JK 2251 A

BRIEF HISTORIES OF MAJOR AND MINOR POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES

A Compilation of Extracts

CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH SERVICE
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

FREDERICK PAULS
Government and General Research
Division

February 3, 1972

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
SANTA BARBARA
OCT 27 1972
GOVT. PUBLICATIONS DEPT.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

American Independent Party. 2
American Labor Party. 2
American Party. 2
American Republican Party 2
Anti-Masonic Party. 3
Antirent Movement 3
Communist Party 4
Conservative Party. 4
Constitutional Union Party. 6
Democratic Party. 6
Democratic-Republican Party 10
Dixiecrats. 11
Farmer-Labor Party. 11
Federalist Party. 11
Free-Soil Party 13
Greenback Party 13
Know-Nothing Party. 14
Liberal Party 15
Liberal Republican Party. 15
Liberty Party 15
Locofoco. 16
Populist Party. 16
Progressive Party 17
Prohibition Party 18
Republican Party. 20
Socialist Party 29
Whig Party. 29

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Congressional Research Service

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20540

BRIEF HISTORIES OF MAJOR AND MINOR POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES

For the benefit of those who need or desire a brief history of major and minor political parties in the United States, the Service, with the permission of the Encyclopedia Americana and the Encyclopedia Britannica, has compiled relevant extracts from these publications.

In two instances -- the American Independent Party and the Conservative Party -- neither source had appropriate entries. For the American Independent Party, therefore, we have included a sketch of George Wallace from the Encyclopedia Americana in which is mentioned his 1968 campaign for the Presidency. We have included the Encyclopedia Britannica's section on "conservatism in the United States," with additions, for the Conservative Party.

The Service does not offer this compilation as definitive in any sense of the word. Many of the extracts list bibliographic sources which would more thoroughly acquaint the user with the history of a party.

AMERICAN INDEPENDENT PARTY

WALLACE, George Corley, American political leader: b. Clio, Ala., Aug. 25, 1919. His election to the governorship of Alabama in 1962 made him a leader among Southern opponents of racial integration.

Wallace grew up in rural Alabama, where his father owned and managed several small tenant farms. In high school he won and successfully defended the state bantamweight boxing championship. He also boxed professionally to help meet expenses at the University of Alabama law school. After graduating from law school in 1942, he served three years in the Air Force.

After several years in private law practice and two terms in the state legislature, Wallace was elected a state district court judge in 1952. His defiance of a federal court order to produce voting records in 1956 brought him his first statewide support. He failed in an attempt to become governor in 1958, but was elected to that office in 1962. His administration adopted extensive programs for the poor. A fervid proponent of states rights, he surprised political observers in 1964 by drawing considerable support as a presidential candidate in Democratic state primaries outside Alabama.

In 1966, after the state legislature declined to abolish a law forbidding two consecutive gubernatorial terms, Wallace's wife, Lurleen, was elected governor to succeed her husband. The Wallaces had made it clear that he would make the policies and decisions of her administration.

In 1968 Wallace ran for president as the candidate of his American Independent party. During his energetic campaign, which he aimed at the "little people," he advocated "law and order" and condemned urban riots and other civil unrest, including protest demonstrations. He got 9,700,000 votes (about 13 percent of the total) and won 5 states with 45 electoral votes.

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY, a minor political party in New York State during the 1930's and 1940's. It was organized in 1936 by representatives of more than 200 labor unions. Its sponsors hoped it would hold a balance of power in the state by placing on its own ballot line candidates of other parties who favored progressive social legislation. The party in 1936 endorsed Franklin D. Roosevelt for president, Herbert H. Lehman for governor, and Fiorello LaGuardia for mayor of New York.

In 1944, David Dubinsky, head of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and other prominent founders of the party withdrew because of alleged Communist infiltration. Although seriously damaged, the party polled its largest vote in 1948—509,000 ballots for Progressive party presidential candidate Henry A. Wallace. It was dissolved in 1956.

AMERICAN PARTY, ə-mer'ə-kən, the name of several political parties in United States history. The first established American party—also called the Know-Nothing party—was founded in New York City in 1849 as a secret patriotic organization under the name of the Order of the Star Spangled Banner. Its platform was inspired by the fear and resentment felt by native Protestants at the flood of Roman Catholic immigrants from Europe, and chiefly Ireland. Such immigrants, becoming naturalized citizens, were playing an increasingly important political role, especially in the large cities. Essentially the party's tenets were those of the American Republican party, founded a few years earlier, which had subsequently changed its name to Native American party. Though the American party soon grew into a national organization, the slavery issue hopelessly divided it, and it was no longer a political factor after 1856.

Among other parties named American party was one organized in Philadelphia in 1887. At a convention held in Washington, D.C., on Aug. 14, 1888, it nominated a presidential candidate. The party platform advocated 14-year residence for naturalization; exclusion of socialists, anarchists, and other supposedly dangerous persons from entering the country; free schools; a strong navy and coast defenses; continued separation of church and state; and enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine. Its presidential candidate, James L. Curtis of New York, received only 1,591 votes at the November election.

In the 1924 national elections another American party sought Ku-Klux Klan support for its candidates, Judge Gilbert O. Nations for president and C. H. Randall for vice president, nominated at Columbus, Ohio, on June 3. This party, too, gained a negligible fraction of the total vote.

AMERICAN REPUBLICAN PARTY, ə-mer'ə-kən ri-pub'li-kən, a splinter political party founded in New York State in 1843, whose principal aim was to deny the franchise and political offices to Roman Catholics and foreigners. The organization of the party was part of a widespread reaction to the tide of immigrants arriving from Ireland and other Catholic countries of Europe in the 1830's and 1840's.

In the election of 1844 the party formed a local coalition with the Whigs and elected the mayor of New York City and four members of Congress. Strengthened by this success, the party joined with the Native American party of Louisiana and native Protestant Americans elsewhere in calling a national convention at Philadelphia in 1845. Delegates to the convention adopted the name *Native American party* and called for sweeping changes in U.S. immigration laws. However, the fact that the Native American party took no position on the war with Mexico and other issues contributed to its rapid demise. Native Americanism soon reappeared in the American party of the 1850's (see AMERICAN PARTY).

ANTI-MASONIC PARTY, ant-i-mə-son'ik, the first "third party" on the American national political scene. It was a reaction to the supposed Masonic threat to public institutions. Although secret societies in general were frowned upon by early 19th century Americans, the Freemasons long continued exempt from criticism—perhaps because George Washington and other statesmen and soldiers of the Revolutionary period had been Masons. Indeed, in the first quarter of the 19th century membership in a Masonic lodge was almost a necessity for political preferment.

In 1826, general approval of Masonry suffered a sudden, dramatic reversal as a result of the mysterious disappearance in western New York of William Morgan (q.v.), a Mason known to be on the point of publishing an exposé of his order's secrets. It was popularly believed, although never proved, that fellow Masons had murdered Morgan. Masonry in New York re-received a nearly mortal blow, membership dwindling in the decade 1826–1836 from 20,000 to 3,000.

The Anti-Masonic Party, formed in New York in 1828, reflected the widespread hostility toward Masons holding public office. Thurlow Weed in 1828 established in Rochester, N.Y., his *Anti-Masonic Enquirer* and two years later obtained financial backing for his Albany *Evening Journal*, which became the chief party organ. There was a rapid proliferation of anti-Masonic papers, especially in the Eastern states. By 1832 there were 46 in New York and 55 in Pennsylvania.

The Anti-Masonic Party was the first party to hold a nominating convention and the first to announce a platform. On Sept. 26, 1831, convening in Baltimore, it nominated William Wirt of Maryland for the presidency and Amos Ellmaker of Pennsylvania for the vice presidency. The political effect of the entrance, for the first time, of a third party into a United States presidential election was to draw support from Henry Clay and to help President Andrew Jackson (who was a Mason) win reelection by a wide margin. Vermont gave the party seven electoral votes and elected an Anti-Masonic governor, William A. Palmer. The party also gained members in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Ohio.

After the elections of 1836, however, the Anti-Masonic party declined. Together with the National Republican Party, it eventually was absorbed into the new Whig Party.

ANTIRENT MOVEMENT, ant-i-rent', a political protest against the semimanorial system of land tenures in New York State. It began in Albany County in 1839 and spread throughout the central part of the state.

In the 17th century the Dutch and the English had granted large tracts of public land to the Van Rensselaer, Livingston, and other families. The land had then been leased to tenant farmers, who paid annual rents and taxes, owed feudal obligations, and had no rights to mines or millsites. This system continued well into the 19th century, but, by the 1830's, Hudson Valley farmers believed that the leaseholds were a direct violation of the Declaration of Independence. It was time, they felt, to abolish slavery, promote temperance, and end an economic system that relegated them to the status of semiserfs.

The event that catalyzed the antirent agitation was the death of Stephen Van Rensselaer, the landlord of a large estate in Albany and Rensselaer counties. His will instructed his two heirs to collect $400,000 in back rent in order to balance outstanding debts, but their attempts to obey the injunction met with resistance and promoted similar demonstrations on neighboring estates. The antirenters, dressed as Indians, resisted state militia units and tarred and feathered hostile sheriffs. A high pitch of violence was reached on Aug. 7, 1845, when Deputy Sheriff Osman Steele was killed in Delaware County. Governor Silas Wright declared a state of insurrection. More than 50 men were tried and convicted, and two received life sentences.

The campaign of violence had failed, but the antirent movement was not ended. Both the Whigs and the Democrats recognized the value of farmer support. In June 1846, the state constitutional convention, meeting in Albany, abolished manorial obligations and limited leases to 12 years. In the subsequent gubernatorial election, Whig candidate John Young, with antirent endorsements, defeated incumbent Wright. Young redeemed his campaign promises, pardoning the participants in the Steele murder and directing his attorney general to institute proceedings against defective titles. The great estates were being gradually divided, and the ballot box, not tar and feathers, led to the antirent victory.

James Fenimore Cooper described incidents in the antirent movement from a conservative position in *The Littlepage Manuscripts*, a trilogy consisting of the novels *Satanstoe* (1845), *The Chainbearer* (1845), and *The Redskins* (1846).

DAVID L. STERLING, *Ohio State University*

Further Reading: Christman, Henry, *Tin Horns and Calico* (New York 1945); Ellis, David, *Landlords and Farmers in the Hudson-Mohawk Valley* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1946).

COMMUNIST PARTY

United States.—Communism emerged in the U.S. only after Russian Communists encouraged left-wing elements to separate from the Socialist Party in 1919 and to imitate Moscow by creating a Communist Party. After subsequent dissension had splintered the party and deportation from the United States had removed some of its noncitizen leaders, Moscow ordered creation in 1921 of an open party to operate legally. Thus emerged the Workers' Party of America, but the Communist Party was continued as a secret group until 1923 when Moscow ordered its complete elimination. Factional intraparty conflict, which became characteristic of the party, continued in the legal party, requiring Moscow's intervention to restore party discipline in 1929. A Communist Party of the United States was then recreated as an avowed section of the Communist International.

Dissolution of the Communist International by Moscow in 1943 to curry favour with Western democracies in the joint war against Hitler's Germany required reorganization of its U.S. affiliate. The Communist Party's constitution, in its revised form that had been adopted in 1938, contained no statement of relation to Moscow. The party sought to associate itself in the public mind with American democratic traditions. This trend toward masking the party's revolutionary role and its Moscow orientation was accentuated with passage by the U.S. Congress in 1940 of the Voorhis Act requiring registration of organizations subject to foreign control. The party adopted a new and less militant constitution and went so far as to re-form in 1944 into what was called a "political association," having as its stated aim collaboration within the historic U.S. two-party system for victory in the war.

Defeat of Germany and Japan in 1945 brought an immediate change for the U.S. Communist Party on orders from Moscow. The mask of political association, which had proved effective in recruitment of politically uninformed Americans during the period of wartime collaboration with the U.S.S.R., was put aside. The Communist Party of the United States was re-created, but its constitution sought to avoid anticipated distrust on the part of U.S. patriots by retaining the earlier espousal of democratic traditions. Revelation of the excesses of Stalin's personal dictatorship over the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, following his death in 1953, caused many resignations from the party, as did mounting exposure of party aims by U.S. scholars and public associations and enactment of restrictive legislation. Membership fell to 8,000 according to a 1958 estimate of a congressional committee.

Following revelation of Communist infiltration of the federal bureaucracy and in the heat of hostility against Communist China during the Korean War the McCarran Act was enacted in 1950. It made criminal "knowingly to combine or conspire with others to perform any act which would substantially contribute to the establishment within the United States of totalitarian dictatorship, the direction and control of which was to be vested in any foreign government, foreign organization or foreign individual." Laws of similar intent were enacted in some states. Communists were excluded thereby from the school system as teachers, from foreign travel, and from labour union leadership without disqualification of their unions from the protection of the Taft-Hartley Act. Some state laws denied them the right to run for elective office. By an act of Aug. 24, 1954, the Communist Party was further hampered, and it claimed that it had been "outlawed."

Communist Party senior officials were convicted in 1949 under the Smith Act of 1940, and the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the convictions. The 1940 act made it a criminal offense to advocate overthrow of any government in the United States by force or violence. Subsequent convictions elicited a clarification from the Supreme Court in 1957 that teaching and advocating forcible overthrow of the government were not punishable under the Smith Act so long as such teaching and advocating were divorced from the effort to instigate action. Enforcement of state antisedition laws was nullified by a Supreme Court decision in 1956 declaring a Pennsylvania statute an unlawful assumption of authority in a field preempted by the federal government.

The effect of the 1954 "outlawry" remained unclear as no judicial review of the statute occurred immediately and the Communist Party ceased to run candidates. The Communist Party continued however to hold congresses. The 17th was held in 1959 and elected William Z. Foster as chairman emeritus, Eugene Dennis as national secretary, and Gus Hall as general secretary.

A long legal battle by the U.S. Communist Party against the registration requirements of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 ended in 1961 when the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the act as regulation and not prohibition, but the party continued to resist. In 1964 the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional prohibition of foreign passports to all Communists without consideration of degree of engagement in party affairs. In 1965 the Supreme Court rejected the 1950 act's requirement that individual Communists register as violating the Fifth Amendment.

Emboldened by these legal victories the Communist Party held a congress in 1966 and announced resumption of open activities, publishing a program.

CONSERVATIVE PARTY

United States.—Although no major U.S. political party ever has assumed the name "Conservative," from the first years of the republic conservative ideas have been at work in American politics. Both the Federalist party of New England and the Republican party of Virginia exhibited different aspects of conservative thought and practice—the first with its emphasis on order and security, the latter with its attachment to the rural interest. During the Civil War, spokesmen for both North and South declared that theirs was the truly conservative stand.

The term "liberal" was seldom employed in the United States until the coming of World War I and did not become truly popular until the first administration of Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt. During the Roosevelt years and World War II, however, conservatism became what Prof. Raymond English calls "the forbidden faith," the word carrying connotations of stupidity and selfishness. But about 1948 the spirits of conservatives began to revive; several books by reflective conservatives gained wide attention; and political leaders began once more to use the word approvingly. Among them was Sen. Robert A. Taft, who described himself as a "liberal conservative."

The failure of a really radical party to win the votes of any considerable number of Americans probably accounts for the lack of formal organization of American conservatives: the challenge was not strong enough to break down the barriers between the established Republican and Democratic parties. In the past, the absence of a distinct aristocracy and the numerous opportunities for personal advancement tended to discourage in the United States the formation of theoretical or class parties, whether conservative, liberal or radical. As the United States entered intimately into world affairs, however, and stood opposed to the threat of Soviet Communism, there became evident in America a growing desire for some political philosophy to oppose Marxism; and, as in Europe, the renewed popularity of conservative doc-

trines resulted. In practical politics, the popularity of Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona, the most vigorous figure among conservative politicians of the early 1960s, was an indication of this altered climate of opinion.

In the United States, as elsewhere, the particular forms assumed by the conservative impulse tend to be determined by the nation's traditional politics and social institutions. An American political conservative, at least in popular usage, is a person who believes strongly that the old pattern of American society ought not to be much altered. Typically, he holds by the federal constitution and maintains that it should be fairly strictly interpreted; he endeavours to oppose the tendency toward political centralization; he dislikes organizations on the grand scale, whether in government, labour or business; he is a defender of private property and looks uneasily upon the increase of taxation and the "welfare" roles of the state; he is, of course, strongly opposed to Soviet power and international Communism; he emphasizes the individual personality as against collectivizing tendencies in 20th-century education and community life. In former years, the typical conservative was a Protestant; but from the early 1940s for several reasons, American Roman Catholics tended toward conservatism in their politics and sometimes took the lead in conservative movements.

Along with a revival of conservative ideas during the late 1950s and early 1960s there was an emergence or reactivation of various groups of the "radical right," sharing some opinions with conservatives but looked upon with suspicion or distaste by many conservatives because of the virulence of their language or the impracticality of their views. The influence of such organizations was probably exaggerated both by their own members and by their liberal or radical opponents. In actuality, these groups appeared to be less powerful than they had been before World War II.

The most widely discussed of such associations was the John Birch Society, founded by Robert H. W. Welch, Jr., a Boston businessman, in 1958 and named for a U.S. intelligence officer killed by Chinese Communists soon after the end of World War II. Unlike most other "radical right" groups, the John Birch Society tended to attract a good many people of substance and education including doctors, dentists and lawyers. Though its chapters existed in nearly every state, the society nevertheless remained comparatively small in membership, and enjoyed practical political success almost nowhere but in southern California. The movement's basic manual was *The Blue Book of the John Birch Society*; it was supplemented by a monthly bulletin called *American Opinion*. These publications asserted that Communism is a gigantic conspiracy to enslave mankind and that its main threat to the United States is not from Soviet military power but from internal subversion. Welch and some of his associates went so far as to declare that Dwight D. Eisenhower, Charles de Gaulle, and other eminent western statesmen were agents of Communist subversion. These extreme views were repeatedly ridiculed by leading American conservatives, as well as by liberals.

