## *Third parties in twentieth century American politics*

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# "THIRD PARTIES IN TWENTIETH CENTURY AMERICAN POLITICS"

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# C O N T E N T S.

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Throughout the twentieth century the United States of America has had a two-party system of government, as the Democrats and Republicans alternately jostled for the favours of the electorate. This is not to say however that the American people has only had a two-party choice, although it is true it has frequently so restricted itself. Throughout the century other parties have been born, fostered, floundered, and died, Socialists, Progressives, Prohibitionists, Union Reformers, Conservatives, Farmer Labourites, and many more too numerous to mention. Indeed because of a surfeit of parties, it has been found necessary to limit this paper to a number of the more important parties, these being arranged into three groups.

The first group are those parties which have depended upon the Charismatic appeal of one man for their support. Their reliance upon this man often left a vacuum with regard to organisation, with the consequence that they fought one election and then disappeared from view. These are the Progressive parties of Theodore Roosevelt, Robert M. La Follette Snr., and Henry Wallace.

Secondly, exemplified by the Socialists, and the Communist Party, which was formed in the years immediately following the First World War, but never attracted a large electoral following until its alliance with Henry Wallace, there is the party which possesses the organisation, but not the appeal to the electorate, so that in consequence this party achieves little at the ballot despite its comparatively long existence.

Lastly there are the parties or interests which, whilst never achieving power nationally, did manage to secure a majority following in a small area, or state, of the union. Such organisations are the Farmer-Labour Party of Minnesota, the States' Rights Democrats of Governor J.Strom Thurmond, and the present-day American Independence party of George C.Wallace.

Such a break-down is purely personal, and arbitrary, some commentators indeed would even suggest that it does not go nearly far enough. Milton C.Cummings, Associate Professor of Political Science at Johns Hopkins University 1. considers there are not three but five types of minor party movement, as follows:- Parties of Economic Protest, Secessionist Parties, Doctrinal Parties, State Minor Parties, and Independent Candidacies. He lists the Populists and the la Follette Progressives as parties of economic protest, and although he considers they possess the same salient characteristics as the secessionist parties, being episodic, having a weak organisational substructure, and whilst they may carry a number of districts for the presidency, they win no Congressional seats, their origins he asserts are different. The secessionists he argues are the Bull Moose and Dixiecrat movements. However, could one place Thurmond's movement in this group? In many states he possessed a sound organisation, although not of his own making, being blatantly stolen from the national Democratic party, and whilst it is true that the Dixiecrats did not win any seats in Congress as a party, it was also true that they did not formally contest any, their supporters being already in control of the Southern Congressional seats, sitting as Democrats.

Cummings' third category coincides with this paper's second grouping, and the old European doctrinal parties, of which the Socialist Party of America is the best example. Despite a lack of success at the Presidential or Congressional poll, the doctrinal party is nevertheless persistent, mainly due to a fairly well - developed organisational substructure in a number of selected areas; as late as 1952, the Socialists still had a large membership in the town of Reading, Pennsylvania, so large as to warrant the organisation of Presidential campaign in order to boost the standing of the slate of candidates for local office.

1. In his book 'Congressmen and the Electorate'. PAGE 160 TABLE 5.5

In the group designated 'State minor parties' Cummings places the Farmer-Labour Party of Minnesota, and the Progressive Party of Wisconsin. Due to a strong local organisation, like the doctrinal parties they are persistent, and whilst carrying no districts for President, Cummings asserts, many win a number of seats in Congress. Did not Senator la Follette himself carry the state of Wisconsin in the 1924 Presidential election, or was this an independent candidacy?

Into this grouping might also be included the American Labour Party, and the Liberal Party, in New York state. The American Labour Party was founded in 1936 with the intention of using it as a vehicle by which to deliver to President Roosevelt as many of New York's radical votes as was possible. This guide was maintained until 1948 when the party came very much under the influence of the American Communist Party in their bid to get Henry Wallace elected President. As these two movements became one, another movement, the Liberal Party was born. Again it was a satellite party, confining itself mainly to the endorsement of Democratic candidates, although in the 1965 election for Mayor of New York, it did nominate its own candidate, Franklin D. Roosevelt Jnr., with disastrous results for both candidate and party.

The independents are Cummings' last grouping, and one which I would consider too small for the scope of this paper. They tend to be persistent, again because of a localised appeal, although charismatic appeal at times has to compensate for lack of organisation in the bid for what are usually congressional honours. Only twice since 1924 have independent candidates secured election to Congress, J.Percy Priest in 1940, and Frazier Reams in 1950 and 1952. Priest later joined the Democratic ranks, and in fact secured re-election as a Democrat, whilst Reams remained an independent and was defeated, running for a third term of office in 1954.

Basically, however, a minority party can be judged by its intentions. Some such groups have sought merely to influence either party policy,

or choice of party leaders, examples of such political phenomena being the two offshoots of the Democratic party at the 1948 Presidential election. The Wallace Progressives, or at least those who voted for Wallace, sought by means of the ballot to show their dissatisfaction at the way in which the party was being guided. It was in fact a genuine vote of protest, whereby the salient point is made, action is taken, and by the next election the wounds are healed, the enemies are allies once more.

Thurmond's movement, however, like the American Independence Party of 1968, the Presidential vehicle of George C. Wallace, was more probably motivated by the forever present Southern hope that they might, by their intervention, force the election of the President into the House of Representatives, thereby securing the election of a more amenable, to Southerners, Chief Executive.

Into this category of 'influencing' parties, one might also include the Socialists, whose major contribution to American politics has been the implementation of so many of the planks of their platform by one or other of the two major parties.

The other parties in this paper might be considered to be those who deliberately set out to influence not by compromise, political blackmail or mere generosity, but those who sought to influence by actually attaining power. To the obvious Presidential aspirations of Theodore Roosevelt, and Robert M. la Follette, must be added the state - wide hopes of Minnesota's Farmer-Labour Party.

Through these media it is the intention of this paper to attempt to show that third parties are not merely political havens for the malcontents, the dissidents, and the disenchanted in a predominantly two-party system, but that all are integral parts of the American body politic, and indeed of the American political tradition.

## Part I - Chapter 1

## The "Bull Moose" Progressives

American politics has known three parties with the empty title of 'Progressive', each of them an independent party in itself, and each having no formal or organisational connection with either of the other two. Here we are to concern ourselves with the Progressive party which fought the election of 1912 under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt, and the Progressive movement which preceeded it.

The Progressive movement, from which the "Bull Moose" party was to eventually stem, was the more respectable successor to the Populist movement of the late nineteenth century. Whereas Populism tended to be a rural and geographically restricted provincial movement, Progressivism was urban, middle-class and nationwide. The greatest social difference between the two movements however, was that the Progressives were supported by the middle-classes, and in some cases were actually led by that group. Accordingly, whilst opponents of the Populists could paint a distorted image of them as wild anarchists, antagonists of the Progressives could do no such thing. The Progressives were not only visible in every section of the community, but highly respectable members of it. 1.

Thus many middle-class opponents of Bryan and his Populists, found themselves forsaking the Republican ranks and joining the Progressive movement, a movement which itself had taken over so much of the Populist platform. As William Allen White in his "Autobiography" wrote, the Progressive leaders "caught the Populists in swimming and stole all of their clothes except the frayed underdrawers of free silver".

Such remarks however, whilst earthily eloquent, tell us little of the socio-economic conditions in which the two movements were spawned and developed. Populism, except for the Western silver men, was a movement that arose from agrarian distress in a period of acute depression.

1. "The Age of Reform" R.Hofstadter. P131
2. Ibid. P132

In that respect it was not unlike the rural New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt, whereas Progressivism emerged from a period of relative prosperity. 1.As George Mowry wrote, "its (progressivisms) reforms were more the results of the heart and the head than of the stomach". 2.

Progressivism prospered upon a working coalition that was forged between the rural territories, tended lovingly by Bryan and the Populists, and the new reform movement in the cities. The latter movement tended to make the Progressives more informed and more moderate than the Populists, and also gave them a greater awareness of social issues. 3.

Concerning the large financial and industrial corporations, the Progressives considered them to be a menace, all too often manipulated by unscrupulous men. On the other hand many Progressives were aware that the newer organisation of industry and finance, emerging with the twentieth century, was a product of social evolution and was there to stay. 4.

With regard to immigrants, the Progressives frequently shared Populist horror at ethnic mixture. However, such racism was no monopoly of the Progressives, for their views were shared to degrees by such men of differing political opinions as Elihu Root, Henry Cabot Lodge, and Eugene V. Debs. Progressives did however have a sense of some obligation to the Immigrants arriving from Central and Eastern Europe, and recognised that this Americanisation was a practical, not idealogical problem that had to be met, and met with a humane and constructive programme.

1. "The Progressive Bridge" Robert S.Maxwell (Indiana Magazine of History - June, 1967). P. 83
2. "George E. Mowry" The Era of Theodore Roosevelt. P 88
3. "Reconstruction of American History" Arthur Mann. P 124
4. "The Age of Reform" R.Hofstadter. P. 134

The growth of union power, a new force in American sociological and political affairs, posed a problem, even a threat, to the Progressives who were essentially middle-class, although perceptive enough to recognise that such local organisations had arisen in response to a real need among the urban masses, that had to be satisfied in some way. 1.

Perhaps the Progressive movement can best be understood by answering the following questions: Why did the middle-classes undergo this awakening at all, and more especially during a period of general prosperity in which most of them seem to have shared? What was the place of economic discontents in the Progressive movement? To what extent did reform originate in other considerations? Throughout the following chapter, it is these questions which I will endeavour to answer.

The Progressive leadership did much to formulate the ideals of the movement. These Mugwumps, 2, as they became known, were progressives not because of economic deprivations, but primarily because they were victims of an upheaval in status that took place in the United States during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Progressivism was thus led by men who suffered from the events of their time, not through a shrinkage in their means, but through a changed pattern in the distribution of deference and power.

The typical Mugwump was basically conservative in his economic and political views. He supported the doctrine of "Laissez - faire".

1. "The Era of Theodore Roosevelt". George E. Mowry. PP 87, 100 - 102
2. From the Algonquin Indian, 'Mugquomp' .... 'an important person the high muck - a muck: .... used ironically'. Mitford M. Mathews, 'A Dictionary of Americanisms'.

His economic programme did not go much beyond tariff reform and sound money, whilst his political programme rested upon the foundations of honest, efficient government and civil service reform. He was a "liberal" in the classic sense. Tariff reform he considered was the sovereign remedy for the huge business combines that were arising. However, he was shut off from the people as much by his social reserve and his amateurism as by his conservative views. He sought popular support on aristocratic terms. The end of this insulation by the Mugwumps was one of the changes that made Progressivism possible.

Progressivism modified the Mugwump's doctrinaire commitment to "Laissez-faire" whilst aristocratic preferences were replaced in a startling revival of enthusiasm for popular government. The movement's great talent, however, was that of dealing with demands of the discontented so as to forestall the latter from starting their own political movement.

A further strength of the Progressives was that they never suffered, even as a young movement, from the financial troubles which kill many political parties before they are hardly off the ground. As Mowry points out1"..... few reform movements in American history have had the support of more wealthy men."

Surveys have shown that the Progressive leader was a professional or businessman, usually a native-born American, and Protestant by religion. Delving more deeply Mowry found that the Californian Progressive was frequently a Freemason and a member of his towns Chamber of Commerce and until 1900 a conservative Republican. Of 41 cases studied, three-quarters of them were college educated. 2.

Though many Progressives were wealthy men, the source of their fortunes seemed to matter little, for the movement attracted self-made millionaires such as John P. Altgeld, the Mayor of Detroit, Hazen Pingree, the Governor Michigan and Samuel ("Golden Rule") Jones, the reform Mayor of Toledo whilst also beckoning to its ranks such men as Tom Johnson,

1. "The Era of Theodore Roosevelt". George E. Mowry. P.P 86
2. Ibid. P.P. 86/87

and Joseph Fels, men of second and third generation of wealth. 1.

A further group who proved to be influential in the movement were the liberal clergy, who succeeded in restoring some of their prestige by making themselves a strong force in the Progressive ranks. Progressivism was basically a latter-day Protestant revival. No other major movement in American political history, unless one classifies abolitionism or prohibitionism as such movements, has ever received so much clerical sanction. 2.

As if to balance the influence of both business and the Protestant church, the Progressive era produced a number of social scientists from secular universities who as such tended to be able to criticise at will those within the movement who had vested interests. Any list of these academics would be both incomplete and boring to the reader, suffice it to mention a mere few of the most influential. Economics was represented by men such as John R. Commons. 3. Richard T. Ely. 4. Thorstein Veblen. 5. and E.R.A. Seligman, political science had as its spokesmen Charles A. Beard, 6. Arthur F. Bentley and J.Allen Smith, whilst the other disciplines of the Social Sciences were represented

1. "The Progressive Bridge". Robert S. Maxwell (Indiana Magazine of History - June, 1968). P 91
2. "The Era of Theodore Roosevelt". George E. Mowry. P 29
3. University Professor, first secretary of the American Institute of Christian Sociology, and author of such books as "Social Reform and the Church."
4. University Professor, and one of the leaders of Josiah Strong's Evangelical Alliance, founded in 1887.
5. Author of "Theory of the Leasure Class".
6. Author of such reference books on American Government as "An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution" and "The Supreme Court and the Constitution."

by E.A.Ross 1. and Lester Ward 2. (Sociology), John Dewey (Philosophy) and Roscoe Pound (Law).

It is in fact interesting to note that in Wisconsin, the only state where Progressivism became strong enough to gain the confidence of the electorate over a period of time, even before the turn of the century there had been a close union between the la Follette regime and the Wisconsin State University at Madisin. The academic scholar was soon to get national recognition which was to culminate in the election to the White House in 1912 (albeit against a Progressive candidate) of Woodrow Wilson, the Democratic Governor of New Jersey, and former President of Princeton University. 3.

The beginnings of the movement can be found in the Interstate Commerce Act (1887), the Sherman Act (1890), the Municipal reform crusade of the 1890's, the local reform associations, and the social legislative programmes started in the various states towards the end of the century. These were the timid beginnings of a movement that did not become nationwide until the years after the start of the twentieth century.4. The period of insulation between the formative years of the mid-nineties and the active years after 1901, was due to the

1. A former Populist who joined the Progressive ranks. Member of the la Follette brains trust at Wisconsin State University, and author of "The Old World in the New", a commentary on the Eastern European immigrant problem from a white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant viewpoint.

2. Referred to by Mowry in "The Era of Theodore Roosevelt and the birth of "Modern America" as the father of American sociology. A paleobotanist with the federal government until 1906, he then accepted a professorship at Brown University.

3. "The Age of Reform". R.Hoftadter. P. 155

4. Ibid. P164

middle-classes, who, as we have seen, were the rank - and - file of the Progressive movement. They were afraid to take further action in the nineties, and put aside their own discontents until it was safe to air them. They were most unwilling to air such grievances during the era of the Populists, who were often portrayed as agitators and preachers of social revolution, no doubt due to the Homestead and Pullman strikes, the march of Coxey's army, the slump in business activity, and the lengthening breadlines. Men such as Bryan, Altgeld, and Debs appeared to the middle-classes as revolutionary leaders, as the Dantons, Robespierres and Marats of the coming social upheaval. Whilst the Populists tended to be silver-haired veterans of old monetary reform crusades, Progressivism was firmly in the hands of youth. The Progressive generation was that which came of age in the 1890's.

As Hofstadter states,[1] when Roosevelt became President, it was merely the symbolic coming-of-age of a generation who felt the need of a new philosophy and a new politics.

Whilst the Progressives inspired an enthusiastic, sometimes fenatical, following, by speaking of returning government to the people, they were quite prepared to make use of state intervention in the economic sphere when it suited their purpose. Ironically enough, on many national issues, the Progressives had reliable allies in the same agrarian rebels for whom the "Mugwumps" had nothing but contempt.2.

The beginning of the twentieth century was a period of great population growth for the United States. Growth not by natural reproduction, but by immigration. Indescriminate immigration usually leads to prejudice and hostility, and America was certainly no exception. Hostility to immigrants was probably most common towards the extreme ends of the political spectrum, even by those Progressives most influenced by the Populist inheritance.3.

1. "The Age of Reform". R.Hofstadter. P167
2. "The American Political Traditions". R.Hofstadter. P177
3. "The Age of Reform". R.Hofstadter. P177

By 1912, the main parties had each been able to look at the phenomena for several years, and to formulate their own policies. The regular Republicans had a platform that gestured vaguely towards the restriction of immigration, whilst the insurgent Progressives tended to be more humanitarian, and spoke of the necessity to aid, protect, and Americanise the immigrant. The Democrats simply straddled the problem by never mentioning it, because their two most influential groups, the urban machines, and the radical agrarians, stood sharply at odds on this issue.1.

This does not mean that the Progressives were never divided on the issue, because they frequently were. Those Progressives with Populist backgrounds were frank to express their dislike of the immigrants and attacked the continuing policy of unrestricted immigration. Many labour leaders and intellectuals were included among this group, and in fact radicals of the calibre of Ross, Commons, and Edward Benis lost their academic jobs because of their anti-immigrant outlook.2.

Liberal Progressives however set out to Americanise the immigrant by educating him in English and Civics. Whilst there is no doubt this instruction was given on humanitarian grounds, it should also be noted that those Progressives in industry realised that on purely economic grounds, the courtship of the immigrant was a necessity.3.

It is indeed ironic to find that politically the immigrants were usually at odds with the reform aspirations of the American Progressive, and in fact it was the unswerving loyalty if the immigrant voters to the urban bosses that was one of the reasons why local reform victories were so short lived.4.

1. "The Era of Theodore Roosevelt". George E. Mowry. PP 92/94
2. "The Age of Reform". R. Hofstadter. P.78
3. "The American People". Oscar Handlin. P.P. 329/335
4. "The Era of Theodore Roosevelt". George E. Mowry. P78

The reason for the lack of appeal of the Progressive movement to the immigrant voter lies in the contrasting social background of the Yankee Progressive, and the immigrant. The former was born into a society which existed upon the principles of democracy, whereas the immigrants were from countries with autocratic societies and feudal traditions. They had no conception of the role of the active citizen, and only assumed their civic role in response to their Old World loyalties such as the First World War, or to their own immediate needs in the struggle for survival. Thus the immigrant often failed to understand the reformers especially those standing for such policies as women's rights, Sunday laws, and temperance, whilst understanding full well the machine boss with his appealing favours. The immigrant wanted humanity not efficiency. 1.

It was this insulation of the Progressive from the most exploited, and most exploitable, sector of the population, which proved one of the main factors in reducing the social range, and ultimately the radical drive, of the progressive programme, and kept the progressive genteel, proper, and safe.

If the weakness of the Progressive movement was its failure to exploit the immigrant class, then its most likely strength, apart from its leaders, lay in its journalism, though hardly in the quality of its journalism. The basic characteristic was one of exposure, using the sensationalist style of journalism known as "Muckraking". Muckraking in the Progressive era, however, was neither new in its ideas, nor in its existence, it was able to gain nationwide attention through the mass media with their national circulations. 2.

Funds were provided for the investigations of the muckraking reporters. S.S.McClure, the publisher, estimated that the articles of Ida Tarbell cost $ 4,000 each to produce, whilst those of Lincoln Steffens cost only $ 2,000 each. Whereas most muckrakers had previously restricted themselves to naming malpractices in American business and

1. "The Age of Reform". R. Hofstadter. PP 181/182
2. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B. Hesseltine. P67

politics, the Progressives also named the malpractitioners and their specific misdeeds, and proclaimed these facts to the nation.1.

Such campaigns however, due to the large costs involved, were only possible through the expansion of the newspaper circulation. This in turn had only been achieved because of the rapid urbanisation of the country. In 1870 there were a mere 574 daily newspapers in the whole of the United States. By 1899 this figure had risen to 1,610 whilst ten years later it was as high as 2,600. Circulation accordingly increased over the same period from 2,800,000 copies daily to 24,200,000 copies. Publishers saw that the popular press was a means of not only distributing news, but of also influencing the masses. 2.

Within the limited framework of the reforms that were possible without structural alterations in the American social and economic system, the muckrakers did at least achieve something in the form of legislative changes and social facewashing. The temper of the early writers of "McClures" must have been more akin to that of their middle-class audience than was the attitude of their Socialist counterparts such as Gustavus Myers, Upton Sinclair, and Charles Edward Russell, who wanted to carry the implications of such exposures to their utmost practical conclusions. To the Progressives credit, the essential train of thought in their journalism was that of 'realism'. 3.

The main targets of the Progressive press were urban conditions, and corruption, a particularly fine issue for the moral energies of the average progressive who was always ready to be convinced that the country was thoroughly wicked. The muckrakers accordingly supplied him with a wealth of plausible evidence. 4.

1. "The Age of Reform". R. Hoftadter. P186
2. "The Era of Theodore Roosevelt". George E. Mowry. PP 64/65
3. "The Era of Theodore Roosevelt". George E. Mowry. P 65
4. "The Age of Reform". R. Hofstadter. P210

We have so far confined ourselves to identifying the Progressive ideals, but who exactly were the Progressives, and from what social groups were they drawn?

Progressivism appealled to the small businessman who had been overwhelmed or outdistanced by the great competitors. It also appealled to the new middle - class of technicians, salaried professionals, clerical workers, salespeople, and public service personnel, that multiplied with the coming of the great corporations. This was the most rapidly expanding stratum of society in the era. It accounted for 6% of the middle class in 1910, whereas 40 years earlier it covered only 3% of that class. The movement also included over three million independent entrepreneurs and self-employed professional men. These were the classes who could not strike, fix prices or support expensive lobbies, however, being literate they were able to read the Progressive magazines, and use their vote. Such votes were to have a great moulding effect upon the American polity in the early twentieth century. 1.

One sphere which the Progressives influenced was that of the Trusts, that is the better regulation of the railways and the control of the great industrial combines. The Progressives were worried not only at the economic power wielded by such giants as the Standard Oil Company. 2, but at the possibility of them using this power for political ends, a move which would ultimately mean the end of American democracy. Such thinking in fact displayed some of that same fear of some secret plutocracy of conspirators, as was shown by the Populists. However, the Progressives were not suspicious of social plutocrats they were merely restive at the thought that vital decisions were being made with which they had nothing to do. Such awareness is a vital theme in trying to understand the Progressive movement and is one to which we will be constantly returning to in this paper. 3.

1. "The Age of Reform". R. Hofstadter. P.P 215/216
2. After the publication of Henry Demarest Lloyd's book "Wealth against Commonwealth", The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey had come to represent to the American public the personification of the word 'trust' despite it being one of only many national industrial combines.
3. "The Era of Theodore Roosevelt". George E. Mowry. PP104/105.

While today we readily accept the fact that industrial executives are paid more than our legislators, a not uncommon procedure in most contemporary societies, the Progressives were always daunted by the spectre of private power far greater than the public power of the state.

In 1888, Charles William Eliot 1. discovered that a railway company with its offices in Boston, employed a total of 18,000 people, had gross receipts of $ 40 million, and paid a highest salary of $35,000 per annum. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, however, during the same period employed only 6,000 people, enjoyed gross receipts of only $ 7 million and had a maximum salary of $ 6,500. Such discoveries led Eliot to comment that "the activity of corporations, great and small, penetrates every part of the industrial and social body, and their daily maintenance brings into play more mental and moral force than the maintenance of all the governments on the (American) Continent combined."

Twenty years later Senator Robert la Follette Senior of Wisconsin, speaking in the Senate, showed that by employing the practices of interlocking directorates fewer than 100 men, acting in concert, controlled the great business interests of the country. In 1912 the Pujo Committee found that interests of J.P. Morgan and Company at the peak of the financial system held 341 directorships in 112 corporations with aggregate resources, and capitalisation, of $ 22,245,000,000 equivalent to the value of all property in the twenty two states West of the Mississippi River. Federal regulation of these financial giants was begun with the Interstate Commerce Act (1887) and the Sherman Act (1890).2. Legislative control of the trusts, was however only realised in the Progressive era, when a large number of measures gained prominence on the Statute Book.

1. In his essay "The Working of the American Democracy."
2. "The Age of Reform". R. Hofstadter. P 230

The basis of trust control, as outlined by the Progressives, should be a dual programme of economic remedies designed to minimise any dangers from both the extreme left and right, on the one side they feared the power of the plutocracy, and on the other, the poverty and restlessness of the masses. The Progressives wanted political leadership restored to a responsible middleclass, who were neither ultra-conservative nor "wild radical" as Theodore Roosevelt chose to call those of Socialist tendencies.1.

Progressivism's first ideals were believed to be a complete reformation of the business order with priority being given to monopoly regulation, restoration of competition, and an expansion of credit to help the consumer, small businessman, and farmer, rather than the great corporations who had previously reaped the benefits of credit solely for themselves.2. After a restoration of economic order Progressivism was to deal with what is termed "the Social question". Already we have seen the humanitarian views of the Progressives with regard to immigrants, their policy regarding the social question was their answer to the exploitation of the working population. The Progressives had a passion for social justice expounding their views on labour and capital, slums, and the employment of female and child labour, although not all of such passion was on humanitarian grounds. The Progressives merely wished to grant the urban masses enough social rights to appease them. They saw any bid by ultra conservatives to deny the masses any rights as an omission that would increase social resentment, which would find expression in radical and social programmes.3.

1. "The American Political Tradition". R. Hofstadter. P 205.
2. "Since 1900". D.J.Barck and N.M.Blake. P 33
3. "British Essays in American History". C.P.Hill. PP 236/239

Whilst sympathising with the problems of labour, the Progressives were genuinely troubled by the fact that it could become as menacing a giant as big big business in an effort to counter balance the corporations. However, when the Labour movement was moderate it was accepted into the movement, although in such places as San Francisco, where labour for a time dominated local government, Progressivism took on a decidedly anti labour tinge, yet it must be remembered, when talking of labour-Progressive relations, that it was Progressive insistence which made workmans compensation a fact within the law, an achievement that itself would have made the Progressive movement worth while. Because of the Progressives, trade unions were accepted as legitimate labour organisations by the United States in the early twentieth century, being preceeded only by such socially conscious countries as Great Britain and the Scandinavian nations.1.

So far however we have confined ourselves to Progressivism as a social movement, we must now look at it from another angle, that of a political movement and party.

Although the Progressive movement was a middle class movement spanning both the Republican and Democratic parties, the Progressive party itself was basically a bolt from the Republican party at the 1912 election. It supported former President Theodore Roosevelt, the nominee of the "insurgent" or "progressive" Republicans, rather than the conservative President William Howard Taft. However, to understand the full implications of this bolt, it is necessary to go back to when Theodore Roosevelt himself was President.2.

1. "The Age of Reform". R. Hofstadter. P 242

2. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B. Hesseltine. P 72

By 1907, it was apparent that he was not going to offer himself once more as a Presidential candidate, it was equally apparent that he would support the nomination for the Presidency of Taft, his Secretary of War. Taft was very much a conservative, and his nomination alienated the more progressive members of the Republican party.1. notably Senator Robert la Follette of Wisconsin, and Governor Charles Evans Hughes of New York.2.

Taft won the election of 1908, whereupon Roosevelt went to Africa for two years on a much publicised hunting expedition. However, although he left a conservative in the White House, the political temper on Capital Hill was becoming increasingly progressive, there being some thirty insurgent Republican congressmen including George W.Norris (Massachusetts), Charles A. Lindbergh (Minnesota), and Victor Murdoch of Kansas, as well as freshmen Senators Albert B. Cummins of Iowa and Coe Crawford of South Dakota. Whilst they were all able politicians, they did however lack both knowledge of Senate procedure, and an acknowledged leader. New members such as Bristow.3. and Cummins were willing and eager, but inexperienced, whilst la Follette, although more able, preferred to concern himself more with research.4. The group suffered from being unable to hold together.

1. "The Republican Party 1854-1964". George H. Mayer. P 302
2. Elected 1906, served two terms as Governor, before becoming a Supreme Court Justice in 1910, Republican Presidential Candidate in 1916, later re-appointed to the Supreme Court of which he was chief Justice.
3. Joseph L. Bristow was formerly an assistance Postmaster General in the Roosevelt Administration, elected Senator from Kansas, 1908.
4. "The Republican Party 1854-1964". George H. Mayer. P 308

They did, however, make one notable contribution to Congress in the two years up to 1910, and that was for their unstinting opposition to the new Aldrich tariffs which had been laid on the floor of the Senate by the senior Senator from Rhode Island.1. The insurgents left Taft in a quandary, for he did not know whether to follow his own viewpoint and support the minority of his party, or to bow to the Aldrich cabal who, it could be argued, reflected the true opinion of the Republicans. After playing a game of fence-sitting he decided to back the party regulars, a decision he must have regretted later, for it alienated a large reform section in his party, a group noticably from the territory of his own birth, the Middle West.2.

By each taking allotted sections of the Aldrich Bill, and criticising that given section, the insurgents at the same time proved to themselves that they too were capable of working in harmony. They were now a united faction in Congress.

On June, 16th, 1910, Roosevelt returned to the United States from his hunting. Waiting to greet him was Gifford Pinchot a personal friend of the former President, who now wanted to help convert Roosevelt's personal misgivings about the President into political ones, although Pinchots own personal motives were somewhat doubtful.3. Within the month Roosevelt had re-entered politics by securing his own election as temporary chairman at the Republican Convention of New York State. Roosevelt, I feel, believed that by his intervention, and his alone, the warring factions of the Republican party could be united again, his motives I believe were genuine, however, his decision to re-enter politics inevitably meant a conflict with the luckless Taft.4.

1. "Beveridge and the Election of 1912". James R.Parker. (Indiana Magazine of History - June, 1967). PP 104-105
2. "The Era of Theodore Roosevelt". George E. Mowry. P247
3. Pinchot had been head of the Forestry Bureau in the Department of Agriculture under both Roosevelt and Taft. He was dismissed by Taft however following a campaign to smear the name of Richard Achilles Ballinger, who had replaced Pinchots friend James L. Garfield as Secretary of the Interior when Taft assumed the Presidency.
4. "The Republican Party 1854-1964". George W. Mayer. P318

In August 1910 Roosevelt plunged a step further into the political cauldron with his famous "New Nationalism" speech at Osawatomie, Kansas. In the speech Roosevelt presented himself as a "new" personality however there was little new about his philosophy which was merely a repeat of his old doctrines, interspersed with some of the more challenging Progressive ideas. The Colonel assailed the federal judiciary for obstructing the popular will, whilst proposing a whole slate of ideas for the election-conscious. He was in favour of compensation laws and the limitation of the hours of labour, a graduated income tax and an inheritance tax, a physical evaluation of railway properties to enforce "honest" capitalisation, plus government supervision of capitalisation of all types of corporations engaging in interstate commerce.1.

Democracy, Roosevelt contended, was to be economic, not merely political.

Such a radical outburst by the former President only served to widen the split in the Republican ranks, a fact that was emphasised only three months later at the mid-term elections. For the first time in sixteen years the Democrats gained control of the House of Representatives, and although the Republicans retained their majority in the Senate, it was only a nominal one, sinceit was a small group of progressive Republican Senators who held the balance of power between the almost evenly divided regular Republican and Democratic forces. 2.

1. "The American Political Tradition". R. Hofstadter. P229
2. "The Republican Party 1854-1964". George E. Mayer. P318

The Eastern regulars in the Republican ranks suffered heavily, whilst only three of the 98 insurgent congressmen failed to secure re-election, thus changing radically the balance of power in the G.O.P. on Capitol Hill. Such a vote undoubtedly gave a vote of confidence in the policies of the progressives, though not in Roosevelt himself. Both of his favoured candidates, Henry L.Stimson who was trying to retain the governorship of New York, and Senator Beveridge in Indiana were defeated.1.

Although a Presidential election was two years in the future, the contest for the 1912 election opened almost immediately after the mid-term election of 1910. On January, 21st, 1911, the insurgent Republicans organised the National Progressive Republican League, to be used as the vehicle for the stopping of any Taft renomination in 1912. 2. The movement was strongest, as might be expected, in the Mid-West, where many Senators joined it. However, it failed to gain the support of Roosevelt, although the former President was invited to join the movement. He declined, confining himself to private expressions of sympathy with its objectives.

During this period Roosevelt's intentions are difficult to estimate. Within two weeks of the November elections he spoke at a meeting of the Washington Press Club in the manner of a Presidential candidate, although earlier in 1911 he had appeared reconciled to the renomination of Taft. Some political commentators have suggested

1. "Beveridge and the Election of 1912". James R. Parker. (Indiana Magazine of History - June 1967). PP 107/108

2. "Since 1900". O.J. Barck & N.M.Blake. P 74

that this apparent indecision by Roosevelt was part of a well-planned strategy, that he was in fact to be a candidate for the Republican Presidential nominations, not, however, in 1912, but four years later. It has been argued that Roosevelt foresaw a Democratic landslide in 1912, a protest against the reactionary Taft, who would now be discredited, a result which would have left the party nomination very much for his choosing in 1916, when he would still only be 58 years old.1.

Why then did such an astute politician as Roosevelt throw what appeared to be a carefully worked out plan clean out of the window? It could be argued that, like Van Buren and Fillmore 2. before him, he chose to lead a third party as a means of revenge on the party that had deserted him, or perhaps he saw that by using the name 'Progressive' which by the Summer of 1911 had acquired a form of political magic, he might recover more quickly his past position of leadership. If this was so he might well have taken a lead from his Presidential predecessors who attempted a similar come-back, for both Van Buren and Fillmore had failed 3.

If the term 'Progressive' stimulated the electorate, it did little to stimulate internal harmony within the insurgents ranks. Roosevelts progressive image suffered badly from his determination to work through the regular republican organisation, an organisation which had a reputation for dishonesty, although it had been thoroughly

1. "The American Political Tradition". R. Hofstadter. PP 229/230

2. Martin van Buren and Millard Fillmore were, like Roosevelt, former Presidents who chose to lead third parties as a means to recover their former office.

3. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B.Hesseltine. P 93

cleaned up by the time Taft became President. La Follette headed the faction pushing for the elimination of the Convention system and other impediments to direct popular control, proposals he had put into effect in his home state of Wisconsin, but towards which Bristow and the Senators from Iowa were somewhat cooler than their colleagues. 1.

They were even more vague about the proper role of the national government in regulating economic life. Borah and Bourne hoped to keep power decentralised, while the remainder tended to favour some enlargement of government authority over business. La Follette was especially optimistic about his idea of supervisory commissions, which he proposed should be staffed by disinterested experts whose job was to keep big business in line. As the reform groups had failed to produce tangible improvement in the economic position the discontented became responsive to the idea that the national government might take positive steps for promoting the prosperity of under privileged groups. Thus the insurgents appeared to be on the verge of a redefinition of Progressivism that pointed towards the New Deal. 2.

In the Summer of 1911 small groups of the more influential insurgents, 3, started to look for a possible Presidential candidate.

1. "The Era of Theodore Roosevelt". George E. Mowry. PP 72/73
2. Ibid. P 72
3. These groups could be sub-divided themselves into three groups as follows:-

   The intellectuals of the movement, such as, Amos Pinchot, Charles Crane, Harold Ickes and Gardner Gibson.

   The muckraking journalists E.W.Scripps, E.A.Van Valkenberg and William Allen White.

   Those who could only be described as disciples of Roosevelt, notably Gifford Pinchott and the former Secretary of the Interior, James R. Garfield.

They tended to be handicapped, however, firstly by a lack of co-operation from the insurgent senators, and secondly by a difficulty in deciding on a suitable candidate. The obvious choice as the insurgents' presidential nominee, Theodore Roosevelt, declined all attempts to get him to stand. The only apparent alternative was Senator la Follette who appeared to have little chance of taking the nomination from Taft. La Follette was a lover of lost causes, however, and a pledge of £ 100,000 towards his campaign fund was enough to coax him into a formal declaration of his candidacy on June 17th 1911. This was not to say that la Follette was the undisputed candidate of the progressives in the Republican ranks, indeed the majority of his backers still favoured Roosevelt as candidate, and many hoped that la Follette would stand down when the proper moment came. The candidate himself, however, had no such intention, and set off across country on a campaign that by October only too obviously showed that he was not making much headway in his quest for convention delegates. Roosevelt himself was partly responsible for this by refusing to endorse la Follette's candidacy, although he did give informal encouragement. This stand by Roosevelt slowly strangled the la Follette movement, especially when he refused to disavow his own aspirations towards the candidacy. In fact by this time it was obvious that Roosevelt was going to be a strong contender for the Republican nomination, he was merely refusing to show his hand. 1.

On January 16th, 1912, a formal Theodore Roosevelt organisation was established in Chicago. Two days later the former President received carefully pre-arranged letters of solicitation from three

1. "The Republican Party 1854-1964". George H. Mayer. PP 322/325

Republican governors, asking him to run for the party nomination. He still made no move, however, merely using his replies to hint discreetly of his availability. Such manoeuvres show that Roosevelt did not want to offer himself as a candidate; he preferred a great popular movement to draft his nomination. This he may have done out of vanity, but more probably to show that he was the choice of the rank-and-file of the party and not merely of the bosses. 1.

The campaign took a decisive turn, however, on February 2, when la Follette, during a speech to the Periodic Publishers Association, lost his temper and with it his political judgement, to give a rambling two hour tirade, which not only effectively removed him from the contest, but also gave his supporters a plausible reason for abandoning him 2. This event made it more vital for Roosevelt to make a forthright statement if he wished to inherit la Follette's followers intact. By this time, however, the Colonel was ready to put himself at the head of the insurgents in the name of a new movement. He connected the new Nationalism, a policy he had advocated in the campaign of 1910, to the Progressive movement by blaming the unfortunate President Taft for betraying the Progressive movement. This contention was an essential part of the complex motives that prompted Roosevelt to run. 3.

Roosevelts campaign managers by now had received letters of support from a total of seven 4 Republican governors, and Roosevelt

1. "The Republican Party 1854-1964". George H. Mayer. P 324
2. "Roosevelt and Wilson". D.H.Elletson. PP 95/96
3. "The Republican Party 1854-1964". George H. Mayer. P 325-
4. The seven were:

   Walter R. Stubbs (Kansas). J.M.Carey (Wyoming)
   W.E.Glasscock (West Virginia). Chase T. Osborn (Michigan)
   Chester H. Aldrich (Nebraska). Herbert S. Hadley (Missouri)
   and Robert P.Bass (New Hampshire).

   So eager were the Roosevelt Managers to obtain these letters, that Bass was interrupted whilst on his honeymoon.

regarding these as 'perfectly spontaneous' announced his candidacy by answering the letters on February, 25. The la Follette boom collapsed.1.

Roosevelt had two advantages, both leftovers from his years as President which la Follette as a candidate did not possess. Firstly he was nationally known, whilst the Senator from Wisconsin was well-known only in the Mid-West. Secondly the magic of the name Roosevelt ensured a rapid response to any financial appeal. Roosevelt commanded the support of many men of great wealth. Most notable of these were George W. Perkins 2. and Frank A. Munsey 3. who both pressed Roosevelt to run, and later supplied, according to the revaluations of the Clapp Committee over $ 500,000 to his campaign, and spent even larger sums in indirect support.4.

1. "Since 1900". O.J.Barck and N.M.Blake. P 77

2. Perkins was a former partner in the House of Morgan, a director of International Harvester and an organiser of trusts. He belonged to the wing of Business which was aroused by Taft's vigorous anti-trust policy, especially by the prosecution of so vital a Morgan concern as the United States Steel Corporation. He thus preferred Roosevelt to either Taft or la Follette.
(ICKES. — AMERICAN · HIST. REVIEW — JAN 1941. P 307

3. Munsey was an influential publisher and a large stockbroker in U.S.Steel.

4. "Who Killed the Progressive Party". Harold L.Ickes. (American Historical Review - January, 1941). PP 307/308

In announcing formally that he was a candidate for the Republican nomination, Roosevelt had said "One of the chief principles for which I have stood is the genuine rule of the people. I hope that the people may be given the chance, through direct primaries, to express their preference as to who shall be the nominee." 1.

