CHAPTER XXV

THE WILSON ERA OF ACCOMPLISHMENT
1913-1921

The Wilson-Marshall administrations are too recent for anything more than a summary. The matters dealt with were of tremendous import and affected every spot and every inhabitant of the globe. Wilson himself is a man whose greatness, though recognized, is not yet fixed. Even his discoverer is still a subject of dispute. The true details and full knowledge of him and his times are still hid in documents, in memoranda, letters, in men's memories, in diaries and memoirs not yet published, some not yet written. Therefore nothing more than a bare outline of the political events of the eight years from 1913 to 1921 is attempted.

One shining fact should be noted which throws a great light on those years—the Democratic administration was not bossed. Mark Hanna was the power behind the throne in McKinley's day; Roosevelt consulted and shared his party's authority with Platt in New York, with Aldrich and his coterie in the Senate and with exarquis in the House at Washington, and all know the influences which were potent in the Harding régime. Wilson was independent of bossism, of invisible government, as Cleveland had been. He made compromises and concessions, but he made them with and to the legislative branch of the government after full public discussion, not secret ones with bosses and cliques, not to interests or combinations...

Thomas R. Marshall deserves to go down in history as the man who was greatest and most distinguished as Vice-President. Other Vice-Presidents achieved greater fame in other positions...
and Van Buren was more subservient to Jackson than was Marshall to Wilson. But for constant loyal support, for unwavering sympathy and helpfulness to his chief Marshall's eight years are models, and it is only just and fair to speak of it as the "Wilson-Marshall administration."

The Congress elected in 1912 was 290 Democrats and 127 Republicans in the House, 51 Democrats and 45 Republicans in the Senate. Champ Clark was elected Speaker and Oscar W. Underwood was floor leader in the House; James F. Clarke of Arkansas was President pro tem of the Senate. Underwood later went to the Senate, Claude Kitchin of North Carolina succeeding him as floor leader, and in 1917, Willard Saulsbury of Delaware succeeded Clarke. Wilson revived a custom discontinued by Jefferson of delivering in person his message to joint sessions of Congress.

The day was one of dedication, not of triumph, he said in his inaugural address. Tariff reform, a banking and currency system meeting the needs of the day, an industrial system which would set business free and curb the trusts, scientific and practical aid to agriculture, development of waterways and other natural resources, conservation and wiser labor laws were on the program he announced. "To restore, not so often," he said was his party's object.

In forming his cabinet Wilson neglected geography, but paid a due regard to politics without sacrifice of competency or personal feeling.

Bryan was entitled to the premiership and he was given it. Barring a pardonable fondness for "deserving Democrats" he was, until their disagreement, a loyal consistor. His successful negotiations with thirty-one nations of the peace treaties, providing for a year of negotiation before a declaration of war, was a notable achievement.

William G. McAdoo had demonstrated ability of the first order as organizer and builder of the Hudson tunnels in New York. It is a question whether in all the United States a fitter man could have been found to head the Treasury when great and far-reaching changes were to be made in our currency system. History will doubtless place McAdoo as one of the great finance ministers of all time. The Liberty Loans are the greatest fiscal operations in history. After we entered the World War he took over also the Director-Generalship of Railroads and, although much criticized then and now, he made possible what the British Minister of Transport termed a "Transport Miracle," in moving soldiers, munitions, food, handling war material in its raw and in its manufactured state, and in addition caring for the freight and passenger traffic of the nation in ordinary.

Lincoln M. Garrison of New Jersey, an able man, served thirty-five months as Secretary of War. He disapproved of the Philippine policy, adopted by Congress, and when that body refused to adopt it he prepared to leave office. A great task to accomplish and he met the task. An army of four million men were raised, trained, equipped, and half of them were landed in Europe and maintained there, given all the support that was humanly possible.

Josephus Daniels of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy, was given also a great task and a great opportunity. He met the occasion ably. Some of the reforms he instituted were unpopular; they may be so yet, but wisdom and respect for public opinion forbade their being abandoned. It is said that he relied much on the counsels of Admiral Dewey. A civilian Secretary could not have pursued a wise course. The record of the Navy for preparation when war was declared, its performance of every duty imposed upon it, its superb efficiency, speaks louder than any words can of Daniels' administration. Admiral Mayo, Commander-in-Chief of our naval forces, said that he did not have to give a single order to pass the fleet from a peace to a war footing so thoroughly was the Navy prepared. Our vessels carried 2,676,880 American soldiers across three thousand miles of ocean without loss of a single life. Franklin D. Roosevelt was his assistant secretary, and a most capable and efficient aide.