By the 1960s conservative societies had been formed by undergraduates on some 200 college campuses in the United States—an interesting reversal of the campus radicalism of the 1930s. The menace of the totalitarian society, it appeared, had begun to produce serious political discussion among members of the rising generation. Conservative opinions were also in the ascendancy in both major political parties. Out of this new pattern of politics in both the United States and Europe, conceivably new general terms might arise to supplant, after a century and a half of use, both "conservative" and "liberal."

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Crane Brinton, *English Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (1949); Lord Cecil, *Conservatism* (1912); R. Hoffman and P. Levack, *Burke's Politics* (1948); Russell Kirk, *The Conservative Mind* (1953), *Randolph of Roanoke* (1951); Leonard Labaree, *Conservatism in Early American History* (1948); F. J. C. Hearnshaw (ed.), *Social and Political Ideas of Some Representative Thinkers of the Age of Reaction and Reconstruction* (1932); Peter Stanlis, *Edmund Burke and the Natural Law* (1958); Peter Viereck, *Conservatism Revisited* (1949); Eric Voegelin, *The New Science of Politics* (1952); F. S. Meyer (ed.), *What Is Conservatism?* (1964).
(R. K.)

NOTE:

The article fails to mention the Conservative Party of New York. It is a splinter movement composed mainly of Republicans disgruntled with the regular party.

In a 1966 brochure, the Party stated that it was "formed in 1962 to restore a meaningful choice to the voters of New York State." It characterized the Democratic Party as controled by hyper-liberal elements and accused the Republican Party in the State of being dominated by liberals.

In 1962, 44,606 citizens signed a petition to nominate Conservative candidates to statewide office for the first time. Its gubernatorial candidate polled 141,872 votes that year, thus permanently qualifying the party for a position on the ballot.

Its most notable triumph came in 1970 when its candidate for the Senate, James L. Buckley, defeated Richard Ottinger (D.) and Charles E. Goodell (R.). Buckley received 2,288,190 votes to 2,171,232 for Ottinger, and 1,434,472 for Goodell.

Enrollment figures released in 1971 show 117,307 persons registered as Conservatives in New York.

CONSTITUTIONAL UNION PARTY, a political party organized for the United States election of 1860. It comprised old-line Whigs and remnants of the American (Know-Nothing) party. Persuaded that the agitation over the slavery question could lead only to the disruption of the Union, its founders presented no platform other than a vague appeal for adherence to the Constitution, the Union, and the laws of the United States.

Meeting in Baltimore in May 1860, the party nominated John Bell of Tennessee for president and Edward Everett of Massachusetts for vice president. In the November election the Constitutional Union party found its greatest strength among conservatives in the border states, where the effects of civil conflict were especially feared, although the ticket was supported throughout the nation.

Bell trailed the Republican candidate, Abraham Lincoln, and the two Democratic nominees, Stephen A. Douglas and John C. Breckinridge, receiving 591,658 popular votes (only 12.6% of the total). He carried the states of Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee with 39 electoral votes. Leaders of the party, in the ensuing months, called for reconciliation of the sections through a compromise of the slavery issue, but without success. With the coming of the Civil War the Constitutional Union Party disappeared from the political scene.

ROBERT W. JOHANNSEN
University of Illinois

DEMOCRATIC PARTY, the older of the two major U.S. political parties. Tracing its origin to Thomas Jefferson's Antifederalist views, the modern party was established by President Andrew Jackson. Subsequent Democratic presidential leaders included Martin Van Buren, James Polk, Grover Cleveland, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S Truman, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson. Jackson initiated the party's "strong president" tradition; Wilson and his successors augmented it.

From its beginning the party has achieved power through successful coalitions. But early regional factionalism, stemming from the tariff, states' rights, national expansion, and slavery issues, in time split the party and led to the Civil War. Thereafter out of power for 24 years, the Democrats again became the majority party in the 20th century. The party's Northern urban, labor, and Negro supporters, however, were uneasy partners of the "solid" and conservative South. By mid-century, further exacerbated by such issues as civil rights, Southern Democrats were bolting the party for regional presidential candidates and also were supporting Republicans.

National party leadership exists in two wings: presidential and congressional. Historically, the party has held a near monopoly on the "boss" and "machine" type of urban organization.

HISTORY OF THE PARTY

Since the first days of the republic, numerous major political parties have appeared and disappeared as a consequence of changing leaderships and coalitions. Party organizational lineage was difficult to follow, except through the movements of previous leaders and old interest coalitions. Federalists, who prevailed under Presidents Washington and John Adams, began to disappear during the administration of President Jefferson (1801–1809). They reappeared some 20 years later as National Republicans, followed by the Whigs during the decades between 1836 and 1856. The modern Republican party succeeded the Whigs.

The Democratic lineage was less broken. The Antifederalists soon called themselves Democratic-Republicans or Jeffersonians. They also referred to themselves as "Republicans" and, later, Jacksonians. In 1840, at their third national nominating convention, Democratic-Republicans adopted "Democratic party" as their official name.

Early Factional Divisions. The Federalists had practically disappeared as an opposition party by 1816. Most leading politicians considered themselves Democratic-Republicans, whose factionalism began to press certain regional interests. Most aggressive were the Western "War Hawks," led by Henry Clay. The War Hawks wanted internal improvements, particularly in transportation, that would link the frontier with the rest of the country. They also insisted on (1) adequate military protection from Indians, (2) early annexation of Florida from Spain and of Canada from Britain, and (3) greater federal control over state militia and creation of a federal army and navy.

On the other hand, Southerners and Eastern farmers sought tariff protection against foreign competition; they were joined by the incipient manufacturing industry of the Northeast. Democratic-Republicans in general favored easy credit and "cheap money," and therefore preferred state banking to a central national bank such as the one chartered during the Federalist era.

These policy positions set the general content of debate within the Democratic party over several decades.

Jacksonian Coalitions and Compromises. In the presidential contest of 1824, the popular frontier figure Andrew Jackson, despite the largest number of popular votes, lost the election in the House of Representatives. The Jacksonians condemned "King Caucus" and were soon joined by one of the period's most skillful politicians, Sen. Martin Van Buren, leader of the Albany Regency (New York State's political "machine"). The Jacksonians thus produced an alliance between frontiersmen and Eastern city organizations.

Almost as friendly to Jackson were the followers of Georgia's Sen. William H. Crawford, representing the old Richmond Junto (the Virginia machine). Opposed to Jackson were the neo-Federalists of New England, whose spokesman was Daniel Webster, the Clay followers, and a Southern faction led by John C. Calhoun of South Carolina.

Jackson, as president, acted to reinforce the new coalition and, in doing so, built the foundations of the modern Democratic party. For a time, he had to straddle (1) Western demands for internal improvements and Northeastern objections to large federal expenditures, (2) Northeastern demands for a protective tariff and Southern insistence on tariff reduction, and (3) Calhoun's view that any state could nullify a national law (specifically, the protective tariff) as opposed to Western pressure for stronger national government, particularly in its military departments. The problem of pleasing all factions was in part resolved by Jackson's stand on an issue around which all Jacksonians could unite, that is, presidential veto of the national bank's petition for recharter in 1832. Democratic unity resulted in victory over Clay's National Republicans in 1832.

Calhoun would not drop the issue of states' rights. His followers in South Carolina called a special state nullification convention to proclaim the federal tariffs of 1828 and 1832 null and void within the jurisdiction of South Carolina. Jackson responded with a proclamation declaring the federal government sovereign and indivisible, denying that any state could refuse to obey the law, and rejecting the notion that any state could leave the Union. Jackson requested and received from Congress a force bill that empowered the president to use armed forces to execute federal law in South Carolina or any other state.

Following this showdown, Southern Democrats began to split between pro-Calhoun nullifiers and pro-Jackson unionists. Slavery was emerging as a troublesome issue, when the annexation of Texas became a policy question in 1835. The Democratic party was confronted by a set of pressures it could not escape or reconcile: westward expansion and the issue of incorporating new territories as either free or slave states.

Van Buren's administration (1837–1841) hedged on Jackson's unionist views by agreeing in part to a Calhoun-sponsored resolution that a state had jurisdiction over slavery within its own boundaries. The Polk administration (1845–1849) pleased the annexationists by acquiring Oregon in a settlement with the British and by launching a war against Mexico that won lands from the Rio Grande to upper California, thereby, ironically, elevating the issue of extension of slavery to first place in Democratic factional debate.

Slavery Factions. Democrats began to refer to each other as "Barnburners" (so antislavery as to be willing, like the Dutch farmer, to burn the barn in order to rid it of rats) and "hunkers" (whose hunger, or "hunker," for officeholding was so great as to lead to cooperation with slaveholders). The issue divided local as well as national Democrats. Compromise presidential candidates were chosen from the Northwest (Lewis Cass) in 1848 and New England (Franklin Pierce) in 1852. Cass lost, but Pierce was elected. In 1856 a "balanced" national ticket consisted of a Northern moderate (James Buchanan) and a Southern moderate (John C. Breckinridge). Throughout this period the party's slavery plank was usually a masterpiece of ambiguity.

Factional lines hardened when Sen. Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois broke with President Buchanan over administration support of a proslavery (Lecompton) constitution for the Kansas territory. Consistent with his local-option "squatter sovereignty" position, Douglas pronounced his "Freeport Doctrine," denying that Congress had power to force slavery upon a territory against the will of its people.

The 1860 Democratic National Convention in Charleston witnessed an embittered factional showdown. The most prominent candidates before the convention were Vice President Breckinridge and Senator Douglas. The Southern-dominated platform committee insisted on a plank promising congressional protection of slave property. The Douglas position reiterated his "squatter sovereignty" principle. All or part of eight Southern delegations walked out. Douglas was still unable to muster a two-thirds majority for the nomination.

Meeting again in Baltimore six weeks later, the national convention had no more success. Ten delegations now bolted to organize a Constitutional Democratic Convention and nominate Breckinridge, apparently with the tacit approval of Buchanan. The Baltimore convention nominated Douglas, leaving the majority party thoroughly divided, and the election was lost.

The Civil War. After Southern Democrats seceded from party and nation, new factional groupings emerged along East-West, war-peace, mercantile-agrarian lines. National chairman August Belmont of New York led the "War Democrats" in support of President Lincoln's conduct of the war and "sound money" programs for the postwar economy. Hoping to succeed the late Senator Douglas as leader of Western Democrats, Representative Clement L. Vallandigham of Ohio became the major spokesman of the "Peace Democrats," who criticized Lincoln's conduct of the war.

Democrats, in 1864, succeeded in nominating a Civil War general, George B. McClellan, for president and giving him a peace platform on which to run. Meanwhile, President Lincoln recruited a well-known War Democrat, Gov. Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, for second place on his "Union" ticket. Thus, Lincoln's assassination put a former War Democrat into the White House. Distrusted by the Democrats and rejected by the Republicans, Johnson was unable to muster support for Lincoln's moderate plan for Southern reconstruction.

National and Party Reconstruction. As the minority party, the Democrats became absorbed in the problems of postwar inflation and agricultural depression. Factional interests vigorously debated "hard" versus "soft" currency and credit policies. In 1868, after a 22-ballot stalemate, a "hard money" leader, Horatio Seymour of New York, reluctantly agreed to be the nominee of a convention that had just written a "soft money" platform. One significant development of the campaign of 1868 was the emergence of Samuel J. Tilden, corporation lawyer, New York state party chairman, and campaign manager for Seymour.

Virtually leaderless, the Democrats watched Grant's administration (1869–1877) do battle with liberal Republicans. The liberals opposed severe Reconstruction policies and pressed for civil service reform to rectify the corruption of the Grant administration. By 1871 the Liberal Republican party was established. Democrats agreed on a plan to endorse the 1872 Liberal Republican nominee, who, unexpectedly, turned out to be Horace Greeley.

Within two years, Tilden became governor of New York and won the presidential nomination in 1876. In the election, Tilden received

approximately 250,000 more popular votes than Republican Rutherford B. Hayes. However, the validity of 19 electoral votes (Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida) plus another from Oregon remained in doubt. A special Electoral Commission judged the election returns in Hayes' favor. Tilden and his New York and Southern associates retained general control of the national party machinery over the next eight years and were instrumental in the 1884 nomination of New York's Gov. Grover Cleveland.

Silver and Gold. After 24 years "in the wilderness," Cleveland returned the Democrats to control of the White House. He found an oversized federal patronage to distribute, a federal treasury overflowing from tariff and excise revenues, a farm depression, and a South overburdened with reconstruction costs. Currency and tariff policies became the major issues of the Cleveland era, complicated by a rising output from silver mines and the need to establish an appropriate balance between gold and silver coinage.

Cleveland struck hard for tariff reduction, opposed by Democratic as well as Republican protectionists. Cleveland was defeated for reelection by a small margin in 1888 but was reelected in 1892. By 1892, however, cheap currency, easy credit, and "free silver" had become the major panaceas for dealing with a severe agrarian depression. William Jennings Bryan led those in the party propounding the free silver cause. The silverites dominated the 1896 national convention, at which gold delegates refrained from voting. Bryan won the nomination from older free silver leaders, to become the out-party's titular chief during a generation of great national economic growth and territorial expansion.

For 20 years Democratic factions argued gold versus silver, monopoly versus free enterprise, and imperialism versus liberation of territories acquired in the war with Spain in 1898. Bryan endeavored to forge an alliance out of agrarian discontent in the South and Midwest and the aspirations of the labor movement.

Progressives and Conservatives. By 1912, an era of progressivism was in full swing, a consequence of boss and machine excesses in cities and state legislatures, the popularity of trust-busting, muckraking exposés in the reformist press, and growing concern for a rise in racism and antiforeign attitudes. Only after 46 ballots at the convention of 1912 did an avowed progressive, Gov. Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, win the Democratic nomination.

Wilson conceived his party leadership essentially as a parliamentary role. This shaped his approach to his legislative program, which he promoted vigorously and successfully, and his impatience with patronage and other organizational needs of his party.

Particularly disturbing to Wilson progressives was the emergence in the South of the Ku Klux Klan, a secret society expounding white supremacy and extreme nativism. As a vote organizer, the Klan was almost without challenge in many constituencies of the South, a factor to be reckoned with in the Democratic party.

Despite efforts to "keep us out of war," Wilson asked Congress to declare war against the Central Powers in 1917. Allied victory in World War I came in 1918, but Wilson was a lame-duck president whose party lost control of Congress during the midterm. Consequently, the peace treaty he negotiated, particularly its provision for a League of Nations, received harsh treatment in Congress and was eventually rejected.

Factionalism of the 1920's. For the next dozen years, the Democratic party was a patchwork of factions. Urban machines in major states stood their ground against Wilson progressives. Following the Russian Revolution (1917), a virulent anticommunism soon became meshed with nativist hostility to immigrants. Problems generated by the 18th (Prohibition) Amendment set "wets" against "drys." Once again the South closed ranks to deadlock the national convention of 1920. By 1924, factional interests converged on William Gibbs McAdoo, a Protestant, "dry," Wilsonian, and favorite of the Klan, whose support he never disavowed, and Gov. Alfred E. Smith of New York, a Catholic, "wet," and candidate of urban bosses. The McAdoo-Smith struggle concluded in a 103-ballot nominating convention whose compromise candidate was John W. Davis.

In 1928, with McAdoo retired, the nomination went to Smith, whose defeat in the election was assured when several Southern states went Republican. Nevertheless, as the first Catholic to be nominated for the presidency, Smith raised the Democratic turnout by a substantial percentage, particularly in the large cities.

A staunch supporter of Smith over the years, Franklin D. Roosevelt, as governor of New York at the height of the Depression, became Smith's principal opponent for the nomination in 1932. A coalition of Southerners and former McAdoo supporters, carefully nurtured by Roosevelt's campaign manager, James A. Farley, won Roosevelt the nomination.

New Deal. The election came at a time of grave national economic crisis. Ten million Americans were unemployed. Banks were closing. Business and farm bankruptcies were rising. One hundred days of frantic Congressional activity and Roosevelt's reassuring radio "fireside chats" inaugurated the New Deal.

Direct relief for the starving was distributed through the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. The Civilian Conservation Corps put 300,000 youths to work on public projects. A bank moratorium was followed by emergency banking reform. A social security act provided for old-age pensions and unemployment insurance. These and other New Deal policies shaped public discourse for the next three decades.

In an atmosphere of growing international crisis, President Roosevelt was renominated for an unprecedented third term in 1940, but not without objection from many distinguished Democrats. World War II witnessed a new factionalism. The South prepared to reassert itself. Labor unions now had potent vote-getting capacity. Urban Democratic machines were anxiously attempting to modernize themselves.

As he prepared for a historic fourth nomination in 1944, Roosevelt acquiesced to Southern pressures by withholding support for renomination of Vice President Henry A. Wallace and accepting the convention's nomination of Harry S Truman, whose competent investigations of defense spending had given him national prominence. Within a year, Truman assumed the presidency on Roosevelt's death. Truman's message to Congress on Sept. 6, 1945, officially launched the Fair Deal.