Taft held by patronage large blocs of delegates in the South and East, therefore Roosevelt's only chance of convincing the Republican party that he was the logical choice for the Presidential nomination was to gain decisive victories in the forthcoming primary elections. Primaries were then comparatively new to American politics, being only introduced in the early twentieth century in Wisconsin. In 1912 thirteen states were to hold primaries giving a total of 388 convention votes, less than the majority needed to gain the nomination. Roosevelt's only hope was for large numbers of Taft delegates to defect to him, in the event of him winning decisive primary victories. 2.

Roosevelt's decision to fight the primaries forced the very frontal encounter which Taft had been trying so hard to avoid. The election primaries developed into a series of nightmares for the President, who was totally unable to match Roosevelt as a mudslinger. In one contest after another, Taft was mercilessly defeated by the former President 3.

In North Dakota Taft polled a mere 1,659 votes, sixteen more than the number of Federal office-holders in the state. Victory was denied Roosevelt on this occasion, however, by the intervention of la Follette, who snatched the spoils in what was his own territory. La Follette had a following in a few North-Central States, and this

1. "Roosevelt and Wilson". D.H.Elletson. P97
2. "A New History of the United States". William Miller. PP 309/317
3. "The Republican Party 1854-1964". George H. Mayer. P326

victory is only noteworthy as the high-water mark of his campaign. Elsewhere the spoils went to Roosevelt, who swept the states of Illinois and Pennsylvania with heavy majorities whilst sharing the Massachusett's delegation with Taft. Even in Ohio, the President's own state, and despite Warren G. Harding's support of Taft, Roosevelt won by a handsome majority. 1.

The total votes gained by each candidate in all states in which there were primaries were as follows:-

| | |
|---|---|
| La Follette | 351,043 votes. |
| Taft | 761,716 votes. |
| Roosevelt | 1,157,397 votes. 2. |

An analysis of these results clearly shows three things. Firstly that President Taft was unpopular, a two-to-one vote being registered against him. Secondly that there was a growing demand from the Republican voter for a 'Progressive Policy' and thirdly that Roosevelt was the voters' choice to implement that policy. There was no doubt that the rank-and-file of the Republican party wanted Theodore Roosevelt as their Presidential candidate. 3.

This obvious popularity did not mean that he would secure the nomination. Taft, by using the power and the patronage of the Presidency, and his aides began organising State Conventions at which Taft delegates would be selected. In the South the Republicans could use patronage most effectively because of the high proportion of offices in relation to the numbers actually voting. Nearly all delegates to Republican State and District Conventions in the South were either office-holders or dependent upon the administration in one way or another. The states of Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina and

1. "The Republican Party 1854-1964". George H. Mayer. PP 326/327
2. "Roosevelt and Wilson". D.H. Elletson. P 97
3. Ibid. PP 97/98

Mississippi cast less than a total of 34,000 votes for Republican candidates at the Presidential election of 1908, yet they sent as many delegates to the National Convention in 1912 as did Oregon, New Hampshire, West Virginia, Connecticut and Kansas, who polled a combined Republican vote of 550,000. 1.

Roosevelt could hardly complain at these anomalies, however, as he had insisted upon the maintenance of the status quo in 1908 in his anxiety to get Taft nominated. 2.

In states where there were no primary elections, Roosevelt supporters organised rival conventions to those organised by the Taft machine. 3. Thus, when the Republican Convention met at Chicago, there were 254 contested seats out of a total of more than a thousand. These contested seats were judged by the Credential Committee, which like the Republican National Committee was controlled by Taft. Finally the Credential Committee gave 235 of these disputed seats to Taft and nineteen to Roosevelt, probably a correct decision in that the Taft delegates were elected under rules approved by Roosevelt himself only four years earlier. In other contests, however, the Committee acted with total disregard to any notions of fair play and democracy. In dealing with the states of Washington and Ohio, for example, they disregarded the results of the primary elections, which had voted overwhelmingly in favour of Roosevelt, and awarded the delegates to Taft. 4.

Roosevelt, who had broken tradition and arrived at Chicago forty-eight hours before the start of the Convention, was furious at the outcome of these contested seats. Nevertheless he concentrated his attack on the refusal of the committee to seat 72 of his delegates.

1. "Roosevelt and Wilson". D.H. Elletson. P98
2. Ibid. P 98
3. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B. Hesseltine. P72
4. "The Republican Party 1854-1964". George H. Mayer. PP317/318

If these were not allowed to take their seats, he said, he would call on his own delegates to boycott the convention, a threat seen by many as a preliminary before a bolt by the Roosevelt delegates. 1.

The major test of strength between the Taft and Roosevelt forces came in the election of a temporary chairman. The Roosevelt nominee was Governor Francis McGovern of Wisconsin, a nomination designed to pick up votes in the favourite-son delegations of la Follette and Cummins. He was defeated, however, 558 votes to 501, by the Taft nominee, Senator Elihu Root of New York, who immediately ruled that delegates whose titles were in dispute could vote in every case except their own, thus enabling Taft to pull his full vote. Such a ruling foreshadowed a Taft nomination. 2.

For the next four days Roosevelt was merely biding his time before the inevitable bolt by his supporters. The reasons for this stalling process were two-fold. Firstly he wanted to show those Roosevelt supporters opposed to a split with the Republican party that compromise was impossible, a fact that Senator Warren of Wyoming found to his dismay when searching for a compromise candidate. Secondly, he wished to gain time to line up journalistic and financial support for a third party. 3. Eventually he obtained both commodities, Munsey promising the backing of his newspaper chain, whilst Perkins backed the party financially. 4.

On Saturday, June 22, nominations began.

Taft was nominated by Warren Gamaliel Harding, an honour received thanks to much hard work behind the scenes by Harry Dougherty.

There was no nominating speech made on behalf of Roosevelt because he had already forbidden his delegation to take any further

1. "Roosevelt and Wilson". D.H.Elletson. P 99
2. "The Republican Party 1854-1964". George H. Mayer. P 328
3. Ibid. P 329
4. "Since 1900". O.J. Barck & N.M.Blake. P 81

part in the proceedings until his 72 disputed delegates were seated. A nominating speech was made for la Follette, however, followed by the seconding speeches, and then the first, and only, ballot. The result, which was never seriously in doubt, was as follows:-

| | |
|---|---|
| Taft: | 561 votes. |
| Roosevelt: | 107 |
| La Follette | 41 |
| Cummins | 17 |
| Hughes | 2 |

A further 344 delegates, all members of the Roosevelt delegation, abstained from voting.

Later that day, as the Taft-Sherman ticket was being renominated, Roosevelt urged his supporters to bolt the party. The bolting delegates met at the Orchestra Hall where they heard the former President call for a Progressive Party enforcing the commandment 'Thou shalt not steal'. The delegates were then urged to return home to sound opinion and to reconvene on August 5 to launch the new party. 2.

Roosevelt was thus fully committed to the formation of a new party. There was no going back; a decision he probably regretted within a week of taking it. The cause for his regret was the Democratic nomination for the Presidency. The Democrats in Convention at Baltimore chose Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey as Presidential candidate on a progressive platform coated with a vague 'states rights' patina to placate the conservative southern elements within the party. 3.

Wilson was a newcomer to national politics, having gained an academic reputation, first as a professor and then President of

1. "Roosevelt and Wilson". D.H. Elletson. P104
2. "The Republican Party 1854-1964". George H. Mayer. P329
3. Ibid. P330

Princeton University. His two years as reform Governor of New Jersey thrust him into the political spotlight, and in 1912 he defeated the favoured 'Champ' Clarke for the Democratic nomination. The appearance of another progressive candidate undoubtedly damaged Roosevelt's chances. From the Progressive point of view Clarke would have been a better choice, in order to split the conservative vote between Taft and the Democrat. 1. Governor Osborne of Michigan, one of the seven governors who had asked Roosevelt to stand, now went so far as to consider a third party unnecessary, although to his credit, his loyalty throughout the campaign was unswerving. However, apart from Senator Dixon of Montana, no Republican Senator or Governor who was due for re-election in 1912 followed Roosevelt. 2.

In fact few members of the Republican party in Congress or in the Governors' Mansions followed the Colonel. With the exceptions of such as Bristow of Kansas, Poindexter of Washington, Governor Hiram Johnson of California and ex-Senator Beveridge of Indiana, who thus signed his political death warrant, the upper echelons of the Progressive Party were, in the main, staffed by lame duck factionalists who were at odds with Taft. 3.

In his 'History of the U.S.A.' Andre Maurois notes that 'Roosevelt's tone was that of a fighting parson' that by using 'Biblical imagery and voice like a shrilling fife stirred men to wrath to combat and to antique virtue'. Such observations might have been taken directly from the Convention of the Progressive Party of 1912, where the atmosphere was nearer to that of a revival meeting than a political gathering.

1. "Roosevelt and Wilson". D.H.Elletson. P115-
2. "The Republican Party 1854-1964". George H. Mayer. P330
3. Ibid. P330

Roosevelt's nomination was a foregone conclusion. He was joined on the ticket by Governor Hiram Johnson of California, and feted by the faithful to the tune of 'Onward Christian Soldiers'. The two candidates were the acclaimed advocates of Progressive ideals. Roosevelt commanded a following of average men and women whose devotion was almost religious, whilst Johnson was a state governor whose progressive record of accomplishments has not been matched to this day. 1.

The main points of the Progressive platform (the complete party manifesto can be found in the appendix to this chapter) were straightforward and hardly novel. The party endorsed the principle of protection, but denounced the Payne-Aldrich tariff, a high-tariff measure that tended to help eastern industry at the expense of the producers of raw material in the South and the West. Also the party advocated most of the progressive measures approved at the Democratic and Republican Conventions. The fact that the Progressives held their Convention last has made them appear to be stealing planks of the other parties' platforms, whereas in fact they were often the originators of such reforms. The Progressives further brought out three novel doctrines. Firstly they wanted the suspension of trust-busting which was to be replaced by the regulation of business by a federal commission. Secondly, they sought a blanket endorsement of the various devices for direct government, obviously a move to placate la Follette and his supporters from the politically-conscious Mid-West. Thirdly, the Progressives proposed a variety of laws for 'social and industrial justice'. 2. These included the improvement of health standards, the prohibition of child labour, and the promotion of economic welfare. These were popular measures with the

1. "Who Killed the Progressive Party". Harold L. Ickes (American Historical Review - January, 1941). P 306

2. "A New History of the United States". William Miller. PP 317/318

rank-and-file Progressive campaigners, and were also possible vote-winning reforms appealing to areas previously Democratic or even Socialist.

The Democrats advanced a platform akin to Laissez-faire liberalism. It encouraged competition, but tempered by the need to curb monopolies. Wilson, however, tended to indulge in high-sounding phrases and vague generalities, both left over from his Princeton days. Roosevelt was far more specific. Indeed Wilson said of the former President 'he is a real vivid person whom they have seen and voted for, and shouted themselves hoarse over, millions strong; I am a vague conjectural personality, more made up of opinions and academic prepossessions than of human traits and red corpuscles. 1.

However, if Wilson lacked the Colonel's personality, he did possess the most precious of political commodities - an organisation. Roosevelt had still to build up a national organisation, from local parties and individuals. Inevitably, therefore, organisation within the Progressive party was piecemeal. In six states Roosevelt controlled the Republican organisation, who would rebel if ordered to do so. Roosevelt did not want rebellion at this stage, however, he wanted organisation, and thus tried to keep such states as these intact, aiming to take over the complete Republican organisation.2. This he accomplished in the states of California and South Dakota, where the Progressives remainded in the Republican party, and controlled it so completely that they instructed Republican presidential electors for Roosevelt. Thus Republican regulars could only vote for Taft as a write-in candidate. A similar situation occurred in Oklahoma, where all but two of the Republican electors

1. "Roosevelt and Wilson". D.H. Elletson. P115

2. "The Republican Party 1854-1964". George H. Meyer. P392

were committed to Roosevelt. Elsewhere both Progressive and Republican electors appeared on the ballot, although a further four states managed to avoid a suicidal Republican-Progressive contest for local offices. Generally the old guard Republican candidates sought to arrest the disintegration of their party by a fusion arrangement on state tickets. This manoeuvre usually failed however due to the bitter partisanship at the grass roots of the two parties. 1.

Following the Taft-Roosevelt battles of the previous spring and summer, the Presidential campaign itself was very much an anti-climax. This was because many observers thought that nothing could now avert a Wilson victory. Republican morale was thus very low.

The campaign was a dull one, although three points in it stood out, each one affecting one of the three contenders for the Presidency.2.

The chances of Taft securing re-election, chances he confided to friends he had little hope of fulfilling, took a further blow during the campaign when Vice-President Sherman suddenly died. He was replaced by Nicholas Murray Butler, the President of Columbia University. However, a change of candidate at such a late date only pushed Republican morale further into the depths. Taft had realised by then that he was a beaten man, and confessed that he might as well abandon the fight. 3.

Roosevelt meanwhile was using every small incident to create sensations during the long listless campaign. The Colonel's flair for drama was shown at Milwaukee when on October 14 he was shot, and superficially wounded, whilst speaking from his campaign train. Rather than retire immediately to have the wound dressed, Roosevelt

1. "The Republican Party 1854-1964". George H. Meyer. P 332
2. Ibid. P 333
3. "Roosevelt and Wilson". D.H.Elletson. P 115

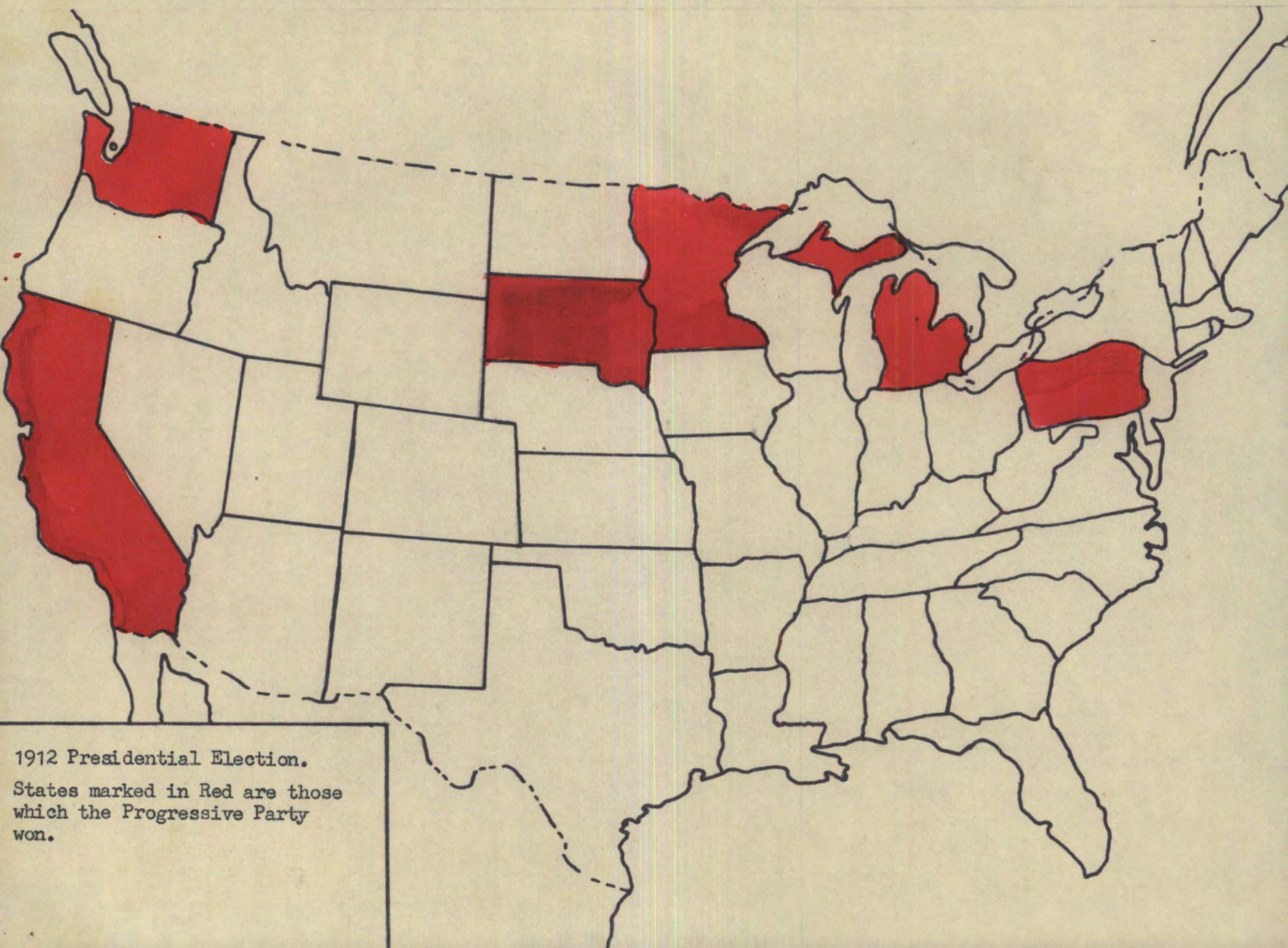
brash hero of the Cuban War, chose to finish his speech first, even going to the extreme in emphasising points by waving a bloody handkerchief. 1. Whilst is is not, of course, possible to state if Roosevelt benefitted in sympathy votes by this shooting, it does serve as an example to show the difference in personality between Taft the administrator, Wilson the academic and later statesman, and Roosevelt the politician. To the credit of Taft and Wilson, they did show a charitable spirit in calling a pause to the campaign, following this incident to the Progressive candidate. 2.

Roosevelt, in one respect at least, showed a similarly charitable spirit to Wilson. During the campaign some of the Republicans had coupled Wilson's name with that of a Mrs. Peck in a campaign of lies and innuendo. The lady in question was a twice-divorced American socialité, resident in Bermuda, whom Wilson had met whilst on vacation during his days at Princeton University. There was little doubt that there was no truth in the Republican charges, and Roosevelt went out of his way to make it clear that he did not believe the rumours. 'Besides' he said with typical abruptness 'it would not work. You can't cast a man in the part of Romeo, who looks and acts so much like the Apothecary's clerk'. 3.

Again it is difficult to analyse what effect these rumours had on Wilson, though probably they mattered very little. Indeed they did not affect in any way Wilson's public image as President.

Little surprise was shown when it was announced that Wilson had won the election, albeit by a minority vote over Taft and Roosevelt.

1. "TR The Story of Theodore Roosevelt and his influence on our times". Noel F. Busch. P 273
2. "The Republican Party 1854-1964". George H. Meyer. P 338
3. "Roosevelt and Wilson". D.H. Elletson. PP 117/118



1912 Presidential Election.

States marked in Red are those which the Progressive Party won.

The electoral college results, however, gave the Republican Party its worst reversal in the college history.1.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| The result of the election was as follows:- | | | |
| Wilson | (Democrat) | 6,296,547 votes. | 435 Electoral Votes. |
| Roosevelt | (Progressive) | 4,126,020 votes. | 88 " " |
| Taft | (Republican) | 3,486,720 votes. | 8 " " 2. |

Almost a million other electors showed their distrust of all three major candidates and voted for the Socialist candidate, Eugene V.Debs.3.

Roosevelt took defeat well, being quoted to reporters as saying, 'I accept the result with entire good humour and contentment.' 4. The Progressive party, surprisingly, had gained second place on the ballot, whilst only two months before it had possessed little or no organisation. Such a factor only emphasises the fact that the majority of so-called 'Progressive' votes, with the possible exception of the Mid-Western states, were, in fact, purely personal votes for Roosevelt. This was shown in the 1914 mid-term elections when the Progressive party, without the charismatic appeal of the former President, lost almost all the ground gained in the previous four years. The result clearly vindicated Roosevelt's

1. Twenty four years later Alfred Landon again only polled eight college votes, thus sharing this dubious distinction with Taft.
2. "Profiles and Portraits of American Presidents". M.Bassett. P120
3. The complete voting statistics of the 1912 Presidential election are to be found in the appendix to this paper.
4. "Roosevelt and Wilson". D.H.Elletson. P118

claim to have been the choice of the majority of Republicans.1.

The Taft forces argued that Roosevelt had, by splitting the Republican party, presented the Presidency to Wilson. There is, however, no evidence to this effect, and I would be more inclined to think that Roosevelt's intervention saved the Republicans from a landslide defeat in a straight fight with Wilson. Further I would consider it ridiculous to suggest that Roosevelt alone had split the G.P.P.; surely the party had split itself.2.

Roosevelt lost the Presidency in 1912 by failing to make inroads into the more traditionally Democratic strongholds of the East and the South. He carried a total of six states in the election, and four of these (Minnesota, Michigan, South Dakota and Washington) formed a scattered strong of states near the Canadian border, which doubtless voted for Roosevelt out of fear for Taft's reciprocity programme. He also carried the states of California, which was no doubt swayed by the presence of Johnson on the Progressive tickets, and Pennsylvania, a strong Republican state, which in 1912 preferred Roosevelt's brand of Republicanism to that of Taft. Elsewhere, however, the inroads which Roosevelt made into the Taft vote, without gaining any from the Democrats' column, meant a state given to Wilson. Wilson won the election of 1912, not because of the Taft-Roosevelt split, but because he himself was a progressive candidate who successfully rebuffed Roosevelt's charge in Democratic territory, a manoeuvre Taft was unable to accomplish because of his prior record of conservatism.3.

1. "Who Killed the Progressive Party". Harold L.Ickes. (American Historical Review - January, 1941). P 306
2. "Roosevelt and Wilson". D.H.Elletson. P 116
3. "The Republican Party 1854-1964". P 333

Throughout history, Taft, for his unpopularity with the electorate, will doubtless take the blame for the Republican defeat of 1912. The results of the Congressional elections showed, however, that the party itself was almost as unpopular. It even lost seats held since the party's inception, over fifty years before, most notable in defeat being 'Uncle' Joe Cannon, the Speaker of the House of Representatives. 1.

The composition of the two houses after the 1912 elections was as follows:- 2.

House of Representatives

Democrats. 291. Republicans 127. Progressives 17.

Senate

Democrats. 51. Republicans 44. Progressives 11.

The Progressives now had to make up their minds whether to remain an independent party, or return to the Republican fold. As the party contained few practical politicians, and the rank-and-file did not understand how political parties were organised having blindly followed Roosevelt in 1912, the majority of Progressives believed that their party already constituted one of the country's two major parties. They accordingly decided to continue the bolt and wait for 1914 and 1916 and the ultimate eclipse of the Republican party. 3.

If the party up to the election of 1912 had been that of Roosevelt, then the post-1912 party became increasingly that of George W. Perkins, who came to control the National Committee of the

1. "The Republican Party 1854-1964". George H. Meyer. P 333
2. Ibid. P 333
3. "Who Killed the Progressive Party". Harold L. Ickes P 308

party, and ultimately the party itself. Under Perkins, Executive Committee meetings were neither frequent, nor even at fixed intervals being held more at Perkins' own pleasure. 1.

Following the Presidential campaign Roosevelt visited Brazil, but whereas in 1910 he returned from Africa 'feeling like a Bull Moose', he returned from South America lacking in his old vigour and dynamism.

In 1914, despite the obvious need for the Progressives to consolidate the position gained two years before, the party made only a half-hearted campaign, and, as such, lost the chance to get a large Progressive Congressional caucus to give the necessary prestige for the 1916 campaign. 2.

Efforts were made in 1914 to secure the election of Gifford Pinchott and Raymond Robins as Senators for Pennsylvania and Illinois respectively, both states where Roosevelt had a large personal following. Roosevelt, to his credit, made every possible effort to get them elected, but to no avail, thus proving, to the Progressives' disappointment, that while a strong popular leader can win votes for himself, he cannot deliver even the most devoted followers to another. 3.

Undoubtedly the disappointing results for the Progressives in 1914 were due to the inevitable defections back to the Republicans in the two years following Presidential elections. The glamour of the protest vote in 1912 had at last worn off, and the weaker of the rebellious Republicans were now returning to their former allegiance.4.

1. "Who Killed the Progressive Party". Harold L. Ickes. (American Historical Review - January, 1941). P314
2. "Roosevelt and Wilson". D.H.Elletson. P131
3. "Who Killed the Progressive Party". Harold L. Ickes. P311 (American Historical Review - January, 1941).
4. Ibid. P311

Many Progressive leaders still wanted their party to carry on despite this last spate of election results. Whilst they did not believe that they could defeat Wilson in 1916 they reasoned that they could at least give the Republicans another beating, with the hope that the G.O.P. following two heavy election defeats would then fold up, leaving the Progressives as one of the two main parties almost by default. 1.

However, there was only one man capable of administering such a blow to the Republicans, and that man, Theodore Roosevelt, was unlikely to run again, unless put in a position in which he could hardly refuse. Roosevelt, in fact, had already suggested another, Senator Philander C.Knox, as a possible candidate, thus making it clear to Progressives that if the Colonel were to be their candidate in 1916 he would have to be drafted. 2.

Roosevelt was obviously hoping to receive both Republican and Progressive nominations, and thus unite the warring factions.3. If this were his plan he was doomed to disappointment, for the leaders of the Republican party, led by the formidable Boise Penrose, still held a deep hatred for the man that they believed cost them victory in 1912. Many Progressives believed, as Perkins wanted Roosevelt to believe, that the Republicans, having been taught a lesson in 1912, might give Roosevelt their nomination in 1916.4.

Roosevelt wanted union with the Republicans, as did Perkins; the Republican Old Guard also wanted union, but not with Roosevelt. Perkins was willing to support Roosevelt for President if he would secure his nomination without too much effort. He was equally willing to support someone else if he, George Perkins, was in at the choosing.

1. "Who Killed the Progressive Party". Harold L. Ickes. (American Historical Review - January, 1941). p 312
2. Ibid. p 312
3. "Roosevelt and Wilson". D.H. Elletson. p 131
4. "Who Killed the Progressive Party". Harold L. Ickes. p 313 (American Historical Review - January, 1941).

It thus became clear that if Roosevelt were to run, it would be as the Progressive candidate only, after he had suffered the humiliation of being offered to the Republicans, and been refused by them. 1.

Meanwhile speculation amongst Republicans led to Justice Charles E.Hughes as a probable candidate for the Presidency. 2.

So as to engineer a reunion of Progressives and Republicans, via their both nominating the same candidate, Perkins organised both party conventions to be in Chicago, and to both open on the same day, 7th June. The Republican convention was to be held in the Coliseum, whilst the Auditoreum Theatre was to be the venue of the Progressive convention.

Perkins' plan at the Progressive convention was to wait and see who was nominated by the Republicans, and then endorse this nomination. He did this after having been in conference with the Republican Old Guard Leaders, and full knowing that the majority of Progressive delegates still wanted Roosevelt as their candidate. 3. Perkins, if the plan were to succeed, thus had to stall for time, while the Progressive delegates, who only wanted to nominate Roosevelt and go home, became increasingly suspicious that they were to be defeated in their attempt to nominate their hero.

Unlike four years earlier, Roosevelt was not present at the Convention, being at home in Oyster Bay, although in communication with convention proceedings via a private line to Perkins. The only view that Roosevelt thus had of the 1916 Convention was through the eyes of a former partner in J.P.Morgan & Co., hardly an unbiassed view of the proceedings. 4.

1. "Roosevelt and Wilson". D.H. Elletson. P.131
2. "Since 1900". O.J.Barck and N.H.Blake. P.206
3. Ibid. PP 206/207
4. "Who Killed the Progressive Party". Harold L.Iokes. (American Historical Review - January, 1941). P.324

A number of Progressives, including Gifford Pinchot, Harold Ickes, Raymond Robins and William Allen White, then realised that there was no chance of the Republicans nominating Roosevelt, unless the Progressives did so first, thus showing to the Old Guard that the Colonel was still their hero. Perkins, they now realised, was selling the Progressive party down the river.

Thus as the Republicans were nominating their candidate, so Bainbridge Colby, who was in telephone contact with the Republican convention, rose and nominated Roosevelt as the Progressive presidential candidate for 1916. The nomination was seconded by Governor Hiram Johnson and made unanimous. Johnson himself was then offered the Vice-Presidential nomination; he declined, however, and the nomination eventually went to John M. Parker, a former Governor of Louisiana. Perkins world fell around him as the Convention Chairman, Robins, refused to give him the floor and so block Roosevelt's nomination. So swift was Roosevelt's nomination, that the Progressive Convention had adjourned before Charles E.Hughes was nominated by the Republicans.1.

Theodore Roosevelt was nominated by the Progressive Convention on 12th June, 1916, at 12.04 p.m. He was immediately contacted by William Allen White, but Roosevelt made it clear that he would not accept the nomination just voted him, whilst being annoyed at Perkins for having cut him off from contact with his friends at the Convention. Roosevelt wanted time to consider his verdict, being under great personal stress at this time, following the death of his son, Quentin, who was killed behind German lines whilst serving with the Air Force. He did not categorically refuse the nomination,

1. "Who Killed the Progressive Party". Harold L.Ickes. (American Historical Review - January, 1941). P327

although his decision was interpreted by newspapers as such. Many progressives thus were given to believe that Roosevelt had betrayed their party.1.

Such a statement was hard for Progressives to believe, for more than once he had assured his followers that, win or lose in 1912, he would carry on. They considered it inconceivable that he had allowed them to convene, and now did not intend to abide by the decision of that convention. He was even distrusted by his former admirers for supporting a Progressive-Republican compromise candidate in the arch-conservative Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. 2. Roosevelt was thus discredited by the very party who only a few weeks earlier had unanimously acclaimed him their choice for President.

Undoubtedly Roosevelt placed too much trust in Perkins, without consulting others, who for themselves, unlike Perkins, had no ulterior motive. As Harold Ickes notes 'Perkins capitalised and betrayed the enthusiasm for, and devotion to, Roosevelt.'

The Progressive National Committee met again soon after Roosevelt declined the nomination, and decided by a vote of 32 to 6 to support Hughes, although Bainbridge Colby advocated the retention of an independent third party headed by Victor Murdock. Parker, the vice-Presidential nominee, also made a plea for a third party ticket, and even ran for vice-President alone, as the Progressive nominee. Such an act of defiance was, of course, doomed to failure, indeed on account of election laws in many states, he was only able to get on the ballot in seven of them. 3.

P74

1. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B.Hesseltine.
2. He also suggested Senator John Wingate Weeks but his name never came into the open. ("Who Killed the Progressive Party". Harold L.Ickes - American Historical Review - January, 1941). P329
3. Georgia, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Indiana, Montana, Minnesota and New York.

The majority of Progressives, however, followed Roosevelt back to the Republican ranks, an act that doubtless pleased Perkins. On the Republican National Committee for the Presidential campaign of 1916 there were besides Willcox, the chairman, eleven regular Republicans and six Progressives. 1. However, despite Old Guard and Progressives serving on the same committee, any efforts to amalgamate Progressives with Republicans failed. This was mainly due to the leaders of the Republican party being unwilling to re-admit the Progressives to the Republican fold without some period of probation.

Hughes' campaign was conducted with a complete lack of vision by his managers. The unfortunate Hughes also had to tolerate and suffer the support of Roosevelt, who spoke during the campaign on behalf of a candidate he had previously called 'a very, very self-centred man'. 2. Such support was dubious as Roosevelt was at this time so pro-ally in his views on World War I as to be a liability to Hughes, in a neutrality-conscious United States. The Progressive party had, in 1912, made a Wilson victory possible in that year; in 1916 there were still enough resentful and disillusioned Progressives to assure his re-election. 3. At the National Committee meeting of the Republican Party held in St.Louis in February, 1918, Harold Ickes,

1. The six were:-

| | |
|---|---|
| Everett Colby | (New Jersey) |
| James L.Garfield | (Ohio) |
| Harold L.Ickes | (Illinois) |
| George W. Perkins | (New York) |
| Chester H.Rowell | (California) |
| Oscar S. Straus | (New York) |

("Who Killed the Progressive Party". Harold L.Ickes American Historical Review - January, 1941). P 324

2. "Roosevelt and Wilson". D.H. Elletson. P 132

3. "T.R. The Story of Theodore Roosevelt and his influence on our times". Noel F. Busch. P 305.

himself a former Progressive, once more suggested union. Again such efforts were thwarted. There was no movement to reunite the two factions, as there had been a movement to split them, instead there was merely a drift from the Progressive back to the Republicans, or to a new found allegiance in the Democratic ranks.

Many commentators accuse Roosevelt of betraying the Progressive Party, but one cannot help but feel that the true villian of the piece was Perkins who by his conniving, used the party as a tool for himself, in order to further his own ambitions, both political and professional. 1.

The Progressive Party was now dead; what lasting memory, if any, had it made upon both American life and the political institutions of that country?

Basically the Progressive movement helped to destroy the autonomous character of political parties. Party leaders now found it harder to control and discipline; a direct result of progressivism which advocated the adoption of the secret Australian ballot, thereby barring political parties from printing their own voting papers, and also the enaction of legislation bringing the Primary election into being. Primaries, of course, stripped the party of much of its control over the nomination of candidates, although, as was seen in 1912, such elections did not strip party bosses of complete control. 2.

In short, because of the Progressive revolution, political parties lost their private voluntary status, and became public institutions, the helpless prey of electoralopinion. 3.

A function of a political party is to influence opinion; the

1. "Who Killed the Progressive Party". Harold L. Ickes. (American Historical Review - January, 1941). P 337
2. "The Republican Party 1854-1964". George H. Meyer. PP 326/328 334
3. Ibid. P 334

Progressives I feel did this without gaining control of the federal government. Influence does not necessarily mean control, as the Bull-Moosers showed - a factor that must be studied closely when evaluating if the party was in fact a success.

## CHAPTER 2.

### The Presidential Campaign of Robert M. la Follette, 1924

This chapter was originally to have been headed 'The Progressive Party of 1924'. However, unlike Theodore Roosevelt in 1912 and Henry Wallace in 1948, La Follette did not run as a candidate of a 'Progressive' party but as an independent nominee of the Conference for Progressive Political Action. Thus, out of deference to the memory of La Follette I have, in the title to this chapter, placed the emphasis not upon the organisation that supported the candidate, but upon the candidate himself, Senator Robert Marion La Follette 1. of Wisconsin.

La Follette, of course, was no newcomer to progressive politics. A reform Governor and Senator he was instrumental in the founding of the National Progressive Republican League in 1911, only to have the mantle of 'hero' of the progressive Republican stolen from him at the eleventh hour by Theodore Roosevelt.2. La Follette never forgave Roosevelt for this, and on election day, although La Follette's Republicans carried Wisconsin, the State's votes in the electoral college were delivered to Woodrow Wilson 3.

1. Robert M. La Follette (1855-1925) entered local politics following a short period of private practice as a lawyer. From 1885 until 1891 he was a representative in Congress. In 1901 he was elected on the Republican ticket as Govenor of Wisconsin, and subsequently re-elected in 1903 and 1905. His more notable achievements as Govenor were in securing the passage of state laws taxing railways according to valuation (1903), nominating all candidates for public office by direct voting of the people (the primary election) (1904) and for regulating railways in the state through a state commission (1905). He resigned the governorship in 1905 on election to the United States Senate, to which office he was re-elected for a further three terms. In 1915 he had been the Senate Sponsor for the Seamen's Bill which provided for better working conditions and an increase in the lifesaving equipment on board ships. He had been a contender for the Republican President nomination in 1912, only to have his ambitions thwarted by Theodore Roosevelt and President Taft, who succeeded in blocking his nomination first as regular Republican and second as a progressive.
2. 'The Era of Theodore Roosevelt'. George E. Mowry. pp 291/295
3. 'Facts about the Presidents'. Joseph Natham Kane. D187

In the legislation of the New Freedom, La Follette and the insurgent Republicans allied themselves with the Liberal Democrats in Congress. However, it was in the sphere of foreign policy that La Follette became most critical of the Wilson Administration.

During the First World War, the Wisconsin Senator endorsed a policy of strict neutrality, and even joined with the Socialists in saying that it was economic rivalries which really lay at the base of the conflict. 'La Follette's Magazine' said that the Navy League was 'little more than a branch office of the house of J.P. Morgan and Company, and a general sales promotion bureau for the various armour and munitions industries'. Then Wilson sent a punitive expedition to Mexico, following raids by Mexico, following raids by Mexican bandits into United States territory, La Follette unerringly scented oil and industrial interests.1.

1. 'Third Party Movements in the United States'. William B. Hesseltine. p 52

The policies he advocated, however, ensured that the Republican party would never accept him, being as it was, very much influenced by both Socialist and pacifist thought. As a contender for the Republican nomination he denounced J.P.Morgan and the Navy League, advocated the nationalisation of the munitions industry and proposed an embargo on arms and ammunition. He also wanted a national referendum prior to any declaration of war by the United States, and supported a conference of nations to settle issues, and an international tribunal for settling international disputes.1.

As if to back up La Follette's claim to the nomination, the Wisconsin and North Dakota 2. delegates to the Republican convention presented a platform, different only from what La Follette advocated in that it was more comprehensive. Again there was a call for government manufacture of munitions, a policy of strict neutrality, a conference of neutral nations, an international peace tribunal, and a referendum before an American declaration of war. The platform also wanted the end of secret diplomacy and dollar diplomacy, a scientific tariff, a patent law so designed as to not foster the creation of monopolies, a stronger pure food law, and as an appeasment to the feminist movement, female suffrage.

The Republicans nominated Justice Charles E.Hughes, being more concerned with regaining the support of the Bull-Moosers than listening to the extreme proposals of La Follette. Undaunted, La Follette continued his crusade and following the Russian Revolution went so far as to applaud that people's efforts at reform, and condemn Wilson's 'private war' against the Soviets. The circulation of 'La Follette's Magazine' grew and it became apparent that the viewpoint of the Senator was at last gaining attention.

1. 'Third Party Movements in the United States'. William B. Hesseltine. P 82

2. The North Dakota State Republican organisation was in fact controlled by an agrarian socialist movement, which in 1916 entered the Republican primary, and following their success was able to exact a Socialist programme under the Republican label.

In the Senate, La Follette attacked American entanglement in the League of Nations, and the Esch Cummings Railroad Act, which released railways from government control at the end of the First World War.

In 1917 a Committee of forty-eight had been convened at St.Louis for the purpose of causing as much political agitation as possible to secure La Follette's nomination at the 1920 Republican Convention. At the beginning of 1920 La Follette was indeed hopeful of widespread support at the convention and said that his views were now more accepted because 'people were beginning to see that the war was fermented to feed the avaricious few'. However, despite this wakening in the country towards La Follette the Republican Convention was not so earily impressed, and again would not even permit the reading of the Wisconsin platform 1.

The Convention nominated Warren Gamaliel Harding, who, the following November, defeated the Democrat nominee, James M.Cox, to become President 2.

For two more years, while the Harding administration carried out its policy of 'Back to Normalcy' La Follette kept up what at times must have seemed a hopeless fight. In February, 1922, however, his Presidential aspirations received a boost with the formation in Chicago of the Conference for Progressive Political Action or C.P.P.A. designed as a vehicle with which to push La Follette's candidacy in 1924.3.

The C.P.P.A. was not a party, it was an association formed from a wide range of political groups who considered La Follette an able Presidential candidate. Prominent among these groups were the Railroad Brotherhoods, who considered themselves victimised by an extremely sweeping injunction obtained by Hardings Attorney-General, Harry Dougherty in a major strike in 1922; the Farmers' Union, who were doubtless feeling the effects of the agricultural depression; the Socialist Party of America,

1. 'Third Party Movements in the United States'. William B. Hesseltine. P84
2. 'Facts about the Presidents'. Joseph Nathan Kane. P197
3. 'The Socialist Party of America'. David A.Shannon. PP 169/170

who were hoping to eventually form a third party, very much on the lines of the British Labour Party; the Farmer-Labour Party of Minnesota, and the non-Partisan League. The committee of forty-eight, which was made up of Roosevelt Progressives who refused to rejoin the G.O.P. in 1916, also joined, as did the Church League for Industrial Democracy, the Methodist Federation of Social Service, and the National Catholic Welfare Council.1.