J. C. MeReynolds of Tennessee was made Attorney General. He had distinguished himself first in the legal ability displayed in the prosecution of the tobacco trust and second in the breadth of view and statesmanship evinced in declining to approve the tax on wine, for which he was named Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. Thomas W. Gregory of Texas succeeded him and served ably and well.

Franklin E. Lane of California, the Secretary of the Interior, was an outstanding man and cabinet officer, as he would have been of any body of which he was a member. The Alaskan railroad bill is the development of Alaska and of the oil and
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mineral resources of the public domain were features of his administration.

Albert S. Buleoe, a veteran Congressman of proved capacity in government as well as in practical politics, was appointed Postmaster General. D. H. Childs was Secretary of Agriculture. He was later transferred to the Treasury to succeed Carter Glass of Virginia, who, late in 1918, had taken over the position on McDowell's resignation. William C. Redfield of New York, a business man and Representative in Congress, was Secretary of Commerce. The Secretary of Labor, William B. Wilson of Pennsylvania, handled the grave problems of his department with distinguished ability.

The tasks of some of the departments were greater and more difficult than those of others, but the War Department demanded exceptional ability and service in every department of government, and these men each and all measured up to the needs of the time. They performed extraordinary duties with competence and without scandal, and with only partisan and political criticism.

When the Republicans came into power there were loud announcements of investigations and punishment of graft and corruption. Some fifty probations were begun, millions of dollars were appropriated to hire lawyers to prosecute alleged wrongdoers. Evidence was taken in thirteen states, making a thousand of pages of written testimony. Attorney General Sargent reported that for three and a half years the auditing department of the army had been investigating; the Charles H. Hughes aircraft committee had investigated; the Congressional committee had investigated and probed specific as well as general matters. The whole result was a complete vindication of the Wilson administration. When one-third of the indictments favored by the War Transactions section had been tested, the other two-thirds were dismissed in court on the Republican administration's own motion. Soon the Director of that section, a distinguished lawyer, employed by a salary exceeding that of the Vice-President of the United States, resigned, saying that after four years of research under three Attorneys Generals it was found that there were so few deliberate attempts to defraud the government that it was unfortunate that so many charges had been given circulation.

Of thirty-seven indictments only four resulted in convictions and two of the accused parties pleaded guilty. The Attorney General's statement shows that of these four, one man had stolen less than $5,000. The additional data in the document are not available.
two Democrats opposed it. The lowering of tariff, according to Wilson's philosophy, was setting business free. A graduated income tax was part of this measure.

It was during the consideration of this tariff bill that Wilson charged that there was a numerous and insidious lobby in Washington operating to dictate the duties imposed. The mere consequent publicity was effective to destroy the lobby's power. It faded away.

Wilson's tariff record was completed on the last day of his term when he vetoed a high tariff bill passed by the Republican Congress which came into power in 1919.

The Federal Reserve System, the Glass-Owen Currency bill, enacted into law, is considered by many leading authorities of the world as the best and most important fiscal measure in the history of the United States. It has been struggling ineffectually with the currency question. The best they could accomplish was the makeshift Aldrich-Vreeland bill; they seemed unable to get away from the idea of a central bank, a thing alien to the majority of Americans from Washington's day to this, or to legislate free from the control of the money centers. Besides Carter Glass, chairman of the House banking committee, to whose ability and arduous labor too much honor cannot be given, and Robert L. Owen, chairman of the Senate Committee, the authors of the measure, the whole Democratic Congress contributed to perfect and enact the law.

To Bryan the credit is given for the provision that the United States government issue and lend government notes to the Reserve banks instead of having the banks issue notes themselves; this centered control of the currency issue where it belonged—in the Treasury of the United States. This Federal Reserve measure, in the Wilson philosophy, set credit free.

Its passage against the strongest adverse influences working in every way possible demonstrated Democracy's freedom from the control of the banks and the money class. A lobby against this bill assembled in Washington was dissipated by a mere demand that its members come out into the open. So thoroughly was the merit of the measure recognized by the whole country that it passed the House by a vote of nearly five to one, and the Senate 43 to 25.