Fair Deal. Truman responded promptly to the

problems of the postwar period. The Republican 88th Congress, seeking to limit union activity, passed the Taft-Hartley Act over Truman's veto. Spurred by ideological New Dealers and large-scale migration of Negro citizens, Truman also appointed the controversial Committee on Civil Rights to help develop a program in the race-relations field. The resulting Civil Rights Bill so inflamed the South that, after an attempt to forestall Truman's nomination in 1948 failed, Democratic regulars in several Southern states supported a Dixiecrat ticket. Despite defections by Dixiecrats and Progressives, who nominated former Vice President Wallace, Truman was elected.

President Truman decided not to run again in 1952. At the national convention, ideological New Dealers, organized as Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), fought successfully to establish a "loyalty pledge" that would bind delegates to the convention's choices. Despite efforts to avoid candidacy, Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois was the compromise choice over the sectional candidacy of Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia and an insurgent movement led by Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee. The Republicans nominated the popular wartime commander, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower.

During eight years of out-party titular leadership, Stevenson made unprecedented efforts to improve party organization and to serve as an active party spokesman. His efforts ran against the traditional prerogatives of congressional leaders to speak for the party, particularly when 1954 Democratic majorities gave new initiatives to Speaker Sam Rayburn and his protégé, Senate majority leader Lyndon B. Johnson. Rayburn and Johnson carried on a program of relatively quiet "constructive criticism" of the Eisenhower administration.

At the grass roots, urban machines, with varying degrees of success, were working assiduously to incorporate their new Negro constituents into the party. In the South, industrialization, political organization among Negroes, unionization, and the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision were creating a new, moderate Democratic leadership in all but the most segregationist areas. The club movement had become the organizational base for many New Deal-Fair Deal liberals. During the presidential primary campaign of 1960, a new force came into view: the Kennedy organization.

The New Frontier. The Kennedy family had roots deep in the Democratic politics of Massachusetts and the New Deal. John F. Kennedy's victory over Hubert H. Humphrey in the 1960 West Virginia primary demonstrated that Catholicism need not be the handicap that it was for Al Smith in 1928. The Kennedy-Johnson ticket conducted a thoroughly united campaign that brought a narrow victory over Richard Nixon.

The 1960 election also brought a further breakup of the one-party Solid South. Kennedy's New Frontier program included significant new protections for Negro civil rights in the South and for bringing them, as swiftly as they could be registered, into the ranks of the Democratic party. His brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, had a major responsibility for implementation of civil rights legislation as well as Negro registration.

Overseas, the contest with the Communists became further aggravated. The Castro regime in Cuba turned back an abortive invasion of anti-Castro exiles at the Bay of Pigs, in which American forces were embarrassingly involved. The North Vietnamese and the allied Vietcong stepped up pressure against the Diem regime in Saigon, to which Kennedy responded by sending an increasing volume of American military and economic aid.

In November 1963 the nation was stunned by the assassination of its young president. Lyndon B. Johnson assumed office at the height of the congressional struggle over Kennedy's civil rights bill. An unprecedented 75-day filibuster by Southern Democrats was brought to an end through the mediation of Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey. At the 1964 national convention, Johnson chose Humphrey as his running mate.

During the Johnson administration, the war in Vietnam escalated and became a major issue within the party. Despite unprecedently large appropriations for education, welfare, and domestic economic programs, improvement of conditions for the Negro minority moved slowly, particularly in the urban ghettos. The Democrats were blamed for involvement in an "unjust" war, slowness of racial progress, and "softness" on urban violence.

Dissatisfaction within the party gathered around what seemed to be the quixotic presidential candidacy in 1968 of Sen. Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota, whose campaign received substantial backing from old Stevenson stalwarts as well as from anti-Vietnam young Democrats. The party situation was reminiscent of 1952. The President announced his unavailability for renomination at the same time that he ordered a limited deescalation of the American bombing of North Vietnam. McCarthy's political stock rose so rapidly that supporters of Robert F. Kennedy, now senator from New York, urged him to enter the race lest his prospective supporters go elsewhere by default. The murder of Robert F. Kennedy on the night of his victory over McCarthy in the California primary once again shook the nation and the Democratic party.

Meanwhile, Vice President Humphrey had become the heir apparent to lead a divided party. The 1968 national convention gave further blows to old party ways by its rejection of the unit rule in delegation voting—a states' rights practice as old as the convention system itself—and by recognizing the credentials of a liberal, racially balanced delegation challenging Georgia's "old guard" Democrats. His campaign hampered by continued party divisions, by his identification with an unpopular administration, and even by deficient funds, Humphrey narrowly lost the 1968 presidential race to Richard Nixon.

See also UNITED STATES—sections *16* through *19*.

LEADERSHIP AND SUPPORT

Among the evolving factors in the Democratic party's efforts to gain power and to remain in office are the nature of and interplay between presidential and congressional leadership, and organization and performance at state and local levels. Traditionally, too, the party has appealed to and been supported by an electorate with distinct characteristics.

Presidential Democrats. The Jeffersonians, while in the presidency, explicitly deferred to party leadership in Congress. Thus, President Monroe referred to Congress as the principal branch

of government. Andrew Jackson, on the other hand, came to the presidency by circumventing congressional politics and by popular electoral organization at the grass roots.

He revolutionized the presidency by shifting its power base from Congress to the electorate. In this tradition, the Democratic party tends to favor "strong president" leadership. President Jackson's party organization was his "kitchen cabinet." This informal group of personal advisers initiated the first Democratic national nominating convention (1832), which endorsed Jackson for a second term.

The Democratic convention remained perfunctory only briefly. By 1844 its rules were exploited to veto the renomination efforts of former President Van Buren. The national convention became the principal vehicle for reincorporating the South into the party and the nation during Reconstruction. After the Cleveland administration, the South became a one-party Democratic region whose major fortress was its veto power under the two-thirds rule at the national convention. When the two-thirds rule was repealed in 1936, the South lost a powerful weapon within the party. The region thereafter was unable to block the nomination of strong, liberal presidential candidates.

The permanent committee of the national convention is the Democratic National Committee, with representatives from each state party.

State and Local Levels. The one-party Southern state is a long familiar feature of American politics that began rapidly disappearing in the mid-20th century. The one-party state phenomenon should not be interpreted as evidence of strong party organization. On the contrary, the party's organizational activity at the state level has been among its less notable achievements. Only in Virginia has the Democratic party developed, in the Byrd "machine," a degree of organization comparable to its city structure.

Urban political organization has been a Democratic party specialty from the beginning. Between 1792 and 1800 the Revolutionary committees of correspondence were replaced by "democratic societies" and Tammany clubs, particularly in the coastal cities. The Tammany Society was founded in 1789; the main Tammany club, and the one that in later years became the prototype of the urban political machine, was in New York City. As a pivotal organization in a pivotal state, Tammany grew in size and influence over the years.

By 1900, Tammany was a hierarchy of block captains, precinct captains, and district leaders, headed by a "boss." It functioned as a major employment agency, a welfare and benevolent society, and ombudsman handling citizen complaints. It also welcomed and helped Americanize millions of immigrants. (See also TAMMANY HALL.)

During the mid-1900's, regular Democratic organizations at the local level encountered new competition for influence within the party from organized labor. Another source of competition within the local parties that arose, especially in California and New York, was the club movement. Dissatisfied with the nonideological and nonissue-oriented concerns of the regular party organizations, many Democrats sought another avenue for influencing the direction of the party.

The "city machine" has been predominantly a Democratic party phenomenon. On the other hand, Democratic successes in rural party organization have been mainly in the South, at the county level.

The Democratic Rank and File. From the beginning the party appealed to workingmen and newly arrived Europeans. Jeffersonian leaders also gave attention to small farmers. By the mid-1800's government jobholders (usually from the party organization itself) had assumed great importance for the party. From the Wilson administration onward, the party courted union members.

The 1920's revealed impossible difficulties in reconciling such hostile constituencies within the party as nativistic Southern Democrats on one hand and newly enfranchised urban immigrant workers on the other. Subsequently, the party had fresh opportunities to build a successful coalition among labor unions, small farmers, and ethnic minorities. By the middle of the 20th century a majority of the nonwhite voters, mostly Negroes, supported Democratic candidates.

RALPH M. GOLDMAN
San Francisco State College

Bibliography

Goldman, Ralph M., *The Democratic Party in American Politics* (New York 1966).
Kent, Frank R., *History of the Democratic Party* (New York 1928).
Nichols, Roy Franklin, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York 1948).
Remini, Robert V., *Martin Van Buren and the Making of the Democratic Party* (New York 1959).
Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston 1945).
Wilson, James Q., *Amateur Democrat: Club Politics in Three Cities* (Chicago 1962).

DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN PARTY is the name by which the party of Thomas Jefferson was known in the early 1800's. A predecessor of the modern Democratic party (q.v.), it was rooted in the local anti-Federalist Democratic-Republican societies, or Jacobin Clubs.

By 1791 the Jeffersonian Republicans were emerging as an opposition political party. Although its leaders hesitated to use a name associated with French Revolutionary republicanism, it was as the Democratic-Republican party that their political organization won the presidential election of 1800 for Jefferson. The party remained in power until the election of John Quincy Adams in 1824. It returned to power with Andrew Jackson's election in 1828, after which it gradually became known as the Democratic party.

DIXIECRATS, a splinter group of Southern Democrats in the U.S. elections of 1948, who rejected President Harry S. Truman's civil rights program and revolted against the civil rights plank adopted at the Democratic National Convention. A conference of states' rights leaders then met in Birmingham and suggested Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina for president and Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi for vice president. The group hoped to force the election into the House of Representatives by preventing either Truman or his Republican opponent, Thomas E. Dewey, from obtaining a majority of the electoral votes.

The plan failed. Although Thurmond electors ran and won as the official Democratic candidates in four states—Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina—other Thurmond electors running as "States Rights Democrats" lost to Truman slates. Thurmond polled 22.5% of the total Southern vote to Truman's 50.1%. Nationally, Thurmond obtained 39 electoral votes with 1,169,032 popular votes. The Dixiecrat movement encouraged Northern Negroes to vote for Truman, but it ultimately strengthened the Republican party in the South, for many Dixiecrats became Republicans.

DONALD B. JOHNSON
University of Iowa

FARMER-LABOR PARTY, a minor U.S. political party representing the interests of small farmers and urban workers. The Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota—a state with a large Scandinavian population, politically oriented trade unions and a progressive tradition—grew out of the Nonpartisan league (*q.v.*), which had become active in that state in 1916. Farmer-Labor candidates were nominated as early as 1918, and in 1920 the party placed a ticket in the general elections but withheld active support from the national party (see *National Farmer-Labor Party*, below). In 1922 the Minnesota party elected a U.S. senator and two representatives. In 1923 the party became the Farmer-Labor federation and won the election of another senator, to fill an unexpired term; in 1930 its candidate Floyd B. Olson was elected governor of the state. He was re-elected in 1932 and 1934, serving until his death in 1936. In that year the federation gained control of all branches of the state government except the state senate, and elected five U.S. representatives and another senator. The federation supported Robert M. La Follette for president in 1924 and Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936.

A political force in one state only, the Farmer-Labor party was an example of a third party that became in fact, for a limited time and in a limited area, one of the major political parties. The election of Harold Stassen, a Republican, as governor in 1938, and his re-election for two successive terms, marked the beginning of the end for the party, which ceased to function as an independent party in 1944 when it joined forces with the Democrats to form the Democratic-Farmer-Labor party. Hubert Humphrey, U.S. vice-president who was first elected U.S. senator from Minnesota in 1948, was instrumental in bringing about this coalition.

National Farmer-Labor Party.—This group was formed from the National Labor party in one of many attempts to unite small farmers, farm workers and urban trade unionists under one banner. In 1920 it nominated Parley P. Christensen for president and Max S. Hayes for vice-president, but, because it lacked finances and organization and failed to win the support of Progressives, Socialists, the Nonpartisan league or the Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota, it polled few votes. Capture of party control by militant trade unionists at the 1923 convention in Chicago alienated potential supporters, including the Farmer-Labor leaders; and the party disintegrated. The idea, however, persisted, as evidenced by the formation of the La Follette Progressive party in 1924.

The party's platform opposed monopolies, advocated the nationalization of public utilities, basic industries and banks, and denounced labour injunctions as usurpations of legislative power by the courts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Nathan Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties in the United States, 1828–1928* (1928); John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (1931); Theodore Saloutos and John D. Hicks, *Agricultural Discontent in the Middle West, 1900–1939* (1951); "Independent State Farmer-Labor Parties," *American Labor Year Book, 1923–1924*, pp. 154–158 (1924); A. Naftalin, "Failure of the Farmer-Labor Party to Capture Control of the Minnesota Legislature," *American Political Science Review*, pp. 71–78 (Feb. 1934); Harry W. Laidler, *Toward A Farmer-Labor Party* (1938); Murray S. Stedman, Jr., and Susan W. Stedman, *Discontent at the Polls: a Study of Farmer and Labor Parties, 1827–1948* (1950); E. M. Sait, *American Parties and Elections*, 5th ed. by H. R. Penniman (1952). (T. Ss.)

FEDERALISTS or FEDERALIST PARTY, former American political party. It controlled the federal government of the United States from 1789 to 1801, ceased to be a force in national politics in about 1817, and died locally in about 1823. It was the lineal ancestor of the Whig Party and of the present Republican Party.

The Federalist Party was born out of the controversy over adoption of the proposed Federal Constitution in 1787–1788, before the American party system itself had been conceived. The name "Federalists" was attached to the faction which favored a strong national government, while those who preferred a loose confederation of independent states were called "Anti-Federalists." The former drew their principal support from two quarters: (1) certain commercial interests, who wished to be protected against foreign aggression and against the barriers set up by independent, selfish state legislatures; and (2) patriots, who wanted a strong and energetic nation,

able to command respect and secure fair treatment in the international arena. The oratory and writings of Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and other eloquent proponents of union overcame the strong initial resistance to ratification of the Constitution, and by autumn of 1788 most of the states had approved the document.

Subsequently, the desire for a smooth transition to a national form of government, the unifying influence of George Washington, and the support, for a while at least, of prominent Anti-Federalists put the Federalists in complete control of the undeveloped governmental machinery of the United States. They organized the executive departments and created the federal judiciary and territorial systems. Hamilton, the greatest man of the party and its natural leader, pushed through his schemes for paying the foreign debt, funding the domestic debt, restoring national credit, and assuming the state debts, the latter action binding the states to support the new government excise laws. A United States bank and a postal system soon followed, as well as a protective tariff and bounty system to develop manufactures and agriculture. The effortless crushing of the Whisky Rebellion in 1794 gave ample evidence of the new national strength.

In the meantime, the refusal of the Federalists to form an alliance with France had fused the Democrats and the Republicans, the two opposition groups to which most of the old Anti-Federalists belonged. Thomas Jefferson organized and James Madison joined the new Democratic-Republican Party. The most influential remaining Federalists besides Hamilton were John Adams and John Jay; among the others were Fisher Ames, Roger Sherman, Jonathan Trumbull, Rufus King, John Marshall, and the members of the so-called "Essex Junto" (George Cabot, Timothy Pickering, Theophilus Parsons, and others). In 1796, the party, now under Northern domination, elected John Adams to the presidency. Adams subsequently removed the party's major unifying issue by bringing an end to the undeclared war against France, with the result that the Hamilton wing broke with the president. This factor and the administration's folly in passing the Alien and Sedition Acts (1798) enabled the Democratic-Republicans to elect Jefferson in 1800. The Federalists' behavior as the opposition party contributed little to enhance their reputation. When the Jeffersonians shifted from some of their original tenets to act in accord with opposition principles, the Federalists themselves shifted from their own political ground to oppose the administration, as for example in the case of the Louisiana Purchase. As a result, the Federalists continued to lose strength. The death of Hamilton in the summer of 1804 was a serious blow, and the party carried only Connecticut, Delaware, and part of Maryland in the elections of that year.

Strong opposition to Jefferson's Embargo Act of 1807 reinforced the Federalists. In 1808 they carried every New England state except Vermont (the only one with no seaboard), and also won in Delaware, in parts of Maryland and in North Carolina. Moreover, the War of 1812 proved so unpopular in the North that in the elections of that year New York and New Jersey also swung into the Federalist column, along with the remainder of Maryland. This resurgence proved to be only temporary, for when the War of 1812 ended, the Northern commercial sections withdrew their support. Meanwhile, many of the party's old leaders were gone, leaving Rufus King and Charles C. Pinckney to direct party affairs. Other Federalist leaders, as a result of the Hartford Convention (q.v.) of 1814, had been driven from public life under the stigma of secession and treason. On the Supreme Court bench, however, John Marshall, chief justice from 1801 to 1835, was introducing many Federalist principles into the national system.

In 1816 the Federalists carried only Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware, and by 1820, when they failed to present a presidential candidate, they had ceased to act as a national party. It may be questioned whether, proceeding along its chosen path, the Federalist Party could long have survived even if it had been able to produce in its later years another leader of Hamilton's stature. It had become the party of the "landed gentry" of America. Hamilton had been a natural servant of this class, needing its support to establish efficient, financially-centralized government, and distrusting that "great beast," the uneducated majority. The power of the landed group dwindled in the face of westward expansion, and a ground swell of anti-aristocratic sentiment soon made the party name itself a political liability. Locally, Federalists managed to retain control in Connecticut and Delaware until after 1820 and in Massachusetts until 1823. The party also lingered for some time in Maryland and North Carolina.