The Communist Party tried to take over the organisation. However, their efforts were foiled, only for the Communists to then capture and wreck the Farmer-Labour Party.

The C.P.P.A. next issued a statement of intent in its 'Address to the American People', which was basically a 1922 version of Populism and pre-war Progressiveism, being against many things it considered reactionary, but being for only the vague concept of 'government of the people by the people, for the people'.2.

In the mid-term elections of 1922 radical La Follette Republicans won a number of seats, and in December of that year, following a call for unity amongst the Progressives in Congress from La Follette, they formed the People's Legislative Service, intent on driving 'Special Privilege out of the control of the government and restore it to the people'. This group was responsible for three important entries into the Congressional Record. Firstly, they forced a raise in the surtax on incomes, thus making the direct taxation system a little more progressive, secondly, they prevented the government from giving the Muscle Shoals power plant on the Tennesee River to Henry Ford, thus giving a smack in the eye to big business, and lastly, they attacked the Interstate Commerce Commission forits favouritism to the railway networks.

1. 'Third Party Movements in the United States'. William B. Hesseltine. P84

2. 'The Socialist Party of America'. David A.Shannon. P169

Two years later, however, at the Republican Convention, La Follette was spurned once more by that party, the presidential nomination going to Calvin Coolidge.1. the incumbent at the White House, amidst a charge of intrigue 2, on the part of William M. Butler, a Massachusetts textile industrialist, and Coolidge's cabinet advisers.3.

The Progressive forces then decided to meet in Convention at Cleveland to choose a candidate to contest the election as an Independent. La Follette was initially the favourite for the nomination, but not after some opposition from William Gibbs Mc.Adoo, the war-time Federal Administrator of railways, who, however, lost all hope of the nomination when he was implicated in the Teapot Dome Oil Scandals, a left-over from the Harding Administration. The National Committee of the C.P.P.A. accordingly invited La Follette to be the Presidential nominee. They did this even before the Convention opened mainly to prevent the formation of a third party. A floor nomination, they considered, smacked of organisation. This invitation was accepted by La Follette, with the proviso that he stood as an independent and not as a candidate of a new political party. The candidate did, however, predict that a new party would probably be formed after the election, thereby implying that the Presidential election was to be used to see if, in fact, there was sufficient demand for a third party.4.

The Vice-Presidential nomination was eventually given, at a meeting of the C.P.P.A. national committee to the Democratic Senator from Montana, Burton K. Wheeler.5, who had been subject to much publicity following his investigation of the scandals of the Harding Administration.

1. Harding having died in office during his first term.
2. 'Since 1900' O.J.Barck and N.M.Blake. P 303
3. Coolidge gained 1,065 Convention votes, La Follette a mere 34 ('History of the U.S.A.'. Andre Maurois). P111
4. 'The Socialist Party of America'. David A.Shannon. P174
5. Ibid. P176

While such a running-mate added prestige to the ticket, and balanced it politically, I feel that the C.P.P.A. lost many votes by not balancing the ticket georgraphically, both candidates coming from the mid-west. The ticket would probably have benefitted by having Justice Louis Brandeis, an early contender, as La Follette's running-mate, a good geographical choice being a New Yorker, as well as a popular choice with the Socialists, who had not nominated a candidate of their own.

The C.P.P.A. platform was based upon fourteen points, and was almost entirely the work of La Follette himself. It asserted that the power of the Federal government must be used to crush, not foster, monopolies. Public ownership of water power was to be established as well as the control of all other natural resources. A progressive tax system must be imposed upon large incomes and inheritances. There was a need for the enactment of a farm-relief programme, plus reform of the Federal Reserve System. Federal judges were to be subject to direct election, whilst Congress was to have power to override all judicial decisions. The child labour amendment should be quickly ratified, and injunctions denied in labour disputes. The foreign policies of the Harding and Coolidge Administrations were denounced as being mercenary, and were said to be primarily in the interests of the oil lobby, big business, and international bankers. Also in the platform was a plank calling for the general revision of the Treaty of Versailles to bring it in line with the armistice, together with the familiar La Follette calls for a speedy disarmament, the outlawing of all war, and a national referendum before the United States could become involved in hostilities.1.

The writing of such a platform was, of course, an achievement in itself by La Follette, who had to be continually conscious of the different groups and opinions within the federation which made up the C.P.P.A. Thus the platform had to steer almost a middle course among the radicals in his association. The platform, if it did nothing else, showed La Follette to be an extremely able man, who knew full well that he was treading on a knife-edge.

1. 'Documents of American History'. H.S.Commager. PP 374/377

If both the Republican and C.P.P.A. Conventions were merely rubber stamps of an already-assured nomination, the Democratic Convention was anything but so. The Convention was tied for 95 ballots between William Gibbs McAdoo, who had the Convention votes of the South and the West, and 'Al' Smith, the Roman Catholic Governor of New York, who carried the votes of the North and the East. Neither candidate being capable of securing the two-thirds majority demanded at this time at Democratic Conventions, the Convention was finally forced to turn to a compromise candidate, John W.Davis, an unknown business lawyer.1.

In August, 1924, La Follette received an unexpected, though welcome boost to his campaign, when the American Federation of Labour (A.F.L.) endorsed his candidacy. The A.F.L. however, did explain in great lengths that it had no sympathy whatsoever with some of the group who supported La Follette, a direct slight upon the Socialist. This support was only lukewarm, however, many individual unions supporting the major-party candidates. The A.F.L. also had promised financial support amounting to $ 3,000,000 towards the campaign. The unions finally gave only $ 25,000.2.

The support of the A.F.L. was not La Follette's only regret, as he must at times have regretted ever entering into what amounted to an electoral pact with the Socialist Party. The endorsement of La Follette by the Socialists let in both major parties to attack the Wisconsin Senator as a radical.3. A vote for La Follette was said to be a vote for revolution, and the overthrow of the government. Whilst there was, in fact, no coalition of Socialists and Progressives at either state or local level La Follette did appear on some ballots in the Socialist, in others in both Independent and Socialist columns.4.

One could argue that such a working arrangement with the Socialists was essential to La Follette, in that the Socialists had a ready-made

1. 'History of the U.S.A.'. Andre Maurois. P111
2. 'Third Party Movements in the United States'. William B. Hesseltine. P85
3. 'Since 1900'. O.J. Barck and N.M.Blake. P306
4. 'The Socialist Party of America'. David A.Shannon. P179

national organisation, which La Follette, did not himself have but one cannot help but think that on election day this Socialist support lost La Follette more votes than he gained. Unfortunately, however, we cannot tell how many votes La Follette obtained purely on a Socialist ticket, because in some states, California was one of them, the only way one could register a vote for La Follette was to vote the Socialist ticket.

The Socialist for their part honoured the agreement with La Follette, and undoubtedly their own local campaigns suffered at the expense of the Presidential campaign. The Socialist party was an exception, however. The failure of Labour to give adequate support was costly from the point of view of organisation, finance and morale, so that in the end even some of the Mid-West farmers, La Follette's staunchest allies, lost interest in the ticket.1.

Socialist support apart, the campaign became almost a one-man affair La Follette's two best helpers being his two sons 'Young Bob' (Robert M. La Follette Jnr.) and 'Phil' (Philip F. La Follette).

Apart from any smears of radicalism against La Follette, the Republicans used the slogan of 'Coolidge or Chaos' fearing thata large vote in favour of La Follette might throw the election into the House of Representatives, which might thus give the Presidency, not to Davis, but to the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee, Charles W. Bryan, the Governor of Nebraska and the brother of the Commoner.2.

Whether such fears were true or not, Coolidge won in a landslide.

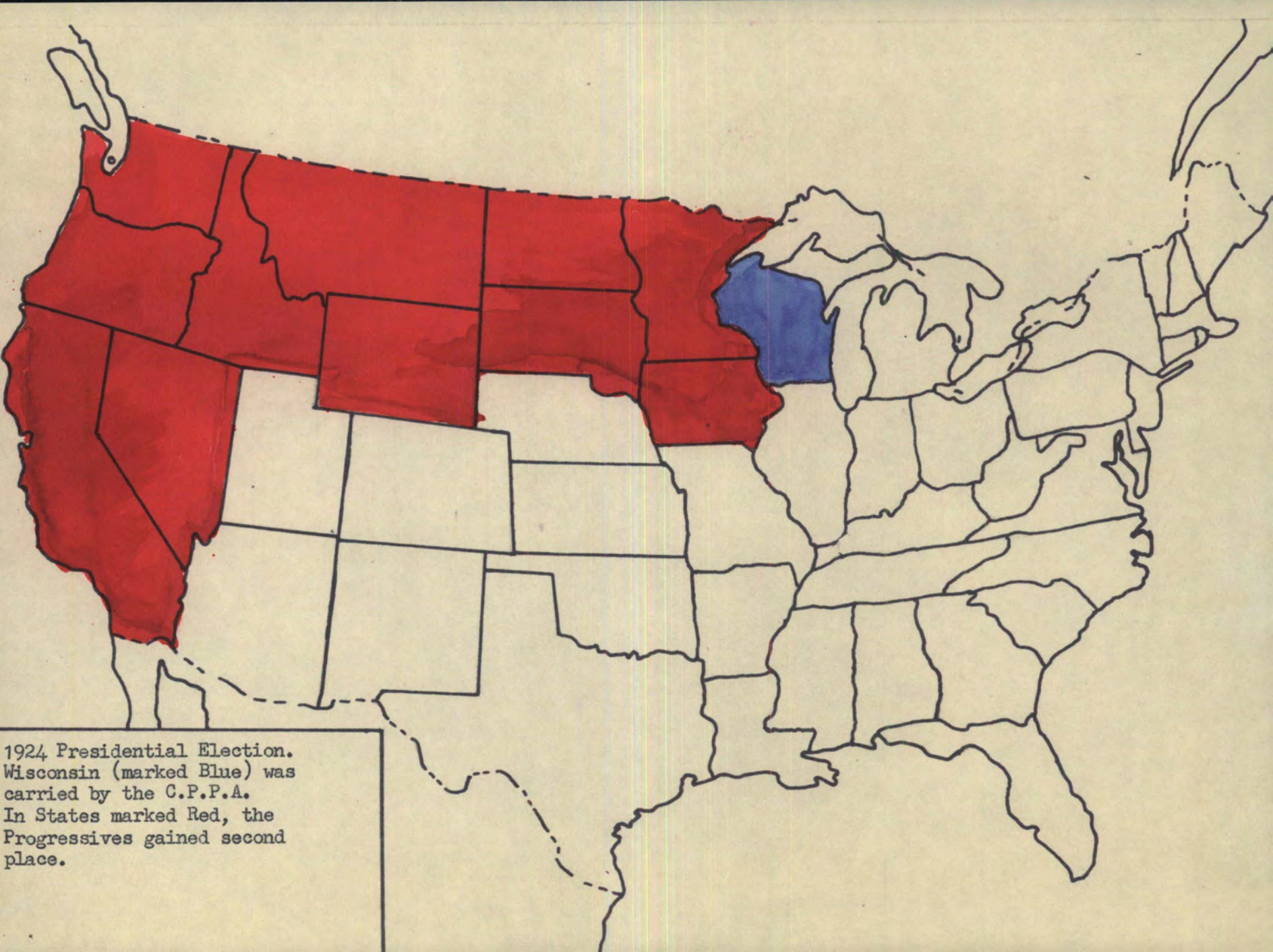
The results of those candidates gaining votes in the electoral college are as follows:- 3.

1. 'The Socialist Party of America'. David A.Shannon. P177
2. Ibid. P177
3. 'Facts about the Presidents'. Joseph Nathan Kane. P203

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Calvin Coolidge (Republican) | 15,718,211 votes. | 382 electoral college votes. | |
| John W. Davis (Democrat) | 8,385,283 votes. | 136 " | " |
| Robert M. la Follette (Independent) | 4,832,614 votes. | 13 " | " 1. |

La Follette thus succeeded in polling more votes than any other third party Presidential candidate, despite finishing third in an election where only about one half of the qualified electorate bothered to vote. He polled 17% of the total vote and carried his home state of Wisconsin. He ran well in a number of industrial counties, although his campaign was obviously not well received in the East, for he carried only one county east of the Mississippi River, and that in Southern Illinois. It goes without saying that he did best in the Spring Wheat, Ranching, Mining and Lumbering country of the North Central States and the North-West.2. He ran second to Coolidge in eleven states, Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Washington, Oregon and California. Six of these states had been carried by Bryan, standing as a Populist candidate in 1896. In several of them la Follette carried many counties, whilst Davis, whose vote was concentrated mainly in the South, failed to carry even a single county. In such States La Follette appeared to have gained many votes from Republican ranks, although on the West Coast he obtained most support from Social Democrats who had hoped for a liberally-inclined nominee, and were disappointed with the Conservative Davis. Nor are these mere assumptions. At the Presidential election of 1928, of the 409 counties that were for La Follette in 1924 only 49 were carried by 'Al' Smith, the remainder going to Republican nominee Herber Hoover. This, of course, suggests that the La Follette vote was a Republican vote, but the 1929 election has its own individual factors, such as Smith's Roman Catholicism.3.

1. This vote was gained from a total of 433 electoral districts in which the presidential candidate appeared on theballot. Pro-La Follette candidates also ran for Congress in a total of 124 electoral districts, gaining a total of 1,029,014 votes.
2. 'The Age of Reform'. R.H.Hofstadter. pp 281/282
3. 'Ibid'. p298



1924 Presidential Election. Wisconsin (marked Blue) was carried by the C.P.P.A. In States marked Red, the Progressives gained second place.

Because of this I have yet to be convinced that the 1924 Progressive movement was just another Republican bolt.

One can confidently say that a large proportion of the La Follette vote appears to have been anti-war, anti-British and pro-German. Certainly the Senator polled heavily amongst Germans and Irish-American, both ethnic groups being hostile to the British.

The strength of La Follette in the isolationist German-American counties had not been the Bull Moose counties of 1912, again a factor against a simple Republican bolt.1.

Apart from their Presidential triumph, the Republican Party also maintained control of Congress, the houses being divided as follows:-

SENATE

Republicans: 50. Democrats: 40. La Follette Radicals: 6.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Republicans: 232. Democrats: 183. La Follette Radicals: 20.

In the years following the 1924 election the Republicans within the C.P.P.A. were to pay dearly for their bolting of the ticket. They frequently lost seats on key Congressional Committees, and lost all hope of Committee Chairmanships. In one instance, Republican senators even refused to seat one of their number, Senator Smith Brookhart of Iowa, and gave his seat to a Democrat. Such a purge as this, of course, only led to factional strife with the Coolidge Administration between 1925 and 1927. These struggles were accentuated by the fact that the supporters of La Follette held what was almost the balance of power in Congress, and to gain support for any measure which they sponsored,

1. 'The Age of Reform'. R.H.Hofstadter. p282

they frequently allied with Democratic Congressmen to form an effective opposition to Administration bills.1.

The 1926 elections showed a definite swing to the left. Brookhart defeated the Administration-backed Albert Cummins in the Iowa Senatorial Primary, and then defeated his Democrat opponent in the November election 2. In North Dakota, Gerald Nye was elected over a Presidential favourite, so that while the Republican majority in the House of Representatives was still a healthy forty, in the Senate, the parties stood as follows:-

Republicans: 48. Democrats: 47. Farmer-Labour: 1. 3.

Because the Republicans had such a small majority, and even then it had to be assumed that La Follette's supporters could be counted upon to vote in the Republican lobby, the Old Guard were forced to restore the purged insurgents to their rightful committee posts and promise them legislative concessions. By 1927, the process of reunion was completed and the Republican partywas a whole entity again.4.

What, therefore, caused the collapse of the movement so soon after the 1924 election?

Perhaps the most important reason must have been the election result itself. The only real success that the C.P.P.A. had, was in the states which bordered La Follette's home state of Wisconsin, and the vote there was almost that of a favourite son than of a candidate of a national third party. He did little to attract votes away from the weak compromise Democratic nominee John W.Davis. It would probably be true to say that La Follette would have fared better four years earlier when the term 'radical' still had an air of romance about it. By 1924 the country was in the middle of a boom era, and under the honest administration of Calvin Coolidge, following the scandals of the Harding Administration.5.

1. 'Since 1900'. O.J.Barck and N.M.Blake. P309
2. Ibid. P309
3. Henrik Shipstead of Minnesota, who served a total of four terms as a Senator, three as a representative of the Farmer-Labour Party, the last as a Republican.
4. 'Since 1900'. O.J.Barck and N.M.Blake. P310
5. 'Third Party Movements in the United States'. William B. Hesseltine. P85-

A further factor in the dissolution of the C.P.P.A. was the differing viewpoints of the several constituent groups. The railway unions soon withdrew from the movement, and even during the campaign labour leader Samuel Gompers showed much caution towards the La Follette movement. Doubtless he regretted the departure from the traditional non-partisan stand of America labour, and swiftly put out peace feelers in the direction of the old parties. The Socialists, who went so far as to claim one million of the La Follette votes for themselves, were insistent upon moving towards the formation of a new party.1.

It was thus decided to bring together all the interested parties at a conference to be held in Chicago during February, 1925. The main groups were the Socialists, who proposed a new third party, the unions, who wanted a return to their former policy of non-alignment, and the rank-and-file Progressives of the North-Western states, who wanted a new national party but were nevertheless suspicious of the Socialists.2.

Not unnaturally the meeting ended in dissent, and the C.P.P.A. came to an end.

Four months later, in June, 1925, Senator Robert M.La Follette died, possibly from a broken heart, more probably worn out from his efforts. His death marked the end of any hope of a national third party, for La Follette himself was the single unifying element in what was a diverse and heterogeneous movement.3. Although Progressivism had now died a national death, it still flourished until 1946 in La Follette's home state of Wisconsin. Up to 1934 Robert M. La Follette Jun., and Phillip F. La Follette kept Wisconsin within the Republican party. However, at that time differences between the Wisconsin progressives and the Republican regulars became too great and the Progressive Party of Wisconsin was organised.

p86

1. 'Third Party Movements in the United States'. William B.Hesseltine.
2. 'The Socialist Party in America'. David A.Shannon. p180
3. 'Third Party Movements in the United States'. William B.Hesseltine. p86

It succeeded that year in securing the election of Phillip F. La Follette to the Governor's mansion, and henceforth continued to deminate Wisconsin politics until after the Second World War. Despite a La Follette endorsement of the Roosevelt ticket in 1932, and again in 1936, the Democrats were the third party in Wisconsin, gaining a mere 8% of the states' votes in the mid-term elections of 1938. The Progressive domination could be attributed to the combination of the intellectuals of the campus and the middle-class, who were proud of the innovations and achievements of the La Follette family, the working-class voters in the largely Germanic big cities, whose politics were heavily influenced by Teutonic beer-hall socialism, and the Scandinavian farming vote. The Progressives thus gained the votes of the three most influential groups in the state.1.

In 1938 Phillip F. La Follette formed the National Progressive Party as a liberal opposition to the New Deal. However, it received no support, and, in fact, was heavily condemned by New Dealers, Socialists and Communists alike, who argued that the party emblem, a voter's cross in a circle, was little more than the Nazi swastika in disguise. What suited the beer-halls of Wisconsin was not acceptable in the country at large.

That same year saw a swing back to the Republicans, an occurrence that was common throughout the whole of the country, and the La Follette family began to lose their grip upon the state. The governorship was lost to the Republican candidate Julius P. Heil to start the death throes of the Wisconsin Progressive Party. The party, however, did last a further eight years, and it was not until 1946 that the Wisconsin progressives voted to rejoin the Republican ranks. That same year Robert M. La Follette Jun. was defeated by Joseph R. Mc.Carthy in the Republican Senatorial Primary, and an era in American politics died. Since 1901 a member of the La Follette family had held one or more of Wisconsin's highest offices. That era had now ended.2.

1. 'The Making of the President - 1960'. Theodore H. White. P81/82
2. 'The Making of the President - 1960'. Theodore H. White. P82

What then caused the eclipse not only of the Wisconsin Progressive Party, but also the family who had disorganised formal party politics in the state for nearly half a century. The answer I feel is Robert M. La Follette Sen. His two sons were unable to measure up to his image. His example was too great. Some might consider that the organisation of the neo-fascist National Progressive Party in 1938 cost the La Follette's eventual control of the state, but I feel that this is highly unlikely in a state with such a large proportion of German-speaking peoples.

The fall of the La Follette family, was due to the great success of Robert M. La Follette Sen., whose sons were unable to emulate his political successes and bring the acclaim of the nation upon the state of Wisconsin, and lastly to the electorate, who, I feel, voted for a new order, following the total domination of state politics by one family for so long.

## CHAPTER 3

### The People's Progressive Party

Basically the People's Progressive party was a combination of the organisation of the American Communist Party, and the electoral appeal of Henry Wallace, the former New Dealer who was dropped as the Democratic choice for the Vice-Presidency in 1944 because of his outspoken radical views. Such a bald statement however does not tell one how and why these two interests should find themselves bedfellows in one of the worst conceptions in American political history.1.

To find the reasons behind this pairing it is necessary to return to the final days of World War Two, and the final days of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the remnants of his New Deal Administration. In February, 1945, as the war in Europe was drawing to a close, the "Big Three" of Winston Churchill, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Joseph Stalin met for further consultations as to the conduct of the war, and of the following peace, at the Crimean resort of Yalta, in what was to prove to be the peak of the wartime entente between the West and the Communist bloc.2.

Five months later the major powers were to meet again in Potsdam, by then however important changes had taken place within the coalition. A General Election in Britain had seen Churchill replaced as Prime Minister by Clement Attlee, whilst in the United States, Roosevelt, who had died the previous April, had been succeeded by his Vice-President, Harry S. Truman. The State Department was no

1. "The Guardian". 18th November, 1965 - Obituary of Henry Wallace.
2. "Roosevelt and Modern America". John A. Woods. P171

longer in the liberal hands of Cordell Hull, and Edward Stettinius; Truman chose a new man in James F. Byrnes, a South Carolina Dixiecrat.

The chilling of Soviet-American relations which started with the Truman - Molotov White House confrontation, which occurred within eleven days of the new President taking office, was completed at the Potsdam Conference. Summer Welles, Under-Secretary of State in the Roosevelt Administration traced this source of change to the death of Roosevelt, whereby the direction of American foreign policy visibly changed as it passed into other hands.1.

The deterioration of Soviet-American relations was further accelerated by Byrnes' handling of the nuclear destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As early as May, 1945, Stalin had made plans to have the Soviet army in position to strike at the Japanese forces in Manchuria on 8th August. A show of force, Stalin believed, would be sufficient to bring about the Japanese surrender, a judgement later reinforced by the fact that in July, Sato, the Japanese Ambassador to Moscow, was instructed to see Molotov, to put before the Soviet Foreign Minister, Emperor Hirohito's desires for a peace. Only the allied terms were believed to be in the way of a termination of hostilities. Stalin considered it better for the allies to accept a modified form of surrender, and then impose their will upon the Japanese people through the forces of occupation.

On July, 26th, thirteen days before the Soviet Union was scheduled

1. "The Ideas of American Foreign Policy" - Michael L. Donelan. P. 5-2

to enter the war, and three months before the November the first deadline for a land invasion of Japan, the United States, Great Britain, and China issued an ultimatum to the Japanese, which demanded that they surrender unconditionally, or face 'prompt' and utter destruction in a way not defined.

The Soviet Union was not consulted as to this latest move, and indeed it appeared that Byrnes was now going out of his way to insult his Russian counterpart, Molotov, by sending the Soviet Foreign Minister a copy of the ultimatum not by telegram, as was usual, but by special messenger. Molotov thus learned of the allied ultimatum at the same time as the American public did. Such a move by the United States would only serve to deepen the resentment between themselves and the Soviet Union, many thus wondered therefore why Truman was adopting this 'get tough' policy. On reflection it appears that it was in fact a move by the President to check Russian designs of imperialism in Eastern Asia. There is now little doubt that Truman and Byrnes wanted to finish the war before the August 8th deadline, so as to keep the Russians out of the war, thus preventing the Soviet Union honouring the Yalta agreement. Such a neglection on the part of the Russians would give the Americans an adequate excuse for not honouring the agreement themselves, thereby thwarting any Russian plans of drawing Dairen and Port Arthur within the scope of their empire.1. Byrnes' problem was how to convince the Russians that the Americans intentions

1. "From Yalta to Vietnam". David Horowitz. P 54/55.

at this time were completely honourable and not just another example of manipulation in international politics. This he attempted to do by telling Molotov that the United States had no desire to embarrass the Soviet Union by presenting it with a declaration affecting a country with which it was not at that time at war. Molotov merely replied that he should nevertheless have been consulted.1.

There seems little doubt that Molotov saw through Byrnes' game, especially with regard to American duplicity over international law, whereby on one hand the United States did not wish the Soviet Union to violate her neutrality, whilst at the same time appearing quite willing to subject the civilian population of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the affects of nuclear fission.2.

Soviet-American relations were thus by now at a low ebb, Byrnes however strained relations even further when he accused the Russians of rigging the Bulgarian elections in direct contravention of the Yalta agreement. Strictly Byrnes was right, Stalin was guilty of rigging the elections in Bulgaria, however, while this action was in contravention of the Yalta agreement, it was at the same time supported by the secret Churchill-Stalin agreement on the Balkans made in Moscow in October, 1944. There is little doubt that Roosevelt disapproved of this agreement, however, Stalin never tried to take advantage of the western powers by capitalising on this disagreement. The Soviet leader placed his own nominees into power in Rumania and Bulgaria, yet allowed Britain a free hand in the suppression of the Communist-dominated EAM-ELAS resistance movement, supervised free elections in

1. "From Yalta to Vietnam". David Horowitz. P 54

2. Ibid. P 55

Hungary in 1945, and even at one stage tried to induce Tito to restore King Peter to the throne of Yugoslavia.1.

Some commentators might consider such an account of the affairs of July and August, 1945, to be weighted against the Truman Administration, for this the author makes no apology. The purpose of this introduction is to show why the Soviet Union was eager to have the President defeated at the next election, in the light of the United States apparently being anxious to resume an amended form of her pre-war isolationist policy. Relationships began to deteriorate at the Potsdam conference which opened on 18th July, the day following America's first successful atomic bomb test at Alamogordo, it thus becomes clear that in fact Truman now considered the United States strong enough to face Japan without the aid of the Soviet Union, and, what is more important, the President considered the West, lead by the United States, strong enough to face up to the future might of the Soviet Union.2. This brief synopsis helps to explain why the American Communist Party was eager to join a coalition to try to remove Truman from office at the next general election, but how and why did the other groups in the People's Progressive Party become implicated?

Perhaps the largest non-Communist group within the Wallace movement was a number of disillusioned New Dealers, who saw the new President allowing their former idol's programme to lapse. Whilst it is true that the New Deal had not the same impetus in 1945 as it had in 1933, this was

1. "From Yalta to Vietnam". David Horowitz. P56
2. "The Ideals of American Foreign Policy". Michael Donelan. pp 52/55.

no fault of Truman, in fact that period of American history known as the "Second New Deal" had ended in 1938, after a brief life span of three years.1. Roosevelt himself had dropped all the electoral slogans of the New Deal in the 1944 campaign against Dewey, in favour of a greater effort in the war.

Truman did not thus break up the New Deal, it had already gone into voluntary liquidation some years earlier, this was of no consequence however to the supporters of Wallace who saw in Truman a conservative usurper upon a liberal throne, the throne that should have been rightfully occupied by their man, Henry A.Wallace. It was this disillusioned element which fell an easy prey to the likes of Eugene Dennis, and the American Communist Party.

1. "Roosevelt and Modern America". John A. Woods. P84

In order to poll well at any election, any candidate must first convince the electorate that his candidature is a serious one. An effective way of doing this is to present oneself as a politically responsible man, and perhaps most important of all, acquire a good organisation.

Henry Wallace, candidate of the People's Progressive Party in 1948, could point to his previous political record as a guide to his political responsibility, but his opponents could counter such credits by showing that the main constituent of the Wallace organisation was the American Communist Party. Nor was this an accident, for as early as 16th November, 1945, Eugene Dennis in his main report to the National Committee of the American Communist Party stated:- (With regard to the American Presidential Election of 1948) "The American people must have an alternative to the two-party strait-jacket; they must be in a position to have a choice in 1948 other than between a Truman and a Dewey or a Vandenberg .....This is why it is necessary from now on to create the conditions and base for organising a major third party nationally".1.

Thus, three years before the actual contest, the Communist Party was beginning to form an organisation to fight the election of 1948. It was not decided, however, if the party should be similar to the American Labour Party in New York, that is, endorsing suitable Democratic candidates, or a completely independent third party ticket. Before this could be decided it was essential to be able to assess

1. "The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon. P114

the potential voting power available to the proposed new party.

An opportunity to test this strength arose when Samual Dickstein, Congressman from Manhattan's Nineteenth District resigned in order to take a state judgeship. The Democratic Party proposed Arthur G. Klein, a former Congressman during the New Deal era. His main opponent was Johannes Steel, the candidate of the American Labour Party. The candidature of Steel, a non-Communist radio news commentator was endorsed by such varied people as the New York Congress of Industrial Organisations, the National Citizens Political Action Committee, the Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences, and Professions, Henry Wallace (Truman's Secretary of Commerce), and Fiorello la Guardia, formerly the Fusion Mayor of New York.1.

The result of the election, held on 19th February, 1946, was as follows:-

| | |
|---|---|
| Arthur G. Klein (Democrat) | 17,360 votes |
| Johannes Steel (American Labour) | 13,421. |
| William S. Shea (Republican) | 4,314. |

Despite Steel's defeat, the Communists were delighted at the result, the candidate that they had chosen to endorse had come within three thousand votes of victory in a traditionally Democrat district of New York City.

Communist delight however was not confined to electoral near-misses, for in the Autumn of 1946, the man the Communists most wanted as the third candidate in the 1948 Presidential election, resigned from the Truman Administration.

In September, 1946, Henry Wallace, the Secretary of Commerce, spoke to a joint meeting of the Committee of Arts, Sciences, and Professions, and the National Citizens Political Action Committees. The speech,

1. "The Decline of American Communism". David A. Shannon. pp 115/116
2. Ibid. p 116

which was shown to, and approved by, President Truman before delivery, contained the assertion that Britain's imperialism in the Near East would provoke Russia into declaring war.1. This outburst brought an immediate protest from Secretary of State James F. Byrnes who was engaged at the time in delicate negotiations with the Soviet Union. He thus asked Truman to silence Wallace while these negotiations were progressing. Truman did not silence him, nor did he discourage Wallace from further outbursts, he even allowed the Secretary of Commerce to publish a letter that he (Wallace) had written the previous July. The text of this letter was even more inflammatory than the speech, and Byrnes demanded, in the form of an ultimatum, the immediate dismissal of Wallace. The President, somewhat meekly, complied with this demand, and Wallace resigned. 2.

The Communists had very much regarded Wallace, when he was Secretary of Agriculture in the Roosevelt Administration, as yet another bourgeois politician. However, left-wing opinion warmed up to him during the Popular Front period following 1935, and when he was publically repudiated by Truman, Wallace was almost at once assured of the full support of the Communists.3.

On 29th December, 1946, the National Citizens Political Action Committee, and the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions merged to form the Progressive Citizens of America (P.C.A.) an organisation that had the aim of becoming a third party movement, with the ultimate goal of getting Henry Wallace to run for President on a Progressive ticket in 1948.4.

Wallace was not a Communist, but there seems little doubt that

1. "From Yalta to Vietnam". David Horowitz. pp 60/61.
2. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B.Hesseltine. p94
3. "The Decline of American Communism". David A. Shannon. p116
4. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B.Hesseltine. p94

he was used by the Communist Party, in order to further their own ends. Accordingly the former Vice-President was persuaded to speak at the first meeting of the new organisation, which he did, whilst still maintaining a public committal to the Democratic Party. At that first meeting Wallace told the audience:-

"We have less use for a conservative high-tariff Democratic Party than we have for a reactionary high-tariff, Republican. If need be we shall first fight one and then the other"1.

If Wallace thus hoped to use the P.C.A. as a vehicle with which to gain control of the Democratic Party, then it would appear that at the time he was not in agreement with the majority of the P.C.A. whose preamble to their programme stated: "We cannot ..... rule out the possibility of a new political party ... We, the people, will not wait forever - we will not wait long for the Democratic Party to make its choice". Such a statement was, of course, more radical than that from Wallace, and suggested that it was the intention of the P.C.A. to sponsor their own candidate from the first.2.

Within a year the new organisation had a claimed membership of 36,500 members who came to represent the nucleus of the Progressive Party. The co-chairman of the P.C.A. were the former heads of the constituent organisations, Dr.Frank Kingdon, and Jo Davidson. However, the real power behind the throne was the Executive Vice-Chairman, "Beanie" Baldwin, later to become Wallace's campaign manager.

During the summer of 1946 it became obvious that the more liberal members of society were not only disappointed with the Truman Administration, but also with the conservative alliance of northern

1. "The Decline of American Communism". David A. Shannon. P127
2. Ibid. P127

Republicans and southern Democrats during the course of the 79th Congress. The liberals, who assembled at the National Conference of Progressives held at Chicago in September, 1946, were very eager to revive the spirit common to the New Deal era. However, they were becoming increasingly divided over the spreading influence of Communism both at home and abroad. So divided were they, that no one at the Conference moved for the formation of a third party to avoid splitting the group.

The Conference in fact was the last major gathering of both pro-Communist, and anti-Communist liberals. At Chicago a Continuations Committee was appointed in order to give the conference a semblance of permanence, and to call a second conference to be held in January, 1947. This second conference never in fact materialised, for by January the split in American liberalism was visible in organisational form, with the establishment of the P.C.A. at the end of December 1946, and the founding of the A.D.A. (Americans for Democratic Action).1. from the social-democratic anti-Communist U.D.A. (Union for Democratic Action)2.

1. Unlike the P.C.A. the A.D.A. is still an influential left-wing organisation in the United States, boasting an Under Secretary of State, and two Ambassadors amongst its members. At the time of its foundation its membership lists included the names of labour leaders David Dubinsky, Walter Reuther, James Carey, George Baldanzi, Emil Rieve, and intellectuals such as John Kenneth Galbraith (former American Ambassador to India under the Kennedy Administration, and present-day Chairman of the A.D.A.), Reinhold Niebuhr, Arthur M.Schlesinger Jnr., James A. Wechsler, himself a former Communist, and Bishop William Scarlett. Professional politics was represented by young Democrats such as Franklin D. Roosevelt Jnr., Richardson Dilworth and Hubert H.Humphrey, later to become Mayor of Minneapolis, Senator from Minnesota and Vice-President of the United States. The spirit of the New Deal was kept alive by the presence of

Leon K. Henderson, Wilson, Wyatt, Paul A. Porter, and the dead President's widow Eleanor Roosevelt. Unlike the P.C.A. which made the mistake of entering party politics only to, almost inevitably, quickly fade, the A.D.A. has remained aloof from the party struggle, to continue as a left-wing pressure organisation.

2. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B. Hesseltine. P94

For 1947 the Communist Party set itself two tasks, to be accomplished it hoped, simultaneously. Firstly it was to build a third party movement. Secondly it was to persuade Henry Wallace to become the leader of the new party. It proved to be successful in both these objectives. Such results were not achieved however without the Communists playing a double game regarding the formation of a third party.1.

In New York the Communists merely stated that the American Labour Party should strengthen itself to act as a stronger lever on the Democrats. Nothing was said about an independent third party nomination. This was done mainly to avoid splitting the A.L.P. and to unite the county party organisations. It would have been an impossibility had the 'Wallace - for - President' issue been placed before the separate county conventions of the A.L.P. for a vote. No such difficulties were experienced in California where there was no equivalent of the American Labour Party as it existed in New York.

1. "The Decline of American Communism". David A. Shannon. P131

To them fell the task of creating a new party either to pressure the Democratic Party from the outside, as did the A.L.P., or to branch out, as William Z. Foster himself desired, to form an independent third party. In California the Progressive movement itself probably owed its existence to a Convention of the Marine Cooks and Stewards, which, meeting in San Francisco passed a resolution calling for the establishment of a national third party. Following this statement, Hugh Bryson, President of the Marine Cooks and Stewards, 1. circulated unions throughout the country, urging the passing of similar resolutions.2.

Bryson however failed to get his ideas over at a meeting in late July of the California Democratic Committee. Nevertheless, undaunted, the union leader carried on the struggle, and called a conference to be held in Los Angeles on 24th August. When assembled the conference was composed mainly of Californian left-wing union leaders, plus a few dissident left-wing Democrats.3. Added to these were a few "Share-the-Wealthers", followers of Dr.Francis E. Townsend, himself present, the author of a unique old-age pension plan.

Following an attack by Bryson upon Truman's foreign policy, the conference declared itself to be the founding convention of the Independent Progressive Party. California had its own A.L.P.

Bryson at first combined the duties of both organiser and temporary chairman, but on assuming the permanent chairmanship, he secured the services of Elinor Kahn, an Eastern lobbyist for the Maritime unions, as state director.

1. Bryson was later convicted of perjury for swearing on a Taft-Hartley affidavit that he was not a Communist.
2. "The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon. P132
3. Ibid. P133

The priority of the new party was to secure a place on the ballot. Californian law requires an election petition to contain 300,000 signatures before a party gets onto the ballot. This task became the party's first consideration. The regular Communist organisation in California was supplemented by an influx of party workers from outside the state, notably party leader William Z. Foster, and New York City Councilman, Peter V. Cacchione. When the signatures were finally obtained by a combination of hard work and thorough organisation, Foster could scarcely hide his delight in calling the feat, 'a major achievement'.1.

In common with the practice of organising a satellite party in California, as late as September, 1947, the Communist plan was still to use the party as a lever against the Democrats with Cacchione and Vito Marcantonio, A.L.P. Congressman from New York, urging a fight in the Democratic primaries, and state conventions for delegates pledged to Wallace at the 1948 Democratic National Convention.

Near the end of September, the "Worker", the Communist paper, published details of a speech given that month by Eugene Dennis in the Madison Square Garden, in which he said he did not favour the launching of a third party. Such outbursts were soon to cease however when the Russian Communist Party began to press for an independent third ticket.2.

This Russian stand was made in order to provide a source of embarrassment to the Truman Administration. The countries of the Eastern bloc could point to the American third party, and state justifiably that the American people were united behind neither the Marshall Plan, nor the rest of American foreign policy. Such a

1. "The Decline of American Communism". David A. Shannon. P 133

2. Ibid. PP 133/134

statement could of course finish with the observation that American policy was the result of a capitalist society, working not for the common good of the people, but for the robber barons of Wall Street.

By October, 1947, the Communist party was agreed upon an independent candidacy at the 1948 Presidential Election; however, the Communist hierarchy decided to delay revealing any plans for a further two weeks so as not to endanger the Communist position in the C.I.O., due to hold its annual convention in Boston between the 13th and 17th of October. Such a revelation, it was thought, could possibly cause a lot of anti-Communist sentiment within the C.I.O. However, a measure of the Communists' success in not declaring their third party intentions, can be shown by the fact that although Secretary of State Marshall addressed the C.I.O., the left-wing of the movement was sufficiently well organised to prevent a convention resolution on foreign policy from supporting the Marshall Plan explicitly.1.

