrict private enterprise in America. Wilson had said, "If America is not to have free enterprise, then she can have freedom of no sort whatever." Despite his statement, his program greatly advanced America on the road to socialism.

As is seen with the three enactments of 1913, the country's leaders can make decisions that greatly affect people's lives for many generations to follow.

66. The 17th Amendment made provisions for the direct election of _____.
67. a. The Federal Reserve System was the brainchild of Senator _____
_____.
- b. This system would be composed of 12 regional _____
_____.
- c. The system would be run by the _____ and
appointed by the _____.

68. The three enactments of 1913 showed that the country's _____ can make decisions that greatly affect people's _____ for many _____ to follow.