See also UNITED STATES—*16. The Founding of the Nation, 1763–1815* and *17. Sectional Conflict and Preservation of the Union, 1815–1877.*

Bibliography.—Bassett, John S., *Federalist System* (New York 1906); Binkley, Wilfred E., *American Political Parties: Their Natural History*, 2d ed. (New York 1945); White, Leonard D., *The Federalists* (New York 1948); Dauer, Manning J., *The Adams Federalists* (Baltimore 1953); Charles, Joseph, *Origins of the American Party System* (New York 1961); Livermore, Shaw, *Twilight of Federalism* (Princeton, N.J., 1962).

FREE-SOIL PARTY, in United States history a third political party organized in 1848 to oppose extension of slavery into the territories. The growing antislavery movement in the North had by 1848 seriously affected the Whig and the Democratic parties. Each of these was a national organization that involved a coalition of Northern and Southern interests. The end of the Mexican War in 1848, bringing about the acquisition of the vast territory of the Southwest, roused many antislavery men in both parties to action. "Conscience Whigs" and "Free-soil Democrats," both in the Northern wings of their parties, had begun moving toward united action before the war ended. They did not join but, rather, hoped to absorb the old Antislavery Liberty Party of 1844. Attracted also for their own political reasons to the emerging new party was a group of dissident Democrats of New York State who were enraged at the management of the national Democratic Party for nominating in 1844 James K. Polk instead of the rival contender from New York State, ex-president Martin Van Buren. The angry New Yorkers were called Barnburners.

On Aug. 9, 1848, the Free-Soil Party convention met in a huge tent in a city park in Buffalo with at least 10,000 men present from all of the Northern and three of the border states. Four hundred and sixty-five delegates were chosen for the actual voting, representing the four component parts of the new party: the old Liberty Party, Conscience Whigs, Free-soil Democrats, and Barnburners. Antislavery idealism dominated the mood of the convention. But maneuvering behind the scenes of such skilled politicians as Salmon P. Chase of Ohio and Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts helped to determine the chief action of the convention, namely the nomination of Van Buren for president. The party adopted the slogan: "Free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men." In addition the platform called for cheap postage, river and harbor improvements, free lands to actual settlers, and abolition of unnecessary offices and salaries. The convention nominated for vice president antislavery Charles Francis Adams. Charles Sumner and Joshua R. Giddings were other spokesmen for the dominant antislavery sentiment. Some younger politicians, such as John A. Dix and Samuel J. Tilden, saw in the movement a step toward the political control of New York State.

The party polled 291,263 votes in the national elections of 1848, electing nine representatives who held the balance of power in the 31st Congress (1849–1851) between 112 Democrats and 109 Whigs. In the Senate there were two Free-Soilers, John P. Hale of New Hampshire, elected as the first antislavery senator in 1846, being joined by Salmon P. Chase of Ohio.

In the congressional elections of 1850, the Free-Soil Party elected Charles Sumner to the Senate but lost four representatives. Two years later in the campaign of 1852 the free-soilers put forth John P. Hale and George W. Julian for president and vice president. The platform denounced the Compromise of 1850 (q.v.) that had saved the Union. Hale's small vote suggested a drift away from sectional extremism. After the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 the Free-Soil Party members merged with the Republican Party organized to prevent the extension of slavery into the territories.

Consult Nevins, Allen, *Ordeal of the Union*, 2 vols. (New York 1947).

RALPH H. GABRIEL.

GREENBACK PARTY, The, also known as the INDEPENDENT PARTY, the NATIONAL PARTY, and (after 1878) the GREENBACK-LABOR PARTY, a minor American political party organized at Indianapolis in November 1874 at a conference called by the Grange of Indiana and attended by delegates of minor parties from several states, including representatives from the Labor Reform Party. It drew its main support from western and southern debt-ridden farmers, northern labor, and small business, favored the free issue and complete legal status of greenbacks (q.v.) and their exchange for interest-bearing government bonds, and opposed national banks and their currencies. On May 17, 1876 the party held a nominating convention at Indianapolis, naming Peter Cooper (q.v.) as its candidate for president and demanding repeal of the Resumption Act of 1875. At a party conference held at Toledo in 1878, in connection with the forthcoming Congressional elections, the party platform was broadened to include denunciation of the demonitization of silver, endorsement of legal restrictions on hours of labor, demand for abolition of Chinese immigration, and demand that public lands be reserved for the use of actual settlers. The party polled more than a million votes in the election and returned a large number of congressmen to the House of Representatives (some with major party help), some 14 or 15 of whom formed a Greenback bloc under the leadership of James Baird Weaver (q.v.) of Iowa. This was the peak of the party's popularity. With the resumption of specie payment in 1879 and growing prosperity, popular interest in the party's objectives declined. Although it nominated presidential candidates in 1880 and 1884, in 1888 it threw its diminished support to the Union Labor Party and subsequently was largely absorbed by the Populist or People's Party.

KNOW-NOTHING PARTY, nō' nŭthĭng, a minor American political party of the 1850's, officially the American Party, formed from a number of nativist secret societies. These arose through fear of the flow of immigrants into the United States from foreign countries, particularly from Ireland. Although the strangers quickly found work on the railroads or in the mills, it was believed in many quarters that they were responsible for a sudden increase in crime, pauperism, and insanity. They were largely Roman Catholics, who naturally had their own churches and priesthood. Their presence evoked a hysterical nativism which found an outlet in various organizations, most of them originally secret and all planned to resist "the insidious wiles of foreign influence." The movement developed first in the urban districts. The burning of the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown, Mass., in 1834 was but the earliest of many unfortunate incidents showing the antagonism between Protestants and Roman Catholics. Demagogues quickly learned how to use bigotry for political purposes. New York and Boston elected nativist mayors in 1844 and 1845, respectively, and in the latter year six Native American representatives were included in the 29th Congress, four from New York and two from Pennsylvania. In 1845 the Native American Party held a national convention in Philadelphia, Pa.

Famine in Ireland from 1845 to 1850 brought an accelerated flood of immigration. Some 400,000 aliens entered the United States during each of the peak years, 1851-1854. Foreign language newspapers were established, and the newcomers, aware of their unpopularity, tended to herd together and to preserve both their religious practices and their racial traits. Several nativist secret societies with elaborate names were in operation in 1850, a few of which were merged under the leadership of Charles B. Allen, although the most conspicuous promoter was James W. Barker. The order's various lodges had initiations, passwords, and an impressive ritual, with three degrees and mysterious accessories. Members swore not to vote for any candidate for office unless he was a Protestant, an American-born citizen, and in favor of "Americans ruling America." The earliest use of the term Know-Nothing as applied to the order was made on Nov. 16, 1853, in the New York *Tribune*, which declared that the members, when questioned, professed to "know nothing" about it. Officially it came to be known as the American Party (q.v.).

The American Party's hostility to Roman Catholicism was fostered by sensational sermons and pamphlets as well as by open riots. The decisive Whig defeat in the autumn of 1852 had left many citizens without any productive political alliance and therefore ready to join a promising new party. In a period of ferment and dissatisfaction the Know-Nothings had no common bond but hate, but for a time they attracted a number of antislavery Whigs and won some startling and unexpected victories. In 1854 their candidate, Dr. Jerome Crowningshield Smith, became mayor of Boston; and later that year, in the most amazing landslide in Massachusetts political history, they elected not only the governor, Henry Joseph Gardner, but also the entire Congressional delegation and all of the state legislature except three members of the lower house. For weeks the legislature was a leaderless mob, but it did elect Henry Wilson (q.v.), the well-known antislavery reformer, as United States senator. Delaware also chose a Know-Nothing governor. In the 34th Congress, which assembled on Dec. 3, 1855, were 5 senators and 43 congressmen who were publicly declared members of the American Party. (Some 70 of the 108 Republicans were also members of Know-Nothing councils.) The Know-Nothings held the balance of power in choosing the speaker, Nathaniel Prentiss Banks (q.v.), a Republican, who had been elected as an American Party candidate. However, as a minority party, they had little influence on legislation, even though several fiery orators made speeches against Catholicism.

The Know-Nothings had now been forced into the open political arena. Henceforward the slavery question and the rise of the Republican Party, with its unequivocal stand on that issue, inevitably affected their policies and fortunes. The national convention of Know-Nothings, held in Philadelphia in June 1855, was a prolonged and stormy gathering. When delegates from the South adopted a platform favorable to the slavery issue, Henry Wilson of Massachusetts led the antislavery group from the hall in a revolt which split the American Party down the middle. Although the Know-Nothings in that year elected governors in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, California, and Kentucky, and carried minor state offices voted for in New York, their power was visibly waning.

On Feb. 22, 1856, an American Party convention in Philadelphia nominated on its ticket Millard Fillmore of New York for president, and Andrew Jackson Donelson of Tennessee for vice president. In the election the American Party ran a poor third, having 874,534 out of a popular vote of more than 4 million and securing only the 8 Maryland electors out of a total of 296. In Congress it had only 5 senators and 14 representatives, a marked reduction in strength. In the same year Gardner was re-elected governor of Massachusetts, but he was defeated in 1857 by Banks, who was now firmly in the Republican fold.

A contemporary, Caleb Cushing (q.v.), was right in declaring that the American movement, like the anti-Masonic agitation which had preceded it, was "incapable of perpetuity of political organization." Ridicule, internal dissension, and the desertion of its leaders disclosed its essential weaknesses. In the end it shared the fate of other later third parties in the United States, like the Populists, the Independent Socialists, and the Progressives. By 1860 the Know-Nothings were either forgotten or ignored, and their members had acquired other party affiliations. In the 36th Congress, from 1859 to 1861, they had 2 senators and 23 representatives, all of them by a strange irony from the South. New England, where the movement had once been so powerful, had abandoned it completely. Most of the records of Know-Nothingism were destroyed, and accounts

f its origin and growth are unreliable. It is recalled today by the historian as a strange and inister phenomenon in American society, fortu-ately broken up before it became too dangerous. A similar spirit of religious and racial intolerance as been revived sporadically in such organiza-ions as the Ku Klux Klan, but few of these ave resorted to political action.

CLAUDE M. FUESS.

Bibliography. The best extensive discussion of the bject is in Ray A. Billington's *The Protestant Crusade, 00 1860* (New York 1938). Consult also Rhodes, ames F., *History of the United States from the Compro-se of 1850*, vol. 2 (New York 1893, reprinted 1928); McMaster, John B., *With the Fathers* (New York 1896); cisco, Louis D., *Political Nativism in New York State* New York 1901); Desmond, Humphrey J., *The Know-thing Party* (Washington 1904); Pearson, Henry G., Preliminaries of Civil War," *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts*, ed. by Albert B. Hart, vol. 4, chap. 17 New York 1930); Overdyke, William D., *Knownothing Party in the South* (Baton Rouge, La., 1950); Beals, Carleton, *Brass-Knuckle Crusade* (New York 1960).

LIBERAL REPUBLICAN PARTY, re-pŭb'lĭ-kăn, in the United States, a political party organized in 1872 by Republicans who were dissatisfied with Ulysses S. Grant's first administration as president. At a convention held by them in Cincinnati, Ohio, in that year, Carl Schurz was elected its president and a platform was adopted advocationg civil service reform, local self-government, and universal amnesty, recognizing the equality of all men, and recommending the resumption of specie payment. Horace Greeley was nominated for president and Benjamin Gratz Brown for vice president. The Democratic National Convention adopted the same nominations and platform, but dissensions arose, Greeley's campaign lacked enthusiastic backing, and Grant was re-elected by an overwhelming majority, thus putting an end to the party for all practical purposes.

LIBERAL PARTY (U.S.), a minor U.S. political party in New York State was launched in May 1944 by leaders of the right wing of the American Labor Party (*q.v.*) in revolt against the alleged infiltration of that party by Communists. Membership was refused to a person who advocated totalitarianism. The party introduced scores of liberal bills in the state legislature and made a vigorous fight for civil rights, a strengthened United Nations, and strong alliances with other democracies. It appealed to educators, religious leaders, white-collar workers, and those who distrusted what they saw as both the big-business dominance in the Republican Party and the conflicting interests of Dixiecrats and city machines in the Democratic Party. The party lacked effective organization but, through generous donations of businessmen, distributed quantities of pamphlets and used radio time. At one time it had 100 clubs in New York City, a committee-at-large, a trades union council, a Spanish-speaking division, and a youth division. The party's 329,000 votes helped carry the state for Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1944. It supported the Republican candidate for mayor in 1945 when the Labor Party endorsed the Democratic candidate, William O'Dwyer. The party helped nominate and elect Herbert H. Lehman as U.S. senator in 1949 and Averell Harriman as governor in 1954; it elected its own candidate, Rudolph Halley, president of the New York City Council in 1951 and elected its first mayor, in Oswego, in 1957. It supported Adlai E. Stevenson for president in 1952 and 1956. In 1958 the party endorsed Democratic candidates for all state offices except that of attorney general; all except the candidate for comptroller went down to defeat. In that election 80% of the party's 300,000 votes came from the city of New York. More than 400,000 Liberal votes were cast for John F. Kennedy for U.S. president in 1960, but in subsequent elections the party's strength declined somewhat. Although it supported Democratic candidates for mayor of New York City in 1961, governor in 1962, and U.S. president in 1964, it began to endorse liberal Republicans for state and local office more frequently. In 1965 it endorsed Republican John V. Lindsay for mayor of New York City. Lindsay received more than 250,000 Liberal votes, but the party's greatest contribution probably was that its endorsement enabled him to run as a fusion candidate. In 1966, however, the party put up its own candidate for governor, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., who ran a poor third after Republican Nelson Rockefeller and Democrat Frank O'Connor.

(H. F. TT.; X.)

LIBERTY PARTY, in United States history, the first antislavery party. It grew out of a split in the ranks of the American Anti-Slavery Society between followers of William Lloyd Garrison's radical program and a conservative group which held that abolitionist aims could best be obtained by orthodox political means. Leading initiators of the anti-Garrison movement and the new party were the New York philanthropists Gerrit Smith, Arthur Tappan, and Judge William Jay, and the Ohio antislavery stalwart, Salmon P. Chase. At a state convention in Warsaw, N.Y., on Nov. 13, 1839, James Gillespie Birney (q.v.), abolitionist crusader and one-time Alabama slaveholder, was tentatively nominated the Liberty Party's candidate for president of the United States, with Francis J. Lemoyne for vice president. At a national convention in Albany, N.Y., on April 1, 1840, delegates from six states confirmed the nominations, officially adopted the party name, and declared abolition of slavery to be the single plank in its platform.

In the ensuing 1840 national elections, in which William Henry Harrison defeated Martin Van Buren, the Liberty Party candidates polled only 7,069 votes; but thereafter the party nominated candidates for local elections and gained much strength. In November 1844, with Birney running again for the presidency (this time with Thomas Morris), the party polled 62,300 votes—which could have secured the election of the Whig candidate, Henry Clay, but tipped the scales in New York and Michigan in favor of the winning Democrat, James K. Polk.

In 1848, although they had already nominated national candidates (John P. Hale and Leicester King), party leaders urged the members to vote for candidates of the newly organized Free-Soil Party (q.v.). Chase presided over the Buffalo, N.Y., convention of the Free-Soil Party on Aug. 9, 1848, which may be considered the date of the Liberty Party's demise.

DRAKE DE KAY.

LOCOFOCO, formerly a familiar name for a member of the Democratic party, especially to the radical or equal rights section of the party. The name originated from a meeting in Tammany Hall, New York City, on Oct. 22, 1835, in which there was great diversity of opinion. The chairman left his seat and the lights were extinguished in an effort to dissolve the meeting. Those favoring extreme measures produced *locofoco* matches (a type of friction match that had recently been invented), rekindled the lights, and continued the meeting, and accomplished their object.

PEOPLE'S PARTY, pē'p'lz, or POPULIST PARTY, pŏp'ū-list, a political party that came into being as the climax of a long period of agricultural unrest in the United States. Soon after the Civil War (1861 1865) American farmers, particularly in the Middle West and the South, began to suffer from a persistent drop in farm prices. The chief reasons for this situation, little understood at the time, were (1) the increasing production that new machines made possible, and (2) the transportation revolution that forced American producers to compete with other producers the world over. American farmers tended to overlook these basic factors and to blame their troubles upon excessive railroad charges, high interest rates, the unreasonable profits of merchants and middlemen, and some kind of money conspiracy, possibly international in scope, designed to keep the currency supply inadequate.

Preceding Populism there was a series of farmer movements, all drawing their main support from the food producers of the Middle West and the cotton and tobacco producers of the South. The Grangers in the 1870's centered their fire mainly on the railroads and achieved significant results by way of state, and eventually national, railroad regulations. The Greenbackers and the free silverites concentrated on the money question, demanding more paper money, or equal treatment of silver with gold, or both. The farmers' alliances, one in the Middle West and another in the South, explored the possibilities of farmer cooperation, both economic and political. The Populists, building on these foundations, sought to create a party devoted primarily to the agricultural interest, although they hoped in vain to win labor support. Their adversaries were the "plutocrats" who controlled both finance and industry and, in addition, the two old political parties.

By the late 1880's and the early 1890's the farmers' plight in the western Middle West and parts of the Old South was frighteningly bad. The westward movement had overreached itself and had trespassed upon territory west of the 98th meridian, where the rainfall proved to be inadequate. Southern tenant farmers, with prices going steadily down, toiled in vain to keep abreast of landlord-merchant exactions. But there was another factor in the situation. In the Far West the silver miners were angry over the demonetizing of silver; ever since 1873 the United States had been on the single gold standard, and the price of silver had dropped catastrophically. The fact that some European nations had preceded the United States in adopting the gold standard gave some support to the argument that there had been an international conspiracy to put silver out of business. The real trouble was that the Western silver miners had produced enough new silver to upset the traditional ratio of value between silver and gold, but this was a fact that the disgruntled silver miners refused to face.