The day following the C.I.O. Convention, Eugene Dennis told Mike Quill, Harry Bridges and other union leaders to ignore the happenings of the convention, a third party was to be formed, with Wallace as the Presidential candidate. All left-wing movements should start organising election positions and publicity forthwith.2.

Party organisation was thus well on schedule, however, it was still a party without a candidate. The Communists next immediate task was to persuade Wallace to stand.

Despite the former Vice-President's understandable hostility towards the Democratic Party, such a task was nevertheless a difficult one. Firstly, Wallace was not a Communist, nor even sympathetic to

1. "The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon. P137

2. "The Strategy of Deception". Jeane J. Kirkpatrick. P362

Communism's basic aims. However, he did prove an easy target for political confidence tricksters, such as the Communists, in that he knew little of either left-wing politics or methods, whilst being devoted to the cause of peace. His main reason for endorsing the candidature of Johannes Steel in 1946 was because of Steel's anti-Nazi record. It can be said in Wallace's defence that he knew of neither Klein's good New Deal voting record, nor of Steel's work for the extremist 'Daily People's World'.1.

Following his resignation as Secretary of Commerce, Wallace became the editor of the 'New Republic' at that time published in New York.2. This journal served as a political stage for Wallace, who was still eager to preserve his image of a liberal public figure. By March, 1947, however, the former Vice-President was beginning to hint that he was considering the leadership of a third party movement, should one be formed. Two months later at Olympia, Washington, he went so far as to tell newsmen that he would be willing to lead a third party if he himself considered it would be a genuine contribution towards world peace. Despite such apparent leanings towards a new third party, there was still little doubt that during the spring and summer of 1947, Wallace was still very much willing to continue working within the Democratic party.3.

Following a somewhat controversial trip to Great Britain and Europe, where his activities were considered by some to be in contravention of the Logan Act of 1799, being contrary to the American national interest, Wallace made a long trip throughout the United States. During his tour his personal aide 'Beanie' Baldwin, was trying to assess pro-Wallace or anti-Truman sentiment amongst Local Democratic leaders.

1. "Henry Wallace: The Man and the Myth". Dwight MacDonald. P101
2. "The Guardian". 18th November, 1965 - Obituary of Henry Wallace.
3. "Henry A. Wallace: Quixotic Crusader 1948". Karl M. Schmidt. P31

From his probings he considered Wallace could count on approximately 120 votes at the 1948 Democratic National Conventions.1.

As late as September, 1947, Wallace stated publicly that he would continue fighting within the Democratic Party so as to 'prevent it from committing suicide'; however, he qualified himself by warning that if the Democrats chose to continue in their present direction 'the people must have a new party of liberty and peace'2. Wallace thus appears, on the surface, to be committed to a revitalised Democratic party in 1948, although his own personal viewpoints were becoming enmeshed with the official Communist party line. Not that Wallace was becoming a Communist; he was not; in fact, although the Progressive People's Party was very much a Communist tool, no-one has ever suggested that Wallace himself was a Communist. He was, however, influenced by the Communists,3, and none probably influenced him more than did Lewis Frank Jnr. Frank, who had led a pro-Communist group at the Convention of the Michigan Americans Veterans' Committee during the Autumn of 1946 was the principal ghost writer for many of Wallace's speeches from early 1947, until immediately prior to the 1948 Presidential election. Though Wallace never suspected Frank of being a Communist, he did consider him too radical, and thought that many of his views, as they appeared in Wallace's speeches, were too extreme.4.

Although he constantly denied being a Communist, Wallace was always open to their support, a mistake also made by Floyd B. Olson in Minnesota in 1924. For their part the Communists responded warmly. During the May Day celebrations of 1947, Communists carried a fifty foot photograph of the discredited Democrat through the streets of New York, and at the I.W.O. national convention, Wallace was praised by many speakers.

1. "The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon. p143
2. "Henry Wallace: The Man and the Myth". Dwight MacDonald. p159
3. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B. Hesseltine. p94
4. "The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon. pp143/144

The popularity of the former Vice-President was not confined to the supporters of the Communist party, however. Seen by many as a symbol against reaction, Wallace was also a favourite with many non-Communist liberals, whose popularity had an inverse relationship with that of President Truman.1.

Clearly any ideas of a third party were not merely confined to the Communists, nor was Wallace urged to stand by a mere handful of Communists taking their directions from Moscow. In June, 1947, sixty-seven professors from North-Western University addressed an open letter to Wallace as Roosevelt's true heir, urging him to form and lead a new party. They believed rightly that Truman the conservative was betraying the liberal Roosevelt tradition, something that the President was to remedy in the next year when he earned himself the nickname of 'Give 'em hell Harry'.2.

Diversity was probably one of the major reasons for the failure of the party. According to Morris M.Rubin, the anti-Wallace editor of the 'Progressive' Wallace's followers could be divided into four distinct categories. Firstly, there were the liberals, a group of people who found peace of mind in any haven that did not belong to either of the major parties. Secondly, there were the pacifists, who, I would contend, overlap to a degree into the third category, that of Wallace's personal followers. A fourth group were those Democrats who were disgusted with Truman, but were unable to bring themselves to vote Republican.3.

Apart from the solicitation of Wallace by 67 university professors in June, 1947, that month also marked the beginning of Truman's climb to ascendency with Marshall's Harvard Commencement Address and his

1. "Henry Wallace: The Man and the Myth". Dwight MacDonald. P160
2. "The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon. P146
3. Ibid. P146

overridden veto of the Taft-Hartley Act. The President now began to win back former supporters of Roosevelt, and, as Truman's popularity rose, so Wallace's waned.

Following the announcement of the formation of the Cominform in October, 1947, the Communists intensified their pressure on Wallace, their sole object now being to get him to announce his independent candidacy. Wallace slowly yielded, or at least varied at times from his professed Democratic stand. He told a Labour Day rally in Detroit that his main political objective was to prevent Truman from having what amounted to a blank cheque from the liberals in American society. However, the following October he revealed his Democratic face by showing apparent concern for the party whose incumbent President he thought would not carry ten states should he run for re-election.1.

It was, however, noticeable that Wallace moved closer to the idea of a third party following the October convention of the C.I.O.2. By early November there was greater conviction in his voice when he told a visiting delegation of Italian Communist women, led by Mrs. Palmira Togliatti, wife of Italy's leading Communist, that a third party would be formed should the peace require it. A month later his tone was one of even greater committal, when he told a group of Cornell University that 'if it is apparent that the Democratic party is a war party, I shall do all I can to see there is a third party.'3. The bait was obviously proving too tempting for Wallace to resist, but he still had to be cleanly hooked. For this to happen, the former Vice-President had to be convinced that he would receive strong support, having previously stated that he would run if he thought he could secure

1. "The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon. PP 146/147

2. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B. Hesseltine. P 94

3. "The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon. P 147

three million votes on the peace issue. Such a total did not seem unreasonable in 1947, when the popularity of Wallace was at its peak. Undoubtedly the Wallace candidacy did finally suffer from his entanglement with the Communists, who were discredited during 1948, both at home and abroad.

The Progressive vote did undoubtedly suffer because of, firstly, the Soviet coup d'etat in Czechoslovakia despite the fact that it was practically bloodless and, secondly, the Russian blockade of West Berlin.1. These were foreign issues; the Communists further discredited the Progressives by their antics at the Progressive party convention 2. and, as if to drive the last nail into Wallace's political coffin, President Truman started his campaign towards re-election with a number of truly liberal proposals, designed to win back dissident supporters of former-President Roosevelt.3.

Before these attacks, however, the Progressives received a great boost during the Chicago judicial elections of November, 1947. The local Progressive party received a total of 113,000 votes out of the 700,000 cast for the 21 judgeships on the Cook County Superior Court that were up for re-election.4.

Wallace was duly impressed with the results. However, it would have served him well to have first noted a number of local issues, which undoubtedly affected the result. Firstly there was what the Americans refer to as the 'Jim Crow' factor.5. Democrats and Republicans alike had, for many years, refused to nominate a negro for Superior Court office. The Progressives played to negro sentiment and unrest by nominating several well-qualified negro attorneys for county judgeships. Secondly the good showing of one particular

1. "From Yalta to Vietnam". David Horowitz. P101
2. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B. Hesseltine. P95-
3. "A New History of the United States". William Miller. P432
4. "The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon. P148
5. Ibid. P148

Progressive candidate, Professor Homer F.Carey of the North-Western University Law School mainly resulted from his opponent being exposed as a particularly close friend of a lawyer whose clients were usually Chicago gangsters. Such an exposure gained the support of every Chicago newspaper for Carey. These issues were not of course Wallace issues, as Wallace would have found out had he taken the trouble to do a little research of his own. Instead he carried on blindly believing that Chicago was rapidly emerging as a Progressive stronghold.1.

Fearing a liberal State of the Union message by Truman in January 1948, and a corresponding reduction in third party sentiment, the Communists made every effort to get Wallace to declare his candidacy in December.2.

At a P.C.A. national committee meeting held in Harlem in mid-December, a power struggle developed as to whether to ask Wallace to run as an independent candidate. The notable advocates of such a course who sat on the committee were Vito Marcantonio A.L.P. Congressman for East Harlem, John Abt, and the then Communist writer Howard Fast. Ranged against them were Frank Kingdon, a co-chairman of the P.C.A., Bartley C.Crum, a San Francisco attourney, and Robert W.Kenny, a former California Attourney-General. Almost inevitably the victors in this struggle were the Communists and their allies, whereupon Kingdon and Crum resigned from the movement, the first of many resignations, which reached tidal proportions as the year progressed, and the Communists gained further control.3.

At this juncture the left-wing union leaders moved their Wallace endorsement programme into top gear, finishing with a three day spurt

1. "The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon. P148
2. "Henry A.Wallace: Quixotic Crusade 1948". Karl M. Schmidt. P36
3. "The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon. P149

of action that could be timetabled thus:-

December 27

The National Executive board of the Bridges Union endorsed the candidature of Wallace and the formation of a third party, an action repeated by two locals of the Rubber Workers meeting at Akron.

December 28

The Ford Local 600, which was America's largest U.A.W. local, as well as the last remaining to have a strong Communist caucus, telegraphed Wallace, urging him to declare himself as a candidate for President.

December 29

Wallace was met in Chicago by Hugh Bryson, Elmer Benson and other Progressive Leaders, who, after conferring with their potential candidate, issued a press release which stated the happenings pertinent to party affairs as from December 16.1.

Later that night Wallace spoke on a national radio network, and announced his candidacy, in doing so saying 'We have assembled a Gideon's army, small in number, powerful in conviction, ready in action'. The Communist party, and the People's Progressive party, had its candidate.2.

Wallace's decision to contest the election was greeted with enthusiasm by the Communists. Their joy, however, was shortlived. As with that other left-wing federation of groups, the Socialist party, there was a great deal of internal feuding within the People's Progressive party, and one could say with complete justification that the coalition that was the People's Progressive party began to dissolve almost immediately after Wallace's announcement.

1. "The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon. pp 149/150

2. Ibid. p150

The A.L.P. leaders in New York greeted Wallace's decision with such enthusiasm that within three days the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and a number of other non-Communist C.I.O. unions in New York left the party. More serious, however, was the rift that occurred at the January group of the C.I.O. Executive Board held in Washington, when the alliance between the Murray group and the Communists completely broke down.1.

The night before the Executive Board met, a meeting of left-wing union leaders was held in the room of Communist labour secretary John Williamson in the Hays-Adams Hotel.2. At this caucus[3] they were instructed by Williamson to try and secure the passage of a pro-Wallace resolution at the next day's meeting. However, this plan was foiled when the Board Meeting ran over into a second day. At a second caucus in Williamson's room, the night between the board sessions, the left-unionists reported it highly unlikely that any such pro-Wallace resolution would pass. Williamson then directed them to stall, in order to try to get the C.I.O. to take no position at all on the third party issue for another month.4.

It was hoped that a month's delay would be adequate to influence the C.I.O. to come out in favour of Wallace. This was largely because in a month a special Congressional election was to be held in the Bronx in which the Communists expected Leo Isaacson, the pro-Wallace A.L.P. candidate to do well. A good showing, it was felt, would influence the C.I.O. decision.

1. "The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon. P154
2. "The Strategy of Deception". Jeane J.Kirkpatrick. P361
3. Among those present were such notable radicals as 'Red Mike' Quill, Harry Bridges, James Matles, Ben Gold, Abe Flaxer, Joseph Selby, John Santo, Irving Potash and Donald Henderson.
4. "The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon. P155

At the next day's session, however, the left-wing unionists lost their motion to postpone, when the board voted by a majority of 53 votes to 13 to condemn the Wallace candidacy. As if to rub salt in open wounds, the C.I.O. then passed a further resolution which gave their total support to the Marshall Plan. The worst was yet to come for the C.I.O. Communists, however, for within two weeks of the January board meeting, Lee Pressman was forced to resign. In March, Bridges was sacked as C.I.O. regional organiser for nothern California. Within two years the left-wing unions were expelled from the C.I.O. altogether, and by 1956, the year of Hungary and of Poland, there were almost no left-wing unions left, in existence.1. The Communists paid a high price in retribution when they attempted to sever the link between the C.I.O. and the Democratic Party.2.

Such setbacks within the labour movement, however, were more than compensated, or so the Communists thought, by the result of the special congressional election held on February 17, 1948, in the 24th Congressional District of New York. Leo Isaacson, running on the A.L.P. ticket won the election by an almost two to one majority. Isaacson polled a total of 22,697 votes, over 10,000 more than his Democratic opponent who gained 12,578 votes.3.

Such a result, which proved to be the high tide of Wallace success, perhaps deserves greater analysis. Firstly, the 24th Congressional District was a poor community, whose ethnic origins were somewhat mixed. About two-fifths of the community were Jewish, but the area also contained

1. "The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon. P 155.
2. "The Strategy of Deception". Jeane J. Kirkpatrick. P 375.
3. The Liberal candidate, standing independent of the Democrat gained 3,840 votes, whilst the Republicans gained a total vote of less than 5,000. ("The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon.) P 157

large pockets of Irish, Negro and Puerto Rican peoples. The Communists exploited the dissatisfaction of these groups for their own advantage.

Jewish sentiment proved the easiest to sway, for the election was held before Israel's independence, and at a time when many Jewish voters considered Truman's Palestine policy to be one of appeasement to the British. Isaacson's workers rallied hundreds of Jewish votes with a pamphlet, printed in Yiddish, charging that 'Truman spills Jewish blood for Arab oil'. Such charges, of course, could not fail to win votes. More notable, however, were the A.L.P. successes in the Irish Catholic neighbourhood. In 1946 the A.L.P. polled only one vote in ten in the predominantly Irish electoral districts. In the special election, however, Isaacson carried five Irish neighbourhoods, and did reasonably well in all the others.

Samuel Lubell, a contemporary political analyst, attributed this increased Irish vote to the anxiety of that community over the changing ethnic character of the area.

The strength of the Negro and Puerto Rican vote was obtained purely by hard work. The Congressional district itself had between 800 and 1,000 resident Communist party members, whose vigorous campaign was supplemented by a further 300 members of the A.L.P. On election day it has been estimated that Isaacson had an organisation of 4,000 people working for him.1.

The Isaacson organisations ethnic campaign is best exemplified by the composition of the platform speeches at the traditional eve-of-poll rally. Isaacson, who was himself Jewish, was joined by Henry Wallace in denouncing Truman's Palestine policy. Wallace also attacked the American attitude of 'Jim Crow', and to that end was

1. "The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon. PP 157/158

aided by Negro singer Paul Robeson, later to surrender his passport because of Communist activities. Robeson first pointed out that Southern white supremacists were Democrats, and then introduced a young negro veteran, the victim of a brutal Southern policeman. The combination of Robeson's observations and the youthful veteran's silent testimony undoubtedly served to deny the Democrats many votes. Negroes then, as at the present time, were unwilling to acknowledge the obvious differences between Northern and Southern Democrats. That Robeson's speech was irrelevant mattered little; it still fanned anti-white supremicists and thus pro-Isaacson feeling.

The ethnic composition of the platform was completed by Congressman Vito Marcantonio, who could amass a large Puerto Rican following in his district, and Mike Quill, the Irish leader of the transport workers.1.

By thus playing for the support of minority groups, which in New York happen to be majority groups, the Wallace forces gained an overwhelming victory. The result did much to cause jubilation in the Wallace camp, as well as greatly alarming the Democrats. Within two days of the Bronx election, Senator J.Howard McGrath, chairman of the Democratic party's national committee, in a broadcast speech, all but invited Wallace to return to the Democratic fold.2.

Democratic hopes were jolted further, however, the following week when Democratic Senator Glen Taylor, a homespun Idaho mixture of politician and singing cowboy, cast his lot with Wallace, and announced that he would seek the Vice-Presidential nomination. Whilst even at this point few thought that Wallace could win the election, many did think that the Progressives would split the Democratic votes as Theodore Roosevelt had split the Republicans in 1912. At this time

1. "The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon. P158

2. "Henry A.Wallace: Quixotic Crusade 1948". Karl M.Schmidt. P72

the Wallace group was both confident and optimistic. Communist and non-Communist each realised that the one was complementary to the other. The Wallace partisans were gratified with the organisational job that the Communists could accomplish, whilst the Communists for their part were pleased with Wallace's apparent appeal to the electorate.1.

The context of Wallace's speeches during the latter half of 1947 and early 1948 reflected the Communist line more accurately than before. This Communist breakthrough was caused by the inadequacy of two young people. The first was Lew Frank, who was Wallace's pro-Communist principal speech writer, and who was called upon to write on subjects such as the Marshall Plan in Congress 1947-8, and the Communist group in Czechoslovakia, subjects a more experienced writer would have found difficult to handle. Frank was helped by a young newspaperwoman, named Tabitha Petran, who, after serving with 'P.M.'2. and 'Time' joined the fellow-travelling 'National Guardian'. To supplement her knowledge of politics and international affairs, she helped to organise a research group of intellectuals which met weekly in the Manhattan home of Frederick Vanderbilt Field to discuss the context of Wallace's speeches. Prominent members were Field himself, an expert on Eastern Asia, and a frequent contributor on that subject for 'Political Affairs', Marion Bachrach, later a Smith Act defendant, and Victor Perlo, once an economist for the War Production Board and the Department of Commerce. Other members were David Ramsey, a contributor to the 'Communist' as early as 1936 as an expert on German affairs, and Walter Schlieper, a German refugee who wrote for the overseas News Agency, a non-Communist press association, under

1. "Henry Wallace: The Man and the Myth". Dwight MacDonald. P/61

2. A magazine owned by Max Lurner and considered to control the A.L.P.

the nom-de-plume of Maximillian Scheer. Following the election Schlieper was to defect to the Communist bloc, and was known later to be working in East Berlin.

This group ensured that Wallace was reading their words, words with which the candidate did not agree, and some of which he was later to regret. One such instance concerned the Communist group d'etat in Czechoslovakia, an act which outraged American public opinion. The position that Wallace took, or rather the group took on behalf of Wallace, was what the candidate termed four years later as his greatest mistake.1.

This mistake by Wallace gave rise to many charges of Communist control of the Progressive party, and was one of the reasons for the increasing number of defections from the Progressive party, especially in the Western states.

In Colorado, so obvious was the Communist take-over bid, that the state's most important Progressive, Charles Graham, a former regional chairman of the War Labour Board and nominee to the national platform committee, left the movement, and did not even go to the national convention. Similar Communist infiltration cost the Progressive movement the state chairman of Nevada, George Springmeyer, and some of their most able leaders. 2.

As early as January, 1948, the Progressive Citizens meeting in convention at Chicago had adopted a number of resolutions which were destined to form the framework of the party platform.3. This framework was very much a Communist-inspired document, denouncing the Marshall Plan, and Truman's foreign affairs policy; demanding that the manufacture of atom-bombs should be discontinued; promising the public ownership of steel, coal, the railways and public utilities, and condemning red baiting as a

1. "The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon. P.161

2. Ibid. PP 164/165.

3. "Third Party Movements in the United States." William B. Hesseltine. P94

'Hitlerian technique'. Wallace already committed to being a third candidate in the election, appeared at the Convention, and further echoed the Communist standpoint by blaming big business and the Truman administration for inflation in the nation's economy, by condemning private monopolies, and by pronouncing the two main parties as united in a programme leading to war.

It was not until six months later, in Philadelphia, however, that the party received its formal christening.1. The Progressive party was born during late July in the city of Brotherly Love. The atmosphere in convention, however, was serious and far from brotherly. The conventions of minor parties, unlike Democratic and Republican conventions are, by tradition, quiet and staid, the convention of the People's progressive party was neither. The Convention presented a front of enthusiasm, ensured by the transportation of 10,000 supporters by train from New York, and synthetic folksiness. The latter was supplied by professional artistes, such as People's Song Inc., and Pete Seeger, amateur folk-singers, and climaxed by the appearance of Vice-Presidential candidate, Glen Taylor, who strummed his guitar whilst singing the campaign hymn, 'Friendly Henry Wallace'.2.

Behind this innocent facade the Communists were stamping their authority upon the movement, manoeuvres which were to cause further defections from the party.

Whilst the Communists did not form a majority of the platform committee, there were enough non-Communists who agreed with some parts of the party line to allow Communists and their close allies to write most of the platform. It was clear that the platform committee was divided on the issue of Communists admission to the party so much so that

1. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B. Hesseltine. p95
2. "The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon. p165

Rexford G.Tugwell of the University of Chicago, the temporary chairman of the committee, almost immediately began to withdraw from the party, and it was only with great reluctance did he accept the unopposed nomination of permanent chairman of the platform committee.

Tugwell himself was in the centre of the convention's biggest controversy, that of Puerto Rican independence, an objective which the Communists supported and fostered by trying to make it appear that Puerto Ricans suffered under American imperialism. The pro-independence faction on the committee was led by Vito Marcantonio, who found himself opposed by Tugwell, who had previously seen service as Governor of the island. Eventually Marcantonio was forced to yield on that issue, and Tugwell had the satisfaction of seeing his own plan of self-determination for Puerto Rico on the party manifesto.1.

On the Convention floor itself, the Communists and their allies also made their influence felt, the most notable instances being in the keynote speech of Charles P.Howard, an Iowa negro, and Wallace's acceptance speech. Both of these were written understandably with a Communist slant, by two radio writers, Millard Lampell, himself a Communist, and Allan E.Sloane, a man who whilst no longer being a card-carrying Communist, could adequately fit into that bloc of left-wing humanity known as 'fellow-travellers'.2.

On only three occasions were the Communists challenged in Convention by the non-Communists, each occasion bringing failure to the non-Communists. The first dispute was concerned with the composition of the Progressive party's national committee, which was so organised as to ensure packing by Communists and fellow travellers. The second occasion arose over a platform calling for liberation of those Macedonians who were still living in a state of 'oppression' in Greece, so as to bring them in line

1. "The Decline of American Communism". David A. Shannon. pp 168/169

2. Ibid. P170

with their brothers in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Such obvious pro-Communist policies, brought about the third dispute. This took the form of a resolution on foreign policy termed the 'Vermont Resolution' whereby James Hayford, Chairman of the Vermont delegation, strove to give the foreign policy section of the platform a less-Russian look. Such efforts, however, were to no avail in the face of steam-roller action by the Communists.1.

The Communists also manipulated the conventions of the 'Young Progressives of America' held directly after the main convention, although, in this instance, the co-chairman, Christine Walker of Detroit, and Alvin Jones, a negro from the Southern University Law School at Baton Rouge, met greater resistance from the non-Communists than did their senior counterparts.

The first day ended in chaos following an indecisive vote, a state of affairs which apparently alarmed the Communists, who secured the passage of a vote effectively ending the convention. The vote in fact granted the Y.P.A. national council power to act as the convention's agent regarding all unfinished business. The convention then adjourned without even adopting a platform.2.

At the main convention, however, the Communists carried all before them, not because they formed a majority of the delegates - they did not. The Communist convention victories were due solely to the fact that the Communists were an organised, united group, whilst their opponents were disorganised and divided. There was no non-Communist Progressive leader willing to step forward and lead an anti-Communist caucus.

For his part, Wallace never discouraged the Communists, although

1. "The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon. P170

2. Ibid. P174

he did see them as a threat to his candidacy, and even once 1. asserted that if the Communists chose to run their own presidential candidate the Progressives would lose 10,000 Communist votes, but gain three million non-Communist votes. On what grounds he made this assumption one will never know, however; it would seem likely that an independent Communist candidature would have resulted in a nett gain of votes by the Progressives, especially in view of the happenings within the party after the Convention. Within a week of the Convention, six prominent New Mexican Progressives, including the State Treasurer and Organiser, left the movement. The same day, the Chairman of the Colorado Convention delegation resigned, to be followed in early August by twelve Progressive leaders from San Mateo County, California, who resigned due to the defeat of the 'Vermont Resolution'. Other Progressives including Rexford Tugwell chose to withdraw quietly from the meeting. Such resignations, whilst weakening the party as a whole, only served to strengthen the Communists' control of the party, to the extent that copies of the 'Daily Worker' were now sold at Wallace meetings.2. Wallace, in fact, began to suggest that the Communists were now deliberately embarrassing his candidacy in order to keep the Progressive party small and easily controlled, and, in October, he engaged a new ghost writer whose ideas more nearly matched his own.3.

In all probability, however, the assumption made by Wallace was inaccurate, for there is reason to believe that the Communist Party

1. At a speech in New Hampshire prior to the Party Convention.
2. "The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon. PP 176/177
3. Henry Wallace:"Quixotic Crusade 1948". Karl M. Schmidt. PP 194/195.

These five incidents were themselves damaging; far more damaging, however, was the campaign of President Truman, who toured the country insisting that a vote for Wallace was a half-vote for Thomas Dewey, the Republican candidate. Truman thus capitalised upon the fear of re-action that a few months earlier had stimulated the Wallace movement.

A further damaging factor to Wallace's candidature was the Dixiecrat revolt in the South which helped Truman in the North, for whilst the President's civil-rights position proved too strong for the Dixiecrats to stomach, it appealed more than ever to Northern negroes.1. Wallace, realising he was losing ground to the President, made a vain effort to capture the Northern negro vote by refusing to speak to segregated audiences in the South. Whilst he failed to increase his Northern popularity, this action did reveal the Southern political climate to the Progressive candidate, who was several times the target for bad eggs and tomatoes.2.

The result of the election held on November 2, 1948, contained two surprises. Firstly, Wallace proved to himself that he had made a fatal blunder in launching the People's Progressive Party, by polling little over one million votes, and, secondly, overall victory went not to Thomas Dewey, but to Harry S.Truman, contrary to all predictions.3.

The voting for those candidates polling more than one million votes was as follows:-4.

1. "The South Since 1865". John Samuel Ezell. P417
2. "The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon. PP 179/180
3. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B.Hesseltine. P95.
4. The complete statistics regarding the 1948 election results will be found in the appendix to this chapter.

| | | Popular Votes | Electoral Votes 1. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Harry S.Truman | (Democrat) | 24,105,695 | 303 |
| Thomas Dewey | (Republican) | 21,969,170 | 189 |
| Strom Thurmond | (States' Right[2.] Democrat) | 1,169,021 | 39 |
| Henry Wallace | (Peoples' Progressive) | 1,156,103 | - |

Such a result for Wallace was, of course, miserable, particularly when one considers that the previous April he had spoken optimistically of gaining twenty million votes.

Of greater interest than the total vote, is the analysis of that vote, for, of his total vote, well over half of it came from New York City and California. The Wallace vote in New York State was 501,167, whilst the California vote was 190,381. In California, however, his vote mainly came from three counties - Los Angeles County, where he polled 101,085 votes, San Francisco County, 21,492 votes and the East Bay area of Alameda County 16,853 votes.3.

Elsewhere the Wallace vote in the states could only be measured in tens of thousands, with the following states registering significant votes for the Progressive Candidate:-

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Pennsylvania: | 55,161 | votes. |
| New Jersey: | 42,683 | " |
| Michigan: | 38,955 | " |
| Massachusetts: | 38,157 | " |
| Ohio: | 37,596 | " 4. |
| Washington: | 29,745 | " |

1. "Facts about the Presidents". John Nathan Kane. P 231
2. Dixiecrat.
3. "The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon. P/80
4. The ballot in Ohio contained only names of Wallace electors, without mentioning Wallace or the Progressive Party.

The Wallace vote was of significance, however, in the states of New York, Maryland and Michigan, which Truman would have held, had all those who voted for Wallace, supported the President. A fully representative Progressive ticket in Illinois, where only a write-in vote for Wallace was possible, and Ohio, might also have given those Democratic states to Dewey.

In all, however, Wallace carried only thirty of the nation's precincts. Seven of these were near to Ybor City in Florida, an area inhabited mainly by Cuban cigar workers. A further five precincts were gained in the urban area of Los Angeles, whilst the remaining eighteen precincts were all in New York, eight of them in Vito Marcantonio's district, which sent him back to Congress.1.

Wallace also carried two election districts in East Bronx, where there was a large workers' co-operative block of flats, founded by the Communists in the 1920's and later known as 'Little Stalingrad'. Despite these minor successes in New York City, the 'Daily Worker' still complained that Wallace did not even carry some of the traditionally American Labour Party strongholds in the Jewish working-class districts, where the Democrats increased their vote more than did the A.L.P.

Although the electoral defeat meant the end of Wallace's political career 2, as well as the end of Communist influence in the trade unions and in many liberal circles, the Communists stuck with the Progressives for a further four years. The Communists undoubtedly looked to 1952 with optimism, for on surveying the election results they said that the 1948 results .... 'reinforce the view that the foundation of a national third party, capable of successfully challenging the reactionary program of American monopoly was laid in this campaign.3.

1. Vito Marcantonio carried the entire New York 18th Electoral District for the American Labour Party, whereas Wallace could only carry eight of the districts precincts, thus failing to emulate his fellow-travelling lieutenant.

2. "The Guardian" 18th November, 1965. Obituary of Henry Wallace.

3. New York State Committee of the Communist Party - 'The Election results in New York'.

The Communists were unable to regain their former position, however, due to the probings of the Un-American Activities Committee, and the prosecutions under the Smith Act, as well as other discrediting factors against Communism such as the Korean War.

Thus any illusions the Communists had of regaining their influence were shattered at the 1952 Presidential election, when the Progressive candidate, Vincent Hallinan received the meagre total of 132,608 votes.1. Of this total, some 64,000 votes came from the American Labour Party of New York.2.

Gideon's Army was defeated. In 1956 even Communist leaders were willing to admit publically that their third party venture had been a stupid mistake. Wallace, the idealist, was ruined as a politician, and was later to turn full circle and support the Truman Administration's policy in Korea. His Progressive party, or rather the election, was a year too late, for there is little doubt that had the election been held in 1947 and not 1948, he would have polled more than he did, to go down into history as another presidential also-ran, and not as a seemingly embittered idealist thrashed in Truman's triumphal year.

1. 1952 was a disastrous year for the left-wing elements in American politics. Hallinan received more votes than Hoopes the Socialist candidate, thus ending Socialist Presidential hopes. ("The Socialist Party of America" David A.Shannon). p 25-6

2. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B.Hesseltine. p 95.

## Part II - Chapter I

### Socialism in America

The Socialist movement in the United States combined elements of European Marxism or "Scientific" socialism, with a native American utopain form of socialism. 1.

The Socialist party's Golden Age coincided with the Progressive movement of the early twentieth century, though in fact socialism came to the United States a generation earlier. It drew upon the tradition of utopian communities that flourished before the Civil War, and on past American humanism, radicalism and non-conformity. The impetus of the movement, however, was derived from the rise of industrial society.

The Socialist Labour Party originally formed as the Working Men's Party of the United States in 1876, was fostered after 1890, mainly by Daniel de Leon, a man of Dutch Jewish origin who taught International Law and Philosophy at Columbia University in the late 1880's. 2. He left the middle-class Nationalist Club Movement, and in 1891 won nearly 15,000 votes in the New York State gubernatorial election. 3. He was, however, opposed to any half-way measures and demanded a proletarian revolution aimed at the unconditional surrender of capitalism, showing militancy, even hostility, towards the established labour union movement, something which at times tended to repel even the most dedicated of his followers. He tried to spread marxism in a country which liked neither theorists nor idealists, being himself convinced that workers directed by Socialists, could bring capitalism to an end, and then form a new socialist labour movement which he himself hoped to organise. 4.

1. "Third Party Movements in the United States." William B. Hesseltine. P64
2. "American Socialism 1900-60". H.Wayne Morgan. P 2
3. "Third Party Movements in the United States." William B. Hessettine. P66
4. "The American People". Oscar Handlin. P337

He exerted great influence in the Knights of Labour until he formed an independent Socialist Trade and Labour Alliance, an action which won him the jealous enmity of both the declining Knights of Labour and the rising American Federation of Labour (A.F.L.)

De Leon never succeeded in assimilating his Socialist Labour party into the American way of life or winning over the labour movement. He was a doctinaire Marxist, preaching class antagonisms and excluded Christian Socialists, Fabians, Trades Union socialists, and groups which hoped to work with the Populist party. 1.

After 1900, having made little headway, the majority of socialists began to support the Socialist Party of America, whilst the party of de Leon became little more than a rigid sect. The failure of de Leon and his followers thus gave opportunity to a new, more American, socialist party. 2.

In 1897 Eugene Victor Debs, President of the American Railway Union, organised the Social Democracy of America at the Union's last convention. This body planned to colonise a Far Western State. However the era of utopian isolated communities was over. Its declaration of principles stemmed out of the defunct nationalist movement, and it suffered from the usual left-wing growing pains of factional dissension, personal rivalries of leaders and violent disputations over policies.

In 1898 it merged with the Social Democratic Party led by Victor L.Berger - a movement which encouraged socialism via democratic action and representative government. The key to success of this

1. "Since 1900". O.J.Barck and N.M.Blake. p27
2. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B. Hessettine. p66

movement being education not revolution, a doctrine far better suited to the United States than were those of the revolutionary de Leon. Berger's great socialist experiment was carried out in the "laboratory" of Milwaukee, 1. a town owing its importance to some extent as being the lake port for the State of Wisconsin, and probably more important, the port of entry of the immigrants (among whom were many Germans) of that state. 2. He capitalised upon local needs with a socialist success formula, forming in the process a powerful local machine, whilst making himself a national spokesman within the party. He himself was the first member of the party to sit in Congress, being the representative for his Milwaukee district from 1911 to 1913, and again from 1923 to 1929.

The Social Democrats however, constructive policy makers although they were, lacked the flair and colour necessary to an aspiring political movement, a fault which was rectified when Debs joined the party. This move, it must be noted, whilst giving prominence to the Social Democrats, also brought Debs into the public eye, and helped him become America's best known Socialist, certainly in the first two decades of this century. 3.

Eugene V. Debs was the product of frontier Indiana, a youthful veteran of hard railway life and a dynamic labour organiser, combining qualities of leadership with a love of mankind so as to become a formidable political leader and social evangelist. In 1893 he formed the American Railway Union along industrial lines, and in 1894 reluctantly entered the Pullman strike, for which he was later to serve a prison sentence for contempt of court, following a

1. "American Socialism 1900 - 60". H.Wayne Morgan. p3
2. "North America". Rhodwel Jones & Bryan. p376
3. "American Socialism 1900-60". H.Wayne Morgan. p3

court injunction ordering all union afficers to cease strike activities. He emerged from prison leaning towards socialism, and for a time lent his prestige to his utopian comrades in Social Democracy, although within three years he had become a convert to complete radical socialism, and rapidly became a national figure within the party. 1.

The Socialist Labour Party ran candidates for national office in the 1890's but with little success, whilst the Social Democratic party working on local level, and under Berger's guidance in the late 1890's showed great strength in the states of Wisconsin, Massachusetts and New York.

In 1900, Debs ran for President for the first time, on the Social Democratic ticket, with support from a Socialist Labour splinter group. The platform however was the work of Berger, and demanded complete government ownership of the means of production and distribution, and advocated independent political action and trade unionism. 2.

That year, Debs polled a total of 94,777 votes 3, supported by Job. Harriman the Vice-Presidential nominee for the party. This creditable performance was accomplished without a unified organisation behind them, a factor which made a socialist electoral break-through into a solid entity rather than a dream.

Confusion among Socialists regarding factional and organisational difficulties, was soon eradicated, by the formation in 1901 of the Socialist Party of America. This party, from its formation until the present day, was to contain the majority of American socialists. It did however lose members to other left-wing factions which emerged particularly

1. "American Socialism" 1900-60. H.Wayne Morgan. p3
2. "Since 1900". O.J.Barck and N.M.Blake. p27
3. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B. Hesseltine. p66

in the period immediately following the First World War, a period which can only be described as one of radical confusion, and one which will be dealt with in greater detail below.

The Socialist Party of America was founded in the Masonic Hall at Indianapolis, to become the first united socialist organisation, although formed from a coalition of conflicting interests, as its history was to reveal. 1.

Still insisting upon maintaining a separate existence, however, were the Socialist Labour Party of de Leon, and a group of radical reformers called the Fabian Socialists.

As with all political parties, there were differing views in the Socialist Party both on socialism, and how those ideals should be applied to society. On the right of the party stood Victor Berger and his step-by-step socialists, a group committed to the education of the people and the democratic process, beliefs which had already brought them considerable success at a local level, particularly in Milwaukee. Towards the centre stood a group of moderates who, like Berger and his supporters, were committed to education and the ballot, but who also sympathised with a stronger socialist tone in their programme. On the left flank stood a group whose ideals might be termed 'revolutionary'. They had no, one, specific backer, and whilst they claimed Debs as their idol, he was often found flirting with the other two groups in a bid to keep harmony within the party. This move by Debs shows his shrewdness, not merely as a political leader, but as an apostle of a new social and moral movement, a movement whose only chance of success lay in putting forward a United front. The left wing were militant in their desire for party recognition of radical labour unions, and distrusted "Slowcialists", as they dubbed the supporters of

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A. Shannon. P1.

Berger. This latter group looked mere reformers to men who talked of workers revolts and social revolution in a jargon more common to European socialists, such as Keir Hardie and Jean Jaures, than to a conservative United States of America. Such varying opinions among Party members invited dissension, and the history of socialism in America is one of intra-party strife, rather than success at the ballot box. 1. Because it was a coalition, the party did not enforce rigid discipline, something which has become a common feature of European socialism. This loose structure and semi-independence of its component parts however merely served to heighten the tendency to factionalism.

During this period, the ultimate socialist goal was a co-operative commonwealth, although its immediate demands could only be called as an advanced form of populism, a dwindling radical movement, whose views are thought by many to be re-incarnated in the progressive movement of the early twentieth century. Socialism's aims were the public ownership of railways, public utilities, and mines; government relief for the unemployed; a shorter working week; abolition of child labour; social security legislation; income and inheritance taxes; equal suffrage; the establishment of the initiative and the referendum in government; proportional representation in balloting; and the abolition of the Supreme Court's veto. 2. This programme, which, if one applied the relevant aims to Britain, would, with the exception of the first aim, recall Shaftesbury, Beveridge, Pitt and Chartism, but not modern socialism.

1. "American Socialism 1900-60". H.Wayne Morgan. P4
2. "Since 1900". O.J.Barck and N.M.Blake. P28

As immediate aims, however, they had much to applaud them in their efforts to attain a similar standard of social welfare as had previously been enjoyed in Great Britain and Scandinavia. Such a programme did help to educate the American public to the idea that government was justified in its intervention into economic life if it helped promote social justice.

Up to World War I, and the "Red scare" the party grew in membership, vote and influence. Never before or since, has a political organisation with any kind of Socialist orientation grown as the Socialist Party did during the first ten to fifteen years of its existence. Morris Hillquit estimated later that in 1900, membership of the Socialist Party of America was as high as 10,000 dues-paying members, although this figure seems an exaggeration, and was never in fact checked at the time. The important fact, however, is that in 1904, the official party membership stood at 20,765, and that Debs. running as the Socialist Party's first-ever Presidential candidate polled 402,283 votes. 1.