But if its formal passage was non-partisan, the law itself was Democratic in principle and policy, in inception, in construction, and in actual enactment. Its adoption was the second step in the Democratic program of constructive and progressive legislation.

The Wilson Era of Accomplishment

The difficult Mexican problem left by Taft was worsened by the murder of President Madero, a few days before Wilson was inaugurated, by Huerta, chosen Provisional President by a military controlled Congress.

The demand for intervention was strong and insistent; the criticism of the Wilson policy bitter. In the press of the country the Hearst newspapers led the attack; in Congress it was led by Senator Albert B. Fall of New Mexico.

Lincoln and Taft as well as Wilson had declared forbearance and generous sympathy toward the Mexican people. Indeed that had been our traditional policy toward our neighbor, even when negotiating peace with Mexico under Polk in 1848. Wilson said that we could not thrust our good offices upon the Mexicans and pursued his policy of watchful waiting for Mexico to work out its own salvation, the traditional policy of the Union states toward our southern neighbor. His demand for amends for the affronts offered our flag and our sailors was supported in the House 337 to 37. The seizing and holding of Vera Cruz, the sending of the Pershing expedition into Mexico to punish Villa, the fall of Huerta, the A. B. C. (Argentine, Brazilian, and Chile) conference, the recognition of Carranza (which the Springfield Republican asserted was worth a dozen Pan-American conferences) all had their effect and enhanced Pan-American as well as Mexican respect for, and confidence in, the United States. This bore fruit when later Germany made proposals to Mexico for action against the Paulino administration, Wilson said he was willing to "play for the verity of mankind."

The Jones Philippine Act was a fulfillment of the promise in the Democratic platform. It gave a larger measure of freedom, a greater share in their own government to the Filipinos, and the hope of an early independence. The nation's attitude toward Hawaii, Porto Rico, and to all the Latin-American islands and governments was, under the Democratic administration, characterized by generosity and a single purpose to help them not ourselves. It marked the abandonment of Dollar diplomacy, a return to the true beneficent principles of the Monroe Doctrine.

The repeal of the act passed during the Republican administration exempting American coastwise ships from paying canal tolls was only keeping faith with the world. Wilson's position appealed to the nation's sense of honor; it was endorsed by many distinguished Republicans, and the repeal passed the House 247 to 182, the Senate 50 to 35. Yet Wilsonianism continued to the arm's length policy. The Adams-Onis law passed in the middle of the 1910 campaign was another severely condemned act of the Democratic admini
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tration, yet the Republicans in power for eight years since have neither repealed nor modified it. The extravagant denuncia-
tion of the Adamson law by the Republicans seems unjustified
since the vote on it in the House, 329 to 56, showed how generally its wisdom or necessity was recognized. Even ex-Speaker Can-
on voted for it. In the Senate only La Follette of the Republic-
cans supported it. The law was later declared constitutional
by the Supreme Court.

The Clayton Anti-Trust law and the Federal Trade Commissi-
on was other distinct steps forward in curbing the trusts
and for the first time American law recognized that "Labor is not
compensated for its services by money wages." Other notable
accomplishments were the Harrison Anti-
Narcotic Act, the securing of greater safety at sea by an inter-
national conference, the Seamen's Act abolishing peonage on
ships, the Ship Registry Act and War Risk Insurance.

-It was in the midst of an era of getting things done that the
1914 elections came on, the Democrats gaining 3 Senators, but
having their House majority reduced from 150 to only 25. The
Progressives of 1912 had returned to the Republican fold.

The defeat, by a filibuster in the Senate, of the Ship
Purchase Act was the most conspicuous reverse the Demo-
cratic progressive program suffered. Senators La Follette, Kenyon and Norris
voted with the Democrats, but 7 Democrats opposed the bill. A
similar bill passed the House 217 to 122, all Republicans present and
19-Democrats voting no. Had this bill been passed at the
time we would have been in vastly better condition to meet the
conditions beginning with the declaration of war. Republican
denunciators of the measure in 1914 joined in 1917 in passing such
a bill although billions of dollars were then added to the cost. As
it was, the United States in 1916, for the first time in history,
became the foremost shipbuilding country in the world.