The People's Party, after numerous state beginnings, made its national debut at a mass convention in Cincinnati, Ohio, on May 19, 1891. The new party was farmer in origin, and farmers furnished most of the votes for its tickets, but the "bimetallists" of the Far West infiltrated it with their doctrine that "the free and unlimited coinage of silver" at the old coinage ratio of 16 to 1 would cure all the nation's woes. With silver restored to its historic status, they argued, the nation would have more money, the steady appreciation in the value of the dollar would be arrested, and the farmers would get the high prices they needed.

In their national platforms of 1892 and 1896 the Populists stated the farmers' grievances effectively. They saw the need for agricultural credits and proposed a "subtreasury plan" not unlike the "ever-normal granary" later adopted. Officially, they favored government ownership and operation of the railroads, although in fact many of them were ready to settle for effective regulation. They diagnosed well the ills of the existing banking and currency system, even if they were short on remedies. They advocated such reasonable political reforms as the graduated income tax, the election of United States senators by direct vote, and the initiative and referendum. The tragedy of Populism was that the free silverites, exponents of an irrational and unexplainable panacea, came to dominate the movement.

In the campaign of 1892 the Populist candidates for president and vice president, James B. Weaver of Iowa and James G. Field of Virginia, respectively, received a total of 22 electoral votes and over a million popular votes. In 1896 the third party faced a real dilemma when the Democrats nominated William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska, a free silverite, for president on a Populist platform. Should the Populists be true to their principles or to their party? In general, the Western wing favored fusion with the Democrats, while the Southern wing fought valiantly against the indignity, indeed the impossibility, of returning to the party from which it had seceded. The Populist convention compromised by nominating Bryan for president, but its own candidate, Thomas Edward Watson of Georgia, for vice president. Naively, the Populist leaders had expected that the Democrats would "take down" their candidate for vice president, Arthur Sewall, a Maine banker, and replace him with Watson. But the Democrats made no such move, and the presence of two vice presidential candidates running with Bryan created much confusion.

The Republicans, well supported by "goldbug" contributions, carried on a "campaign of education" for William McKinley and Garret A. Hobart that easily defeated Bryan and both his running mates.

Populism had some state successes from 1890 on, but its program was essentially national, and its local victories availed it little. In 1900 the party split, the fusionists supporting the Democratic ticket, and the "middle-of-the-roaders" nominating Wharton Barker of Pennsylvania for president and Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota for vice president. The intransigent faction continued to nominate national tickets as late as 1912. By calling attention to the growing power of private monopoly and the disadvantages from which agriculture suffered, the Populists did the nation a real service. Under Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson many of their demands were met.

Bibliography.—Hicks, John D., *The Populist Revolt* (Minneapolis 1931); Woodward, Comer Vann, *Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel* (New York 1938); Nye, Russell B., *Midwestern Progressive Politics* (East Lansing, Mich., 1951); Hofstadter, Richard, *The Age of Reform* (New York 1955).

JOHN D. HICKS,
Professor of History, Emeritus, University of California at Berkeley.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY, in United States history, a name used as a party designation by three different splinter groups. Two of these were offshoots of the Republican Party, while the third represented a split from the Democratic Party. The first such organization was the Progressive Party of 1912, popularly called the "Bull Moose" Party because former President Theodore Roosevelt (who had declared that he felt "as fit as a bull moose") joined its ranks and became its presidential candidate. The second was the political party organized by Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin in 1924 and briefly revived a decade later by his sons, Senator Robert M. La Follette, Jr., and Philip F. La Follette. The third to adopt the title Progressive was the party established by former Vice President Henry A. Wallace and other dissident Democrats in 1948.

"Bull Moose" Progressives of 1912.—For more than 20 years preceding the elections of 1912, the Republican Party had been deeply divided on many important issues. Aggressive campaigns by the Democratic Party and the newborn Populist Party, urging monetary and tariff reform and social legislation, were successful in winning many normally Republican rural votes. Against the protest of Western Republicans, congresses dominated by Eastern Republicans enacted increasingly restrictive tariffs in 1890, 1897, and 1909, pleading the necessity of protecting "infant industries." Many Western Republicans, embittered by Eastern manipulators of the national party machinery, came to believe that the professional Republican politicians, in alliance with great corporations, were dominating both the federal and state governments.

The most popular and militant of Republicans, Theodore Roosevelt, seemed to confirm this pessimistic estimate during his years as president (1901–1909) by making slashing attacks on the politicians (Democrats as well as Republicans) and conducting constant battles, in Congress and the courts, with trusts, monopolies, and combinations in restraint of trade. His largely successful efforts to save extensive areas of the public domain from exploitation by private interests were also widely publicized. In Congress there was a strong faction of Republicans—called Insurgents or Progressives—who in general supported the Rooseveltian policies. Their conservative adversaries in the party, the so-called "standpatters," opposed any changes which they felt might endanger their control of party machinery. On March 17, 1910, the Insurgents finally compelled the speaker of the House, Joseph G. Cannon, to yield his cherished prerogative of appointing the key Committee on Rules. Through his control of this committee, the reactionary Cannon had been virtual czar of the House; by the new system, the committee, now enlarged from 5 to 10 members, was to be elected by the House itself. "Uncle Joe" Cannon's downfall boded ill for his standpat associates.

Elections for the 62d Congress, held in November 1910, gave control of the House to the Democrats for the first time in 15 years. This was the second severe blow to the controlling conservative wing of the Republican Party. The liberal group, calling themselves Progressive Republicans, found some solace in this new evidence of popular support of liberal principles. Foremost among Progressive senators from the Middle West (where progressivism originated) were Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin, Albert B. Cummins and Jonathan P. Dolliver of Iowa, and Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana (qq.v.).

With the approach of the presidential campaign of 1912, the Progressive movement had acquired such momentum that its leaders had hopes of wresting party control from the conservatives. However, as none of them developed sufficient strength to warrant selection as nominee, Progressive delegates were instructed to vote for ex-President Roosevelt at the Republican Party convention in Chicago (June 18-22). The Republican National Committee, however, having control of the convention, proceeded to unseat a sufficient number of Progressive delegates to ensure the renomination of President William Howard Taft. When this strategy became apparent, Roosevelt withdrew, taking most of his supporters with him. On July 31, the Progressive Party was incorporated at Albany, N. Y. Meanwhile, a convention had been summoned and, on August 5, Roosevelt and Hiram Johnson of California were unanimously chosen as the new party's presidential and vice presidential nominees. The party platform demanded preferential primaries for presidential candidates; direct primaries for nominating state and national officers; direct election of United States senators; the short ballot; and initiative, referendum, and recall. Other planks called for conservation and national control of natural resources, votes for women, a parcel post, a graduated inheritance tax, and ratification of the income tax amendment to the Constitution.

At the November election the new party polled 4,119,538 votes for Roosevelt, compared with 3,484,980 for Taft and the standpatters. The division of Republican voters thus ensured election of a Democrat, Woodrow Wilson, to the presidency. The 1914 elections showed a drift of Progressives back to the Republican fold, except in California, which registered a heavy Progressive majority. By 1915 most Progressives felt that their party had served its purpose in defeating the reactionary element of the Republican Party, and in 1916 Roosevelt supported the Republican candidate, Charles Evans Hughes. The congressional elections of 1918 showed that the breach in Republican ranks had been healed, and the first Progressive Party was defunct.

La Follette Progressives of 1924.—Senator Robert Marion La Follette (1855–1925), a leader of the Republican Party's Progressive wing, had founded the National Progressive Republican League in 1911, and a year later was one of the founders of the Progressive Party. In 1924 he decided that the Republican Party once again had fallen under the control of a reactionary clique. He accordingly bolted and accepted the presidential nomination offered by the League for Progressive Political Action, with Burton K. Wheeler of Montana as his vice presidential running mate. The league represented a coalition of such minor groups as the Farmer-Labor Party, Nonpartisan League, Single Tax League, and various labor organizations. Later it was endorsed by the Socialists and the American Federation of Labor. Although La Follette won the electoral votes of his own state only, his party polled 4,822,856 votes, or 17 per cent of the total, while in 11 states of the Far West his vote surpassed that of Democratic candidate John W. Davis. Senator La Follette's death a year later caused the party's dissolution. His sons, Senator R. M. La Follette, Jr., and former Governor Philip La Follette revived it in 1934 on a statewide basis in Wisconsin to help elect the latter to another gubernatorial term.

Wallace Progressives of 1948.—In September 1946 former Vice President Henry A. Wallace (1888–1965), while serving as secretary of commerce in President Harry S Truman's cabinet, made a public speech assailing United States foreign policy as conducted by his fellow cabinet member, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes. He urged that the United States placate Russia, though it was evident that such a reversal of American policy at that juncture would have involved a betrayal of England and France. Forced to resign his cabinet post, Wallace and Senator Glen H. Taylor of Idaho founded a new political group called the Progressive Party, which in July 1948 nominated them respectively for president and vice president of the United States. The platform was generally pro-Soviet, and Communist support was accorded it in full measure. However, at the November election the Progressive Party polled only 1,156,103 votes, almost half of them in New York, where the American Labor Party was associated with it. In 1950, the Progressive Party rebuked President Truman for sending American forces to the defense of Korea. This act accelerated the withdrawal from the party of its more moderate supporters, and Henry Wallace himself soon resigned from its ranks. Progressive presidential candidate Vincent Hallinan won only 140,178 votes in 1952, and the party disappeared from national view.

PROHIBITION PARTY. Organized opposition in the United States to the sale and consumption of alcoholic liquors began with the temperance movement over 40 years before the founding in 1869 of the Prohibition Party. Associations established in Boston, Mass., in 1826, pledged their members to total abstinence; and so great was Boston's moral prestige that within five years more than a thousand similar societies came into being throughout the nation. After 1840 the agitation was centered in the "Washington Societies," which soon could boast a total membership of half a million.

Reports from Great Britain and Ireland of the phenomenal success of the temperance crusades organized in the late 1830's and early 1840's by Father Theobald Mathew, with many hundreds of thousands signing total abstinence pledges, encouraged American fighters for the same cause. Neal Dow (q.v.) of Maine, one of the most ardent New England teetotalists and destined to be a Prohibition Party presidential candidate, was chiefly instrumental in securing passage by the Maine legislature, in 1846, of the first prohibition law in United States history. This pioneering legislation started a trend: by 1856 thirteen Northern and Western states had taken measures aimed at abolition of alcoholic liquors. Though most of the state antiliquor laws were later modified or repealed, Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont retained theirs in force down to the passage of the 18th Amendment (1919).

During the Civil War years (1861–1865) agitation for prohibition dwindled, and it was during this period that the federal government found the liquor excise a most important source of revenue. However, several postbellum developments caused a revival of prohibition sentiment in the late 1860's and early 1870's. Among these may be cited the Whiskey Ring frauds of President Ulysses S. Grant's administration; a general concern over the phenomenal growth of the liquor business which more than doubled in value in a decade (invested capital of $29 million in 1860 rose to $67 million in 1870); and the dubious involvements of liquor manufacturers in state and local politics.

Founding of the Prohibition Party.—A Methodist clergyman of Michigan, the Reverend John Russell, working through a Masonic organization, induced one of its lodges in session at Oswego, N. Y., in May 1869 to sponsor a call, signed by residents of some 20 states, to a prohibition convention. The primary purpose of the convention should be to consider the advisability of forming a political party to work for national prohibition. Convening at Chicago on Sept. 1, 1869, the convention included delegates from 20 states among the 500 attending. Most eminent among them was Gerrit Smith (q.v.) of New York, a wealthy philanthropist, abolitionist, and former member of Congress. Here for the first time in any American political convention women sat on equal terms with men. The convention was far from unanimous in the opinion that a political party was necessary for the advancement of the cause: indeed, the decision to found one was reached by little more than a majority vote.

Within a few weeks, however, the new-fledged party was contesting an election in Ohio, while Republican-Prohibition candidates appeared on Maine and Minnesota ballots. Prohibition tickets were nominated in six states in 1870 and more than 20,000 votes were cast for those candidates. Further evidence of increasing prohibition sentiment consisted in the more than 21,000 votes received by Wendell Phillips that year in his contest for the Massachusetts governorship, Phillips having both Labor and Prohibition party nominations. In 1872 the party for the first time entered the contest for the presidency; thenceforth it would nominate candidates for every presidential election.

The founding of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (W.C.T.U.) in Ohio in 1874, and its rapid proliferation throughout the Union under the inspired leadership of Frances E. Willard (q.v.) gave additional support to the party program. Many Protestant churches also organized temperance, or, more correctly, teetotal societies; in 1893 the Anti-Saloon League was founded to coordinate the efforts of all existing agencies. President Grover Cleveland in 1887 placed Alaska under prohibition, by executive order; his successor, Benjamin Harrison, gave strong moral support by banning alcoholic beverages from White House functions in his administration (1889–1893).

During the decade 1880–1890 statewide prohibition was established in Kansas, Iowa, and North and South Dakota. The increase in number of "dry" and local option states at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th compelled enactment of federal legislation to protect them from the introduction of liquor from wet states. The steady increase of prohibition sentiment in the country in the span of exactly 50 years from the date of founding of the Prohibition Party to the attainment of its objective in 1919 through enactment of the 18th Amendment to the Constitution was not, however, reflected by any extraordinary increase in the party vote at the quadrennial national elections. And that vote was never large enough to affect the traditional contest of Democrats versus Republicans. Indeed, the largest number of votes ever polled by a Prohibition candidate for the presidency was the some 270,000 cast for Gen. John Bidwell in 1892, when the party platform included woman suffrage, currency reform, and other planks unrelated to prohibition.

Presidential Candidates.—The Prohibition Party's presidential candidates in election years since 1872, the states of which they were residents, and votes cast for them are as follows:

1872	James Black, Penn.	5,607
1876	Green Clay Smith, Ky.	9,737
1880	Neal Dow, Me.	9,678
1884	John P. St. John, Kans.	149,772
1888	Clinton B. Fisk, N.J.	249,918
1892	John Bidwell, Calif.	271,058
1896	Joshua Levering, Md.	130,617
1900	John G. Woolley, Ill.	209,469
1904	Silas C. Swallow, Penn.	258,205
1908	Eugene W. Chafin, Wis.	253,231
1912	" " " "	207,828
1916	J. Frank Hanly, Ind.	221,329
1920	Aaron Sherman Watkins, Ohio	195,923
1924	Herman P. Faris, Mo.	48,000
1928	William F. Varney, N.Y.	20,106
1932	William D. Upshaw, Ga.	81,869
1936	D. Leigh Colvin, N.Y.	37,847
1940	Roger W. Babson, Mass.	58,674
1944	Claude A. Watson, Calif.	74,758
1948	" " " "	103,343
1952	Stuart Hamblen, Okla.	78,818
1956	Enoch A. Holtwick, Ill.	41,937
1960	Rutherford B. Decker, Mo.	46,197

The first notable increase in the party's voting strength occurred in the 1884 elections, due to the popularity of the presidential nominee, Col. John P. St. John, Civil War veteran and former governor of Kansas who repudiated the Republican Party because it would not adopt a prohibition plank. His nearly 150,000 voting strength was regularly exceeded by candidates in subsequent elections—Joshua Levering in 1896 excepted—until attainment of national prohibition.

Much concern has been expressed by students of American government over the fact that a political party, which could never muster more than a small fraction of the national vote, nevertheless attained its political objectives with spectacular success and forced a revolutionary change in the mores of the American people over a period of 14 years—until ratification of the 21st (Repeal of Prohibition) Amendment in 1933. The party's achievement was largely that of its principal satellites, the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Anti-Saloon League of America. The latter organization, expertly directed for 40 years by a devoted Methodist, Bishop James Cannon (1864–1944), was perhaps the more effective political instrument, but the W.C.T.U. enjoyed great prestige, and both organizations worked in fundamental harmony with each other and the party. Some political analysts declare that Bishop Cannon, one of the shrewdest politicians of his day, was the mastermind of the prohibition movement in the 20th century and that to him personally, rather than to the Prohibition Party, was due the enactment of federal antiliquor legislation culminating in the 18th Amendment.

REPUBLICAN PARTY, United States political party. The long story of the Republican Party begins formally with the nomination of the first Republican slate of candidates for statewide public office at Jackson, Mich., on July 6, 1854. Here amidst a grove of oaks situated in a tract of land known as Morgan's Forty, several hundred farmers, merchants, workers, and professional men, outraged by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill (q.v.), and representing Whigs, Democrats, and Free Soilers, along with splinter groups drawn from many strata of American politics drew up the first Republican platform and nominated the first Republican state party ticket.

Where the first actual meeting which resulted in the Republican Party took place, is a matter of some dispute. But among the claimants, Ripon, Wis., is most frequently acknowledged as the birthplace. In this village, on Feb. 28, 1854, some 50 dissident Whigs, Democrats, and Free Soilers met in a tiny schoolhouse to denounce the Kansas-Nebraska act and resolved to unite against this legislative measure which would permit the extension of slavery into free territory, and henceforth to call themselves Republicans. A prime organizer in this initial meeting was Allen Bovay who was also instrumental in persuading editor Horace Greeley of the New York *Tribune* to urge that the new party take the name Republican in all parts of the North. By autumn of 1854, there were Republican candidates running for state and congressional offices in several Northern states, and two years later, February 22, 1856, a Republican convention was held at Pittsburgh to lay plans for the first Republican national convention to select a presidential ticket.

Victorious in their second national election in 1860, the Republican Party held the presidency for the next twenty-four years, and with only occasional interruptions for almost three-quarters of a century. In 26 campaigns for the presidency, through 1956, Republicans won 16 times, electing four of their candidates for second terms.