Between 1900 and 1904, the party had acquired many liberals and intellectuals within its ranks, but also gained other less pleasant adherents from among the "muckraking" journalists and publishers who seemed to abound at the time. 2. By 1908, however, the representatives to the Socialists Convention, made it evident that the working classes were now a minority within the party, whilst lawyers, small businessmen, editors, former politicians and protestant ministers dominated the party.

That year the socialists fully expected to poll nearly a million votes in the Presidential election. However, Democrats and Republicans, then proclaimed their devotion to reform, and the A.F.L. endorsed Bryan.

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A. Shannon. P5.
2. "The Age of Reform". R. Hofstadter. P196

Thus in 1908, while the party boasted a membership of 41,751, Debs presidential vote grew to only 420,715. This despite the use of some of the such election campaign devices such as a special train for Debs and his entourage, which was soon dubbed "The Red Special". Any enthusiasm there was on the campaign, however, was not for Debs himself, but for his cause. He was not an orator like Bryan, but an apostle, and very conscious of the fact. He even admitted to being unfitted by temperament and taste, for the office of President, and was once believed to have said to Lincoln Steffens "If there were any chance of my election, I wouldn't run. The Party wouldn't let me. ". 1. Whilst the statement may in fact be true, the sentiments behind it are hard to believe, if only for the fact that Debs was never seriously rivalled as his party's presidential candidate for over twenty years.

The period of greatest growth of the Socialist party was between 1908 and 1912, and during the last two years of that period the Socialists secured over one thousand of their members in public office. Their membership figures at this period claimed 100,000 members. 2.

They gained two big break-throughs in 1910 when Emil Seidel was elected Mayor of Milwaukee, and Victor Berger was sent to Congress as Representative for his Milwaukee district. In 1914, Meyer London, a Socialist running for one of New York's congressional seats, was returned to Washington, and from this period until the mid 1920's there were usually one or two socialists in office on Capitol Hill.

By 1911, the socialists had gained control of thirty-three cities and towns, the more important, besides Milwaukee, being

1. "American Socialism 1900-60". H.Wayne Morgan. p61
2. "The Socialist Party of America". David A. Shannon. p5

Berkeley (California), Butte (Montana) and Flint and Jackson in Michigan. 1.

Neither the La Follette Progressives nor the Socialists were content with Rooseveltian morality and Wilson's academic idealism. The Socialists, however, although continuously torn by internal controversy, by "splinter" movements, by conflicts between foreign working groups and native American middle-class radicals, made their basic criticism of Roosevelt and Wilson by claiming that their programmes were mere reforms that left the capitalist structure untouched.

As the Socialists looked upon Roosevelt, so the former President looked upon them, and saw them as a growing threat. He considered that if the major parties did not take steps to reform society themselves, then the Socialists might take more drastic action.

During these years the Socialist Party was not a rigid doctrinaire party, but rather a coalition of regional groups that had different, even conflicting, points of view. Diversity was the party's strength, and in this way the Socialists themselves unconsciously followed the pattern of the major parties. Their decline is the story of movement away from an all-embracing political party to a monolithic sect.2.

The most articulate, and one of the most important centres of socialism was New York, where in lower Manhattan there was socialism before the party. Here, in some neighbourhoods, immigrants grew up as socialists, as some Americans grew up Republicans. These were mainly garment workers, though their leaders were mainly evolutionary socialists who lived by the pen, writers, such as William James Ghent,

1. "The Era of Theodore Roosevelt". George E. Mowry. P66
2. "The Socialist Party of America". David A. Shannon. PP 6/7

Gustavus Myers (author of "The History of Great American Fortunes") Ernest Poole (author of "The Harbour") and his wife Margaret, Howard Brubaker, Floyd Dell, Max Eastman, Robert Hunter, Charles Edward Russell, the muckraking journalist, and William English Walling. Not all the leaders, however, were men who earned a living as authors. The main figure among New York socialists was Morris Hillquit, a lawyer, who was supported among his own profession by Louis B.Boudin (author of "Government by Judiciary") and Meyer London, sometime member of the House of Representatives. Academics were represented by Jessie Wallace Hughan, a Ph.D. from Columbia University, and Algernon Lee, Head of the Rand School of Social Science, a socialist bridge between the intellectuals and the rank-and-file members of the party. 1.

That the rank and file was quick to give honours to intellectuals and others likely to bring the party prestige is shown by Charles Edward Russell who joined the party in 1908, was nominated for Governor of New York in 1910, and for Mayor of New York City in 1913, whilst gaining 54 Convention votes for Socialist presidential candidate in 1912. 2.

In other states and regions, the socialist movement prospered, or failed to prosper in differing degrees. Socialism in Massachusetts was said to have reached in high-water mark in 1900, that is before the Socialist Party itself was really off the ground. Pennsylvania socialists however could boast as many members as New York, although they were unable to get such startling results as New York, except in the town of Reading, because their votes were spread across the state, and not concentrated in a small area.

1. "The Age of Reform". R.Hofstadter. pp 238/239
2. "The Socialist Party of America". David A. Shannon. pp 10 - 73

Further West in Ohio, Indiana and Michigan, the tone of socialism was distinctly more radical, for it was here that Debs formed his plans for industrial unionism in the economic field, and militant socialist agitation in the political field. Debs offered a Socialist programme to gain a Socialist vote, unlike the more conservative elements in the party who minimised the anti-capitalist aspects of their programme, in order to attract the non-Socialist vote.1.

The Chicago organisation, although strong in terms of membership and presidential votes, was never able to show a united front, and never had the success enjoyed by New York and Milwaukee. Despite its electoral successes, Milwaukee was one of the most conservative centres of Socialism in the country. Built by Berger into an organisation which covered every precinct, the organisation was closely allied to the trades union movement, and appealed mainly to the Germans in a city which also contained many Yankees and Poles. It was this ignoring of these two ethnic groups which caused the socialists to lose their strong position in the Mid-West.2.

Whereas Socialism in Milwaukee was conservative and methodical, West of the Mississippi River, in Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Texas and Oklahoma, it was emotional and radical. Here the movement was lead by Kate Richards O'Hare, who organised encampments, with speeches, singing, classes, and fund-raising, which not only added many Great Plains farmers to the cause, but also close-knit the socialist community which was spread over many miles. In a further effort to make converts the socialists published a cheap periodical called the "Appeal to Reason". This strategy, had, by 1910, made

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon. PP 16/17
2. Ibid. PP 21/23

the Oklahoma socialist organisation the largest in the union, and within the state itself the Socialists were almost as strong as the major parties.

In 1910, the Oklahoma socialists had 5,842 dues-paying members, 800 more than did New York. The socialist vote in the state, however, indicated even greater strength. In 1912 Oklahoma polled 41,674 votes for Debs, that is 16.5% of the total votes cast for Presidential electors in the state. By the Congressional elections of 1914, 52,965 voted the Socialist ticket, whilst in three counties the party polled one third of the total vote. After the 1912 election, the Oklahoma socialists showed themselves to be the best organised state in the Union. Each precinct had its own party local, bringing Socialist-voting non-members into the party in all but 200 of the states 2,565 precincts. As well as this organisation, it formulated a state programme which mixed Socialism and Populism, which was directly aimed at the farm tenant vote, a large and important part of the Oklahoma electorate.

For the Socialists, the South was barren land. The party received little support except from the two parishes of Vernon and Winin in Louisiana, where in 1912, Debs ran ahead of Taft with 5,249 votes due to a combined "Hill-billy" and lumberjack vote. By 1916 lumber conditions had improved in the area, and that year the Socialist candidate, Allan Benson polled only 292 votes.

In the Rocky Mountains and Pacific North-Western states the socialist vote was significant. Its members were also radical, for this was the stronghold of Bill Haywood, and the Industrial Workers of the World, a group whose views have since been termed as "anarchosyndicalism". 1.

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon. pp 34/35. 37/38

In 1912, Debs polled over 10% of the popular vote of Washington, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, California, where conservative Socialists were more dominant, and Arizona. Their ultra-radicalism however prevented them from becoming a real political party, or using their strength to advantage by refusing alliances with less radical factions in state legislatures. An example of this was the Washington socialists who refused to co-operate with farmer and labour blocks of representatives. To these socialists, the Socialist Party was an educational or propagandist agency, not a political group.

The Socialists in the state of California, up to 1909-10, never resolved themselves, however, as to whether they were left or right. Los Angeles was conservative in its views, whilst San Francisco socialists were radical in theirs. During the winter of 1909-10 this dispute was settled with the conservatives gaining final control of the state organisation. Almost immediately the conservatives gained another victory when one of their number, J.Stitt Wilson, was elected Mayor of Berkeley, running a reform administration on similar lines to Milwaukee.

The high tide of California Socialism was the mayoralty election of 1911 in Los Angeles. Socialist expectations were high as they united behind their candidate, Job Harriman, who was Debs's running mate in 1900.2. However, during the campaign, the party in California received a blow from which it never recovered. Some months earlier, in the autumn of 1910, the headquarters of the "Los Angeles Times" was bombed, the culprits were never found, until in the middle of Harriman's campaign, James and John McNamara, two known Socialists, admitted that they had carried out the outrage. The party was immediately discredited. On election day, Harriman received

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A Shannon. P44.
2. "Since 1900". O.J.Barck and W.M.Blake. P27

50,827 votes against his opponents 87,165, and although the party went on to elect two state legislators in 1914, it never again showed the promise attained before the McNamara affair. 1.

Socialists did not see this as cause for alarm however. By May, 1912, a total of 1,039 Socialists had been elected to office, including 56 mayors, 160 councilmen and 145 aldermen. The Socialists forsaw a great future in these figures, whereas the electorate were really using socialism as another variant of the general protest vote. They rarely showed a genuine interest in creating a socialist society, by electing Socialists to Congress or even state legislatures, they merely preferred to vote socialist in municipal elections, largely in connection with protest against local corruption. 2.

The Socialists did however see a need for a Socialist press, and, apart from the "Appeal to Reason" which by 1912 had a circulation of 500,000, they had eight foreign-language, and five English daily papers, plus 262 English, and 36 foreign-language weeklies. Again, whilst showing the growth of the socialist press, it does also show the reliance the movement placed upon the American immigrant and the foreign language associations. 3.

As the party prospered, however, its internal weaknesses magnified and its external enemies multiplied. At the 1912 Convention in Indianapolis, Berger even went so far as to suggest that Debs might not accept the nomination, even if it were offered him. He was soon put right by Lewis J. Duncan the pro-Debs chairman for that day. Debs was opposed by Seidel and Russell for the Presidential nomination. On a roll-call vote, he polled 165 votes, being

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon. PP 41
2. "The Age of Reform". R.Hofstadter. PP 238/239
3. "Ibid". PP 238/239

strong in the West and Mid-West, with the exception of California, Oklahoma, Missouri, and Wisconsin, which Seidel took for 56 votes and second place. Russell gained 54 votes mainly from the state of New York. Seidel was then elected for the Vice-Presidential candidacy over Dan Hogan of Arkansas and John W. Slayton of Pennsylvania. Morris Hillquit then managed to get J.Mahlon Barnes, a cigar manufacturer whose morals were the cause of much dissent, appointed campaign manager. This appointment was made after a lengthy struggle between the radicals and the conservatives within the party, however, despite Deb's upset at the issue being revived, and attacks from Christian Socialists at the appointment being made, Barnes stayed, to do a good job, for even if his morals were suspect, his ability was beyond reproach. 1.

In the November election Debs polled 897,011 votes, or 6% of the national vote, and that against such liberals as Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt. Socialists looked once more to the future, as workers, intellectuals and farmers joined their ranks. 2.

Some commentators believe that this dream ended with the advent of World War One, but even as the last results were coming in, in November, 1912, the party was beginning to break up. The split was a familiar one, between conservatives and radicals.

Firstly, during the campaign of 1912, the party had incurred a deficit of $ 12,000. Barnes, due to his previous background, was accused, mainly by the Ohio organisation, of mismanaging the campaign.

Secondly, an internal doctrinal fight led to the expulsion of Bill Heywood and his group of actionist revolutionaries who advocated sabotage in industrial disputes. Within four months membership of

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon. PP 74/76
2. "American Socialism 1900-60". H.Wayne Morgan. PS

the party dropped to 40,000, and its middle-class character became more pronounced with the victory of the Morris Hillquit - Victor Berger factions. 1.

The legislation of Wilson's New Freedom had little Socialist endorsement, however, and it was foreign affairs and more especially European affairs which disturbed the socialists most. The Socialist Party was opposed to the War in Europe, a stand which had already cost it its connections with the Second International, as the latter had not taken any steps to stop the War. Furthermore, socialists in Germany, France and Great Britain backed the decisions of their own governments. American socialists therefore lent their efforts to preventing the United States entering the War, rather than attempting to end the War in Europe, in the belief that the War was a concern only of businessman, and no affair of the working classes. This stand was later to cost the Socialist party many votes, many members, and many of its leaders. 2.

Perhaps the first victim was Charles Edward Russell who undoubtedly lost the 1916 Socialist Presidential nomination when advocating not war, but merely preparedness for it. He said at a meeting of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society late in 1915, "I believe that America ought to be prepared to defend itself as the last bulwark of democracy." Debs, although disagreeing with Russell, said of him, "There is no instance in American politics where a man, in order to be true to his own conscience, deliberately forfeited the nomination for the Presidency of the United States ---- such men, however, mistaken, are all too rare in the World." 3.

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A. Shannon. P77/78
2. "Third Party Movements in the United States." William B.Hesseltine. P79
3. "The Socialist Party of America". David A. Shannon. P89

Haywood, forever the extreme radical, proposed that a general strike should be held in the event of war being declared. This was hardly a practicable measure however. A more sound proposal came from the still comparatively unknown Allan Benson, who said that a referendum should be held before any declaration of war. This proposal was endorsed by none other than William Jennings Bryan. 1.

Benson had earlier gained prominence within the party for his anti-war articles in the "Appeal to Reason", articles which advanced him from a party unknown, to Presidential candidate in 1916. Included in Benson's platform was the demand "That no war shall be declared or waged by the United States without a referendum vote of the entire people, except for the purpose of repelling invasion." 2.

So attracted to the principal of direct-legislation were the socialists that in 1916 they nominated their national candidates by party referendum, rather than at the traditional carnival, wherein America is seen to be a political union, the party convention.

Debs refused to be considered as Presidential nominee, firstly because of his poor health, secondly because of his wife's wishes, and thirdly he wished to make way for a younger man. Both Hillquit and Berger were already out of the running because of the Constitutional article requiring the President to be a natural born American. 3.

The field was thus limited to three candidates, Allan Benson, James Hudson Maurer, a trade unionist from Reading, Pennsylvania, and Arthur le Sueur, from Minot, North Dakota, and Vice-President of the

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A. Shannon. P 90
2. "Ibid". P 90
3. "American Socialism 1900-60". H.Wayne Morgan. P 5

People's College, Fort Scott, Kansas. In the election Benson narrowly defeated Maurer, whilst le Sueur finished a poor third.

The second place on the ticket went to George R.Kirkpatrick of Newark, New Jersey. A teacher in the Rand School in New York, he was a vigorous anti-war speaker and pamphleteer, who gained the nomination by beating Kate Richards O'Hare, the party organiser in Oklahoma. 1.

Benson however proved an uninspiring leader, polling only 585,113 votes, about two-thirds of Debs voting-strength four years earlier. In only one state of significant socialist strength, Oklahoma, did Benson better the Debs vote, and this can probably be attributed to the fact that it was here that the "Appeal to Reason", by which Benson had made his name, had its greatest circulation and influence. In Indiana the Presidential candidate actually ran behind the rest of his ticket.

Not all the blame for this reversal should be shouldered by Benson however. There were several other important factors which counted towards his defeat. The party itself was weaker than in 1912, the party membership rolls being some 35,000 names shorter than four years earlier. The party also lost votes because of its anti-war stand, whilst the expulsion of the Haywood Syndicalists and the defection of others to Wilson and the New Freedom, was of no use when it came to the hard fact of voting. 2.

In 1917, when the United States entered World War One, the socialists held an Emergency Convention in St.Louis to declare their opposition to it. The delegates were predominantly middle-class native born Americans, who voted, by a three-to-one majority, that

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon. P 91.
2. "Ibid". P 92

entry into the war was a criminal act, pronounced the war to be a capitalist conflict, and called for all socialists to resist conscription.

This dogmatic stand cost the party such men as Charles Edward Russell, William English Walling, John Spargo, author of a pro-war report to the Convention, A.M.Simons, W.J.Ghent, Allan Benson, G.G.Phelps Stokes, and Gustavus Meyers. 1. Not only was their influence lost to the party but in some places it was actively raised against their former socialist colleagues. Simons and Meyers even went so far as to associate during the war with an anti-socialist patriot organisation, although the majority of these pro-war socialists preferred to organise themselves into a society called the Social Democratic League of America, an organisation Hillquit sarcastically, though rightly, called "An organisation of leaders without followers." In the summer of 1917, this group tried to form a common cause with the Progressives, who had been left stranded by Roosevelt in 1916, Prohibitionists and Women Suffragettes. They held their first national conference in Chicago, in October, 1917, when it took the name of the National Party. 2. It formulated a platform which, whilst progressive, could hardly be said to be radical. Politically the party supported Women's suffrage, direct legislation, the short ballot, proportional representation, better absentee voting provisions and prohibition. Economically the party was for the extinction of land monopoly, public ownership (the party refrained from using the term'socialisation') of railways and public utilities, the abolition of grain speculation, the extension of postal savings services, the provision of old-age pensions, better

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A. Shannon. PP 99/100

2. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B. Hesseltine. P79

factory inspection, and the abolition of child labour. Despite such a platform, the Nationalists proved effective as a bridge for some socialists to cross over to the Democrats. 1. The anti-war position of the socialists therefore proved, in the end, an element of strength. Whilst it was true that many intellectuals were lost to the party, the majority of the rank-and-file members stood firm. Membership in some of the Western states did drop, but this drop was compensated by a strengthening of the Socialists position on the Eastern seaboard, particularly in New York.

In the nationwide elections during the autumn of 1917, the Socialists of New York were more spectacular in defeat, than were their victorious party colleagues in other parts of the Union. Their joy was for Morris Hillquit, who polled 145,332 votes in the New York mayoralty election. This was the largest vote any Socialist candidate for that office has polled before or since. He still, however, finished third in a four-cornered race. Whilst Socialists could rejoice in the fact that he was only slightly behind John P. Mitchell, the Fusion candidate and ran nearly 100,000 votes ahead of the regular Republican candidate, William F. Bennett, no one could deny that John F. Hylan, candidate of Tammany Hall, won easily. 2.

Certain aspects of Hillquit's vote, however, do deserve further consideration. His total vote showed an increase of 400% over Russell's vote in 1912 and was heaviest in neighbourhoods dominated by first and second generation immigrants, especially from Eastern

1. "Third Party Movements in the United States." William B. Hesseltine. P79

2. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon. P104

Europe. This may have been in part a personal vote for Hillquit who was himself a Russian Jewish immigrant, with a command of some Eastern European languages, but there was also probably a vote caused by the ferment of social revolution in Russia. Despite the fact that he was not elected, Hillquit did manage to carry into office, ten state assemblymen, seven city aldermen and one municipal judge.

The New York results, plus the fact that in 15 selected North-Eastern cities the Socialists polled 21.6% of the total municipal vote, led Debs to write "The tide has sharply turned. The Socialist Party is rising to power. It is growing more rapidly at this hour than ever in its history." 1. Unfortunately for the Socialists however, this view was shared by war-inspired nationalists who brought the full force of government and mob action upon the Socialists. So-called patriotic organisations not only denounced the Socialists, but even encouraged mobs and local law officers to proceed against them. Seven states passed laws abridging freedom of speech, assembly and press. A further blow came when Congress, in June 1917, passed the Espionage Act, which imposed censorship and made obstruction of the draft a federal offence. The man who impaired the Socialist movement most, however, was Postmaster-General Albert S.Burleson. Under powers granted by the Espionage Act he could deny not only full mailing privileges, but second class mailing privileges to newspapers containing material considered to be in violation of the Act. 2. The "American Socialist", which was published in Chicago, fell foul of this less than one month after

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon. p105-

2. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B.Hesseltine. p79

the act was passed. Other socialist publications were similarly denied the use of the mails, until the socialist press was effectively muzzled.

In Oklahoma, the "Appeal to Reason" defected to join those in favour of the war and the party collapsed after being implicated in the Green Corn Rebellion. This was a sharecroppers revolt which planned to march on Washington, seize the government, and end the war. The attempt failed miserably, the rebellion being suppressed without even a declaration of martial law. Whilst it cannot be denied that it ruined socialism in Oklahoma, this was the only organised, and militant protest against the war. 1.

Apart from these exchanges, the Socialists also ran afoul of the Department of Justice. The blame here however, should lie with judges, district-attournies and juries who were over-zealous in carrying-out their duties. It would be unfair to level any criticism at Attorney-General Thomas W.Gregory who showed more restraint and judiciousness than did his cabinet colleague Burleson. Despite Gregory's efforts, however, prosecutions were numerous. One is outstanding, firstly because it involved Eugent V.Debs, secondly because it showed the lengths to which the government was willing to go, even stoop, in order to suppress radical dissent. 2.

Debs was seized following an anti-war speech which he delivered to the Ohio State Convention of the Socialist Party in June 1918, at Canton, Ohio. He offered little defence at his trial, and was sentenced to ten years imprisonment. Following appeals, Debs finally went to prison five months after the war was over for making

1. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B. Hesseltine. p 79

2. "American Socialism 1900-60". H.Wayne Morgan. p 5

a speech which the Department of Justice itself had not been convinced was in violation of the law. Wilson's administration had obviously decided to make and example of the Socialists, and who better to use than Debs. In fact Debs was not released until Christmas Day, 1921, when President Harding signed the documents necessary for his release.1.

Following a National Executive Committee meeting in St.Louis in 1918, which produced a clash between the right and left wings of the party, party membership dropped that year to 74,519. An increase was shown during the first half of 1919 of 65% over the previous year, no doubt due to the impact of the revolutions taking place in Eastern Europe. Statistics, however, taken out of context can be deceptive, and despite the rise in membership figures, other factors must be taken into account when comparing the party's strength with other years. Firstly the party press was impotent. Secondly many of the party leaders were either in prison, or on bail pending appeal. Thirdly, internal strife within the party was more intense than ever before. Fourthly, relations with organised labour were more strained than before the war. Fifthly, there was the widespread hostility of a large segment of the public towards socialists and radicals, and lastly the western faction of the party was in the same weak and disorganised position as it was at the turn of the century. Thus, despite any increase in membership figures, the Socialist Party was far weaker in 1918, than it had been a year previously. 2.

Nor did the end of the war bring any slackoning in the government's anti-Socialist campaign. Anti-radical hysteria was stirred up by ultra-patriotic organisations such as the American Legion and actively

1. "Facts about the Presidents". Joseph Nathan Kane. P309
2. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon. P121

supported by A.Mitchell Palmer, the new Attourney General. Palmer succeeded Gregory in March, 1919, to commence a new period of Socialist - baiting, a leading feature of which was the deporting of alien radicals.1. The weakening of the party's position because of such deportations was balanced by a large amount of sympathy received by the Socialist following the refusal of Congress to seat Victor Berger. It was in April, 1919, that Congress met in a special session, and refused to seat Berger, who was the duly-elected representative of his Milwaukee district. He was denied his seat not because he was a socialist, but because he was guilty of violating the Espionage Act. To refuse him his seat on these grounds, however, was in anticipation of fact, because Berger was on bail pending appeal. In December, 1919, a special election was held to fill the vacancy. Berger was again nominated, and re-elected, despite the intervention of a fusion candidate. That Berger was the undoubted choice of his district, made no impression upon the House of Representatives who again denied him his seat. 2.

This was not the only case of a duly elected socialist being denied his seat. In November, 1919, two New York socialists, Algernon Lee and Edward F.Cassidy, were elected to municipal office. Unlike the case of Berger however no vote was taken to deny them their seat, rather by diverse methods they were prevented from taking office until nearly two years later, only two months before their terms of office were to expire. 3.

Such anti-radical hysteria, however, waned after the election of 1920 by this time the Marxists in the Socialist Party had broken away from their conservative comrades, so as to be beyond reconciliation. Many of these dissidents were members of the Slavic federations who in 1917 boasted a membership of 57,248 or 53% of the party's total membership.

1. "Third Party Movements in the United States". p80
William B.Hesseltine.

2. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon. p124

3. "Ibid". p125

The members of these language federations were to have an overwhelming majority in the Communist Party in the early days, and a significant membership in the Communist Labour Party.

The leadership of the Left Wing, as the Marxists were known prior to their split with the Socialists, was not unlike that of the old Guard in ethnic origin and social position. It inluded such unlikely Socialists as John Reed, a well to do Harvard graduate, who once advocated the storming of the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary in order to free Debs, and the millionaire William Ross Lloyd. 1.

Prior to the Russian revolution, however, though both Left Wing and conservative old guard factions had existed, their differences were little more than academic. It was not until November, 1918, when the Slavic Federations of Chicago formed the Communist Propaganda League, that the left began to organise actively against the Old Guard. About a week later the Lettish Federation of Boston issued the first copy of its radical periodical "Revolutionary Age" edited by one Louis Fraina, whose later dubious activities were a factor in the disruption of the American Left.

In 1919, seven Language Federations, with a total membership of 25,000-30,000 were expelled from the party for associating with the Left Wing. The Michigan Socialist organisation was also expelled for similar reasons. These two groups met at the National Conference of the Left Wing in New York on June 21st., where they advocated the immediate formation of a Communist party. The rest of the delegates wanted to preserve party unity, not by forming a splinter party, but by winning control of the Socialist Party at its Emergency Convention to be held in Chicago on August 30th.

When the Conference defeated by a vote of 55 to 38, a motion to organise immediately a new party, 31 delegates from Michigan and the Language Federation bolted the meeting. 2.

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon. P127

2. "Socialism and American Life". Donald Drew Egbert and Stow Persons. PA 324/325.

Within three weeks after the close of the Conference the seceeders announced in "Novy Mir", the Chicago publication of the Russian Federation, the formation of the Communist Party of America, and called the new Party's first convention for Chicago on September 1st. Such an action could not expect, nor did it get full Left Wing support, thus the last week in August 1919 saw all varieties of Marxists converging on Chicago to hold national conventions.

The Machinists Hall was the scene for the battle for control of the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party, beginning on 30th August. This was expected to be a struggle for control of the party between the Old Guard and the Left Wing. The convention at the hall of Chicago Russian Federation, now renamed the Smolny Institute was that of the Communist Party of America, and was by comparison, expected to be more sedate.

The rift at the Socialist Convention ended in Joseph Coldwell of Rhode Island urging all Left Wing delegates to bolt the Convention, within hours all but 26 of these delegates had done so, and from these a committee was appointed to confer with the Communist Party, it did not however commit itself to a merger with that party. 1.

Proceedings at the Communist Party Convention were themselves confused.

The convention opened with a resolution that they meet with the bolting delegates from the Socialist convention. This motion was defeated by 75 votes to 31, and it was not in fact until the next year that the two groups were able to agree upon a common programme, whereupon they founded the United Communist Party.

1. "Socialism and American Life". Donald Drew Egbert and Stow Persons. p 324

The Michigan delegates were later expelled for failing to agree to political revolution being included in the party programme, being more inclined towards evolution. Their expulsion caused greater confusion for the "Michigan Mensheviks" as they became known, then formed their own party, the Proletarian Party. 1.

To further complicate the position, however, Coldwell's group, having failed to get any satisfaction at Smolny Institute, had by this time formed yet another new party, the Communist Labour Party. Extremists were more to the fore in this group, and when the revolutionists in the party defeated a political action plank by 41 votes to 28, some delegates bolted for the second time within a week.

Personalities rather than ideologies forestalled a merger between the Communist and Communist Labour parties, for whilst their party programmes were similar, personal animosities kept them at each other's throats for months.

Despite such large-scale defections, the Socialist Party was still the strongest party of the American Left. The party's swing to the left, however, had alienated the more conservative dissenters from social order. Western agrarian Socialists joined the new farmer movements, while Eastern urban Socialists moved towards the progressive Democrats, and eventually sought fusion with the progressive groups in the country. 2.

That the Old Guard looked towards the past, and were reluctant to release their grip on the party is shown in the 1920 party convention. It met at the Finnish Socialist Hall, in Harlem, New York, in May, 1920. Debs was nominated by William H. Henry of Indiana and seconded by Morris Hillquit. The Socialists were thus forced to turn to a man who had declined the nomination four years earlier, and who at the time of his

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon. P147
2. "Ibid". P149

nomination was serving a prison sentence. It was not that Debs was the ideal Socialist candidate, rather that he was the only Socialist qualified to be Presidential candidate.

The Left-Wing then wanted to nominate Kate Richards O'Hare, who was also in prison, for Vice-President. Her nomination was defeated by 106 votes to 26 in favour of Seymour Stedman, a Chicago lawyer, on the grounds that one candidate at least should be free to campaign. Another factor in favour of Stedman was that being a lawyer, it was thought that he himself was unlikely to fall foul of the law, and so be imprisoned. 1.

An encouraging occasion for the Socialists came during the campaign when first the Montana Non-Partisan League, an influential left-of-centre organisation not only urged Debs' release, but endorsed his actions, and secondly when Parley P. Christensen, candidate of the newly-formed Farmer - Labour Party, suggested that he and the two major candidates, Harding and Cox, should unite in asking President Wilson to release Debs.2.

It could be argued that Debs actually gained votes purely out of sympathy, because of his imprisonment, but this factor can soon be outweighed by the loss suffered to the Socialist cause by the non-appearance of Debs, the orator, on a Socialist platform. As it stood, the Socialist presidential candidate was restricted to a 500 word weekly press statement, this being a concession granted only in the September before the election. 3.

Debs polled 915,302 votes on Election Day, the largest popular vote ever received by a Socialist Presidential candidate. His percentage of the poll, however, was only 3.5%, compared to the 6% he received in 1912. This increase in voting figures can be explained by the fact that the election of 1920 was the first in which women in all states in the Union were allowed to vote. Nevertheless Debs' vote was an impressive one for a federal prisoner. It should also be remembered

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon. P156
2. "Roosevelt and Wilson". D.H.Elletson. P215.
3. "American Socialism 1900-60". H.Wayne Morgan. P93

that the Socialist party had a mere 26,766 members, and spent less than $50,000 on the whole campaign. It cannot be denied however that the Socialists lost many votes because they no longer possessed an organisation capable of running a virile presidential campaign.

Nor were they capable of increasing their representation in Congress. They made one gain when Meyer London regained his Manhattan district from Fiorello la Guardia, conqueror of London in 1916, but Victor Berger finally lost his seat in Milwaukee. A seat so long denied him by Congress.1.

The years 1920 to 1922 saw many former Western agrarian Socialists assimilated into the many farmer political movements. One such movement was the Non-Partisan League founded by A.C.Townley, himself a former Socialist, whilst the League's newspaper was edited by Charles Edward Russell, aspirant to the Socialist presidential nomination in 1916.2.

Urban reformers seemed to find more satisfaction in the new Conference for Progressive Political Action, an organisation described in greater detail elsewhere in this paper. The Socialist Party itself was a founding member in this organisation, with Morris Hillquit sitting on the Committee of Fifteen, the organisation's executive committee. There can be little doubt that a genuine attempt was made by the Socialist Party to co-operate in trying to bring about a new alignment in American politics, and looking at the constituent organisations, as the Socialists themselves must have done, it seems likely that the Socialists were hoping to form a new party, very much on the lines of the British Labour Party. 3.

1. "Socialism and American Life". Donald Drew Egbert & Stow Persons. p317
2. "The Political Career of Floyd B.Olson". George H.Mayer. pp 18/20
3. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon. pp 169/170

To achieve that end the Socialists practically gave the C.P.P.A. a blank cheque for the 1924 Presidential campaign. In convention at Cleveland, they endorsed la Follette's candidacy and even granted their National Executive Committee discretion to endorse the Vice-Presidential candidate of the C.P.P.A., when selected by the National Committee of the latter body. During the campaign the Socialists performed useful service for la Follette, to the detriment of their own state and local campaigns. This is exemplified by election returns in New York State where one could vote for la Follette on either the Progressive or the Socialist ticket. He did in fact poll more as a Socialist than as a Progressive, whilst the Socialist candidates for state office did poorly, no doubt because they campaigned harder for la Follette than for themselves. Norman Mattoon Thomas running against 'Al' Smith for Governor received slightly less than 100,000 votes, whilst the high man on the Socialist ticket, Charles Soloman, the candidate for Lieutenant - Governor, polled only 126,679 votes. 1.

Socialist disappointment in gubernatorial elections was not confined to New York however, in Wisconsin the Socialist candidate polled a mere 45,268 votes. The state of Wisconsin did however have a Socialist sitting in Congress. Victor Berger regained his seat by a 500 vote margin in a straight fight with a Republican, however, Leo Krzycki, in the other Milwaukee district, was defeated.2.

The enthusiasm that the Socialists once had for forming a broadly based third party, soon vanished however after the 1924 election. Their reasons were twofold, firstly, the American Federation of Labour, which had endorsed la Follette's candidature in 1924, said that any third party work for them in future was wasted effort. They held that labour should in future, follow a non-partisan policy. Secondly the National Committee of the C.P.P.A. met soon after the election, and decided to hold a Convention in Chicago the following February, the

1. "Congressmen and the Electorate". Milton C.Cummings. P152
2. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon. P179

main business of which was to consider the formation of a new political party. As has been said above, the Socialists favoured a party on British Labour Party lines, with both affiliated membership, as in this way they could retain their own separate identity as a wing or caucus of a national progressive party. There was no support from any other organisation and so the Socialists severed all connection with the C.P.P.A. this action seems however to have been done with not a little reluctance, for the Socialist allowed any state Socialist organisation to join any state labour party as a unit. None appeared, however, and the experiment of co-operation with the progressivesended.

From the election of 1924 until the Wall Street Crash of 1929, the Socialist party was little heard of outside Lower Manhattan Island, Milwaukee, and Reading, Pennsylvania.1.

Debs, for so long the party's national standard - bearer died in 1926. Berger continued his able leadership in Milwaukee, until his accidental death when hit by a street-car in the Summer of 1929. London too was killed in a street accident the same year, whilst Hillquit was having to devote much of his time to his law practice because of financial difficulties following a bout of tuberculosis.2.

The party thus lost four of its most prominent members ina period of three years. Nor was this all. In 1926, only 33 delegates attended the national convention of the party, and state parties became so small they had to be organised in districts, such as the New England District, and the Rocky Mountain District.3.

The only bright spot in a very gloomy picture was the election, in 1927, of a Socialist administration in Reading, Pennsylvania. Since 1912 it had given approximately 15% of its vote to Socialist Presidential candidates, and in 1924 over one quarter of the electorate of Reading voted for la Follette. The strength of the party in Reading lay firstly

1. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B. Hesseltine. P 88
2. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon. P 182/183
3. "Ibid". P 185

in a close link with the A.F.L., something which must have been envied by the Socialists nationally, and secondly in the personality of James Hudson Maurer, a leader, who, whilst a conservative in his Socialism once more provided the Socialists with a link with labour, a major factor in the success of the Reading Socialists. A further important factor in Reading was the fact that the electorate was disillusioned. Neither major party had governed Reading particularly well, and so in 1927 the voters turned to the Socialists to give them, if not a radical administration, at least a clean one. J.Henry Stump was elected Mayor,whilst Maurer and George W.Snyder both gained seats on the city council. Apart from these the Socialists could also claim the office of City Controller, and two school board members. 1.

Despite this isolated victory, however, it could not be denied that nationally the Socialist party was on the verge of extinction. Two factors prevented this, the first was the Great Depression, which served to furnish support for the Socialist analysis of the evils of capitalism. The second was the emergence of Norman Thomas as a national party leader. Whilst Debs had been a product of the labour movement, Thomas came from the Presbyterian ministry. He held college degrees, had been an editor of a magazine, and secretary of the pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation. He was thus able to appeal to not only the rank-and-file Socialists, but also the intellectuals, progressive reformers and non-Socialist social groups which had previously received little attention from the Socialist party. 2.

1. "Socialism and American Life". Donald Drew Egbert and Stow Persons. P402

2. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon. P158

With the help of the National Executive Committee, and especially its secretary Clarence Senior, Thomas rebuilt the party and the party image. He established an efficient national office, and in 1928 gained the party's Presidential nomination. It must be emphasised, however, that the nomination went to Thomas largely by default. The logical choice would have been Dan Hoan, but he was presently occupied as Mayor of Milwaukee, an office it would have been foolish to resign in favour of certain presidential defeat. The nomination thus went to Thomas, a man who, outside of New York, was unknown to the majority of Socialists. He had previously run for office four times, as Governor of New York State, Mayor of New York City (against the corrupt nominee of Tammany Hall, Jimmy Walker), State Senator, and City Alderman, in the period 1924 - 1927. He was not very successful in any of these contests, and had even run behind the rest of his ticket in 1924.1.

Thomas did, however, in 1928 conduct a vigorous high-level campaign, although it suffered from the party's lack of strong and efficient local organisations. The Socialists got onto the ballot in eleven states and polled a total of 267,420 votes. 2. As regards percentages, this was even worse than the first time they had run a presidential candidate, in 1900. Furthermore, over one third of this vote came from New York State alone. Although the election result did cause some revival of party interest, it also showed that the American electorate was more concerned with prohibition, Protestantism, and prosperity, than the possible remedies to an already growing unemployment percentage. Nevertheless, the result did revive a little

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon. P191

2. "American Socialism 1900-60". H.Wayne Morgan. P108

of the previous interest in the Socialist party, particularly in Oklahoma, where the party organisation was rebuilt, and in Minnesota, where Socialist candidates polled 18,000 votes in the Municipal elections, without anywhere making a strong campaign.1.

Minority political parties thrive on economic and social misfortune, as they must, to discredit their opponents, and so achieve power. Thus the Wall Street Crash, followed by the Great Depression, made many Socialist leaders think that their party would benefit from such a catastrophe, to emerge as a major, if not dominant, political organisation. Under the new National Secretary, Clarence Senior, the party built up membership figures, until they were the highest than at any time since 1923. It also improved its newspaper and pamphlet circulations, and, most important of all, strengthened its position financially.

The growing strength of the party was also reflected in the mildly successful mid-term election results of 1930.

In Milwaukee the party increased its representation in the lower house of the Wisconsin state legislature from three to nine members, whilst also adding a second state senator. However, these gains were balanced by the loss of Victor Berger's former congressional seat.2.

In Reading also, the party experienced both success and failure, electing Darlington Hoopes and Lilith Wilson to the state legislature in 1930, but losing control of the municipal administration to a fusion ticket the following year. Except for a few small town administrations, these were the only American Socialists holding public office. Elsewhere Socialist candidates, such as Upton Sinclair (who polled over 50,000 votes in California's gubernatorial election),

1. "American Socialism 1900-60". H.Wayne Morgan. pp 100/101

2. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B. Hesseltine. p 88

and Louis Waldman (who received over 120,000 votes running against Franklin D. Roosevelt for Governor of New York), increased previous votes but came nowhere near to electoral victory.1.

By 1932 the Socialists had rebuilt their party organisation, until its strength was comparable to that of 1908. The new members, however, did not come from the working classes, but from the more academic members of society. Nor had the wound between the militant Marxists and the progressive non-Marxists healed, in fact, if anything, it was deeper. This could mainly be attributed to the outlook of two groups who were a generation apart, for by this time the Old Guard were in their late fifties and early sixties, whilst the new members of the party were young men and women, some of them still college undergraduates, converted to socialism by the Depression.