The Agricultural Extension Act and the Rural Credits Act were
measures of tremendous value to the agricultural interests of the
country, supplemented by the creation later of the Federal
Land
banks. The creation of the tax commissioner, the ratification of the
constitutional amendment for popular election of United
State Senators and the beginning of a great program of road
building were important progressive measures.

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law, excluding from interstate commerce goods produced by
children employed at labor for too long hours, was a wise and
just measure.

Wilson called for preparedness. He wanted an adequate army,
but was not irrevocably committed to any one plan. As to the
navy, he declared that America should have the "greatest navy
in the world." The United States had both before he went out
of office.

For so complete a performance of an announced program one
must go back to Polk's administration. But as the Mexican
War was to the World War so was Polk's task compared to Wilson's.
The Republicans in the 1916 campaign sought to claim a share
in the achievement of the Federal Reserve Act and credits; for other
Democratic achievements, claims more complimentary than
just.

Among appointments to high office made by Wilson may be
noted that of Louis Brandeis to the Supreme Court, Walter
Hines Page to England, Thomas Nelson Page to Italy, William
C. Sharp to France, James W. Gerard to Germany, F. C. Pen-
field to Austria, David R. Francis to Russia, Henry Morgenthau
to Turkey, Henry Van Dyke to The Hague, John W. Davis
Solicitor General.

The Twenty-second Democratic National Convention met at
St. Louis, June 14, 1916. The call had urged the selection of dele-
tees by primary; and the same method for the selection of
National Committeemen, but with little or no effect. Called to
order by Chairman of the National Committee W. F. McCombs,
Governor Martin H. Glynn of New York as temporary chair-
man delivered a notably eloquent keynote speech.

A marked feature of this convention was the number of women
delegates from the Western States. Another feature was the
change in the personnel of the New York delegation; many
familiar names were missing. Charles F. Murphy was a mere
district delegate while William Church Osborn, Samuel Unter-
meier, Senator O'Gorman and Frank E. Polk were delegates at
large. Nevada, New Hampshire, Alaska, New York,
Oregon, Ohio, and Maryland were among the states
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...tain and gave control of the large business operations of the country to small groups of bankers; it had ignored the farmer and catered to the "interests," had fought currency reform, had allowed Big Business to write the tariffs, and had become a party of military inactivity unable to meet the conditions of a new age.

The Republican Insurgents, Cummins and La Follette, Elihu Root, and the Organization men, Sherman, Fairbanks, and Burton, were much talked of, but when the Republican convention met Associate Justice Charles E. Hughes, acceptable, more or less, both to the Progressives and to the Regulars, had been agreed upon. The Old Guard Republicans, aware, by all that was holy that they would not accept Roosevelt, and all the ardor and devotion of his followers could not break the phalanx. His friends in the convention reluctantly accepted Hughes. Warren G. Harding was the keynote speaker at the Republican convention. Charles W. Fairbanks was named for Vice-President.

The Progressives met and nominated Roosevelt and John W. Parker, Democrat of Louisiana, but both declined, Roosevelt later campaigning for Hughes and Parker for Wilson. With Parker many Progressives came over to the support of Wilson. The Socialist ticket was Allan J. Benson and G. R. Kirkpatrick, the Prohibitionists nominated Frank Hanly and Ira Landreth, the Socialist-Labor candidates were Arthur Reimer and Caleb Harrison.

Nothing better shows the straits to which the Wilson administration had reduced the Republican Party than the platform. Platforms were to the time, but this one exceeded all others for vagueness, indeterminateness and evasion. On the tariff and on the Philippine question there was some positiveness. Outside of those questions and its deplorings and denunciations of Democratic courses, its planks might have been incorporated into the Democratic platform. All that it had failed to do in its sixteen years of power along progressive lines which the Democrats had accomplished in their four years of control, was claimed or declared for...

In the Progressive and the Old Guard elements in the party and in the pro-Ally and pro-German elements among the voters there lay two Scalas and two Charybdises to avoid. "We believe in American policies at home and abroad," is the platform's first plank. It declared for the "peace of justice and right," and the maintenance of "honest neutrality," and a "firm, consistent, and courageous" foreign policy, and favored "pacific..."
settlement of international disputes" and a world court. It expressed deep sympathy for the Mexican people and horror and indignation at Mexican outrages; denouncing the policy pursued by the Democrats, it favored "aid in restoring order in Mexico."