The Republican Appeal.—Essentially the broad appeal of Republicanism rested upon the persistent partnership of interests that joined the rising industries on the one side of America with the yeomanry of the cornbelt, prairies, and the range on the other. It was a partnership with ties deepened by emotional involvement in a party that became hallowed by its conduct of a successful war to preserve the Union. For almost a half century Union veterans voted largely Republican—"vote the way you shot"—and Negroes invariably voted Republican until the 1930's.

Rising urbanism noticeably impaired Republican voting strength in the cities in the 1920's as the persistent coherence of forces that gave Republicans victories for so many years began to give way in face of changes brought about by increased industrialism. Beginning in 1940, Republican presidential candidates have made better showings in the cities, but particularly vital to the party have been the heavy Republican majorities produced in the suburbs adjacent to great metropolitan areas.

Doctrinally, the Republican Party philosophy has alternated between a pro-business emphasis and a concern for protection of the individual and human freedom. Traditionally the Grand Old Party (GOP) has exalted free enterprise, insisting that collectivist organized societies do not contain the divine spark of greatness. Over the years, Republicans have inclined toward subsidy measures designed to help and protect private enterprise and have been somewhat less inclined than Democrats to apply governmental powers for legislating certain measures which involve deficit spending. In shifting moods of presidential leadership, however, as the administration of Theodore Roosevelt suggests, and the programs and huge budget of the second Eisenhower administration imply, Republican leadership believes in satisfying human wants through a competitive private economy, with government help, but not domination.

Although the Republican Party does contain extremists who would like to use extreme and intolerant measures to curb individual rights, the party as a whole is representative of an easy-going American conservatism. The great bulk of its supporters are as strongly opposed to the ideas of neo-fascist groups as they are to communism. Republicans combine a respect for the traditions which made the United States great with a recognition of the necessity of adjustment to domestic and world conditions imposed by mass industrialism.

Intra-Party Factional Conflict.—The ideological struggle for the mind of the party divides into five great contests: (1) the controversy between the Radical Republicans and Lincoln over the conduct of the war and reconstruction policy, and the triumph of the former in the immediate postwar period; (2) the formation of the Liberal Republican Party of 1872 by Carl Schurz, Horace Greeley, and others because of dissatisfaction with the second Grant administration and disappointment with Reconstruction policy; (3) the conflict between Republican insurgents of the West and Middle West and the Eastern conservative wing of the party—a struggle that started in the early 1900's and persisted at least through 1932 when Republicans like Hiram Johnson and

George W. Norris, and others supported Franklin D. Roosevelt over Herbert Hoover for the presidency; (4) the "Bull Moose" bolt in 1912 and subsequent formation of the Progressive Party under Theodore Roosevelt; (5) the more recent alignment of the isolationist element of the party, generally conservative in its policy orientation against those with internationalist sympathies. Regionally the former tend to be identified more with the Middle West and West, and the latter more generally with the East.

A discernible trifactional pattern has shown up at recent national conventions among elements within the party competing for control of the presidential nomination: (1) the professional leaders—the county chairmen; (2) the congressional wing; and (3) the public party—that is to say a large articulate group of rank and file supporters of the party. By and large the professional group and the congressional element have worked for more conservative presidential candidates, while the public party whose wishes have prevailed over the former two groups, have favored more liberal candidates like Wendell Willkie, Thomas E. Dewey, and Dwight D. Eisenhower.

National Committee and Party Conventions.—Organizationally, the National Committee is the top governing body of the Republican Party. Membership is composed of one man and one woman from each state, and, under an amendment to the rules adopted in 1952, the state party chairman of every state currently regarded as a Republican stronghold on the basis of any one of several tests: (1) a Republican majority in the last presidential election; (2) a Republican majority among the state's representatives to both houses of Congress; or (3) a Republican governor.

In the conduct of its national nominating convention, the Republican Party follows the rule of a simple majority for roll calls, and unlike the Democratic convention, the Republican National Convention regularly adopts a set of national party rules which remain in effect until new rules are adopted by the next convention. Customarily the Republican conventions are held before the Democratic National Convention meets; and unlike the Democratic National Convention, the Republican convention does not permit fractional voting and there is a general absence of the unit rule for delegation voting.

HISTORY

Background of the Republican Party.—The real flint and steel which ignited the Republican movement came with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in the spring of 1854. This measure was furiously opposed in the North where feelings ran high against the opening to slavery of the Northern trans-Mississippi territory where it had been excluded by the Missouri Compromise. In line with the earlier position of the Free Soil Party, Republicans initially believed that slavery should be confined to states where it already existed and that the Northwest Territory in particular was destined for family-sized farms, free from the competition of slave labor.

While the slavery issue galvanized the party into action, the coalescence of Republican doctrine was multiphasic. Initially it drew heavily upon certain mercantile policies of the Whigs favoring measures to stimulate commerce and industry, bounties for internal improvements, and protectionism. Notable among early influences, however, were the sentiments rejecting the monopoly capitalism doctrine of the National Republican wing of the Whig Party in favor of advancing a liberal capitalism more in keeping with the progress of the industrial revolution. The promotion of liberal capitalism in opposition to the economic philosophy of monopoly capitalism was particularly championed by Whigs like William Seward, Horace Greeley, Thurlow Weed, and Thaddeus Stevens, and by Democrats such as William Cullen Bryant, and Preston King, all early recruits to Republicanism and influential in shaping the mind of the infant Republican Party.

Initially Republican doctrine took generously from the ideas of Thomas Jefferson, both because he was regarded as an original "Free Soiler," and because he was known as the architect of the formula for restricting slavery from the territories that were actually incorporated into the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. Republican doctrine was also heavily influenced by Alexander Hamilton. Like the Hamiltonians who drew their strength from the business, banking, and commercial communities and from middle class groups who associated their interests with these communities, Republicans came to depend upon a similar combination of interests and the ideas they represented.

Agitation of nativist oriented political elements also contributed to the formation of the Republican Party. An anti-immigration and anti-Catholic movement culminating in the Know-Nothing Party eventually steered most of its followers and some of its ideas into the Republican Party.

The majority of Republicans came from the Whig Party, but the axiom that while noses count in politics, noises do too, should be a reminder that many ex-Democrats played a role in the new party all out of proportion to their numbers. A former Democrat became chairman of the first Republican national convention, and the ascending part of ex-Democrats in Republican affairs is further confirmed by the fact that one-half of the delegates to the convention that nominated Lincoln in 1860 were formerly Democrats.

The New Party and its First President.—Meeting in Philadelphia on June 17, 1856, the first Republican national convention nominated John C. Frémont for the presidency and William L. Dayton for the vice presidency. The platform denounced the dominance of slaveholding interests in the Democratic Party to the detriment of the small enterpriser, worker, and farmer, recommended a railroad to the Pacific, and enthusiastically endorsed the rising political power of the West. Frémont was also nominated by the northern branch of the Know-Nothing Party—the North American Party. Despite his defeat, Frémont won 33 per cent of the popular vote. The Republican vote combined with that of former president Millard Fillmore, the American Party nominee exceeded the vote of the Democratic candidate James Buchanan. Republicans carried all but four of New England's 67 counties, and elected enough congressmen to the Thirty-Fifth Congress to become the only consolidated anti-slavery party. And in 1858, Republicans won new increases in the state elections while in the congressional contests their total in the Senate climbed from 20 to 26, against 36 for the Democrats and in the House they outnumbered the Democrats for the first time 114 to 92.

In its second bid for the presidency in 1860,

The Republican Party offered Abraham Lincoln as its candidate. Meeting in Chicago in a building specially constructed for the occasion called the Wigwam, Republican delegates nominated Lincoln on the third ballot in a furious contest in which William H. Seward of New York led the "rail splitter" on the first two ballots. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was selected as Lincoln's running mate. The Republican platform specifically pledged nonextension of slavery, a protective tariff, free homestead legislation, and called for a transcontinental railroad to the Pacific Ocean.

A tense struggle developed during the campaign amidst the mounting crisis between the North and South over the slavery issue. The situation was further complicated by a divided Democratic Party. But the broad appeal of the Republican platform to the North, East, and West, and its attractiveness to industry and agriculture proved decisive in yielding the Republican Party its first national victory. Lincoln, who never left Springfield, won the election with 1,866,542 popular votes, almost a half million more than for Douglas, his nearest competitor. His total popular vote of 39.8 per cent was 978,382 short of a majority. Nonetheless Lincoln's victory was clear-cut in the sense that even if the votes of all three of his competitors were joined, he would still have had the necessary electoral votes to win.

During its first four years in office, the story of the Republican Party is by and large, the story of Lincoln's efforts to preserve the Union. Successive military disappointments in the conflict between North and South that broke out scarcely a month after Lincoln took office proved harrowing circumstances under which to broaden confidence in a new political party. In the state elections 1862, the Republicans suffered reverses in key states, and in the House midterm elections the Republican majority fell from 35 to 18. Sensing the need to mobilize public opinion behind the war effort, Lincoln began avoiding use of the term Republican and gradually the term Union broke into the vocabulary of local politics.

Notable among the domestic measures of the first Republican administration were the Emancipation Proclamation of Sept. 22, 1862, the first income tax passed in August of 1861, the Legal Tender acts (see LEGAL TENDER CASES), reorganization of the national banking system under the National Banking Act, Feb. 25, 1863, and the initial steps toward the building of the first transcontinental railroad. Notable also in the executive-legislative relations of the first Republican administration is the rebellious character of the opposition that President Lincoln encountered from members of his own party in Congress. Led by Thaddeus Stevens in the House, a group that soon came to be known as Radical Republicans opposed the president's leadership with grim persistence. In particular the Radical Republicans were opposed to Lincoln's conservative policy toward slavery and emancipation, they favored more repressive and punitive action against Southerners and Southern property, and they charged Lincoln with general mismanagement of the high military command of the Union forces. Actually this congressional opposition foreshadowed a significant party development in the shape of things to come during the next 30 years of legislative-executive relations.

Continuing party strife over Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, his plans for reconstruction which the Radical Republicans felt far too lenient, his "dictatorship," conduct of the war, and the widespread disaffection over drafts, higher taxes, and the miseries of war made it increasingly necessary to broaden the Republican bases of support if the election of 1864 was to be won. Accordingly the name National Union Party replaced Republican Party and the National Union Convention meeting in Baltimore nominated Lincoln. Lincoln's running mate, Hannibal Hamlin, was replaced by Andrew Johnson of Tennessee—a War Democrat, a nomination dictated by the desire to attract support from the border states.

In an election held when military successes finally made a Union victory seem imminent, Lincoln was overwhelmingly re-elected. With only the 25 Northern states remaining in the Union participating in the election, Lincoln carried all but three, winning 2¼ million of 4 million popular votes, and 212 electoral votes to his opponents 21. In the House the Union Party won 149 seats to the Democrats 42, and in the Senate 42 to the Democrats 10.

Reconstruction Period.—Barely a month after he began his second term, Lincoln was fatally shot on April 14, 1865, and was succeeded by Andrew Johnson. While other factors were involved, the compelling issue in the struggle Johnson seemed foredoomed to encounter was: Should the Congress or the president reconstruct? Relations between Johnson and the Radical Republicans steadily worsened. Some measure of this discontent is evidenced by the establishment of the separate Republican Congressional Campaign Committee in 1866 by congressional leaders—an organization that became a permanent feature of Republican campaign efforts in national elections.

Radical Republicans also ousted the pro-Johnson chairman of the National Committee, Henry Raymond, in the bitter feuding that went on for control of the party. And in the mid-term elections, the congressional wing of the party won the day by increasing Republican majorities in every northern state. Early in 1867 the uncompromising struggle between Johnson and the Radical Republicans reached its final phase when Johnson removed his secretary of war from office in defiance of the Tenure of Office Act (q.v.) which Congress had passed over the president's veto. Johnson was then impeached by the House and on his trial in the Senate he won acquittal by just one vote.

The humbling of Johnson, following in the footsteps of Lincoln, the dominant and forceful executive, left its imprint on the course of party development and was a significant factor in identifying the GOP as a congressional party.

Even as Johnson's impeachment trial was underway, Republicans were getting ready to nominate Ulysses S. Grant, the hero of Appomattox. Flying the Republican standard again after the wartime substitution of the label Union Party in the convention of 1864, Republicans nominated Grant in 1868 and chose the Speaker of the House Schuyler Colfax as his running mate. Running on a platform advocating continued congressional reconstruction, pensions to veterans, and payment of the national debt in gold, and in a campaign where many Republican orators revived the issues of the recent war—"waving the bloody shirt"—Grant won the election with 52 per cent of the popular vote. He carried 26 states, receiving 214 electoral votes to

60 for his opponent Horatio Seymour. During Grant's first term steps were taken to enforce the 14th amendment, and the Treaty of Washington was concluded with Great Britain in 1871, providing for the settlement of diplomatic controversies between the two nations. Earlier dreams of expansionism long dear to one element of the party were frustrated by the Senate's refusal to ratify a treaty to annex Santo Domingo. In the mid-term of 1870 elections, Republicans won 149 House seats to 63 for the Democrats, and 56 seats to 11 for their opponents in the Senate.

Signs leading to a bolt of one element within the Republican Party developed rapidly in the mid-passage of Grant's first term. Carl Schurz, one of the prime movers of the infant party along with several surviving members of Lincoln's cabinet became disenchanted with Grant's handling of appointments, his sympathy with the Radicals on Southern Reconstruction, and his encouragement to the protectionist wing of the Party. This led to the formation of the Liberal Republican Party in 1872, whose nominee for president, Horace Greeley was also backed by the Democratic Party.

Renominating Grant, the Republican convention of 1872, chose Henry Wilson of Massachusetts as its vice presidential nominee. The outcome of this election gave Grant an increased majority—55.8 per cent of the two-party vote while the Liberal Republican-Democratic fusion ticket won only six states.

The panic of 1873 in combination with a series of scandals and an ill-timed law for a congressional salary increase washed out Republican control of the House and Senate in the election of 1874 in one of the greatest overturns in mid-term elections. It was in this campaign that the elephant as a symbol of the GOP made its first appearance in one of Thomas Nast's famous cartoons. Hard-pressed to live down the scandals of the second term, the most constructive achievements were made in the area of foreign affairs and in the increased confidence the United States enjoyed abroad.

An acrimonious scramble unfolded at the Republican convention of 1876. One group favored Grant for a third term, while others lined up behind the former Speaker of the House James G. Blaine of Maine, the "Plumed Knight." But Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio—a dark horse—was nominated on the seventh ballot, and William A. Wheeler of New York was made the vice presidential nominee. Hayes campaigned for civil service reform and reconciliation with the South. He bucked strong opposition within his own party from a group known as the "Stalwarts", however, who took their name by way of contrasting their "stalwart" Republicanism to the reformist "half breed" sentiments of Hayes.

The election which took four months to resolve was the most memorable ballot dispute in American history. Samuel J. Tilden, the Democratic nominee, received 184 unquestioned electoral votes; Hayes 165. In contest were 21 votes, 20 from Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina, one from Oregon. Congress finally set up an electoral commission of 15 members, five from the House, five from the Senate, and five from the Supreme Court. Voting on strict party lines, the commission gave the 21 disputed votes to Hayes, who was declared president just two days before his inauguration.

Announcing at once that he would serve only one term, Hayes' major achievement was the withdrawal of Federal troops from the South, an action much criticized in the North because immediately following it the South took measures to disenfranchise the Negro. Hayes set out to build a Republican South by using the appointive power to appoint Democrats with Whig tendencies, but he met little success. In the administrative field Hayes anticipated later day "Hatch acts" by issuing an executive order that forbade officers of the federal government from taking part in the management of conventions and campaigns.

From Blaine to McKinley.—Led by Roscoe Conkling, the "stalwart" faction of the Republican Party favored bringing Grant out of retirement in 1880 for a third term. The "half-breed" faction of the party supported Blaine. On the 36th ballot (the largest number in GOP convention history) another dark horse, James A. Garfield of Ohio was nominated with Chester A. Arthur of New York as his running mate. The platform pledged extension of Hayes' measures toward civil service reform, and it also re-asserted faith in protectionism—a matter of some issue in the ensuing campaign.

Garfield won sufficient electoral votes to win over Democratic nominee Winfield Scott Hancock, but in popular votes he fell 10,000 behind his opponent. In the congressional elections, the race was also close. The Senate wound up with 37 Republicans and 37 Democrats, a deadlock that took several months to resolve in favor of the Republicans, who also won control of the House for the first time since 1874.

Four months after taking office, Garfield was shot by an assassin, and he died Sept. 19, 1881. His successor, Vice President Chester Arthur, a man of unimpressive background, and renowned primarily as a "spoilsman," reversed some of these earlier tendencies by refusing to bow to certain patronage and other demands of the Stalwarts through his vetos. But the Republican Party while holding the Senate, lost the House in the mid-term elections of 1882. Thereafter the major accomplishments of the Arthur regime were the Pendleton Act (signed Jan. 16, 1883) which is the basic law of United States Civil Service merit system, establishment of a bureau of labor, two cent first class postage rates, and beginning steps for a new navy.

On the 4th ballot, Garfield's secretary of state, Blaine won the presidential nomination in 1884. And this time Republicans reversed their well-worn pattern of taking their vice presidential candidates from the East by turning to Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana for Blaine's running mate. More specific than usual, the Republican platform called for an eight hour day, extension of the merit system, suppression of polygamy, exclusion of Chinese labor, the regulation of corporations, and guarantees of civil and political rights to all.