Despite many differences, Thomas was renominated as the party's presidential candidate in 1932. His nomination was unopposed, not because he offered a compromise between the two factions in the party, but because the Old Guard had no eligible candidate of equal standing. His running mate was James H.Maurer, who also gained nomination without opposition, but only after Meta Berger, the widow of the late Congressman, declined nomination to avoid a split in the party.2.

The most bitter fight of the Convention, however, came in the election of the party's national chairman. There were two candidates for the office, Morris Hillquit and Daniel W. Hoan, the Mayor of Milwaukee. Both Hoan's sponsors, William F. Quick and Heywood Broun,

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A. Shannon. P209

2. "Ibid". P216

said that the Chairman should not be a New Yorker, but someone recognisible as 'American'. There was no doubt that Thomas, prior to the Convention wanted Hillquit defeated, but now realised that the statements of Quick and Broun could endanger the image of the party. Charges of anti-Semitism could be levelled at the Socialists if Hillquit, a foreign-born Jew resident in New York, were defeated. Thomas must therefore have been relieved when Hillquit was elected by 108 votes to 81. 1.

The main Socialist campaign theme of 1932 was of course the Depression, although it was noteworthy that Thomas preferred to offer a programme of relief, reform and recovery, instead of the orthodox socialist assaults upon the capitalist system, and, although defeated, Thomas did have the satisfaction of seeing many planks of this platform enacted by Roosevelt and the New Deal.

The Socialist domestic programme included the socialisation of banking (the term 'Nationalisation' had little appeal in the United States, hence the term 'socialisation'), the establishment of a federal marketing agency for the purchasing and marketing of agricultural products, the provision of supplementary federal aid to local and state relief schemes, and federal expenditure on a public works programme.2.

Nor was Thomas content to merely praise his own party's programme, for he attacked both the incumbent Republican, Herbert Hoover, and the Democratic nominee Franklin D. Roosevelt, far more than any previous Socialist presidential candidate had done. This showed that the Socialists realised that to succeed in politics it is not only necessary

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A. Shannon. P 217
2. "Documents of American History". H.S.Commager. P249/253

to stress your own strengths, but to further emphasise your opponents weaknesses. It showed a further step in the 'Americanisation' of the Socialists, the change from an idealogical sect to a political movement.1.

The Socialists in 1932 also had more labour support than in previous years, although the total was still a meager one. The main support for Thomas once more came from intellectuals, organised into the "Thomas and Maurer Committee of Ten Thousand", which was later renamed the "Thomas and Maurer Committee of One Hundred Thousand" because of the increased support it received. Thomas was also popular within the colleges, where 125 "Thomas for President" Clubs had been organised by the month before the election.

Such support enabled the Socialists, by petition and a number of court enactments, to get Thomas and Maurer on the ballot in all but five states of the union. However, although the states of Nevada, Idaho, Louisiana, Florida, and Oklahoma denied the electorate the opportunity of a vote for a Socialist candidate, write - in's were possible in some of these states.2.

The Socialists themselves never expected to win in 1932, although some of their more optimistic supporters thought a Socialist vote of three million to be possible. Thomas would have been content with one and a half million, which in itself was a highly optimistic figure when one considers his eventual total vote was 884,781. Whilst he failed to emulate his predecessor Debs, Thomas did however increase by almost 200% his vote of four years earlier, and this vote did give the promise that the party was out of the doldrums.3.

1. "American Socialism 1900-60". H.Wayne Morgan. P.108
2. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon. P223
3. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B. Hesseltine. P89

Further to this there were two immeasurable factors of the Socialist vote at the 1932 election. Firstly in districts without voting machines, the count of votes of candidates considered to have no chance of being elected was hurried and thus probably inaccurate. Secondly many people thought Hoover might be elected if they voted for Thomas rather than for Roosevelt. There was thus a swing away from the Socialists at the most crucial time of all, when electors were in the voting booth. (In fact any fears of a Hoover victory being possible because of a Socialist intervention were soon dispelled when Roosevelt was returned with a popular majority of over seven million).

These factors however would not have significantly changed the election result, which plainly showed that the Socialist party had little popular following.1.

In spite of this result the Socialists could still look to the future with optimism, for the campaign had done more to rebuild the party than had the total efforts of the preceeding twelve years. However, in the years to come, Roosevelt, who in 1932 was able to offer to the electorate hope and sympathy, but little else, was to champion a programme of social reform that cut the ground from under the feet of the Socialist party. Such as it was, the 1932 election was the high tide of the Socialist party of Norman Thomas.2.

The Socialist, who declined as the New Deal succeeded, concentrated their attack upon two specific measures in the New Deal programme. These were the National Industrial Recovery Act, and the Agricultural Adjustment Act, which the Socialists said tried to solve the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty, by eliminating the plenty. Basically the Socialists

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon. P 223
2. "Ibid". P 226

were critical of the New Deal, not because it was not a socialist programme, but because it was building a form of state capitalism, which they held, contained dangerous tendencies towards Fascism. To substantiate this claim they pointed out the similarities in the European Cartel system, the Italian Corporate state, and the New Deal. Despite these attacks the New Deal gained the support of many Socialists, and also the people whom the socialists themselves would have to attract if they hoped to become a significant political force. This was borne out by the results of the 1934 Congressional elections, where there was a noticeable swing towards Roosevelt. This in itself was rare, for mid-term elections in the United States traditionally serve as a means for the defeated party to recoup some of the losses sustained at the previous Presidential election. Yet Roosevelt was able to consolidate his position, whilst the Socialists, who, two years before were so confident of the future, made no spectacular electoral gains.1.

The dismal economic position, instead of creating a new national party of workers and farmers, only led to a strengthening of the New Deal wing of the Democratic party, whilst also draining the Socialist party of some of its most able leaders. Upton Sinclair, the defeated Socialist candidate for the Governorship of California in 1930, joined the Democrats in the autumn of 1933. The following year he ran for Governor as a Democrat, only to be beaten by the Republican candidate. Another California Socialist, Jerry Voorhis, left the party at the same time as Sinclair. He too joined the Democratic party, a party he later served

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon. pp 229/230

as a Congressman. Nor were all the defections individual ones. Labour unions, which had been traditionally Socialist, also turned to the New Deal. Rather than join the Democrat machine the majority of these former - Socialist unions preferred to join the American Labour Party, which was formed in 1936 to try to gain New York State for Roosevelt by aiming directly at the working-class vote. The constitution of the American Labour Party allowed it to nominate those Democrats it considered worthy of labour's vote, it did not offer however a blanket endorsement of the Democratic ticket. The American Labour Party, it must be stressed, whilst an ally of the Northern liberal Democrat, never endorsed the Southern white supremists in the Democratic party, nor the big-city machine politicians. The needle trades, under David Dubinsky and Sidney Hillman, chose to support the New Deal in this way, leaving the socialists with little labour support.1.

At the same time, during the presidential election year of 1936, the Old Guard split with the party to form the Social Democratic Federation, which chose to withold support from Thomas, again the Socialist nominee, whilst not actively supporting Roosevelt.

To further trouble the Socialists, the same year the "Trotskyite" Workers Party chose to dissolve itself and join the Socialists, an accesion which brought Thomas and his supporters more trouble than voters. A year later in fact the Trotskyites were expelled from the Socialist Party, although they retained their identify as a group, forming the Socialist Workers Party.2.

In 1936, Thomas had as his running-mate George Nelson of

pp 234/245-/246

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon.

2. "Third Party Movements in the United States."
William B. Hesseltine. p 89

the Farmers Union, in a bid to recover the agrarian and labour vote. The fight for this vote was hopeless however, as the party was backed by neither rich unions nor powerful ones.

The 1936 election results were disastrous for the Socialist Party, Thomas even ran behind the newly-formed Union Party which polled over four times the Socialist vote. Thomas polled 187,342 votes and not since 1900 had a Socialist candidate polled so low, and even on that occasion Debs polled a better percentage of the popular vote than did Thomas in 1936.

In New York seemingly large numbers of former socialist voters turned to the American Labour Party, where Roosevelt polled 274,924 votes as American Labour Party candidate, more than three times the Socialist vote in that state.1.

Thomas threw all the blame for the Socialist decline squarely upon the shoulders of Roosevelt, thus leading one to believe that the decline of the Socialist party was caused by the New Deal.2. In fact the decline had begun long before the New Deal, and was caused by the Socialists themselves. They never really determined whether they were a revolutionary sect, a political party, or merely a pressure group. With the exception of Milwaukee, Reading, Pennsylvania and a few other cities, they avoided showing concern with local issues, an omission which cost them strong local organisations, a basic necessity of any political party. Instead they tried to use the labour unions as "grass roots" of the party, a move which failed, mainly because American labour has had little class consciousness, and secondly because the

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A. Shannon. P247
2. Ibid. P248

Socialists blundered on so many occasions in their attempts to convert the unions to their way of thought. The Socialist leadership was itself split regarding the means by which they should take over organised labour.1. The more moderate among them, such as Maurer, Berger, and Max S.Hayes of Cleveland wanted to work within the American Federation of Labour, trying to convert the majority of the membership to the Socialist viewpoint. Such methods were too slow for both the radicals in the Socialist party, and the Communists. The latter tried to impose their viewpoint upon the unions, rather than convert them, by the simple, if indelicate procedure, of securing the election of their members to as many of the key positions in the union as was possible. The more radical Socialists, Debs among them, tried a third method, which appeared to be at least the simplest way of fusing Socialism and organised labour, and that was to organise labour yourself. Accordingly in 1905 the Socialists helped found the Industrial Workers of the World, as a rival to the A.F.L., whilst at the same time trying to organise sections of labour which the A.F.L. had long ignored. The wisdom of the radicals move can best be demonstrated by showing the progress made where Socialists worked with what was basically a non-partisan labour organisation.2.

The state federations of the A.F.L. in Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Montana, all had Socialist officials. In return for financial help during election campaigns, the Socialists gave the unions contributions towards the fighting fund during particularly lengthy strikes.

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon. P 251
2. "American Socialism 1900-60". H.Wayne Morgan. PP 33/35.

Nor was benefit confined to one side in this partnership. The unions gained strength and security from their alliance; whilst the Socialists could point to the election results in those three states to show the benefits of co-operation to the Socialist party. Socialist Administrations were elected in Milwaukee (Wisconsin), Butte (Montana), and Reading (Pennsylvania), the last-named governing that community long after socialism was dead as a national force.1.

Socialist views were never themselves a draw-back within the A.F.L. as was seen in the A.F.L. presidential vote of 1912, when the Socialist Hayes gained almost one third of the votes cast in his contest with Samuel Gompers; however, the sporadic attacks made upon the A.F.L. by the radicals in the Socialists did little to reform, or attract that body, as a national entity rather than several state federations, to the Socialist Party. The size of the Socialists mistake can be shown by the fact that the A.F.L. still exists today, albeit in a new labour coalition, whereas the Socialist party is long since dead. 2.

Similarly the American voter has preferred to concern himself with parties and policies that held out the hope of visible, practical, and above all fast, results. The social theory of Debs was rejected at its zenith in favour of the immediate results promised by Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressives. 3.

Lastly the Socialists failed in their bid to win over the two minority groups for which it had so long striven, the European immigrant, and the negro.

The negro, so long shackled with the disadvantage of being

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon. P 256
2. "Ibid." P 257
3. "The Age of Reform". R.Hofstadter. PP 238/239

born with a black skin, was unwilling to add the further disadvantage of 'red' tendencies to his burden, whilst the immigrant generally wanted to leave all vestiges of his European past behind him on entering America, these often included his political beliefs which he considered would hinder him in his desire to become 'American'.

1. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon. p 267

If the party was dying in 1936, it was all but buried ten years later following the Second World War. This was caused by the party failing to adopt a clear statement on the war, and, although Thomas did poll 139,521 votes in 1948, the corpse could not be revived.

Thomas refused to run again as Presidential candidate in 1952, and even recommended to the party that no Socialist be nominated for President. This suggestion was rejected, many feeling that a Socialist Presidential candidate would lend prestige to the party tickets in Reading and Milwaukee.1.

Accordingly Darlington Hoopes, a Reading lawyer was chosen as Presidential candidate, although whether he lent prestige to the municipal tickets is extremely doubtful. He gained a mere 20,189 votes to be beaten even by the candidate of the Prohibition Party.

With this disastrous result, the Socialist Party of America was dead both as a political entity, and as a medium for the spreading of social revolution, although whilst never itself attaining national power, it was still able to see many of its party aims put into practice after their adoption by one of the major parties. Where it did achieve power, the party could reflect upon its record of giving the electorate a clean, if hardly radical, administration. It is for these reasons I feel the Socialist Party will be remembered, these plus the fact that for first generation immigrants it provided a useful political bridge between European Socialism, and the meaningless terms of American party politics.

1. "The Decline of American Communism". David A.Shannon. PJ62

## Part III - Chapter 1

### The Farmer - Labour Party in Minnesota

Thus so far in this paper we have confined ourselves to minority parties which have failed in their bids for national recognition. In this chapter we are to look at a party which confined itself to the Mid-West of the United States, and more specifically to the State of Minnesota, and by thus confining itself to a comparatively small area, gained the confidence of the majority of the electorate in that area. In that it was successful at the polls, it differed from minority parties. It did however possess one common link with the majority of third parties, the Farmer - Labour Party was very much dependent upon the charismatic appeal of one man, Floyd B.Olson.

During the period 1922 - 1939, the party experienced two periods of success at the polls in the state of Minnesota. It was the second of these, 1931 - 1939, that coincided with the rise to power of Olson, and it was Olson's death in 1936 which marked the beginning of the end for the Farmer-Labour Party.1.

The Farmer-Labour Party had its origins in the Non-Partisan League, a movement which echoed the charges of the Grangers, the Greenbackers, and the Populists. The League, which was founded in 1915 by a group of North Dakota farmers led by A.C.Townley, a former Socialist propagandist and bankrupt flax farmer, soon secured the agrarian imagination of the Mid-West. In 1916 League candidates entered the Republican primaries in North Dakota and effectively took over that party in the state, to the extent of winning the elections of 1916 and 1918 under a Republican guise.2.

1. "Politics in Minnesota". G.Theodore Mitau. pp 13-15
2. "The Republican Party 1854-1954". George H. Mayer. p374

In 1917 national headquarters of the League were opened in St.Paul, Minnesota, and highly trained political organisers were sent to the Red River Valley and Western Minnesota, where the spirit of Populism was dormant, but by no means dead.1. The new movement was soon to suffer political persecution, before it had hardly gained a hold in the state. This was largely because of a very large German membership and because of the anti-war stand taken by a number of its leaders before the United States entered World War One. To these reasons could be added possibly the greatest blunder of all, the choice of former Congressman Charles A. Lindbergh as the Non-Partisan candidate for Governor in the 1918 Republican primary. Lindbergh was notable for his outspoken anti-war views, views which only helped to stir up the anti-league hysteria campaign conducted by the Minnesota Public Safety Commission.2. Despite this hysteria however, and despite injunctions being issued in nineteen counties to prevent the League holding meetings, Lindbergh still received 150,000 votes. The incumbent governor Joseph A.A.Burnquist, a leading member of the Public Safety Commission, won renomination by over 50,000 votes, but the result did at least show the extent of the reform agrarian vote in Minnesota.3.

Townley realised, however, that in Minnesota the farm vote alone would not be enough: the state's urban vote, especially that concentrated in the twin towns of Minneapolis and St.Paul, needed exploitation. The programme of the League was accordingly broadened to encourage the urban vote, and on August 24, 1918, at a Conference in St.Paul, the first urban-agrarian links were forged when delegates representing the Minnesota

1. "The Populist Revolt". John D. Hicks. P103
2. "The Political Career of Floyd B. Olson". George H.Mayer. P21.
3. "Politics in Minnesota". G.Theodore Mitau. PP 11/12

Federation of Labour, and the Non-Partisan League agreed to support a joint slate of candidates for state office. They nominated David Evans for Governor, and Tom Davis for Attorney-General, and to satisfy the state electoral laws, both candidates filed as members of a Farmer-Labour Party. Such a designation however was adopted purely to get on the ballot; the party had no independent existence, nor did it exist as a complete entity, such an arrangement was merely a marriage of convenience, as there was no attempt at a merger at this stage. Such a coalition did not bring victory, but the foundations were laid for increased farmer-labour co-operation.1.

At the 1919 convention of the Minnesota Federation of Labour, the coalition came even closer together, when a Working - People's Nonpartisan Political League was organised on lines similar to Townley's movement. 2. In 1920, a joint slate was again proposed, and again defeated, although decisively establishing itself as a major influence in the state.3. The labour element in the coalition now became eager to run a full slate of its own as a third party, whilst Townley still

1. "The Political Career of Floyd B.Olson". George H.Meyer. P23
2. Ibid. P23
3. The party emerged as an important force in Minnesota through the gubernatorial campaign of Henrik Shipstead, a former Republican dentist. The full voting figures were as follows:-

   J.A.O.Preus (Republican) 415,805 votes.
   Henrik Shipstead (Farmer Labour) 281,402
   L.C.Hodgson (Democrat) 81,293

   ("Politics in Minnesota". Theodore Mitau). P119

preferred a system of endorsement of major party candidates favourable to the League programme for agriculture.1.

Two years later, however, following an attempt to fuse with the Democrats, League supporters finally campaigned independently as the Farmer-Labour Party. Their candidate for Governor, Magnus Johnson, came within 14,000 votes of securing election, polling 14,000 votes more than Shipstead two years previously, 2 and increasing the percentage vote, albeit in a lower total poll, of the Farmer-Labour Party from 35.9% in 1920, to 43.1% in 1922.

In Congressional elections, the party was more successful however, winning a total of three seats. Knud Wefald and O.J.Kvale were elected to the House of Representatives, whilst Henrik Shipstead, defeated two years previously in the state gubernatorial election, secured a seat in the Senate.3.

1. "The Populist Revolt". John D. Hicks. p157

2. J.A.O. Preus (Republican) 309,756 votes.
   Magnus Johnson (Farmer-Labour) 295,479
   Edward Indrehus (Democrat) 79,903
   ("Politics in Minnesota". G.Theodore Mitau). p119

3. Shipstead defeated Frank B. Kellogg, who although a notable Republican Senator, will be remembered more as Secretary of State under Calvin Coolidge, co-author of the Kellogg - Briand Pact (1928) and a Nobel Peace Prize Winner (1929). The full voting figures were as follows:-

   Henrik Shipstead (Farmer - Labour) 325,372 votes.
   Frank B. Kellogg (Republican) 241,833 votes.
   A.Olesen (Democrat) 123,624 votes.

   ("Politics in Minnesota". G.Theodore Mitau). p118

The following year the Farmer - Labourities experienced greater success, when, at a special election following the death of Senator Knute Nelson, Magnus Johnson, a Swedish immigrant, secured the second Minnesota seat in the Senate. Unfortunately, this success was short-lived, for the following year Johnson was defeated by the Republican candidate Thomas D. Schall, by a margin of 8,000 votes out of the 760,000 votes cast.1.

The 1924 elections, although tainted by the attempts of the Communists Party to infiltrate the Conference for Progressive Political Action, and the Farmer-Labour movement in Minnesota 2, one of the C.P.P.A. greatest allies in the Mid - West, also marked the end of Townley's influence in Mid-Western agrarian politics, and the emergence of a new political figure in Minnesota state politics, Floyd B. Olson.

Olson had all the characteristics necessary for success in American politics, being of the right ethnic stock, a Scandinavian, a former miner and labourer, he had eventually become a lawyer in private practice and then Attorney of Hennepin County. A crusader against big-city racketeering, he was also the champion of organised labour against the conservative elements typified in big business.3.

In 1924 Olson was chosen to head the Farmer - Labour ticket in the state - wide elections. His opponent for Governor was not the unpopular incumbent Governor Preus, but Theodore Christianson, who, whilst no match

1. "Politics in Minnesota". G.Theodore Mitau. PP. 12 . 118
2. "Facts about the Presidents". Joseph Nathan Kane. P203
3. "Minnesota A. History of the State". Theodore C. Blegen. P523

for Olson as an orator, did have characteristics which marked him as an ideal candidate. He had graduated from college with the coveted grading of Phi Beta Kappa, possessed a dignified and sober manner which if it did not arouse enthusiasm, commanded respect, and lastly he had a record as Speaker of the state House of Representatives as a campaigner for tax reduction, a fact which swiftly endeared him to the agrarian communities of the state.1.

At this point therefore the candidates were evenly balanced. The election was won and lost during the campaign itself, if not at the Farmer-Labour convention. It was at this convention that the Farmer-Labourites were first accused, by Robert M. la Follette, the C.P.P.A. presidential candidate, of Communist infiltration.2. Olson neither discouraged nor encouraged Communist support, and like Henry Wallace in 1948, his ambiguous stand did him little good. The votes he gained from the Communists were more than balanced by those lost in the middle-classes. This issue in fact, more than any other, tipped the scales against Olson. The Farmer-Labourites were defeated by a popular candidate with a sound political instinct. When the votes were counted, Olson had lost by 40,000 votes out of a total of 865,000, the full electoral result being as follows:-

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Theodore Christianson | (Republican) | 406,692 votes. |
| Floyd B. Olson | (Farmer - Labour) | 366,029 votes. |
| Carlos Avery | (Democrat) | 49,353 votes. |

1. "The Political Career of Floyd B. Olson". George H.Meyer. P31
2. "Third-Party Movements in the United States". William B.Hesseltine. P84
3. "Politics in Minnesota". G.Theodore Mitau. P119

Quite apart from costing Olson the election, the infiltration of the Communists into the Farmer Labour Federation, so discredited the movement that it was considered necessary to disband the movement, and replace it with another movement with a new image, but nevertheless loyal to the ideals of the old federation. The new organisation, formed at St.Paul on March 20th 1925, was known as the Farmer Labour Association.1.

The constitution of the association specifically barred the admission of communists to membership, nevertheless it followed closely the basic socialist principles of the Nonpartisan League. The constitution stated that "every person is entitled to an opportunity to earn a living, and should be secure in the enjoyment of the fruits of his or her toil". In order to further the implementation of these rights two radical steps were advocated. These were firstly a union of "all persons in agriculture and other useful industry" to provide for the economic security of those who produced the wealth of the nation, and secondly the abolition of private monopolies which were to be replaced by a system of public ownership designed not only to increase the total wealth of society, but also to abolish unemployment, a consideration of little importance during the boom period of the mid-twenties, but which was to have increasing importance before the end of the decade.2.

As with the Labour Party in Great Britain, membership of the association could be attained on an individual or a corporate basis. The grass roots unit of organisation was the Farmer Labour club

1. "The Political Career of Floyd B.Olson". George H.Mayer. P37
2. Ibid. P37

which represented those members in a particular township or village regardless of its geographical relationship to the local government boundaries of the area. The annual membership fee was three dollars, of which half went to the official newspaper of the association, "The Farmer Labour Advocate", the remainder going to the local (50 cents), to the county (25 cents) and to the state (75 cents). Using this simple means, effective power was thus confined to the most politically conscious citizens of the community. Affiliated membership was also open to trade unions and farmers' co-operatives who paid a two per cent per capita tax. Like the clubs, the affiliated organisations were entitled to participate in the county conventions of the association, which had the three-fold purpose of endorsing candidates for local office, passing resolutions which served to advise the upper echelons of the hierarchy of grass roots sentiment, and selecting delegates to the biennial convention of the association.1. In 1930, the constitution was amended to allow the affiliated organisations to send delegates directly to the meetings of the association. Such a change did not increase the voting strength of any one county however which was strictly apportioned at one county delegate - at - large; plus one additional delegate for each thousand votes cast for the Farmer - Labour candidate in the preceeding gubernatorial election.2.

1. "The Political Career of Floyd B. Olson". George H. Mayer. p 19

2. The convention was thus largest following Benson's successful campaign of 1936 when he polled over 680,000 votes. The total number of delegates at the 1938 convention must thus have been well in excess of 700, as 87 of these were automatic delegate - at - large appointments.

The convention existed to endorse candidates for state offices and United States senator, thereby avoiding the direct primary, a move which caused many to attack the system on the grounds that it was undemocratic. Convention also drafted the association platform, amended the constitution, and appointed the executive committee. Thus it was the dues-paying members, and not the electorate who controlled the association and their nominees. Only on rare occasions did a candidate secure the party nomination without endorsement by the association convention. Such precautions on the part of the Farmer Labourites was undoubtedly to prevent raiding and infiltration into the movement such as happened to the North Dakotan Republicans in 1916, and also to the Farmer Labourites themselves on the occasion of the wide-open primary of 1924.1.

1. "The Political Career of Floyd B. Olson". George H. Mayer. P 39

During the next six years the Farmer - Labour Party fought four major elections in Minnesota. One of these they won, thanks to the charismatic appeal of their senatorial candidate, Henrik Shipstead. They failed however to secure the governorship, both in 1926 and 1928, the Republicans being able to keep the state - house in their possession thanks to an era of continued prosperity and the respected leadership of Governor Christianson.1. In 1930 they also failed in their bid to unseat Thomas D.Schall by two years, the junior Senator from the state, being relegated to third position on the ballot, this being the only

1. The full electoral results in this period were:-

1928 Election for United States Senator

| | |
|---|---|
| Henrik Shipstead (Farmer - Labour) | 665,169 votes. |
| Arthur E. Nelson (Republican) | 342,992 votes. |

1930 Election for United States Senator

| | |
|---|---|
| Thomas D. Schall (Republican) | 293,626 votes. |
| Einar Hoidale (Democrat) | 282,018 votes. |
| Ernest Lundeen (Farmer - Labour) | 178,671 votes. |
| Charles Lund (Independent by Petition) | 20,669 votes. |

1926 Election for Governor of Minnesota

| | |
|---|---|
| Theodore Christianson (Republican) | 395,779 votes. |
| Magnus Johnson (Farmer - Labour) | 266,845 votes. |
| Alfred Jaques (Democrat) | 38,008 votes. |

1928 Election for Governor of Minnesota

| | |
|---|---|
| Theodore Christianson (Republican) | 549,857 votes. |
| Ernest Lundeen (Farmer - Labour) | 227,193 votes. |
| Andrew Nelson (Democrat) | 213,734 votes. |

("Politics in Minnesota" G.Theodore Mitau). pp 118/119

occasion in the history of the Farmer - Labour Party that they were defeated by a Democratic candidate in either a United States Senate or gubernatorial election.1.

At this time however the Farmer - Labourites were willing to forget this result in favour of the result of the election for state governor. For the first time, a candidate of the Farmer-Labour Party, Floyd B.Olson, was elected to the state house of Minnesota.2.

What therefore was the cause of such a dramatic change in fortunes for the Farmer-Labourites? Basically it must be that the people of Minnesota looked locally, as did Americans nationally, for a down-to-earth man who was not only able to show compassion to the poor and the unemployed at the time of the Great Depression, but who was also capable of showing to the people that he had a programme of reforms which would lift that Depression. Olson was almost certainly better off than Roosevelt, in that the Farmer-Labour Party had been preaching a radical platform for many years, Olson in 1930 merely had to take it over.3. The Democrats had been advocating no such platform, Franklin Roosevelt in 1932 could offer the American people little more than sympathy and hope.4.

A second factor in favour of the Farmer-Labourites was the non-appearance of the incumbent governor, Theodore Christianson, who chose instead to run for the United States Senate.5.

1. "Politics in Minnesota". G.Theodore Mitau. pp 118/119
2. Ibid. pp 14. 119
3. "Building Minnesota". Theodore C.Blegen. p 359
4. "The Socialist Party of America". David A.Shannon. p 226
5. Only to be thwarted in his ambition by Senator Schall who won a surprising victory in the Republican Primary Election.

The absence of Christianson, whom Olson knew from personal experience to be a very strong opponent, further strengthened the hand of the Farmer-Labour Party. Instead of Christianson, the Republicans nominated Ray P. Chase, who for the previous twleve years had served as State Auditor. This in itself was an unfortunate choice, for Chase had been campaign manager for Governor Preus in the 1920 gubernatorial election, during the course of which he had made a number of wild accusations against the Non-Partisan League. Such statements were now being used against him. The Democratic candidate was Edward Indrehus, a candidate not expected to run Olson very close.1.

The vote for Olson in 1930 however was not basically a vote for the Farmer-Labour Party, and indeed it is debatable whether a vote for Olson was ever a show of confidence in the Farmer-Labour Party, so wide was his appeal; in 1930 the vote for Olson was a protest against the Depression.2.

The final vote in the 1930 campaign for Governor of Minnesota was as follows:-

Floyd B.Olson (Farmer - Labour) 473,154 votes.
Ray P. Chase (Republican) 289,528.
Edward Indrehus (Democrat) 29,109. 3.

Olson, who received 59.3% of the total poll, carried 82 of the states' eighty-seven counties, and polled heaviest in the former strongholds of the Non-Partisan League, the German counties, and the large conurbations. Chase even succeeded in losing those counties bordering the state of Iowa, long considered to be traditional Republican strongholds.

1. "The Political Career of Floyd B. Olson". George H.Mayer. P49
2. "Minnesota - A History of the State". Theodore C. Blegen. PP 522/523
3. "Politics in Minnesota". G.Theodore Mitau. P119

The new Governor, however, failed to carry many Farmer - Labour office seekers in on his coat - tails, for the party captured only one of the state's constitutional offices, and their supporters secured only 29 state senatorships and 40 representatives, 1 in the state's traditionally non-partisan legislature.

A notable fact which emerged from the 1930 elections was the attempt at an electoral pact between the Democrats and the Farmer - Labourites.

The Democratic Party was to unofficially support Olson for Governor, whilst in return the Farmer - Labour Party was to aid Einar Hoidale, the Democratic candidate for the Senate. This deal, engineered by Olson and Joseph Wolf, the Democratic national committee man, obviously depended upon each party nominating a sacrificial candidate for the office it did not plan to seriously contest.2. Wolf, by his nomination of Indrehus, upheld his part of the bargain, but Olson found himself unable to keep to the agreement. This was because Olson's nominee for Senator, Knud Wefald was defeated in the Primary by Ernest Lundeen, 3, a man who was most unwilling to serve the party in a sacrificial capacity. The deal correspondingly fell through, and co-operation on a state - wide level between Farmer - Labourites and Democrats was shelved for another decade, although, co-operation did exist on a

1. Out of a total of 67 Senators and 131 Representatives ("Politics in Minnesota". G.Theodore Mitau.) p58
2. "The Political Career of Floyd B. Olson". George H. Mayer. p49
3. A result attributed to a low poll of 75,000 votes in the Farmer-Labour primary. Many voters, exited by the Schall-Christianson clash, chose to vote in the Republican primary rather than that of the Farmer-Labour Party.

national level in the Olson-Roosevelt era.1.

The lack of a majority in the state legislature during Olson's first two years in office, did mean that his radical programme was seriously curtailed. The new governor knew that there was little chance of securing the passage of controversial measures in the pro-Republican legislature. He preferred to increase his prestige by winning a series of minor victories on his own terms, on his own battlegrounds.2.

In 1932 however, the year that Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President Olson was returned to the State House.3. this time with a pro-Farmer - Labour caucus who represented the majority of the legislature. That year, Olson found himself opposed, reluctantly, by Earle Brown who headed the State Highway Patrol, of the Republican party, and eagerly by John E. Regan, the Democratic nominee.4. The reluctance of Brown to stand was understandable, as not only was Olson a formidable opponent, but the Republican party nationally was discredited, in that President Hoover had failed to remedy the malady of the Great Depression. On the other hand the Democrats were optimistic of a national victory plus a series of local victories, as state-wide candidates were pulled into office on the coat - tails of their Presidential candidate.

1. "The Political Career of Floyd B.Olson". George H.Mayer. P101
2. "Building Minnesota". Theodore C. Blegan. P36.
3. The result of the 1932 election for Governor of Minnesota, was as follows:-

   | | |
   |---|---|
   | Floyd B.Olson (Farmer - Labour) | 522,438 votes. |
   | Earle Brown (Republican) | 334,081 votes. |
   | John E. Regan (Democrat) | 176,928 votes. |

   ("Politics in Minnesota". G. Theodore Mitau). P119
4. "The Political Career of Floyd B.Olson". George H. Mayer. PP 93/94/99

Competition for the Democratic nomination was thus great. The main contestants were John E.Regan, and Dr.A.A.Van Dyke, whose campaign soon deteriorated into one of pure mud-slinging. Regan eventually won, but his supporters were refused seats as delegates at the Democratic national convention, being replaced by a delegation led by national committee man Joseph Wolf.1. This latter decision, coupled with the Presidential nomination of Franklin D. Roosevelt once more cleared the way for co-operation between the Democratic and Farmer - Labour Parties. There was never any suggestion at a fusion of tickets, for fear that each party's supporters might be frightened into not voting due to the presence of the other party on the ticket, the agreement was merely that the national Democratic leadership was to keep its hands off the state campaign, whilst Olson was to deliver to Roosevelt as many Farmer - Labour votes as possible. Whilst co-operation was thus so far confined to the wards and precincts it did lay the foundations of good relations between the Democrats nationally, and Farmer - Labourites in Minnesota, and sowed the seeds of mutual respect between Olson and Roosevelt.2. Furthermore, the nomination, and, subsequent election of Roosevelt helped to call off the extremists in the Farmer - Labour party who were calling for a national third party.3. Olson had seen in the la Follette campaign of 1924, the difficulties of a Presidential campaign without the grass roots of organisation. Roosevelt's nomination undoubtedly helped Olson out of this corner, saving the Farmer - Labour party, and Olson himself, from the humiliations traditionally reserved for national third parties and their Presidential candidates.

As it was Roosevelt and Olson both secured election with healthy

1. "The Political Career of Floyd B.Olson". George H. Mayer. P99
2. Ibid. P101
3. "Minnesota - A History of the State". Theodore C. Blegen. P528

majorities. Olson gained large majoritire in the big cities, and the Red River Valley, winning every county north of the Minnesota River with the exception of Stearns. Only on the Iowa border did he lose votes. In 1930 the prosperous farmers of the Southern counties had cast what was a spite vote against the Republicans, by 1932 the majority of them had returned to the Republican fold, or chose to vote Democrat, few remained with the Farmer - Labour party. No doubt this was due to Olson's left-wing views on the role of government in the economy, and his flirtations with the radical Farm Holiday Association.1.

This result marked the end of Olson the compromiser. From now on, with the knowledge that he had the backing of the state legislature, Minnesota saw the emergence of Olson the radical.

Immediately the Governor set out to enact the more important parts of his programme: a mortgage moratorium bill was passed during the early months of 1933, as a means of protecting farmers badly hit by the Depression, from foreclosure.2. On the revenue side of the state budget, Olson introduced a state income tax, whilst in social expenditure a beginning was made in the sphere of old-age pensions with the first Minnesota Old-Age pensions Act, 1933. Labour injunctions and "yellow dog" contracts were prohibited, 3, a step taken in the course of justice as well as the interests of the Farmer - Labourites.4.

However, the legislature, doubtless due to a majority of the Senate being in the conservative caucus, rejected bills demanding the public ownership of utilities and factories, the provision of unemployment and health insurance, the outlawing of loan sharks, the

1. "The Political Career of Floyd B.Olson". George H. Mayer. P116
2. Ibid. pp 125/128
3. A Contract whereby a prospective employee agrees not to join a trade union.
4. "Minnesota - A History of the State". Theodore C. Blegen. P5-26

free distribution of school textbooks, and the reduction of interest rates.

Olson's frequent visits to Washington where he often represented the state, soon earmarked him as both a liberal and a respected state governor. It is ironic however to think that it was not one of Olson's own policies which gained him national prominence, but the New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Following the autumn of 1933, Olson emerged as a supporter, and probably more important, a constructive critic of the New Deal recovery programme, both in the need for widespread farm relief, and the public ownership of industries of stategic importance to the American economy.1.

Relationships between the Democratic and Farmer - Labour parties could be seen to fall into a biennial cycle. The year following an election was a year of criticism for the Farmer - Labourites, whilst the next year they could be seen actually praising the Administration. Olson realised that both he and Roosevelt were headed in the same general direction, and his political experience told him it was better to support such a candidate as Roosevelt, rather than a candidate of one of the minor parties who had little chance of success. It was for these reasons that he discouraged all efforts to put him at the head of a national third party ticket.2.

Whilst Olson did not seek the ultimate in American politics, he did however seek the more rewarding pastures of Washington. Few were therefore surprised when in the late summer of 1935, in the midst of his third term of office 3, Olson announced his intention of

1. "The Political Career of Floyd B. Olson". George H. Mayer. P149
2. Ibid. P298

opposing Thomas Schall for the position of United States Senator the following year.1. So expected was the announcement, in fact, Farmer-Labour leaders had already been contemplating for some six months as to who should succeed Olson as governor.2. In this respect, Olson, by his own qualities and attributes, had contributed to the lack of any one heir. The elder - statesmen of the party, the contemporaries of Knud Wefald and Magnus Johnson were either too old or lacked voter appeal, whilst the younger generation suffered from neglect, due to the overshadowing effect of the governor. Lieutenant-Governor Hjalmar Petersen was regarded by many as the obvious successor, an ambition that was thwarted by Olson himself, no doubt due to Petersen's attitudes and a complete distrust of urban radicals. The professionals in the party, fearing the exchange of the strict control of Olson for that of Petersen, then decided to look further afield for a more malleable candidate.

pp 280/281

1. "The Political Career of Floyd B.Olson". George H.Mayer.
2. In 1934 he had once more secured election with the following result:-

| | |
|---|---|
| Floyd B.Olson (Farmer-Labour) | 468,812 votes. |
| Martin A.Nelson (Republican) | 396,359 votes. |
| John E.Regen (Democrat) | 176,928 votes. |
| A.C.Townley (Independent) | 4,454 votes. |

Olson's majority of 1932 was thus halved in 1934, whilst his share of the vote fell from 59.3% in 1930 to 50.6% in 1932, until in 1934 he failed to gain an overall majority, securing only 44.6% of the vote.

An analysis of this vote showed all too well that organised labour had re-elected the Governor, the farmers were slowly returning to their old allegiance as the depression was receeding. The vote in Hennepin, Ramsey and St.Louis counties was heavily pro-Olson, whilst rural Minnesota, with the exceptions of the Red River Valley, and the north-central counties, provided a solid bloc of votes against the governor.

The farmer-labour alliance was breaking up, that Olson survived thus so far can only be attributed to the leftward trend in the conurbations, and Olson's own personal appeal.

p 250

("The Political Career of Floyd B.Olson". George H. Meyer.)

This they found in Elmer A. Benson, the forty years old Commissioner of Banks.1.

Internal Farmer-Labour struggles had taken up a large proportion of Olson's time as Governor, and the comparative serenity of a Senate seat probably explains his indifference, rather than his neutrality towards the gubernatorial nomination. Benson seemed reliable and well-qualified, but not outstanding enough to warrant a public endorsement from the governor himself.

Olson's indifference however was shattered however, when on December, 22nd, 1935, Senator Schall was fatally injured in a Washington Street accident. His death did remove a major obstacle to the Farmer-Labourites in the state, but also added further complications which at one time threatened to split the party.2. The vacant seat had to be filled as soon as possible, and although Olson intended to contest

1. "Building Minnesota". Theodore C. Blegen. P365

2. "Minnesota - A History of the State". Theodore C. Blegen. P5-29

the seat in 1936, he preferred to serve out his third term as governor first. Thus an immediate statement by Olson that he did not intend to appoint himself to the vacancy, provoked a scramble by professional politicians, each eager to promote the claims of one of many aspirants. The most dedicated and determined group of petitioners were those Farmer-Labourites, who saw in the Senatorial vacancy, a golden opportunity to build up their gubernatorial candidate Elmer A. Benson. If he were appointed a Senator, the prestige gained from such an appointment would practically guarantee his endorsement for Governor at the 1936 Farmer-Labour Convention. Such an appointment would, of course, protect Olson, for Benson had no thoughts of running for Senator in 1936. Any other appointee might be tempted to offer himself for election the following year, thus diminishing the Governor's own chances of election.1.