The campaign did not drag although the Republican candidate injected little of the life into it that Roosevelt had put into the preceding one. Hughes was powerful at destructive criticism, but weak in constructive stuff. Some came to think his election meant war in two weeks; others, among them the German element, believed it would mean harmony between America and Germany. One could take one's choice for all Hughes' definiteness. He was accused of "making points"—campaigning like a lawyer trying a case.

His announcement of his foreign policy was: "I stand for the firm and unflinching maintenance of all the rights of American citizens on land and sea." Many German-Americans somehow interpreted this to mean that he would enforce American rights against the British blockade, and applauded. Others took it to be a declaration against the German submarines. The pro-Germans listened to Hughes who made no threats; the pro-Allies harkened to Roosevelt who breathed fire and brimstone. Hughes' failure to meet Hiram Johnson when in California, and his attending a "seal's" luncheon while there, and their dire effect on his candidacy have been mentioned.

Wilson, according to Presidential traditions, took no very strenuous part in the battle, but made campaign speeches once a week from his residence. Some of his shots told. He referred to Roosevelt, without naming him, as "the vocal part of the Republican forces," and when the Wall Street betting odds were announced as ten to one against him, he remarked "They used to control the finances of the nation; now they only control the betting odds." To the disloyal O'Leary who wrote him an offensive letter Wilson replied: "I would feel deeply mortified to have you or anybody like you vote for me. Since you have access to many disloyal Americans and I have not, I will ask you to convey this message to them."

As in 1884 many leading Republicans such as Schurz and Curtis came over to Cleveland, so in 1916 Charles W. Eliot, Francis J. Heney, Bainbridge Colby and many of their like joined the Wilson standard. The Hearst papers supported Hughes.

The opinion that Wilson had kept us out of war won him many votes. But this alone would not have brought Democratic success. A factor in the campaign which has received far too little notice was the work of the Western Democratic headquarters at Chicago under Senator Walsh of Montanas, having charge of all the states west of the Mississippi River and Ohio on the east. It was in this territory that the Democratic victory was won. With Senator Hollis of New Hampshire in charge of the Labor Bureau, Congressman Scott Ferris of Oklahoma in charge of organization, Mrs. George Base head of the Women's bureau and William J. Cochran Director of Publicity, what the Democratic administration had done for Labor, for the Women's cause and for Agriculture, and for the nation at large by the Federal Reserve Act, was brought into the public mind by speeches, by literature, through the daily and weekly papers all through the campaign.

For the first time since Blair and Kendall used them so in Jackson's time, the country weeklies were used as systematically as the dailies. The fact was recognized that for governmental or political publicity, where voters and not purchasers are sought to be reached, where the dwellers on remote farms are as much aimed at as citizens of large cities, the country press as a whole is almost, if not fully, as valuable a medium of publicity as the daily papers.

When it was found that the Republicans had carried all the Eastern and mid-Western States except Ohio, it was taken as a foregone conclusion that Hughes was elected and the United States went to bed believing Wilson was defeated. News from California too late for early morning editions of papers told a different tale:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Popular Vote</th>
<th>Electoral Vote</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>8,426,015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hughes</td>
<td>5,580,126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hays</td>
<td>202,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benson</td>
<td>585,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The South and the West, the ancient alignment which had been so powerful from 1800 to 1850, had won together again. Twelve states had woman suffrage; Wilson carried all but Illinois and Oregon. Two years later he appeared before the Senate and urged the concurrent amendment in the Constitutional amendment for Woman Suffrage, and the amendment was put into the Constitution during his administration. Twenty-five states had state-wide prohibition; Wilson carried all but Oregon, Iowa, West Virginia, Michigan and South Dakota.
THE VISION ENHANCED

The department's work is carried out with the utmost of care and dedication. The team members are trained diligently to ensure the highest standards of performance. Whether in the office or on the field, the dedication to excellence is unwavering. The department is always striving for improvement and excellence in every aspect of its work.

In pursuit of this vision, the department is committed to providing the best possible service to the community. The team members work tirelessly to ensure that the needs of the community are met with the utmost of care and dedication. The department is always striving for improvement and excellence in every aspect of its work.

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