In a campaign notorious for its personal invective on both sides, Grover Cleveland, the Democrat, defeated Blaine by the scant margin of 23,000 popular votes (Cleveland received 48.9 per cent; Blaine, 48.3). Cleveland's electoral vote was 219; Blaine's 182. Still in doubt among students of political behavior is whether it was rainfall, Rev. S. L. Burchard's highly indiscreet reference to the Democratic Party's antecedents as "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion," or more likely the surprisingly strong vote of the Pro-

hibition Party candidate, John P. St. John, in New York (Blaine lost New York by 1,000 votes) that cost Blaine the election. Again Republicans held on to the Senate, but lost the House. Midway in Cleveland's first administration, Republicans won back control of the House.

In 1888 Benjamin Harrison of Indiana became the presidential nominee on the eighth ballot in a convention marked by more competitors than any previous one (19 men received votes). Levi P. Morton of New York was honored with the vice presidential nomination. Highlighting protectionism in their platform, the Republicans came out for bimetalism (q.v.) and for the first time made a gesture toward the prohibition movement by expressing sympathy for "promotion of temperance and morality." Harrison, though polling 100,000 fewer votes than Cleveland, won the election with 233 electoral votes to 168. The election also decided that for the first time since 1875, Republicans would simultaneously control the White House and both houses of Congress.

The Sherman Anti-Trust Act, approved by the president July 2, 1890, was the major achievement of the Harrison Administration. Other well-known measures were the Sherman Silver Purchase Act which took effect in July 1890, and the McKinley Tariff Act of the same year that boosted tariff rates substantially. Rising agricultural distress, depressed industrial conditions, and dissatisfaction with the McKinley Tariff brought the biggest GOP congressional defeat in 1890 since the Republican disaster in the "tidal wave" midterm election of 1874.

Harrison was renominated in 1892 on the first ballot and Whitelaw Reid of New York was the convention choice for the vice presidential nomination. Stoutly defending the protective tariff, the Republican platform endorsed the Sherman Anti-Trust law and reform in the civil service, and called for an unrestricted ballot in all states. Continued rises in the cost of living, which were attributed by his opponents to the McKinley Tariff, cost Harrison heavily in the campaign, but so did the discontent of the inflationists who wanted cheaper money, and the bitterness engendered over suppression of the Homestead strike by the governor of Pennsylvania. Cleveland with 46 per cent of the popular vote won 277 electoral votes, while the loser Harrison carried 42 per cent of the popular vote and 145 electoral votes. Of some small comfort to Republicans was the loss of 11 Democratic seats in the House. Notwithstanding, it was the party's worst defeat in the 38 years since its birth.

Under the skillful direction of Mark Hanna, William McKinley won the Republican nomination for the presidency in 1896 on the first ballot. As his running mate the convention picked Garrat A. Hobart of New Jersey. Unable to arrange a compromise between the advocates of bimetallism and a gold standard, the convention finally adopted a plank that pledged sound money and the gold standard which was a blow to western Republicans favoring free coinage of silver. This led to a walkout of 34 delegates and subsequently to the launching of a splinter party—the "Silver Republicans." In a celebrated contest McKinley carried on a "front porch" campaign, greeting and speaking to visiting delegations, while his opponent, Bryan, crusaded for bimetallism. McKinley was elected carrying 23 states to 22 for Bryan. In what students of politics believe may have been the largest percentage turnout in United States history in terms of eligible voters, McKinley won 51 per cent of the popular vote to 47 per cent for Bryan; 271 electoral votes to 176 for his opponent. It was the first time a Republican presidential candidate won a majority of the popular vote for a quarter of a century.

The overriding events of McKinley's first term were a ten weeks war with Spain over Cuban oppression, and the subsequent acquisition of Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines, and the annexation of Hawaii. Thereafter the United States was drawn more irrevocably into the boisterous currents of world affairs, as evidenced by Secretary John Hay's note to major powers in 1899 advocating an "open door" for all nations in China, and by the action the following year of sending American soldiers to join an international expeditionary force in subduing the Boxer Rebellion in China.

On the domestic front the Dingley Tariff of 1897, again put the Republican Party on record for a high tariff and in March 1900, the party pledge on monetary policy was redeemed by passage of the Gold Standard Act.

Prosperous economic conditions and popularity gained through success in foreign relations probably helped Republicans raise their margin of control in the Senate by seven seats in the midterm elections of 1898 even though they did lose some seats in the House.

The death of Vice President Hobart in November 1899, meant that another running mate had to be found for McKinley in 1900. Following McKinley's renomination, Senator Matthew S. Quay of Pennsylvania, and Thomas C. Platt, longtime dominant organizational leader of New York Republican politics combined forces to force the vice presidential nomination on Gov. Theodore Roosevelt. Platt wanted to deactivate Roosevelt, the assumption being that putting him in the vice presidency was the simplest way of accomplishing this objective and henceforth he would be free from Roosevelt's truculence on patronage recommendations in New York. Roosevelt, who much preferred to remain as governor of New York, was made the vice presidential nominee.

The platform, in large part a recitation of the course of events in McKinley's first term, was of little interest in the campaign of 1900. In a somewhat smaller total vote, McKinley defeated Bryan more decisively this time taking 51.6 per cent of the popular vote to Bryan's 45.5 per cent. A total of 28 states was carried by the Republican ticket, yielding 292 electoral votes to Bryan's 155. Riding with this presidential victory was an increased majority for Republicans in both houses of Congress.

From Theodore Roosevelt to World War I.—Theodore Roosevelt was sworn in as president on Sept. 14, 1901, the same day on which McKinley died following his fatal shooting at the Buffalo Exposition. Initially, Roosevelt did not press Congress aggressively for reform legislation. But his first message to Congress in December 1901, carried the strong suggestion that a new relationship between business and politics was at hand, and that broader governmental regulatory controls would be forthcoming. The same message also emphasized his all-consuming interest in conservation. Notable in his first term were his extension of "good offices" to terminate the Russo-Japanese War, settlement of the great anthracite coal strike in Pennsylvania in 1902, passage of the Elkins law in 1903 to end rebate

abuse by railways, and the creation by Congress in the same year of a Department of Commerce and Labor.

By the time the Republican National Convention convened in 1904, the exchange of power between Hanna and Roosevelt had become accomplished fact and Roosevelt became the first vice president of his party who succeeded to the presidency to win a presidential nomination. Even so, many delegates who voted for his nomination were not happy with his leadership. Sen. Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana was given the vice presidential nomination. The platform mentioned trust regulations, made a slight compromise on the protective tariff, and demanded that if the franchise was being unconstitutionally denied in any state that the state's representation in Congress and in the electoral college be proportionately reduced.

Roosevelt stressed his actions to conserve the nation's resources and to curb monopoly abuse in the campaign, and defeated Judge Alton B. Parker by the most decisive margin any Republican presidential nominee had managed since the party's inception. With a 2½ million lead over Parker, Roosevelt won 56.4 per cent of the popular vote to Parker's 37.6, and in the electoral college, Roosevelt took 336 to his opponent's 140. Republicans also carried both Houses with sweeping gains in the House (32 seats).

Roosevelt's second term was characterized by vigorous legislative leadership. The Hepburn Act of 1906 enlarged the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission so it could regulate against discriminatory rate practices, and the same year Congress passed the Meat Inspection and Pure Food Acts. Conservation measures were also launched on a broad front, and Roosevelt was particularly successful in awakening the citizenry to the need for being conservation-minded.

Roosevelt kept his pledge not to run for reelection in 1908. William Howard Taft, formerly his secretary of war, then governor general of the Philippines, and Roosevelt's personal choice for a successor was made the presidential nominee. James M. Sherman, a member of Congress from upstate New York, became Taft's running mate. The GOP platform praised Roosevelt for combatting "the abuse of wealth and the tyranny of power," and called for further regulation of trusts and tariff revision. Taft, interpreting the tariff plank as a promise to scale tariff rates downward, won election handily with 51.6 per cent of the popular vote to 43 per cent for Bryan, and 321 electoral votes to 162 for his three time loser opponent.

Becoming involved in the revolt of insurgent Republicans against the arbitrariness of Speaker Joseph G. Cannon, and the failure of the party to redeem its pledge for lower tariff rates, Taft lost support rapidly as an intense intraparty struggle developed. In March 1910, Republican Insurgents rallied sufficient Democrats to revolt against "Cannonism" by stripping the speaker of most of his personal power, and that autumn the Democrats captured the House—228 to 161. The GOP held the Senate 51 to 41. As a measure of Republican internal disaffection, it is significant that such a large number of Republican incumbents in Congress were defeated in primary elections by acknowledged Republican progressives.

Despite his faltering party leadership, Taft's administration left an important legacy of legislative achievement. The 16th amendment laying the groundwork for a general income tax law was submitted to the states at Taft's suggestion in 1909, the Mann-Elkins Act extending the authority of the Interstate Commerce Commission was passed the same year, and corrupt practices legislation regulating congressional elections was enacted in 1910. During the last year of the Taft Administration, a Children's Bureau and new Department of Labor were created, and the 17th Amendment calling for direct election of senators by popular vote was proposed by Congress. Notable also during Taft's presidency were the prosecutions against business consolidations.

Taft's ineptness in politics and compromising tendencies with the very conservative element in his party were major factors in the party split that occurred in 1912. Roosevelt still symbolized the hopes of Republican progressives, and eventually made a spirited campaign for the presidential nomination. In a near-riotous session, however, the Republican National Convention of 1912 renominated Taft and Sherman. Embittered because the refusal of the Taft-dominated Credentials Committee to seat 72 contested delegates cost him the nomination, Roosevelt delegates bolted and launched a third-party—the Progressive Party. Roosevelt was nominated for the presidency by the Progressive Party and Gov. Hiram Johnson of California was named the vice presidential nominee. The Republican platform favored limitation of campaign funds, establishment of agricultural credit, conservation of natural resources, and protectionism. In contrast the platform of the Progressive Party, known popularly as the "Bull Moose" Party, called for a popular referendum on Supreme Court decisions, an easier method of amending the Constitution, woman suffrage, a commission to regulate trusts, and the initiative, referendum, and recall for states.

Taft ran third in the election, carrying only two states. Wilson with a minority of the total popular vote (41.9 per cent) won 435 electoral votes, Roosevelt carried 88, and Taft 8. For the first time since the Civil War, Republicans lost both houses of Congress.

In the mid-term elections of 1914, Republicans made large gains in the House, but not enough for a majority and they lost seats in the Senate.

Charles Evans Hughes of New York was nominated for the presidency in 1916, with Charles W. Fairbanks, vice president during Roosevelt's second term again receiving the vice presidential nomination.

In the closest election since 1876, the Republican ticket lost to Woodrow Wilson. Campaigning against the Democratic slogan, "He kept us out of war," Hughes trailed Wilson by a half million popular votes, and in the electoral college the vote was Hughes 254; Wilson 277. For several days the result was uncertain, pending completion of returns in California where it is commonly alleged that Hughes lost the election through failure of his advisers to have him consult with Gov. Hiram Johnson, popular leader of the Republican progressive forces. Republicans gained seats in both branches of the national legislature but not enough for control.

During Wilson's second term, Republicans joined with Democrats in voting for participation in World War I, and Republicans supported Wilson by a strong majority on most war measure roll calls between April 1917 and the summer of

1918. In the mid-term elections, Wilson's call for a Democratic Congress was ineffective, and Republicans recaptured the House—240 seats to 190 for the Democrats and also won the Senate 49 to 47.

Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover.—Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio, another "dark horse" won the GOP presidential nomination on the 10th ballot in 1920. Gov. Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts was selected for his running mate. The platform pledged economy, tax reduction, endorsed the World Court, but straddled the League of Nations issue. During the campaign several distinguished Republicans—the Committee of Thirty-one—organized to urge American entry into the league, but the GOP presidential nominee avoided commitment on this subject. The Republican ticket won by a landslide, Harding polling 60.3 per cent of the popular vote to win 404 electoral votes against 127 for his opponent, Cox. In Congress, Republicans won 300 House seats to 132 for the Democrats, and 59 Senate seats to 37 for the opposition.

Under Harding the presidential office reverted to the earlier pattern of GOP presidents during the post-Civil War period and was not as effective in exerting leadership in Congress. Notable domestic achievements of the Harding administration were the inauguration of the executive budget system in 1921, and the president's own personal influence in having the 12-hour day abandoned by the steel industry. In foreign affairs, the Disarmament Conference of 1922 was widely acclaimed.

Postwar agricultural distress played a major role in bringing some reverses to Republicans in the midterm elections of 1922, and in intensifying the division between the more conservative eastern wing of the party and western Republicans.

In August 1923, Harding died of a heart attack in San Francisco, and was succeeded August 3d by Calvin Coolidge. One of the latter's first problems was to deal with the scandals that were already beginning to overtake the Harding administration, notably the scandals growing out of the leasing of government-owned oil properties to private owners, and disclosures of corruption in the Veterans Administration and elsewhere. Coolidge's appointment of two special prosecutors—one Democrat and one Republican—was well-received, and by 1924 his nomination to head the GOP ticket was assured. Charles G. Dawes of Chicago was chosen for the vice presidential nomination. Campaigning on a program for honesty, efficiency, and economy, and for affiliation with the World Court, Coolidge was elected with 54.1 per cent of the popular vote. His electoral vote was 382 while Davis received 136 and La Follette, the Progressive party nominee, won 13.

Under Coolidge, successive reductions were made in the income tax and the national debt. The Senate approved adherence to the World Court but under reservations that were unacceptable to other nations. The landmark of his administration in foreign affairs was the signing of the Kellogg Pact by 63 nations, Aug. 27, 1928, calling for the renouncement of war as an instrument of national policy.

Coolidge declined to run for a third term in 1928, and his secretary of Commerce, Herbert C. Hoover, was nominated for the presidency on the first ballot. His running mate was Sen. Charles Curtis of Kansas. The platform repudiated the McNary-Haugen plan for disposal of surplus crops in favor of voluntary cooperation between government and farmer, and it also called for enforcement of the 18th Amendment to the Constitution.

Hoover, carrying 40 states with 58.1 per cent of the popular votes, won 447 electoral votes to Alfred E. Smith's 87. The unique feature of the election was that the Republican ticket won several Southern states for the first time since reconstruction days.

Seven months after Hoover entered office a calamitous depression began. To mitigate its effects Hoover initiated a series of projects for the expenditure of several hundred millions of dollars by federal, state, and private corporations. The Hoover administration also authorized the purchase of cotton and grain futures to keep prices from further declining, and in 1932 the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was created to restore credit mainly through loans to financial and business institutions, railroads, and agricultural agencies. It was also empowered to lend funds to states and cities for public projects.

Republicans barely won a majority of House seats in the 1930 midterm elections, and because of special elections to fill vacancies, the Democrats took control of the House in the 72d Congress meeting in December 1931. In the Senate, Republicans had a plurality of one, the balance of power being held by a Farmer-Laborite.

Hoover and Curtis were renominated in 1932. The campaign, struggling against the harrowing experiences of the depression, ended in overwhelming victory for Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt. Carrying just six states and only 39.6 per cent of the two-party vote, the Republican ticket had a total of 59 electoral votes. In the congressional contests the Democrats won both the Senate and House by decisive margins. Two years later the GOP suffered further losses in the Senate and House in the midterm elections of 1934. For the next 20 years the discontinuity of national party leadership became a formidable problem for the Republican Party.

The Democratic Era.—Gov. Alfred M. Landon of Kansas won the GOP nomination in 1936 and publisher Frank Knox of Chicago was chosen as his running mate against Roosevelt. The platform stressed preservation of free enterprise, maintenance of the Constitution, and economy in government. Landon who endorsed many welfare features of the Roosevelt administration lost by 10 million popular votes, and carried only two states for eight electoral votes. In Congress, Republicans were reduced to 89 in the House, 17 in the Senate, the most disastrous defeat in Republican history.

Two years later Republicans won the greatest midterm upset of the present century by picking up 80 additional seats in the House and 17 in the Senate. In this election Robert A. Taft of Ohio who was to become such a dominant voice in Republican legislative leadership—"Mr. Republican"—won his first term in the Senate.

Wendell Willkie, the first dark horse candidate since Harding, won the GOP nomination on the sixth ballot in 1940, and Oregon's Sen. Charles L. McNary, the vice presidential nomination. While the Republican platform was cautiously worded on the matter of extending aid to nations invaded by aggressors in World War II, Willkie came out strongly for aid to nations overrun by Germany and Italy in the initial stages of World

War II. He campaigned vigorously against a third term for Roosevelt, but lost with 44.7 percent of the popular vote to 53.9 for Roosevelt. In the electoral college, the Republican ticket had 82 votes against Roosevelt's 449, and won an additional five seats in the Senate.

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York and John W. Bricker of Ohio headed the Republican ticket in 1944. Again, as in 1940, the avowed differences on foreign policy between the GOP and Democratic presidential nominees were slight, though the sharp division between the isolationist and more internationalist segments of the Republican Party persisted. Dewey, campaigning against a fourth term for Roosevelt, dwelt heavily on the theme that it was an administration of "tired old men." Carrying 12 states, Dewey won 99 electoral votes to Roosevelt's 432, with minor changes in GOP fortunes in the House and Senate.

In 1946, Republicans won both House and Senate for the first time in 16 years. Two years later Dewey became the first defeated GOP candidate to win a second presidential nomination and had as his running mate, this time, Gov. Earl Warren of California. Dewey, campaigning against President Harry S. Truman on a theme extolling unity and harmony and heralded by all public opinion polls as a sure winner, lost the election in a stunning upset. Winning 45.3 percent of the popular vote, Dewey carried 16 states for a total of 189 electoral votes against Truman's 303. The Democrats not only held the presidency but also regained control of Congress by 263 to 171 in the House, and in the Senate by a margin of 54 to 42.