Olson was not to be swayed, however, and considering Benson too inexperienced for such a post, decided to appoint his former secretary, Municipal Court Judge Vince Day, to the vacancy. He made a cardinal error however, when in trying to stall the party professionals, he allowed them to print an issue of the "Minnesota Leader" announcing Benson's appointment, for release only if Olson decided to name Benson.2. Unknown to Olson, this issue was not only prepared, but actually distributed, Olson realised he had been tricked, and, although he tried to escape from the corner, realised it was impossible. To have repudiated the appointment would have split the party into two warring factions within a year of the statewide elections, a possibility that Olson could ill-afford. He accordingly appointed Benson to the vacancy.

pp 284/285

1. "The Political Career of Floyd B.Olson". George H. Mayer.
2. Ibid. pp. 285/286

By this time, however, Olson's health was causing increasing concern, until treatment at the Mayo Clinic in January, 1936, revealed that the Governor had an incurable cancer, he had no more than eight months to live, a forecast that proved astonishingly accurate. Had any announcement been made regarding Olson's true state of health, it would have precipitated a struggle for control of the party, and a race for the gubernatorial and senatorial nominations. The lack of an announcement from the Mayo Clinic regarding Olson, meant that for the time being the reformers and the party professionals were divided on only one issue: the party candidate for the 1936 election for Governor of Minnesota.1. The preliminary excursions emerged as a trial of strength between the professionals choice, Senator Elmer A. Benson, and the man who considered himself the true heir of Olson, despite having split with the governor at both a political and a personal level, Lieutenant-Governor Hjalmar Petersen. Despite a plea from Olson for an open primary, Benson supporters secured a majority of convention delegates, many of them jobholders, long before the convention assembled. Such tactics, whilst ensuring Benson's nomination, also looked to an outsider to be very fair and democratic, seeming as they did to be an expression of grass-roots sentiments. Such manoeuvres, however, providing for the Senator's nomination in 1936, only caused deep resentment from the crusading element in the party, who saw the reform movement being turned into a patronage machine by a small number of professional spoilsmen.2.

p 291

1. "The Political Career of Floyd B. Olson". George H. Mayer.
2. Ibid. pp 291/294

Such considerations were far removed in the November of 1936 however when Elmer A. Benson offered himself for election as Governor of Minnesota. In a straight tight with Republican, Martin A. Nelson, Benson secured 60.7% of the total poll, the full voting figures being:-

Elmer A. Benson (Farmer - Labour) 680,342 votes.
Martin A. Nelson (Republican) 431,841 votes. 1.

Nor was this an isolated result, for in the Senatorial election of 1936, Ernest Lundeen, who was chosen as the new Farmer-Labour candidate following Olson's death on 22nd August, 1936, polled an even larger percentage, 62.2%, against former Governor Theodore Christianson, the complete result being:-

Ernest Lundeen (Farmer - Labour) 663,363 votes.
Theodore Christianson (Republican) 402,404 votes. 2.

If the Farmer-Labour party of Minnesota was truly the party of Floyd B. Olson, then how does one begin to explain these two results which came three months after the death of the Governor?

In the instance of the Senatorial contest, one explanation for the high Farmer-Labour vote is that the electorate was more favourable to the isolationist policies of Lundeen, especially in the more pro - German areas. There is no doubt that the election was strongly contested on the issue of foreign policy. This, however, would only explain, or help to explain, the reasons for Lundeen's success. What factors contributed then to Benson's victory, and also possibly influenced Lundeen's campaign?

The major factor, I would assert, was the legacy of Olson, who had left behind him a coalition that he alone had been able to wield into one fighting force. That coalition in November 1936 had only one or two surface scratches, the cracks were to appear in the following two years.

1. "Politics in Minnesota". G.Theodore Mitau. p 119
2. Ibid. p 119

That both Benson and Lundeen faced no Democratic candidate in 1936 was tribute to the political skill of Olson, who saw the futility of fighting a national third party campaign, and the practicability of a loose electoral pact with the Democrats. Thus both Benson and Lundeen faced only opposition from the Republican party, an organisation whose morale was low both nationally and statewide, thanks to the combined, if hardly united, efforts of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Floyd B. Olson.1.

The last, if somewhat dubious, reason for the higher Farmer - Labour vote in 1936, was that it was a sympathy vote for Olson. Such votes, of course, cannot be accurately computed, nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the vast majority of Minnesotans were grieved at Olson's death, which, coming as it did so near to the elections, must have affected some of the electorate in a manner favourable to the Farmer-Labour party.

The year 1936 has a two-fold significance in Minnesota political history, each undeniably linked to the other. Firstly it marked the death of the champion of the masses, Floyd B. Olson. Secondly it proved the last occasion on which a candidate of the Farmer-Labour party would win office as either Governor of Minnesota, or United States Senator. The party was to fight on two more occasions for the office of United States Senator, and on three more occasions for

1. "Facts about the Presidents". Joseph Nathan Kane. P 222

Governor of Minnesota, but on each occasion they were defeated.1.

1. The full results of these final elections contested by the Farmer-Labour party were as follows:-

1940 Election for United States Senator

| | |
|---|---|
| Henrik Shipstead (Republican) | * 641,049 votes |
| Elmer A. Benson (Farmer-Labour) | 310,875 votes |
| John E. Regan (Democrat) | 248,658 votes |

* Shipstead rejoined the Republican party in 1940.

1942 Election for United States Senator

| | |
|---|---|
| Joseph H. Ball (Republican) | 356,297 votes |
| Elmer A. Benson (Farmer-Labour) | 213,965 votes |
| Martin A. Nelson (Independent Progressive) | 109,226 votes |
| Ed Murphy (Democrat) | 78,959 votes |

1938 Election for Governor of Minnesota

| | |
|---|---|
| Harold E. Stassen (Republican) | 678,839 votes |
| Elmer A. Benson (Farmer-Labour) | 387,263 votes |
| Thomas Gallagher (Democrat) | 65,875 votes |

1940 Election for Governor of Minnesota

| | |
|---|---|
| Harold E. Stassen (Republican) | 654,686 votes |
| Hjalmar Petersen (Farmer-Labour) | 459,609 votes |
| Ed Murphy (Democrat) | 140,021 votes |

1942 Election for Governor of Minnesota

| | |
|---|---|
| Harold E. Stassen (Republican) | 409,800 votes |
| Hjalmar Petersen (Farmer-Labour) | 299,917 votes |
| John D. Sullivan (Democrat) | 75,151 votes |

("Politics in Minnesota". G.Theodore Mitau). pp 118/119

What therefore caused the slump from a seemingly impregnable position in 1936 to disaster in the years to come?

A major reason for this decline, was the lossto the party of its two best vote-getters, Floyd B.Olson and Henrik Shipstead, between 1936 and 1940. Olson died of cancer, whilst Senator Shipstead returned to his former Republican allegiance, to represent them for a further term of office on Capitol Hill. The isolationist Lundeen was also lost to the party, being killed in an air-crash in 1940, but by then the party structure was crumbling badly.

The actual break up of the constituent elements of the party was a further contributing factor in the party's loss of electoral success. Benson lacked the skill of Olson, who was able to forge one organisation from rural agrarians and urban industrial workers. The constituent halves of the party were allowed to drift their separate ways. Nor was the split confined to the rank-and-file members of the party, for the party hierarchy was itself split. The 1938 Farmer-Labour primary for Governor of Minnesota, between incumbent Governor Elmer A.Benson, and former Lieutenant-Governor Hjalmar Petersen, emerged as little more than a first class mud-slinging match, which could only harm rather than cleanse the party. Benson secured the nomination, but any vote-getting appeal that he once possessed had been irreparably damaged.1.

Thus the Farmer-Labour party had only itself to blame as it now stood awaiting the fatal knock-out blow. This was mercifully swift, and left the people of Minnesota in no doubt that Farmer-Labour rule was ended. It was delivered by Harold E. Stassen, who

1. See Karl F. Rolvaag (Himself DFL Governor of Minnesota 1963-7) in "Minnesota - A History of the State". p. 5-29

Theodore C.Blegen.

in defeating Elmer A.Benson by the largest majority received by a Minnesota governor up to that time, to become, at thirty-one years of age, the nation's youngest governor.1.

The party of Floyd B.Olson was now dead. However, one more of his dreams was yet to be fulfilled, the still closer co-operation with the Democratic party. Since 1932 Farmer-Labourites had co-operated with the Democrats on a national level. In 1944 the two rival organisations joined to form the Democratic-Farmer-Labour party as the one united front against Republicanism 2, and immediately found what they had been searching for, a new attractive vote-getter. His name was Hubert H. Humphrey, and so attractive did he prove to the electorate that he served as Vice-President of the United States from 1965-9, and in 1968 in the closest Presidential Election of the Century lost to Former Vice-President Richard M.Nixon by only a few thousand votes, each candidate being credited with 43.9% of the popular vote, truly a sign that the much needed fusion of the two parties has produced a new generation of radical politicians, whom the Republicans of Minnesota must now fear as they did their predecessors, thirty years ago.

1. "Politics in Minnesota". G.Theodore Mitau. p18
2. "An Introduction to American Politics". D.W.Brogan. p71

# CHAPTER II

## States' Rights Politics in the South

### Introduction

Prior to 1966, the Republican Party, the party of Lincoln and the abolition of slavery, held only a precarious foothold in the Southern states. The Democratic Party, the party of "Dixie" reigned supreme. The fifteen Southern and border states remained for nearly eighty years a one-party territory. This was not to say, however, that the national Democratic party could depend on Southern support at all times, it could not, and neither can it do so today.

This chapter therefore is a study of the one occasion when part of the South has refused to support the national Democratic presidential candidate, 1, and the recent state of affairs whereby former Governor George C. Wallace of Alabama, a man whom many political columnists contemptuously wrote off as 'Alabama's Apostle of Discontent'2, gained the largest vote ever received by a third party candidate, in the Presidential Election of 1968.

1. In 1948 when Governor Strom Thurmond of South Carolina opposed the incumbent Democrat, Harry S. Truman.

2. "The Observer". November, 12, 1967.

## I - The Dixiecrat Rebellion of 1948

To the casual observer, the Dixiecrat bolt in 1948 was a hasty affair, whereby the Democratic convention delegations of South Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi quite suddenly decided to quit the Democratic Party and nominate their own candidate for President. In fact the seeds of revolt were sown in the Presidential campaign of four years earlier, when groups opposed to Franklin D. Roosevelt in the states of Mississippi, Texas, and South Carolina, succeeded in blocking the re-nomination of Henry Wallace as Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate, and reduced the popular vote margin in the November election to the narrowest for twenty-eight years. 1.

By 1947, under the influence of President Truman, a Southerner generally considered to be more conservative than his predecessor, Roosevelt, the country seemed to be moving to the right. However, there were many undercurrents. The most important was the increasing restiveness of the negro, following World War II, and whilst many Southerners had crusaded for Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms", no-one had ever considered that they should be extended to the negro race.

Coupled with this restiveness was the fact even larger numbers of negroes followed those who had previously migrated to the North.2.

Nor was the negro alone in pleading his case, for he was aided by such diverse groups as Communists, labour leaders, newspapermen, minority leaders and Northern politicians, including former Vice-President Henry Wallace, the presidential candidate of the People's Progressive Party. The Northern Negro vote became politically more important than

P113

1. "The Democratic Party in American Politics". Ralph M.Goldman.

2. "The South Since 1865". John Samual Ezell. P191

that of the White South 1. It was thus to appease the negro, and also to combat the Wallace movement, that President Truman appointed a Committee on Civil Rights.2, whose report was published on 29th October, 1947.

The report made four basic recommendations. Firstly, sweeping action by the Truman Administration to end most forms of racial segregation. Secondly, a Federal anti-lynching law, for although lynchings were diminishing in number, few attempts had ever been made by Southern authorities to convict any white citizen of lynching a negro, and as Cabell Phillips noted in 1946, "There has never been a successful federal prosecution of lynching per see." 3. Thirdly it recommended the abolition of poll taxes and the end of "white" primary elections, and lastly it proposed a Federal Fair Employment Practices Act.

Truman referred to these recommendations as an "American Charter of Human Freedom" and asked for immediately Congressional implementation, a decision welcomed nationally, although not in the South. To Southerners these recommendations seemed little less than a declaration

1. "The South since 1865". John Samuel Ezell. P417
2. The composition of this committee, thirteen Northerners against two Southerners, alienated many people in the South, who considered the Committee's findings a foregone conclusion, even before it had met.
3. Article by Cabell Phillips in the "New York Times" - August 3, 1946.

of war against the region, by one of their own native sons.1.

Governor William M. Tuck of Virginia declared that federal policy, if continued, would result "in the virtual abolition of the states", whilst Governor Fielding Wright in his inaugural address as the chief executive of the state of Mississippi went so far as to call for a break with the Democratic Party if its leaders continued to try "to wreck the South and our institutions".2. Such opinions were backed by the oil interests of the region who were unhappy with federal efforts to regulate the industry, and also the Supreme Court decision in the tidelands oil cases, whereby offshore oil deposits were deemed to be federal property.3.

White Southern militancy took a further step when Governor Wright took the fight to the Southern Governor's Conference, a body organised in 1937 to secure co-operation in the solution of common regional problems. Wright demanded that the Conference take a stand against any further efforts to enact civil rights legislation, and call a "Southern Conference of true Democrats" to plan a course of action.4. The majority of Governors however were not as extreme as Wright, and decided first to approach the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee to see if he would consider using his influence to have the controversial legislation withdrawn, and secondly if he would favour a return to the two-thirds rule.5. On both these counts the Governors'

1. Prior to his nomination as Vice-Presidential candidate in 1944, Truman had represented his home state, Missouri, in the Senate.

2. "The South since 1865". John Samuel Ezell. P 418

3. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B.Hesseltine. PP96/97

4. "The South since 1865". John Samuel Ezell. P 418

5. The rule whereby candidates at the Democratic Convention had to secure two-thirds of the delegates votes, before nomination. It was abolished in 1936. Southerners saw in it a chance to block any nomination which they themselves did not favour.

requests were turned down.

Southern anxiety was temporarily relieved, however, when Congress 1 failed to pass the desired laws. Jubilation turned to despair when Truman announced his intention to campaign for re-election on the issue. The Southern Governor's having tried moderation now decided to back Wright's policy of militancy, and recommended state Democratic conventions to go on record as opposing the nomination, in 1948 of Truman, or any other candidate known to favour civil rights.2.

Such an announcement served only to cause internal strife in the Democratic organisations of the Southern states, between those who yielded to pressure from the Southern Governor's Conference, and those who did not.

The Alabama delegation was pledged to vote against any nominee unsatisfactory on civil rights, half of them pledging themselves to walk out of the National Convention if the platform included a civil rights plank similar to that already proposed by the Truman Administration.3.

Meanwhile the Mississippi State Democratic Executive Committee called a regional meeting of "all true white Jeffersonian Democrats", those who supported the policy of states' rights, and opposed the trend of the national party.4. At the Conference, held on May 10th, 1948, at Jackson, Mississippi, and dominated by delegations from the home state and South Carolina, it was resolved to call upon each state to choose delegates and presidential electors opposed to the objectives of the Truman Administration. Should the civil rights programme be adopted at the Democratic national convention it was resolved to hold another

1. Referred to by Professor D.W.Brogan as the 'Do-Nothing' p 285 Congress. "An Introduction to American Politics". D.W.Brogan.
2. "The South since 1865". John Samuel Ezell. p 418
3. Ibid. pp 418/419
4. Ibid. p 419

meeting, to be held in Birmingham, Alabama, in order to plan future strategy.1.

The National Democratic Convention of 1948, held in Philadelphia was ably controlled by Truman's managers, who were unwilling to yield to the demands of the Southern faction, but who were willing to compromise with the Dixiecrats, by offering a weak civil rights plank. Even this was unacceptable to both Southerner, and at the other extreme, radical Northerner, and was accordingly defeated by 651½ votes to 582½. The majority of delegates then supported a more radical plank, proposed by Hubert H. Humphrey, the Mayor of Minneapolis seconded by representative Andrew J. Beimiller of Wisconsin and endorsed by other liberals, including that powerful new pressure group, "Americans for Democratic Action", which urged Truman to enact his once-rejected civil rights programme.2.

Even moderate Southerners, and J.Strom Thurmond was considered by many Southerners to be a moderate, were stunned at this action, which provoked a walk-out of 35 delegates, mainly from the states of Alabama and Mississippi.2. It must be stressed that not all of the Southern delegations at first bolted the party, indeed many delegates still considered it their duty to try to impose their will upon the party until the last. Accordingly this group first tried to block the renomination of Truman by uniting behind Richard B. Russell of Georgia.4. This however failed, as did their efforts to dictate the Vice-Presidential nomination, the vacant half of the Democratic ticket. This went to Senator Alben Barkely of Kentucky, who, like Truman, was a Southerner willing to support the national party platform.

1. "The South Since 1865". John Samuel Ezell. P419
2. "The Democratic Party in American Politics". Ralph M. Goldman. P117
3. "Since 1900". O.J.Barok and N.M.Blake. P721
4. "The South Since 1865". John Samuel Ezell. P419

On July 17th, 1948, two days after the end of the National Convention, a conference was held in Birmingham, Alabama, mainly attended by many of Mississippi's political leaders, a group of Alabama conservatives, a number of supporters of J.Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, and several curious local citizens.1. The majority were themselves politically unimportant, these being the average Southern segregationists who considered the national Democratic party to be anti-Southern, whilst the Republicans, led by Governor Thomas Dewey of New York, were little better regarding civil rights, as well as being handicapped by its, then, traditional stigma in the region.2. The group thus decided to run an independent ticket in the coming Presidential election, and, with this end in mind, the States' Rights Party was formed. After manoeuvres that indicated little of democracy, but much behind the scenes control, Governor J.Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi were unanimously nominated as Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates respectively, of the new party.3. The programme was contained in a "Declaration of Principles", whose main theme was the rejection of

1. "Since 1900". O.J.Barck and N.M.Blake. P 721
2. A stigma which is now receeding, especially following the mid-term elections of 1966. Even J.Strom Thurmond now represents South Carolina in the Senate as a Republican.
3. "The South since 1865". John Samuel Ezell. P 419

national interference into what the South considered were solely state affairs.

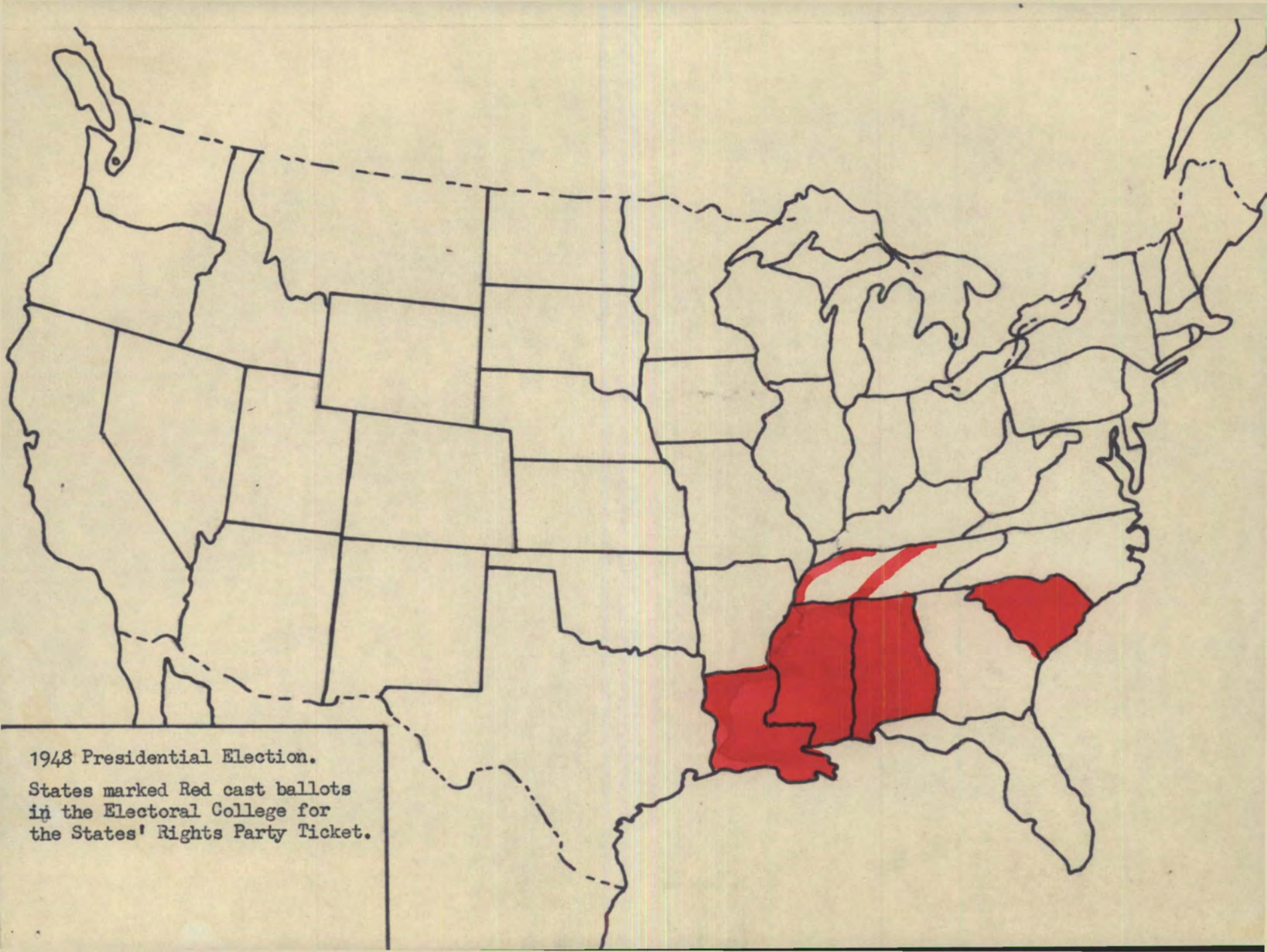
The Dixiecrats, as they became known, never seriously considered they could win the election, having, as they did, the support of only half of the former Confederacy, let alone the entire United States. Their actual aims however have never been clearly resolved, although it is known that they were hoping for a close election, with no candidate gaining an overall electoral college majority, thus throwing the election into the House of Representatives.1. Some authorities suggest that the Dixiecrats would then rest content on their laurels, having persuaded the national Democratic party that it needed Southern votes to secure the popular election of a President. A further contention is that having thrown the election into the House, the Dixiecrats hoped to elect one of their number President. Such a manoeuvre could only succeed of course if the Democrats were convinced that a Southern Democrat was preferable to a Republican.2.

These however were mere hypotheses. Such a strategy only had a chance if Henry Wallace, candidate of the People's Progressive Party, and himself a former Democrat, bit heavily into the left-wing Democratic vote, whilst the states of the former Confederacy united behind Thurmond.3.

Despite the unpopularity of Truman in the South, the Dixiecrats faced a hard task. Firstly Thurmond was neither personally nor politically strong outside his home state of South Carolina. Further, the States' Rights Party was suspected by Southern liberals, who

P97

1. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B.Hesseltine.
2. "The South since 1865". John Samuel Ezell. P420
3. "Third Party Movements in the United States". William B. Hesseltine. P97


1948 Presidential Election.
States marked Red cast ballots in the Electoral College for the States' Rights Party Ticket.

themselves were usually segregationists, of being reactionary. Thirdly many Southerners considered the movement was flouting the most sacred Southern tradition: the necessity for the Democratic Party, and lastly, and perhaps most important of all, politicians remembered the political fate of the leaders who had bolted in the so-called 'Hoovercrat' rebellion of 1928, and shuddered at the possible loss of patronage.1.

On many occasions the Dixiecrats insisted that they were not a third party, but as Governor Wright said they were "the true Democrats of the Southland and these United States.2. Even so they were still unable to unite the Southern wing of the Democratic party behind them.

In view of these factors, why then did the movement fail? Doubtless it was because Thurmond failed to appeal to the South as a whole, only succeeding in the "Black Belt", that is the areas of greatest Negro concentration, whose people were agrieved at Truman's policies on race and agriculture, and in the large industrial centres, where the electorate was dismayed at the Administrations policies on labour and business.3.

1. "The South since 1865". John Samuel Ezell. P420
2. Nor was this untrue for in the states carried by the Dixiecrats at the 1948 election, the bolters were legally the official Democratic party of the South of the state, differing from the national Democratic ticket only in the choice of emblem, choosing the Rooster rather than the more usual Ass. (D.W.Brogan - "An Introduction to American Politics"). P75
3. "An Introduction to American Politics". D.W.Brogan. PP 74/75.

In general the people of the South were not yet ready for a full scale revolt against the Democratic party. Despite the unreliability of the Truman Administration on the race issue, the electorate was unwilling to go to the Republicans, or vote for a third party. The Dixiecrat revolt never really existed, for in the four states carried by Thurmond and Wright, the Dixiecrats had been successful in having their candidates declared the representatives of the Democratic party.1.

Even had Thurmond surmounted all the previously mentioned obstacles, he still failed to surmount the biggest obstacle of all, the political apathy of the Southern electorate. Due to the tradition of the South being a one-party region, the basic characteristic of elections in the area has been one of non-participation. Even in the bitter election of 1948 the highest voting percentage of any Southern state was the 39% shared jointly by the states of Florida and North Carolina.2.

In 1967, Grover C.Hall in "The Richmond News Leader" 3. recalls the Thurmond candidature of 1948 as "a foredoomed impotent wheeze", a statement which ably sums up the situation. Such then are the basic reasons for Thurmond's failure, but we must now turn to

1. Thurmond carried South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama. The first two voted for the Dixiecrats because Thurmond and Wright were favourite - son candidates. Professor V.O.Key in his book "Southern Politics" considers Thurmond carried Alabama and Louisiana only because of manoeuvres making him the Democratic nominee. P342

2. Compared to a national average of 52%.

3. Reprinted in "The Montgomery Independent" May 17, 1967.

## II The Candidature of George C. Wallace

"George Corley Wallace of Alabama is a candidate for the presidency of the United States.

He leaves himself an out — "if" either of the two major national parties adopts a platform embodying the position he advocates, then he will withdraw. But as of now he intends to run".

It was with these words that "The Birmingham News", one of Alabama's major newspapers 1. introduced an article headed 'George Wallace: candidate for President'. Whilst the majority of this paper has been concerned with evaluating the role of past minority movements, this chapter mainly deals with contemporary politics within the United States.

Nine months after the publication of this article, Wallace appeared at a press conference in Washington, where he announced his not unexpected candidacy for the office of President of the United States 2. Such an announcement had really been a formality since April, 1967, when on a television interview he considered the proposed candidatures of such conservative Republicans as former Vice-President Richard M.Nixon, and Governor Ronald Reagan of California as politically unacceptable to him.3. From that moment Wallace was a candidate in the 1968 Presidential Election.

1. "The Birmingham News". May 21st, 1967.

2. February, 8th, 1968.

3. Reply to Mr.David Broder on N.B.C's "Meet the Press", 23rd April, 1967.

George C.Wallace was elected Governor of Alabama, as a southern Democrat strongly in favour of segregation of whites and negroes, in 1962, and served the maximum period allowed within the state constitution, one term of four years. Unable to succeed himself, and unable to amend the constitution to provide for any succession, Wallace supported the candidature of his wife, Lurleen, for Chief Executive of the state. Mrs.Wallace won an overwhelming victory, and served as head of state of Alabama until her death in May, 1968. Her husband, who drew an annual salary of one dollar a year as the Governor's chief advisor, still remained firmly in command as head of the government.

One month after his wife's successful candidature, Wallace said "I have made no firm plans regarding my future political efforts except that I have no intention of relenting my efforts to reverse the trends in this country which are detrimental to our constitutional government and state's sovereignty".1. Such a statement of course is open to a wide amount of interpretations, but even then there was little doubt that should no candidate suitable to Wallace be proposed by either the Republican or Democratic party then he, himself, would stand.

Nor is Mr.Wallace a stranger to Presidential party politics. Prior to the Republican nomination of Senator Barry Goldwater in 1964, the Alabamian had every intention of running for President that year. Although he did not eventually run, the votes he gained in the Democratic

1. Letter to C.K.Sumner, December, 28th, 1966.

primaries in 1964, may have prompted him to run in 1968. Two important results favourable to Wallace, occurred in the primary elections of Wisconsin and Maryland. In Maryland, a border Southern state with a large Roman Catholic vote, which might have been expected to oppose him, Wallace gained 45% of the total vote cast, in a contest involving three candidates.1. In the state of Wisconsin, the home-state of both the liberal la Follette family and the "red-baiting" Senator Joe McCarthy, Wallace took 34% of the vote in the Democratic primary.2. whilst if one takes into consideration the combined total of the Republican and Democratic primaries, Wallace gained an outstanding 25% of the popular vote, with three candidates running. Both of these results were achieved with a minimum of organisation. In the four years to 1968 Wallace, if anything, gained in popularity outside of his home region and by now he had the well-oiled machinery of the "Wallace Campaign" behind him.

Early public opinion polls showed Wallace capable of securing the largest number of Electoral College votes ever gained by a third party candidate in the twentieth century. A gallup Poll taken in October, 1966, gave Wallace 7% of the national vote, by April, 1967, this figure had risen to 15%.3. Naturally such a figure was a national average. In his Southern homeland Wallace emerged not as a third party

1. "The Montgomery Independent," May 17th, 1967.
2. Ibid.
3. These figures were quoted by Mr.James J.Kilpatrick of the "Richmond News Leader" on N.B.C's "Meet the Press", April 23rd, 1967.

candidate but as a candidate of the front rank. The same Gallup Poll showed that in a three-cornered fight between Wallace and Governor George Romney of Michigan, and incumbent President Lyndon B.Johnson, both of whom were to retire from the contest early in 1968, the former Governor of Alabama stood to win all the former Confederate states, including Johnson's own state of Texas, plus the states of Oklahoma and Kentucky, a total of thirteen states, and 145 electoral college votes.1. Some commentators might consider this poll to be now of little value, following the withdrawal of both Johnson and Romney, however, it does serve to show Wallace's potential in a three-cornered contest with a liberal and a conservative. Failure to gain the votes of the border states, and only take the Solid South, left a very real possibility that Wallace's intervention would force the Presidential election into the House of Representatives for only the third time in American history.

Some psephologists disagreed with this, considering that should Wallace stand, his candidature would have harmed the Republican candidate, Richard Nixon, so much as to ensure the election of Hubert H.Humphery, the Democratic candidate. Wallace himself always considered such an assumption to be wrongly based, saying, "We are going to hurt the Republicans in the South, but we're going to hurt the Democrats in the North, because my strongest support comes

1. Quoted by Mr.James J. Kilpatrick of the "Richmond News Leader" on N.B.C's "Meet the Press", April, 23rd, 1967.

from organised labour, working people, in the North, and they have traditionally voted the Democratic ticket." 1.

When he announced his independent candidacy at Washington, Wallace said he was a candidate because "the typical American of all races is tired of riots - of crime running rampant in every city of our nation..... We must have a nation where-in our States are able to run their affairs ..... without receiving directives from Washington. We must have a nation which will not tolerate defiance of its national security by those within who offer aid and comfort to our enemies". He claimed he would also "keep the peace if I had to keep 30,000 troops standing on the streets, two feet apart and with two-foot-long bayonets".2.

Such calls tended to be popular with the conservative, God-fearing and law abiding sector of the American community which is ever anxious to preserve a peaceful status quo in a violent society. Many Americans however did not have too much difficulty in separating genuine efforts at urban peace through racial harmony, from Wallace's blusterings with their oblique States' Rights references. Inference is not one of Wallace's more noted skills, he is too abrupt, as when he goes on to say that the "so-called civil rights laws are really an attack on the property rights of this country, and on the free enterprise system and

1. "The Birmingham News". May 21st, 1967.

2. Keesings Contemporary Archives, April 27th - May 4th, 1968.

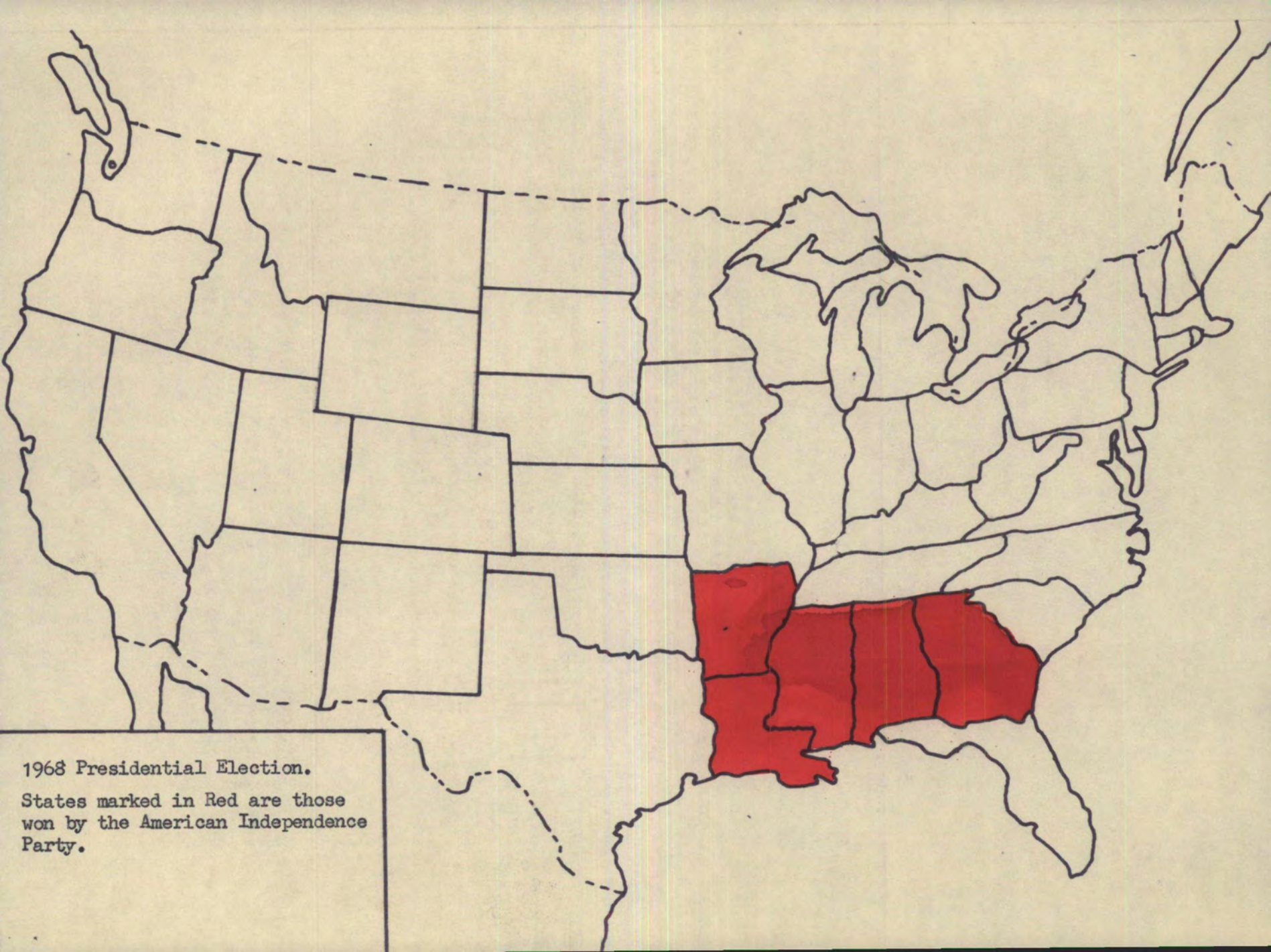
local government .... and I would try to have them changed in Congress".1.

Almost immediately following his Washington Press Conference, supporters of Wallace in several states formed a group under the title of the American Independent Party, in an effort first of all to get their candidate on the ballot of all 50 states.2.

For many months before his announced candidacy he had a flourishing campaign headquarters in Montgomery, Alabama. His financial support, he claimed came from the man in the street, and not from any of the great Southern millionaires such as H.L.Hunt. He omits however that of the $ 396,000 raised for his campaign in 1964, large sums of money were contributed not by working-class men, but by some of the more prominent Southern bankers. Wallace quite obviously has the Southern financial connections.

Whilst denying large-scale financial contributions to his campaign, Wallace did not deny that his campaign was not one of faceless men without leaders. He did not however say specifically who these leaders were, short of saying his candidature was backed by a number of Congressmen and Senators.3. His major support, however, came from the man in the street, or as Political Analyst Richard Scammon

1. Keesing's Contemporary Archives, April 27th - May 4th, 1968.
2. The District of Columbia's requirements proved too tough and not conducive to the growth of Third Parties ("Time" March, 1st, 1968).
3. Strom Thurmond refused to support Wallace, preferring to endorse the candidature of Richard Nixon, who reciprocated by naming as his running-mate, Governor Spiro T.Agnew of the border state of Maryland.



1968 Presidential Election.

States marked in Red are those won by the American Independence Party.

pointed out, the low-income white voters.1. Undoubtedly Wallace made large inroads into the Northern vote, but his political views were still abhorred by many liberals who talk of George Wallace and the Selma March in the same breath; and in the year that the Reverend Martin Luther King Jnr., and Senator Robert Kennedy were both assassinated, this association could have been especially damaging to Wallace.

In the final analysis Wallace gained over 9 million popular votes for a total of 46 electoral college votes. In a year that favoured the conservative Wallace and his running mate, former Air-Force General Curtis le May, were out manoeuvred by Richard Nixon who managed to gain many of the votes Wallace hoped to take on the issue of law and order, whilst doubtless in the end Wallace lost many votes because of his continued references to states rights.

Nothing daunted, however, Wallace campaigns on. He is now looking towards 1972 and a further confrontation with Richard Nixon. There is little to suggest, however, that a Wallace candidature in 1972 will have the same worrying affect upon major party professionals as it did in 1968. The main reason for this is that the somewhat antique Electoral College election system will probably be changed in time for the next Presidential election. Tentative suggestions for changing the system have been put forward by the defeated Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate, Senator Edmund Muskie.

Wallace has already secured a niche in American history, it now remains for the public and the historians to say whether his name be immortalised as Wallace of Selma or Wallace the man who almost precipitated a constitutional crisis in 1968.

1. "Time" - March 1st, 1968.

## CONCLUSION

For the most part, this paper has concerned itself with failure, the failure of a succession of parties to impose their will and ideals upon the majority of the electorate of the United States. It is the intention here to try and find out why no third party succeeded in gaining the confidence of the majority of the American electorate so far this century.

American political parties cannot be judged in British, or European terms, mainly because of the rapid disappearance in the United States of the kind of issue that provided the raw material of European politics. The United States has never had a dispute concerning the form of the American state as each party has sought to defend that institution.1. Thus a new party has always had to be conscious of the fact that whilst it could advocate reform, it could not advocate reform of the state. This of course proved a liability to the more socialist minded parties. However, one could not even remotely associate the candidature of Theodore Roosevelt with the revolutionary principles of left-wing socialism. What then was the cause of the complete failure en bloc of American third parties?

The answer to this question I feel is provided in a statement made in 1910 by the Socialist, Morris Hillquit, who was quoted as saying:-

"But what makes it (American politics) still more difficult is

1. "American Political Parties: Their Natural History". Wilfred E. Binkley. pp ix/x

the system of 'party tickets' in elections ..... Local, state and national elections are most frequently held together, and the ticket handed to the voter sometimes contains the names not only of candidates for the state legislature or congress, but also for all local and state affairs and even for President of the United States. And since a new party rarely seems to have the chance of prospect of electing its candidate for governor or president of the country, the voter is inclined in advance to consider its entire ticket as hopeless. The fear of 'throwing away' the vote is thus a peculiar product of American politics and it requires a voter of exceptional strength of conviction to overcome it." 1.

Hilquit thus blames the long ballot for the ills of third party movements, and the present writer would certainly agree with him with regard to national third parties with continuous aspirations of taking - over the government of the country. Such a conclusion is emphasised by the number of occasions a third party wins a by-election where little in the way of electing a government is at stake, only to lose it at the next general election when the voter considers he has a greater responsibility.

With regard to the Socialists, Hilquit also considered state autonomy to have hindered their growth, because the most vital industrial and social problems of the country were being dealt with by the separate legislatures, and not by the federal authorities as a corporate body.

1. "American Socialism 1900-1960". H.Wayne Morgan. PP 67/68

The failure of many parties and presidential candidatures of course can be attributed to lack of 'grass roots' organisation, a bolting faction often finds it has gifted and able leaders, but few rank-and-file members, and because of the haste in which it is organised, little in the way of precinct, ward, county, or even state organisations. This lack of organisation also meant that for the most part many of the third parties were financially poor. To launch a Presidential campaign of serious proportions, even fifty years ago, cost more than any third party, with the possible exception of the "Bull Moose" Progressives, possessed. The whole political and constitutional make-up of the United States works against the gradual growth, or decline, of political parties. Break-up of parties are swift, with the broken parts often forming the nucleus of a new party. Thus many third parties, as we have seen, have fought one or possibly two campaigns, and then faded back into political obscurity, the exception of course being that of the Socialists, who declined gradually, with one brief respite during the Great Depression, in the years following the First World War. Just as third parties were formed from dissenting factions of one of the major parties, so were they eventually absorbed back into the fold. Some factions pleaded for re-admittance because they saw that a better way of influencing American politics was not by forming a new party, but by striving to influence the members of an existing party. Such politicians realised it was easier to try and take over an existing organisation, than to build a new one from scratch. The major parties for their part were equally eager that such movements should quickly rejoin the parent organisation, and could be seen to offer compromises and rewards, to tempt the dissidents into restoring the two-party balance. Thus both major and minor parties could be seen striving to compromise, and in doing so, eliminating the at-once irritating third party. In what spheres therefore, if any, did the third parties succeed? As with minority parties in all democracies, the third parties in the United States served a useful function in promoting new government ideas and programmes, the sum total of which are too numerous to mention. In fact in this respect third parties are the laboratories of politics, serving as pilot plants for new ideas

which are invariably stolen and patented by one of the major parties. Had William Jennings Bryan seen the New Deal he would likely have been satisfied with its intentions and achievements. Eugene V. Debs would have likewise no doubt expressed satisfaction if he could see today the results of the combined efforts of the C.I.O. - A.F.L., whilst I do not consider it wild to predict that had many of the Old Guard Socialists, "Wobblies" and New Nationalism Progressives seen the New Deal, the majority would have voted Democrat.

Apart from promoting new policies, there have been occasions when lesser parties have spawned leaders for either of the two major parties. The more emient of these were essentially products of the nineteenth century, Thurlow Weed, Thaddeus Stevens, and Charles Sumner, although there have been a number of instances in this century, notably William Jennings Bryan, former Presidential candidate of both the Populist and Democratic parties, Upton Sinclair, who contested the Californian gubernatorial election, as firstly a Socialist, and latterly a Democrat, and finally Henrik Shipstead, the former Minnesotan Republican, who secured political fame as a Farmer-Labour Senator, before returning to the Republican fold. The converse is also true, in that it has enabled former leaders of the major parties, either embittered or frustrated, to lead revolts against their former colleagues, this theme being the essence of the three Progressive parties, and, in that he revolted against the national leadership of his party, Governor Thurmond.

Most of all, however, the third parties have, albeit unwittingly, served to strengthen the two party system. Each of the major parties in American politics, because of their loose organisation and composition, represented many ideas, interests and purposes. Because of this, opinions, programmes, and often candidates, were compromises arranged by the party leaders. It was through such compromises and considerations that the United States retained its unified image. Essentially it was government by unanimity, and in their curious way the third parties contributed to the political and governmental harmony which has brought success to the American democratic system.

# APPENDIX

## The Progressive Party Platform
## 5th August, 1912.

The conscience of the people, in a time of grave national problems, has called into being a new party, born of the nation's sense of justice. We of the Progressive party here dedicate ourselves to the fulfillment of the duty laid upon us by our fathers to maintain the government of the people, by the people and for the people whose foundations they laid ....

### The Old Parties

Political parties exist to secure responsible government and to execute the will of the people.

From these great tasks both of the old parties have turned aside. Instead of instruments to promote the general welfare, they have become the tools of corrupt interests which use them impartially to serve their selfish purposes. Behind the ostensible government sits enthroned an invisible government owing no allegiance and acknowledging no responsibility to the people.

To destroy this invisible government, to dissolve the unholy alliance between corrupt business and corrupt politics is the first task of the statesmanship of the day.

The deliberate betrayal of its trust by the Republican party, the fatal incapacity of the Democratic party to deal with the new issues of the new time, have compelled the people to forge a new instrument of government through which to give effect to their will in laws and institutions.

Unhampered by tradition, uncorrupted by power, undismayed by the magnitude of the task, the new party offers itself as the instrument of the people to sweep away old abuses, to build a new and nobler commonwealth.

### The Rule of the People

.... In particular, the party declares for direct primaries for the nomination of State and National officers, for nation-wide preferential primaries for candidates for the presidency; for the direct election of United States Senators by the people; and we urge on the States the policy of the short ballot, with responsibility to the people secured by

the initiative, referendum and recall ....

Equal Suffrage

The Progressive party, believing that no people can justly claim to be a true democracy, which denies political rights on account of sex, pledges itself to the task of securing equal suffrage to men and women alike.

Corrupt Practices

We pledge our party to legislation that will compel strict limitation of all campaign contributions and expenditures, and detailed publicity of both before as well as after primaries and elections.

Publicity and Public Service

We pledge our party to legislation compelling the registration of lobbyists, publicity of committee hearings except on foreign affairs, and recording of all votes in committee; and forbidding federal appointees from holding office in State or National political organizations, or taking part as officers or delegates in political conventions for the nomination of elective State or National officials.

The Courts

The Progressive party demands such restriction of the power of the courts as shall leave to the people the ultimate authority to determine fundamental questions of social welfare and public policy. To secure this end, it pledges itself to provide:

1. That when an Act, passed under the police power of the State, is held unconstitutional under the State Constitution, by the courts, the people, after an ample interval for deliberation, shall have an opportunity to vote on the question whether they desire the Act to become law, notwithstanding such decision.
2. That every decision of the highest appellate court of a State declaring an Act of the Legislature unconstitutional on the ground of its violation of the Federal Constitution shall be subject to the same review by the Supreme Court of the United States as is now accorded to decisions sustaining such legislation.

## Administration of Justice

.... We believe that the issuance of injunctions in cases arising out of labor disputes should be prohibited when such injunctions would not apply when no labor disputes existed.

We believe also that a person cited for contempt in labor disputes, except when such contempt was committed in the actual presence of the court or so near thereto as to interfere with the proper administration of justice, should have a right to trial by jury.

## Social and Industrial Justice

The supreme duty of the Nation is the conservation of human resources through an enlightened measure of social and industrial justice. We pledge ourselves to work unceasingly in State and Nation for:

Effective legislation looking to the prevention of industrial accidents, occupational diseases, overwork, involuntary unemployment, and other innurious effects incident to modern industry.

The fixing of minimum safety and health standards for the various occupations and the exercise of the public authority of State and Nation including the Federal Control over interstate commerce, and the taxing power, to maintain such standards.

The prohibition of child labor.

Minimum wage standards for working women, to provide a "living wage" in all industrial occupations.

The general prohibition of night work for women and the establishment of an eight hour day for women and young persons.

One day's rest in seven for all wage workers.

The eight hour day in continuous twenty-four-hour industries.

The abolition of the convict contract labor system; substituting a system of prison production for governmental consumption only; and the application of prisoners' earnings to the support of their dependent families.

Publicity as to wages, hours and conditions of labor; full reports upon industrial accidents and diseases, and the opening to public inspection of all tallies, weights, measures and check systems on labor products.

Standards of compensation for death by industrial accident and injury and trade disease which will transfer the burden of lost earnings from the families of working people to the industry, and thus to the community.

The protection of home life against the hazards of sickness, irregular employment and old age through the adoption of a system of social insurance adapted to American use.

The development of the creative labor power of America by lifting the last load of illiteracy from American youth and establishing continuation schools for industrial education under public control and encouraging agricultural education and demonstration in rural schools.

The establishment of industrial research laboratories to put the methods and discoveries of science at the service of American producers.

We favor the organization of the workers, men and women, as a means of protecting their interests and of promoting their progress ....

Currency

.... The issue of currency is fundamentally a Government function and the system should have as basic principles soundness and elasticity. The control should be lodged with the Government and should be protected from domination or manipulation by Wall Street or any special interests.

We are opposed to the so-called Aldrich currency bill, because its provisions would place our currency and credit system in private hands, not subject to effective public control ....

Conservation

.... We believe that the remaining forests, coal and oil lands, water powers and other natural resources still in State or National control (except agricultural lands) are more likely to be wisely conserved and utilized for the general welfare if held in the public hands.

In order that consumers and producers, managers and workmen, now and hereafter, need not pay toll to private monopolies of power and raw material, we demand that such resources shall be retained by the State or Nation, and opened to immediate use under laws which will encourage development and make to the people a moderate return for benefits conferred..

## The La Follette Platform of 1924

The great issue before the American people today is the control of government and industry by private monopoly.

For a generation the people have struggled patiently, in the face of repeated betrayals by successive administrations, to free themselves from this intolerable power which has been undermining representative government.

Through control of government, monopoly has steadily extended its absolute dominion to every basic industry.

In violation of law, monopoly has crushed competition, stifled private initiative and independent enterprise, and without fear of punishment now exacts extortionate profits upon every necessity of life consumed by the public.

The equality of opportunity proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence and asserted and defended by Jefferson and Lincoln as the heritage of every American citizen has been displaced by special privilege for the few, wrested from the government of the many.

### Fundamental Rights in Danger

The tyrannical power which the American people denied to a king, they will no longer endure from the monopoly system. The people know they cannot yield to any group the control of the economic life of the nation and preserve their political liberties. They know monopoly has its representatives in the halls of Congress, on the Federal bench, and in the executive departments; that these servile agents barter away the nation's natural resources, nullify acts of Congress by judicial veto and administrative favor, invade the people's rights by unlawful arrests and unconstitutional searches and seizures, direct our foreign policy in the interests of predatory wealth, and make wars and conscript the sons of the common people to fight them.

The usurpation in recent years by the federal courts of the power to nullify laws duly enacted by the legislative branch of the government is a plain violation of the Constitution ...

## Distress of American Farmers

The present condition of American agriculture constitutes an emergency of the gravest character. The Department of Commerce report shows that during 1923 there was a steady and marked increase in dividends paid by the great industrial corporations. The same is true of the steam and electric railways and practically all other large corporations. On the other hand, the Secretary of Agriculture reports that in the fifteen principal wheat growing states more than 108,000 farmers since 1920 have lost their farms through fore-closure or bankruptcy; that more than 122,000 have surrendered their property without legal proceedings, and that nearly 375,000 have retained possession of their property only through the leniency of their creditors, making a total of more than 600,000 or 26 percent of all farmers who have virtually been bankrupted since 1920 in these fifteen states alone.

Almost unlimited prosperity for the great corporations and ruin and bankruptcy for agriculture is the direct and logical result of the policies and legislation which deflated the farmer while extending almost unlimited credit to the great corporations; which protected with exorbitant tariffs the industrial magnates, but depressed the prices of the farmers' products by financial juggling while greatly increasing the cost of what he must buy; which guaranteed excessive freight rates to the railroads and put a premium on wasteful management while saddling an unwarranted burden on to the backs of the American farmer; which permitted gambling in the products of the farm by grain speculators to the great detriment of the farmer and to the great profit of the grain gambler.

## A Covenant with the People

Awakened by the dangers which menace their freedom and prosperity the American people still retain the right and courage to exercise their sovereign control over their government. In order to destroy the economic and political power of monopoly, which has come between the people and their government, we pledge ourselves to the following principles and policies:

## House Cleaning

1. We pledge a complete housecleaning in the Department of Justice, the Department of the Interior, and the other executive departments. We demand that the power of the Federal Government be used to crush private monopoly, not to foster it.

## Natural Resources

2. We pledge recovery of the navy's oil reserves and all other parts of the public domain which have been fraudulently or illegally leased, or otherwise wrongfully transferred, to the control of private interests; vigorous prosecution of all public officials, private citizens and corporations that participated in these transactions; complete revision of the water-power act, the general leasing act, and all other legislation relating to the public domain. We favor public ownership of the nation's water power and the creation and development of a national super-water-power system, including Muscle Shoals, to supply at actual cost light and power for the people and nitrate for the farmers, and strict public control and permanent conservation of all the nation's resources including coal, iron and other ores, oil and timber lands, in the interest of the people.

## Rail Roads

3. We favor repeal of the Esch Cummins railroad law and the fixing of railroad rates upon the basis of actual, prudent investment and cost of service .....

## Tax Reduction

4. We favor reduction of Federal taxes upon individual incomes and legitimate business, limiting tax exactions strictly to the requirements of the government administered with rigid economy, particularly by the curtailment of the eight hundred million dollars now annually expended for the army and navy in preparation for future wars; by the recovery of the hundreds of millions of dollars stolen from the Treasury through fraudulent war contracts and the corrupt leasing of the public resources; and by diligent action to collect the accumulated interest upon the eleven billion dollars owing us by foreign governments.

We denounce the Mellon tax plan as a device to relieve multi-millionaires at the expense of other tax payers and favor a taxation policy providing for immediate reductions upon moderate incomes, large increases in the inheritance tax rates upon large estates to prevent the indefinite accumulation by inheritance of great fortunes in a few hands, taxes upon excess profits to penalize profiteering, and complete publicity, under proper safeguards, of all Federal tax returns.

## The Courts

5. We favor submitting to the people, for their considerate judgment, a constitutional amendment providing that Congress may by enacting a statute make it effective over a judicial veto.

We favor such amendment to the constitution as may be necessary to provide for the election of all Federal Judges, without party designation, for fixed terms not exceeding ten years, by direct vote of the people.

## The Farmers

6. We favor drastic reduction of the exorbitant duties on manufactures provided in the Fordney-McCumber tariff legislation, the prohibiting of gambling by speculators and profiteers in agricultural products, the reconstruction of the Federal Reserve and Federal Parts Loan Systems, so as to eliminate control by usurers, speculators and international financiers, and to make the credit of the nation available upon fair terms to all and without discrimination to businessmen, farmers and home-builders. We advocate the calling of a special session of Congress to pass legislation for the relief of American agriculture. We favor such further legislation as may be needful or helpful in promoting and protecting co-operative enterprises. We demand that the Interstate Commerce Commission proceed forthwith to reduce by an approximation to pre-war levels the present freight rates on agricultural products, including live stock and upon the materials required upon American farms for agricultural purposes.

## Labor

7. We favor abolition of the use of injunctions in labor disputes and declare for complete protection of the right of farmers and industrial

workers to organize, bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing and conduct without hindrance co-operative enterprises.

We favor prompt ratification of the Child Labor amendment, and subsequent enactment of a Federal law to protect children in industry ....

## Peace on Earth

12. We denounce the mercenary system of foreign policy under recent administrations in the interests of financial imperialists, oil monopolies and international bankers, which was at times degraded our State Department from its high service as a strong and kindly intermediary of defenseless governments to a trading outpost for those interests and concession-seekers engaged in the exploitations of weaker nations, as contrary to the will of the American people, destructive of domestic development and provocative of war. We favor an active foreign policy to bring about a revision of the Versailles treaty in accordance with the terms of the armistice, and to promote firm treaty agreements with all nations to outlaw wars, abolish conscription, drastically reduce land and naval armaments, and guarantee public referendum on peace and war.

# Progressive Party Platform 1948

## Preamble

Three years after the end of the second world war, the drums are beating for a third. Civil liberties are being destroyed. Millions cry out for relief from unbearably high prices. The American way of life is in danger.

The root cause of this crisis is Big Business control of our economy and government.

With toil and enterprise the American people have created from their rich resources the world's greatest productive machine. This machine no longer belongs to the people. Its ownership is concentrated in the hands of a few and its product used for their enrichment.

Never before have so few owned so much at the expense of so many.

Ten years ago Franklin Delano Roosevelt warned: "The liberty of a democracy is not safe if the people tolerate the growth of private power to a point where it becomes stronger than their democratic state. That, in its essence, is fascism".

Today that private power has constituted itself an invisible government which pulls the strings of its puppet Republican and Democratic parties. Two sets of candidates compete for votes under the outworn emblems of the old parties. But both represent a single program - a program of monopoly profits through war preparations, lower living standards, and suppression of dissent.

For generations the common man of America has resisted this concentration of economic and political power in the hands of a few. The greatest of America's political leaders have led the people into battle against the money power, the railroads, the trusts, the economic royalists.

We of the Progressive Party are the present-day descendants of these people's movements and fighting leaders. We are the political heirs of Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln - of Frederick Douglass, Altgeld, and Debs -

of "Fighting Bob" La Follette, George Norris, and Franklin Roosevelt.

Throughout our history new parties have arisen when the old parties have betrayed the people. As Jefferson headed a new party to defeat the reactionaries of his day, and as Lincoln led a new party to victory over the slave-owners, so today the people, inspired and led by Henry Wallace, have created a new party to secure peace, freedom, and abundance .....

Betrayal of the Old Parties

The American people want peace. But the old parties, obedient to the dictates of monopoly and the military, prepare for war in the name of peace.

They refuse to negotiate a settlement of differences with the Soviet Union.

They reject the United Nations as an instrument for promoting world peace and reconstruction.

They use the Marshall Plan to rebuild Nazi Germany as a war base and to subjugate the economies of other European countries to American Big Business.

They finance and arm corrupt, fascist governments in China, Greece, Turkey and elsewhere, through the Truman Doctrine, wasting billions in American resources and squandering America's heritage as the enemy of despotism.

They encircle the globe with military bases which other peoples cannot but view as threats to their freedom and security.

They protect the war-making industrial and financial barons of Nazi Germany and imperial Japan, and restore them to power.

They stockpile atomic bombs.

They pass legislation to admit displaced persons, discriminating against Catholics, Jews, and other victims of Hitler.

They impose a peacetime draft and move toward Universal Military Training.

They fill policy-making positions in government with generals and Wall Street bankers.

Peace cannot be won - but profits can - by spending ever-increasing billions of the people's money in war preparations.

Yet these are the policies of the two old parties - policies profaning the name of peace.

The American people cherish freedom.

But the old parties, acting for the forces of special privilege, conspire to destroy traditional American freedoms.

They deny the Negro people the rights of citizenship. They impose a universal policy of Jim Crow and enforce it with every weapon of terror. They refuse to outlaw its most bestial expression - the crime of lynching.

They refuse to abolish the poll tax, and year after year they deny the right to vote to Negroes and millions of white people in the South.

They aim to reduce nationality groups to a position of social, economic and political inferiority.

They connive to bar the Progressive Party from the ballot.

They move to outlaw the Communist Party as a decisive step in their assault on the democratic rights of labor, of national, racial and political minorities, and of all those who oppose their drive to war. In this they repeat the history of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Franco Spain.

They support the House Committee on Un-American Activities in its vilification and persecution of citizens in total disregard of the Bill of Rights.

They build the Federal Bureau of Investigation into a political police with secret dossiers on millions of Americans.

They seek to regiment the thinking of the American people and to suppress political dissent.

They strive to enact such measures as the Mundt-Nixon Bill which are as destructive of democracy as were the Alien and Sedition Laws against which Jefferson fought.

They connoct a spurious "loyalty" program to create an atmosphere of fear and hysteria in government and industry.

They shackle American labor with the Taft-Hartley Act at the express command of Big Business, while encouraging exorbitant profits through uncontrolled inflation.

They restore the labor injunction as a weapon for breaking strikes and smashing Unions.

This is the record of the two old parties - a record profaning the American ideal of freedom.

The American people want abundance.

But the old parties refuse to enact effective price and rent controls, making the people victims of a disastrous inflation which dissipates the savings of millions of families and depresses their living standards.

They ignore the housing problem, although more than half the nation's families including millions of veterans, are homeless or living in rural and urban slums.

They refuse social security protection to millions and allow only meagre benefits to the rest.

They block national health legislation even though millions of men, women and children are without adequate medical care.

They foster the concentration of private economic power.

They replace progressive government officials, the supporters of Franklin Roosevelt, with spokesmen of Big Business.

They pass tax legislation for the greedy, giving only insignificant reductions to the needy.

These are the acts of the old parties - acts profaning the American dream of abundance.

No glittering party platforms or election promises of the Democratic and Republican parties can hide their betrayal of the needs of the American people.

Nor can they act otherwise. For both parties, as the record of the 80th Congress makes clear, are the champions of Big Business.

The Republican platform admits it.

The Democratic platform attempts to conceal it.

But the very composition of the Democratic leadership exposes the demogogy of its platform. It is a party of machine politicians and

Southern Bourbons who veto in Congress the liberal planks "won" in convention.

Such platforms, conceived in hypocrisy and lack of principle, deserve nothing but contempt.

## Principles of the Progressive Party

The Progressive Party is born in the deep conviction that the national wealth and natural resources of our country belong to the people who inhabit it and must be employed in their behalf; that freedom and opportunity must be secured equally to all; that the brotherhood of man can be achieved and scourge of war ended.

The Progressive Party holds that basic to the organization of world peace is a return to the purposes of Franklin Roosevelt to seek areas of international agreement rather than disagreement. It was his conviction that within the framework of the United Nations different social and economic systems can and must live together. If peace is to be achieved capitalist United States and communist Russia must establish good relations and work together.

The Progressive Party holds that it is the first duty of a just government to secure for all the people, regardless of race, creed, color, sex, national background, political belief, or station in life, the inalienable rights proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence and guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. The government must actively protect these rights against the encroachments of public and private agencies.

The Progressive Party holds that a just government must use its powers to promote an adundant life for its people. This is the basic idea of Franklin Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights. Heretofore every attempt to give effect to this principle has failed because Big Business dominates the key sectors of the economy. Antitrust laws and government regulation cannot break this domination. Therefore the people, through their democratically elected representatives, must take control of the main levers of the economic system. Public ownership of these levers will enable the people to plan the use of their productive resources so as to develop the limitless potential of modern technology and to create a true American-Commonwealth free from poverty and insecurity.

The Progressive Party believes that only through peaceful understanding can the world make progress toward reconstruction and higher standards of living; that peace is the essential condition for safe-guarding and extending our traditional freedoms; that only by preserving liberty and by planning an abundant life for all can we eliminate the sources of world conflict. Peace, freedom, and abundance - the goals of the Progressive Party - are indivisible.

Only the Progressive Party can destroy the power of private monopoly and restore the government to the American people. For ours is a party uncorrupted by privilege, committed to no special interests, free from machine control, and open to all Americans of all races, colors and creeds.

The Progressive Party is a party of action. We seek through the democratic process and through day-by-day activity to lead the American people toward the fulfillment of these principles .....

## SOCIALIST PARTY PLATFORM OF 1912

### Indianapolis, Indiana, May 12, 1912

The Socialist party declares that the capitalist system has outgrown its historical function, and has become utterly incapable of meeting the problems now confronting society. We denounce this outgrown system as incompetent and corrupt and the source of unspeakable misery and suffering to the whole working class.

Under this system the industrial equipment of the nation has passed into the absolute control of a plutocracy which exacts an annual tribute of hundreds of millions of dollars from the producers. Unafraid of any organised resistance, it stretches out its greedy hands over the still undeveloped resources of the nation - the land, the mines, the forests, and the water powers of every State of the Union.

In spite of the multiplication of labor-saving machines and improved methods in industry which cheapen the cost of production, the share of the producers grows ever less, and the prices of all the necessities of life steadily increase. The boasted prosperity of this nation is for the owning class alone. To the rest it means only greater hardship and misery. The high cost of living is felt in every home. Millions of wage-workers have seen the purchasing power of their wages decrease until life has become a desperate battle for mere existance.

Multitudes of unemployed walk the streets of our cities or trudge from State to State awaiting the will of the masters to move the wheels of industry.

The farmers in every state are plundered by the increasing prices exacted for tools and machinery and by extortionate rents, freight rates and storage charges.

Capitalist concentration is mercilessly crushing the class of small business men and driving its members into the ranks of propertyless wage-workers. The overwhelming majority of the people of America are being forced under a yoke of bondage by this soulless industrial despotism.

It is this capitalist system that is responsible for the increasing burden of armaments, the poverty, slums, child labour, most of the insanity,

crime and prostitution, and much of the disease that afflicts mankind.

Under this system the working class is exposed to poisonous conditions, to frightful and needless perils of life and limb, is walled around with court decisions, injunctions and unjust laws, and is preyed upon incessantly for the benefit of the controlling oligarchy of wealth. Under it also, the children of the working class are doomed to ignorance, drudging toil and darkened lives.

In the face of these evils, so manifest that all thoughtful observers are appalled at them, the legislative representatives of the Republican and Democratic parties remain the faithful servants of the oppressors. Measures designed to secure to the wage-earners of this Nation as humane and just treatment as is already enjoyed by the wage-earners of all other civilized nations have been smothered in committee without debate, the laws ostensibly designed to bring relief to the farmers and general consumers are juggled and transformed into instruments for the exaction of further tribute. The growing unrest under oppression has driven these two old parties to the enactment of a variety of regulative measures, none of which has limited in any appreciable degree the power of the plutocracy, and some of which have been perverted into means of increasing that power. Anti-trust laws, railroad restrictions and regulations, with the prosecutions, indictments and investigations based upon such legislation have proved to be utterly futile and ridiculous.

Nor has this plutocracy been seriously restrained or even threatened by any Republican or Democratic executive. It has continued to grow in power and insolence alike under the administration of Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft.

We declare, therefore that the longer sufferance of these conditions is impossible, and we purpose to end them all. We declare them to be the product of the present system in which industry is carried on for private greed, instead of for the welfare of society. We declare furthermore, that for these evils there will be and can be no remedy and no substantial relief except through Socialism under which industry will be carried on for the common good and every worker receive the full social value of the wealth he creates.

Society is divided into warring groups and classes, based upon material interests. Fundamentally, this struggle is a conflict between the two main classes, one of which, the capitalist class, owns the means of production, and the other, the working class, must use these means of production, on terms dictated by the owners.

The capitalist class, though few in numbers, absolutely controls the government, legislative, executive and judicial. This class owns the machinery of gathering and disseminating news through its organised press. It subsidizes seats of learning - the colleges and schools - and even religious and moral agencies. It has also the added prestige which established customs give to any order of society, right or wrong.

The working class, which includes all those who are forced to work for a living whether by hand or brain, in shop, mine or on the soil, vastly outnumbers the capitalist class. Lacking effective organisation and class solidarity, this class is unable to enforce its will. Given such a class solidarity and effective organisation, the workers will have the power to make all laws and control all industry in their own interest. All political parties are the expression of economic class interests. All other parties than the Socialist party represent one or another group of the ruling capitalist class. Their political conflicts reflect merely superficial rivalries between competing capitalist groups. However, they result, these conflicts have no issue of real value to the workers. Whether the Democrats or Republicans win politically, it is the capitalist class that is victorious economically.

The Socialist party is the political expression of the economic interests of the workers. Its defeats have been their defeats and its victories their victories. It is a party founded on the science and laws of social development. It proposes that, since all social necessities today are socially produced, the means of their production and distribution shall be socially owned and democratically controlled.

In the face of the economic and political aggressions of the capitalist class the only reliance left the workers is that of their economic organisations and their political power. By the intelligent and class

conscious use of these, they may resist successfully the capitalist class, break the fetters of wage slavery, and fit themselves for the future society, which is to displace the capitalist system. The Socialist party appreciates the full significance of class organisation and urges the wage-earners, the working farmers and all other useful workers to organise for economic and political action, and we pledge ourselves to support the toilers of the fields as well as those in the shops, factories and mines of the nation in their struggles for economic justice.

In the defeat or victory of the working class party in this new struggle for freedom lies the defeat or triumph of the common people of all economic groups, as well as the failure or triumph ofpopular government. Thus the Socialist party is the party of the present day revolution which makes the transition from economic individualism to socialism, from wage slavery to free co-operation, from capitalist oligarchy to industrial democracy.

## Working Program

As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim, the co-operative commonwealth and to increase its power against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

### Collective Ownership

1. The collective ownership and democratic management of railroads, wire and wireless telegraphs and telephones, express service, steamboat lines, and all other social means of transporation and communication and of all large scale industries.
2. The immediate acquirement by the municipalities, the states or the federal government of all grain elevators, stock yards, storage warehouses, and other distributing agencies, in order to reduce the present extortionate cost of living.
3. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.
4. The further conservation and development of natural resources for the use and benefit of all the peqle .....

5. The collective ownership of land wherever practicable, and in cases where such ownership is impracticable, the appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all the land held for speculation and exploitation.
6. The collective ownership and democratic management of the banking and currency system.

Unemployment

The immediate government relief of the unemployed by the extension of all useful public works. All persons employed on such works to be engaged directly by the government under a work day of not more than eight hours and at not less than the prevailing union wages. The government also to establish employment bureaus; to lend money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works, and to take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

Industrial Demands

The conservation of human resources, particularly of the lives and well-being of the workers and their families.

1. By shortening the work day in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.
2. By securing for every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.
3. By securing a more effective inspection of workshops, factories and mines.
4. By the forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.
5. By the co-operative organization of the industries in the federal penitentiaries for the benefit of the convicts and their dependants.
6. By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories and mines.
7. By abolishing the profit system in government work and substituting either the direct hire of labor or the awarding of contracts to co-operative groups of workers.

8. By establishing minimum wage scales.
9. By abolishing official charity and substituting a non-contributary system of old age pensions, a general system of insurance by the State of all its members against unemployment, and invalidism and a system of compulsory insurance by employers of their workers, without cost to the latter, against industrial diseases, accidents and death.

Political Demands

1. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.
2. The adoption of a graduated income tax and the extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the value of the estate and to nearness of kin - the proceeds of these taxes to be employed in the socialization of industry.
3. The abolition of the monopoly ownership of patents and the substitution of collective ownership, with direct rewards to inventors by premiums of royalties.
4. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women.
5. The adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall and of proportional representation, nationally as well as locally.
6. The abolition of the Senate and of the veto power of the President.
7. The election of the President and Vice-President by direct vote of the people.
8. The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of the legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed only by act of Congress or by a referendum vote of the whole people.
9. Abolition of the present restrictions upon the amendment of the constitution, so that instrument may be made amendable by a majority of the States.
10. The granting of the right of suffrage in the District of Columbia with representation in Congress and a democratic form of municipal government for purely local affairs.
11. The extension of democratic government to all United States territory.
12. The enactment of further measures for the conservation of health. The creation of an independent bureau of health, with such restrictions

12. (continued)
as will secure full liberty to all schools of practice.

13. The enactment of further measures for general education and particularly for vocational education in useful pursuits. The Bureau of Education to be made a department.

14. The separation of the present Bureau of Labor from the Department of Commerce and Labor and its elevation to the rank of a department.

15. Abolition of all federal districts courts and the United States circuit court of appeals. State courts to have jurisdiction in all cases arising between citizens of several states and foreign corporations. The election of all judges for short terms.

16. The immediate curbing of the power of the courts to issue injunctions.

17. The free administration of the law.

18. The calling of a convention for the revision of the constitution of the U.S.

Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.

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Presidential Election Results 1900 - 1968

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1900: | McKinley (Republican). | 7,218,491 Popular Votes | 292 Electoral College Votes |
| | Bryan (Democrat). | 6,356,734 | 176 |
| | Woolley (Prohibition). | 209,157 | |
| | Debs (Social Democrat). | 94,864 | |
| | Barker (Populist). | 50,599 | |
| | Malloney (Socialist Labour). | 33,432 | |
| | Ellis (Union Reform). | 5,698 | |
| | Leonard (United Christian). | 1,059 | |
| 1904: | Roosevelt (Republican). | 7,628,461 | 336 |
| | Parker (Democrat). | 5,084,223 | 140 |
| | Debs (Socialist). | 402,460 | |
| | Swallow (Prohibition). | 259,257 | |
| | Watson (People's Party). | 114,753 | |
| | Corregan (Socialist Labour). | 33,724 | |
| 1908: | Taft (Republican). | 7,675,320 | 321 |
| | Bryan (Democrat). | 6,412,294 | 162 |
| | Debs (Socialist). | 420,820 | |
| | Chafin (Prohibition). | 252,683 | |
| | Hisgen (Independence Party). | 83,563 | |
| | Watson (People's Party). | 28,131 | |
| | Gilhaus (Socialist Labour). | 13,825 | |
| 1912: | Wilson (Democrat). | 6,296,547 | 435 |
| | Roosevelt (Progressive). | 4,126,020 | 88 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Taft (Republican) | 3,486,720 | 8 |
| | Debs (Socialist) | 897,011 | |
| | Chafin (Prohibition) | 209,923 | |
| | Reimer (Socialist-Labour) | 29,079 | |
| 1916: | Wilson (Democrat) | 9,127,695 | 277 |
| | Hughes (Republican) | 8,533,507 | 254 |
| | Benson (Socialist) | 585,113 | |
| | Hanly (Prohibition) | 220,506 | |
| | Reimer (Socialist-Labour) | 13,403 | |
| 1920: | Harding (Republican) | 16,141,536 | 404 |
| | Cox (Democrat) | 9,128,488 | 127 |
| | Debs (Socialist) | 919,799 | |
| | Christensen (Farmer-Labour) | 265,411 | |
| | Watkins (Prohibition) | 189,408 | |
| | Cox (Social-Labour) | 31,175 | |
| 1924: | Coolidge (Republican) | 15,718,211 | 382 |
| | Davis (Democrat) | 8,385,283 | 136 |
| | La Follette (Progressive) | 4,832,614 | 13 |
| 1928: | Hoover (Republican) | 21,391,993 | 444 |
| | Smith (Democrat) | 15,016,169 | 87 |
| | Thomas (Socialist) | 267,420 | |
| | Foster (Workers Party) | 48,770 | |
| | Reynolds (Socialist-Labour) | 21,603 | |
| | Varney (Prohibition) | 20,106 | |
| | Webb (Farmer-Labour) | 6,309 | |
| 1932: | Roosevelt (Democrat) | 22,809,638 | 472 |
| | Hoover (Republican) | 15,758,901 | 59 |
| | Thomas (Socialist) | 884,781 | |
| | Foster (Communist) | 102,991 | |
| | Upshaw (Prohibition) | 81,869 | |
| | Harvey (Liberty Party) | 53,425 | |
| | Reynolds (Socialist-Labour) | 33,275 | |
| | Coxey (Farmer-Labour) | 7,309 | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Taft (Republican) | 3,486,720 | 8 |
| | Debs (Socialist) | 897,011 | |
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| | Reynolds (Socialist-Labour) | 33,275 | |
| | Coxey (Farmer-Labour) | 7,309 | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1936: | Roosevelt (Democrat) | 27,478,945 | 523 |
| | Landon (Republican) | 16,674,665 | 8 |
| | Lemke (Union Party) | 882,479 | |
| | Thomas (Socialist) | 187,572 | |
| | Browder (Communist) | 80,159 | |
| | Colvin (Prohibition) | 37,847 | |
| | Aiken (Socialist-Labour) | 12,777 | |

Roosevelt's candidacy was endorsed by three state parties, the Farmer-Labour Party of Minnesota, the Progressive Party of Wisconsin, and the American Labour Party of New York.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1940: | Roosevelt (Democrat) | 27,243,466 | 449 |
| | Wilkie (Republican) | 22,304,755 | 82 |
| | Thomas (Socialist) | 99,557 | |
| | Balson (Prohibition) | 57,812 | |
| | Browder (Communist) | 46,251 | |
| | Aiken (Socialist-Labour) | 14,861 | |
| 1944: | Roosevelt (Democrat) | 25,602,504 | 432 |
| | Dewey (Republican) | 22,006,285 | 99 |
| | Thomas (Socialist) | 80,426 | |
| | Watson (Prohibition) | 74,754 | |
| | Teichert (Socialist-Labour) | 45,335 | |
| 1948: | Truman (Democrat) | 24,105,695 | 303 |
| | Dewey (Republican) | 21,969,170 | 189 |
| | Thurmond (States' Rights Democrat) | 1,169,021 | 39 * |
| | Wallace (People's Progressive) | 1,156,103 | |
| | Thomas (Socialist) | 139,009 | |
| | Watson (Prohibition) | 103,216 | |
| | Teichert (Socialist-Labour) | 29,061 | |

The Communists did not nominate a candidate of their own, preferring to endorse the candidacy of Wallace.

* Includes one vote from a Tennessee elector previously pledged to Truman.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1952: | Eisenhower (Republican) | 33,824,351 | 442 |
| | Stevenson (Democrat) | 27,314,987 | 89 |
| | Hallinan (People's Progressive) | 132,608 | |
| | Hamblen (Prohibition) | 72,768 | |
| | Hass (Socialist-Labour) | 29,333 | |
| | Hoopes (Socialist) | 18,322 | |
| | Dobbs (Socialist-Workers) | 10,306 | |

Hass appeared as a candidate of the Industrial Government Party in certain states.

In Mississippi there was no Republican party ticket, however, Eisenhower did poll 112,966 votes in that state on an independent candidacy. In South Carolina a similar ticket polled 153,289 votes of the Eisenhower total of 168,082.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1956: | Eisenhower (Republican) | 35,582,236 | 457 |
| | Stevenson (Democrat) | 26,028,887 | 73 |
| | Jones | | 1 * |
| | Andrews (States' Rights) | 109,961 | |
| | Holtwick (Prohibition) | 41,937 | |
| | Hass (Socialist-Labour) | 41,159 | |
| | Jenner (Texas Constitution Party) | 30,999 | |
| | Dobbs (Socialist Workers) | 5,549 | |
| | Krajewski (American Third Party) | 1,829 | |
| | Hoopes (Socialist) | 846 | |

* One electoral vote went to Judge Walter B.Jones of Alabama, from an Alabama elector who violated his pledge to Stevenson.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1960: | Kennedy (Democrat) | 34,221,463 | 303 (a) |
| | Nixon (Republican) | 34,108,582 | 219 |
| | Byrd | | 15 (b) |
| | Hass (Socialist-Labour) | 46,560 | |
| | Decker (Prohibition) | 46,203 | |
| | Faubus (National States' Rights) | 44,977 | |
| | Dobbs (Socialist-Workers) | 39,541 | |

(a) Includes 406,176 votes gained as a candidate of the Liberal Party in New York.

(b) Six unpledged Democratic electors from Alabama, one Republican from Oklahoma, and the entire Democratic, Mississippi electoral college representation of eight cast their votes for Virginia Senator Harry Byrd.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1964: | Johnson (Democrat) | 43,128,873 | 482 |
| | Goldwater (Republican) | 27,176,873 | 56 |

Alabama listed no Democratic electors pledged to Johnson, the state cast 210,732 votes for unpledged electors: had these been for Johnson only 109,631 votes would have gone to minority party candidates, which would have been the lowest total for minority candidates this century. Including the votes from Alabama, minority candidates still polled only 0.5% of the vote.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1968: | Nixon (Republican) | 31,284,747 | 301 * |
| | Humphrey (Democrat) | 30,948,643 | 191 |
| | Wallace (American Independence Party) | 9,820,896 | 46 |

* One delegate pledged to Nixon, voted for Wallace.