The midterm elections of 1950 brought important gains to the Republicans in the Senate and modest increases in the House. Important issues in this campaign were the conduct of the Korean War, and allegations of subversive political activity, notably the testimony of Whittaker Chambers leading to the conviction of Alger Hiss for perjury, and the sweeping—though unproved—charges against various government officials and advisers by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin.

Republican Revival.—In 1952 the discontinuity of leadership that characterized Republican politics during their 20 out-of-power years came to an end. Following a dramatically close contest for the presidential nomination, in which Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower defeated Sen. Robert A. Taft, the Republican Party went on to win the presidency for the first time since 1928. Sen. Richard M. Nixon of California was the vice presidential nominee. Winning 55.1 percent of the popular vote, Eisenhower carried 39 states and 442 electoral votes to Adlai E. Stevenson's 89. Impressive in this victory was the defection of several Southern states from the Democratic Party to the Republican column. In the Congress, Republicans fared less well, winning the Senate by one vote, and the House by six.

Significant achievements of the first Eisenhower administration were the truce in the Korean War, the strengthening of the civil rights of Negroes, and the extension of social security and old age benefits.

The closeness of the Republican congressional victory in the GOP presidential landslide of 1952 was underscored in 1954 when the Republicans lost the Congress (47 to 49 Democrats in the Senate; 203 to 232 Democrats in the House).

Pix

As their wives look on, President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon acknowledge their renomination in 1956.

Following months of uncertainty because of a serious heart attack in September 1955, President Eisenhower informed the nation in February 1956 that he would run for a second term if the Republican Party desired him as its candidate. He was unanimously renominated in August 1956 with Nixon again as his running mate.

Running for a second time against Stevenson in a campaign in which Republicans highlighted peace, prosperity, and Eisenhower's efforts to promote concord in American society, Eisenhower won reelection even more impressively than in his 1952 triumph. With more than a 9-million vote plurality over Stevenson, he won 457 electoral votes to the latter's 74, again invading the South to carry Virginia, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, and the border states of Oklahoma, Tennessee, and Kentucky. In an unusually bizarre ballot result, Eisenhower led his congressional ticket by 6.5 million votes, and the failure of his party to win control of Congress meant that he became the first president since Zachary Taylor to start a term with both houses of Congress in the hands of the opposition party.

During his second term, Eisenhower was faced with the problem of federal enforcement of school desegregation in Little Rock, Ark.; with the loss of American prestige when Russian scientists launched the world's first space satellite; with an economic recession; with farm discontent over the policies of his secretary of agriculture; and with increased Soviet-American tensions after an American reconnaissance plane was shot down over the Soviet Union.

In 1960, Richard M. Nixon, Eisenhower's Vice-President, won the Republican nomination for President on the first ballot. The party convention chose Ambassador to the United Nations Henry Cabot Lodge as his running mate. In the campaign which followed, the Republicans emphasized the peace which the Eisenhower administration had maintained for eight years, its fiscal responsibility, its fight against inflation, and its success in promoting concord in American society rather than class warfare. The Democratic opposition struck at the alleged missile gap, deficiencies in the space program, neglected welfare legislation, and the need to achieve a faster rate of economic growth.

In a "cliff-hanger" election, Nixon lost the presidency with 34,108,546 popular votes to John F. Kennedy's 34,227,096, a difference of 118,550.

The electoral vote for Nixon was 219; for Kennedy, 303. In the House, Republicans won 174 seats; in the Senate, 36.

In the midterm election of 1962, Republicans won 176 seats in the House, lost 4 in the Senate (for a total of 32), and won 17 governorships. Significant gains were the election of attractive gubernatorial candidates in Michigan, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Oklahoma. GOP votes in the South for the House of Representatives rose from 606,000 in 1958 to 2,084,000 in 1962—a growth of 244 percent. In 1961, Texas sent its first Republican to the U.S. Senate.

The most significant Republican setback in 1962 was Richard Nixon's failure to be elected governor of California. It seemed to remove him from further consideration for important elective office. Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona began to emerge as a 1964 presidential candidate. A vigorous champion of political conservatism, Goldwater had long been demanding an end to "big government" in Washington.

Opposition to Goldwater rose from liberal and moderate Republicans, but it was not well organized. Although the moderates had several possible candidates, they were unable to unite behind any one of them to challenge Goldwater. In the crucial California primary election, Goldwater defeated his strongest opponent, Nelson A. Rockefeller, virtually eliminating the New York governor from the race. By convention time, Goldwater had won sufficient delegate strength to win the presidential nomination on the first ballot. He chose as his running mate Representative William E. Miller of New York, chairman of the Republican National Committee.

After the convention, the split between the conservative and moderate wings of the party did not heal. Goldwater's urging of a less conciliatory foreign policy, his failure to condemn politically extremist groups, his shifting stands on social welfare programs, and his opposition to the 1964 civil rights law caused defections by moderate and liberal Republicans. Some Republican candidates for state and local offices refused to associate themselves with the national ticket.

Goldwater lost to Lyndon B. Johnson, suffering the worst defeat in a presidential race since Alfred Landon was swamped by the Roosevelt landslide in 1936. Goldwater carried five Southern states and his home state of Arizona, for a total of 52 electoral votes to Johnson's 486.

The returns left the Republicans in a shambles. The Democrats controlled the Senate and the House by margins of 68–32 and 295–140, respectively. Party conservatives and moderates blamed each other for the debacle. The national committee was in the inexperienced hands of Dean Burch, a Goldwater supporter.

Yet the party revived spectacularly. Burch was replaced by Ray Bliss, a brilliant political tactician who had guided the party to many victories in Ohio as that state's chairman. Bliss insisted that the party avoid ideological controversy and concentrate on winning elections.

The principal reason for the rapid Republican recovery was the Democrats' failure to end the Vietnamese war. Domestic inflation and civil unrest, both aggravated by the war, added to the Democrats' woes. The Republicans gained four senators and 47 representatives in the 1966 elections, and they won half of the nation's governorships.

Richard Nixon, taking a middle position in the party's ideological spectrum, still enjoyed wide support among enrolled Republicans. Launching an amazing comeback, he swept the 1968 state presidential primary elections in which he competed. Nelson Rockefeller, Ronald Reagan, and George Romney (governors, respectively, of New York, California, and Michigan) sought the nomination but could not stop Nixon, who was chosen on the first ballot at the Miami Beach convention. Nixon, who picked Gov. Spiro T. Agnew of Maryland as his vice-presidential running mate, waged a cautious and skillful campaign that exploited sentiment for a "change." He narrowly defeated the Democratic candidate, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey. The Democrats, however, retained control of Congress by a reduced margin.

See also CONVENTION, POLITICAL; EXECUTIVE—*The Executive and Political Parties;* UNITED STATES—sections *17* to *19;* also biographies of major political leaders.

Bibliography. Blaine, James G., *Twenty Years of Congress*, 2 vols. (Norwich 1884-1886); Curtis, Francis M., *The Republican Party, 1854-1904*, 2 vols. (New York 1904) Kleeburg, Gordon S. P., *The Formation of the Republican Party as a National Political Organization* (New York 1911); Bishop, J., *Presidential Nominations and Elections* (New York 1916); Myers, William S., *The Republican Party*, rev. ed. (New York 1931); Wallace, Andrew W., *The Early History of the Republican Party* (Columbus 1931); White, William Allen, *Autobiography* (New York 1946); Isley, Peter A., *Horace Greeley and the Republican Party* (Princeton 1947); Agar, Herbert, *The Price of Union* (Boston 1950); Nye, Russel B., *Midwestern Progressive Politics* (East Lansing 1951); Blum, John M., *The Republican Roosevelt* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954); Harris, Louis, *Is There a Republican Majority?* (New York 1954); Zarnow, A. F. Z., *Lincoln and the Party Divided* (Norman, Okla., 1955); Larson, Arthur, *A Republican Looks at His Party* (New York 1956); Lubell, Samuel, *The Future of American Politics*, rev. ed. (New York 1956); Lubell, Samuel, *Revolt of the Moderates* (New York 1956); Moos, Malcolm, *The Republicans: a History of Their Party* (New York 1956); Woodward, Comer V., *Reunion and Reaction*, rev. ed. (Boston 1956); Roseboom, Eugene H., *A History of Presidential Elections* (New York 1957); Binkley, Wilfred E., *American Political Parties: Their Natural History*, 3d ed. (New York 1958); Burns, James M., *The Deadlock of Democracy* (New York 1963); Chambers, William N., *Political Parties in a New Nation* (New York and Toronto 1963).

SOCIALIST PARTY

United States.—The industrial conditions in the United States, the constantly changing frontier, and the lack of class stratification, have, among other things, prevented the development of a strong socialist movement in that country.

Before the Civil War (1861–1865), social unrest expressed itself largely in the development of cooperative colonies initiated by utopian socialists and in the formation of local labor parties.

In the late 1860's and early 1870's, a number of branches of the First International were formed in the East, and on July 4, 1874, a Social Democratic Workingmen's Party of North America was organized with a rather indefinite Socialist platform, the party in 1877 becoming the Socialist Labor Party of North America (SLP).

The SLP showed much activity during the next two decades, but the attempt of its leader, Daniel De Leon, to impose too rigid a discipline upon its membership and his bitter opposition to leaders of organized labor led to a split in the party.

The dissident group, under Morris Hillquit and others, joined in 1900 with the midwestern Socialists in nominating Eugene Victor Debs for president. This was followed in 1901 by a Unity Conference which gave birth to the Socialist Party.

The party reached its zenith in membership in 1912 with 118,045 members and with Socialists serving as mayors in 56 cities and occupying 1,000 public offices in cities and states.

Following that year, internal dissension over syndicalist tactics, war, communism and other problems, reduced the party's membership, and the Socialist Party never regained its 1912 strength.

Following the death of Debs, who had served as presidential candidate from 1900 to 1920 inclusive (with the exception of 1916), Norman Thomas, writer and former minister, became the party's standard bearer in six successive campaigns (1928–1948 inclusive). Darlington Hoopes (1896–), Reading, Pa., attorney, was candidate in 1952.

The highest Socialist votes received by presidential candidates were 900,672 in 1912, 919,799 in 1920, and 881,951 in 1932. The Hoopes 1952 vote was 20,189. The Socialist Labor Party, which had continued as a small, closely knit party since its organization in the 1870's, obtained that year 30,533 votes.

From 1936 to the early 1950's, Democratic Socialists were divided into the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation. In the late 1940's and early 1950's, these groups cooperated on many fronts and discussed a merger of the organizations. During the 1950's, the Socialist Party laid proportionately more stress on education and less on the nomination of candidates for political office. In 1952, Norman Thomas and others organized another educational society—the Union for Democratic Socialism. The League for Industrial Democracy, organized in 1905, continued its publication of literature on problems of economic and social democracy.

WHIG PARTY, hwĭg pär'tē, a political party in the United States during the second quarter of the 19th century, formed to oppose President Andrew Jackson and the Democratic Party. The term Whig came into common use in 1834, and persisted until the disintegration of the party after the presidential election of 1856. The anti-Jackson groups drew upon the political history of two revolutions, the American and 17th century English, for their name. In both cases the opposition to the king had called themselves Whigs (q.v.). Now it was "King Andrew" Jackson who was the alleged tyrant.

The Whigs' direct political antecedents were the National Republicans, the administration party during John Quincy Adams' presidency (1825–1829). They advocated a nationalistic economic policy (the "American System"), but were stymied by the rising power of the Jacksonians, who were thereafter called Democrats. Jackson's inauguration in 1829 began the period of National Republican opposition and prepared the ground for the coalition of political forces which formed the Whig Party. Henry Clay of Kentucky, and Daniel Webster of Massachusetts became the party's leading figures. Webster was more of a nationalist than Clay, as he demonstrated in his famed Reply to Hayne of South Carolina (Jan. 26–27, 1830). But both men urged a program of tariff protection, federally sponsored communication projects (internal improvements), continuation of the national bank, and a conservative public land sales policy—the "American System," much of which could be traced back to Alexander Hamilton's Federalist economic policy of 1791. This was a program with especially strong appeal to merchants and manufacturers whose business operations went beyond state lines. Clay made the president's veto of a bill to recharter the second Bank of the United States the key issue of the election of 1832, but Jackson easily won reelection.

State sovereignty, not economic nationalism, was the idea which brought a significant addition to the ranks of those opposing Jackson. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina broke his alliance with Jackson when he realized that he would not be the next Democratic president, and the split widened during South Carolina's attempt of nullification of federal tariff laws. Jackson reacted sternly to this defiance, giving Clay an opportunity to introduce a compromise tariff bill in February 1833. Calhoun approved the compromise and for several years acted in uneasy association with other anti-Jacksonians. Another source of recruits was the Anti-Masonic Party, particularly strong in New York and Pennsylvania. The stated purpose of this strange phenomenon in American history was to combat the supposed threat of Masonic power over judicial and political institutions. It also provided younger politicians with a convenient means for advancement. Among those Anti-Masons who became important Whig leaders were William H. Seward and Thurlow Weed of New York, and Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania. With the addition of two more groups, antinullification states' rights Southerners and the so-called Democratic Conservatives, who opposed their party's financial policies after 1836, the Whig coalition was complete, but hardly united.

Hard times following the panic of 1837 and the popularity of their candidate, Gen. William Henry Harrison, brought the Whigs victory in 1840 over Jackson's successor, Martin Van Buren. The new Whig managers stole a turn from the Democrats by outdoing them in raucous electioneering during the "Log Cabin" campaign—the most tumultous presidential campaign the nation had yet seen. (This was the formula for the only other Whig victory, that of Gen. Zachary Taylor in 1848). Harrison's death on April 4, 1841 (one month after assuming office), was especially disastrous for the party. John Tyler, a Virginia states' rights former Democrat, replaced him and vetoed a succession of key Whig tariff and banking bills. The frustrated Whigs read their president out of the party, but the last pre-Civil War opportunity for passage of a modified "American System" had slipped by.

When the Whigs next won the presidency in 1848 the nation was deeply involved in the problems of slavery and national expansion. With disunion threatening, the aged Whig leaders Clay and Webster tried, in January and March 1850, to compromise the main points of sectional friction. President Taylor blocked their moves, but his death on July 9, made Millard Fillmore, a party man from New York, president. While the Compromise of 1850 was not solely a Whig accomplishment, the Whig leadership had been prominent in its passage. Webster, now Fillmore's secretary of state, dreamed of capturing the presidency at the head of a Union movement in 1852. But both major parties accepted the Compromise, and on June 16, 1852, the Whigs reverted to form in nominating another general, Winfield Scott. Two weeks later Clay was dead and Webster died in October. The passing of these two great figures heralded the Whig disaster of 1852. The party never recovered from this defeat. Its call for moderation and Union, by now far more prominent than the national economic policy, became increasingly ineffective as the Civil War approached. Southern Whigs, fearful of Northern encroachment on slaveholding rights, thought the Democratic Party more receptive to their interests; and a significant number of Northern Whigs had already moved into the antislavery Free Soil Party, which had been formed on the eve of the election of 1848.

The rise of the Republican and the anti-immigrant Know-Nothing parties completed the Whig downfall. Defections to Republicanism were numerous, while the former Whig president, Fillmore, accepted the Know-Nothing nomination. A Whig national convention met in 1856, but simply endorsed the Fillmore ticket. Thus the party of Unionism came to an end, a victim of sectional controversy. In 1860 a feeble remnant of Whiggery organized a Constitutional Union Party, a last-ditch attempt to prevent disruption of the Union. They fared badly in the election; their constitutional conservatism was politically dead, and with it had perished the Whig Party.

It is difficult to speak of Whig doctrine in a party of such diverse elements. Politically, the opposition to Jackson dictated an attack on excessive presidential energy. Whigs believed Congress should initiate policy, not the president. Whig views of the Constitution ranged from Webster's nationalism to Tyler's states' rights views, with the nationalistic view predominating. But its national economic policy best characterized the Whigs, although not all those calling themselves Whigs accepted it. Politically, this was a premature nationalism, at a time when the effective power of government remained to a large extent with the states. The Democrats, through their generally superior state political organizations and greater identification with popular interests, were usually able to maintain their ascendancy. The absence of true nationalism before the Civil War, meant that the party with a national economic policy had to depend on nonsense and war heroes for its two national victories. With no Southerners in Congress during the Civil War, and with a former Illinois Whig, Abraham Lincoln, in the White House, the Republican Party finally passed much of the economic legislation on tariff and banking which the Whigs had long advocated.

Bibliography.—Cole, Arthur C., *The Whig Party in the South* (Washington 1913); Carroll, E. Malcolm, *Origins of the Whig Party* (Durham 1925); Fuess, Claude M., *Daniel Webster* (Boston 1930); Poage, George R., *Henry Clay and the Whig Party* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1936); Van Deusen, Glyndon G., *The Life of Henry Clay* (Boston 1937); id., *Thurlow Weed, Wizard of the Lobby* (Boston 1947); Sellers, Charles G., "Who Were the Southern Whigs?" *American Historical Review*, vol. 59, no. 2, pp. 335–436 (New York 1954); Van Deusen, Glyndon G., "Some Aspects of Whig Thought and Theory . . . ," *American Historical Review*, vol. 63, no. 2, pp. 305–322 (New York 1958).

FRANK OTTO GATELL,

Department of History, University of Maryland.