WOODROW WILSON - THE PROGRESSIVE ACADEMIC WHO WOULD BE PRESIDENT

Fred Hershenson
UCSD – Osher Institute
February 18, 2014
## 100 Year Comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1912</th>
<th>2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Population</td>
<td>92,500,000</td>
<td>312,800,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Life Expectancy</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>75.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female Life Expectancy</td>
<td>51.8</td>
<td>80.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Annual Salary</td>
<td>$750</td>
<td>$50,233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Debt</td>
<td>$1.15 Billion</td>
<td>$15 Trillion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorce Rate</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>41.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Top 10% Richest Americans’ Share of the Economy

- **GREAT DEPRESSION**: 1917
- **WORLD WAR II**: 1945
- **START OF GREAT RECESSION**: 2008

*Source: Piketty and Saez (2008): IRS*
Leonardo DiCaprio To Play Woodrow Wilson
Producing and starring in biopic of 28th US President
Topics of Today’s Talk

- Wilson the Person
- Wilson the Politician
- Wilson the President
Thomas Woodrow Wilson

- Born – December 28, 1856 in Staunton, VA
- First Son and Third Child of:

  Joseph Ruggles Wilson  
  Janet Woodrow Wilson  
  Tommy Wilson
Early Years – 1860’s

- Family moved to Augusta, Georgia
- Early life influenced by the Civil War
  - Experiences in Augusta and later in Columbia, South Carolina
- Primary Education
  - Often absent due to minor illnesses
  - Uninterested in learning; more interested in baseball
  - Low Grades due to difficulties in mastering reading skills
College Years

- Davidson College - 1873-1874
- College of New Jersey (Princeton) 1875-9
  - Managing Editor of the *Princetonian*
  - Became very interested in Government & Politics
  - Fascinated with British History & Political System
  - Wrote an essay entitled, “Cabinet Government in the United States.”
College Years

- Davidson College
- College of New Jersey (Princeton)
- University of Virginia
  Sept 1879 – December 1880

- Join Edward Renick in the practice of law in Atlanta, GA  -  1882-1884
Ellen Axson Wilson

- Wilson traveled to Rome, GA, in April 1883, and met Ellen Axson, the daughter of the local Presbyterian minister.
- In September 1883, he met Ellen again in Asheville, NC, and asked her to marry him.
Graduate Studies at Johns Hopkins University; 1884-1886

Herbert Baxter Adams

JH Glee Club
Woodrow Wilson – University Professor

Bryn Mawr College - “Associate” in History: 1885 - 1888
Woodrow Wilson - University Professor

Wilson’s Views on teaching women:

- Told Ellen that he would a great deal rather teach men anywhere than girls at Bryn Mawr.
- Thought women could never play an active role in politics, hence, he was wasting his time since they would never influence political thinking or shape public affairs.

“Lecturing to young women on the history and principles of politics was about as appropriate as lecturing to stone masons on the evolution of fashion in dress.”
Additional Professional Activities

- **Writing career took off:**
  - “Congressional Government” was a success
  - Became a regular contributor to the *Political Science Quarterly*
  - Began writing a college text [“The State”] on comparative governments (U.S. vs. European)

- Invited to give guest lectures to graduate students at Johns Hopkins
Wesleyan University; 1888-1889

Resigned from Bryn Mawr (June, 1888) and accepted a position as Professor of History & Political Economy at Wesleyan University.
Princeton University

- Offered a Professorship in the Economics Department by Dr. Francis Patton, President of Princeton (in mid-1889).
- Six months later (Feb, 1890) he received a second offer which he accepted.
Princeton Professor; 1890-1902

- Many changes since he was a student
- Recognized as a popular teacher and faculty member
- Writing & Speaking engagements were increasing
  - Annual lectures at Johns Hopkins
  - Speaker at the 1893 Chicago Worlds Fair
  - Published “Division & Reunion”
  - Wrote a series of articles on George Washington for Harper’s Magazine
Princeton Professor; 1890-1902

- May 1896 – awoke unable to use his right hand
- Summer 1896 – took his first trip outside of the United States to England
- October 1896 – 150th Anniversary of the University. Wilson was the keynote speaker - “Princeton in the Nation’s Service.”
Princeton Professor; 1890-1902

- May 1896 – awoke unable to use his right hand
- Summer 1896 – took his first trip outside of the United States to England
- October 1896 – 150th Anniversary of the University. Wilson was the keynote speaker - “Princeton in the Nation’s Service.”
- UVA offers Wilson the position of President of the University.
- June 1902 - Francis Patton resigns as President of Princeton and Wilson is unanimously elected to replace him.
President of Princeton

Inaugurated as the 13th President of Princeton on October 25, 1902
Actions as Princeton President

- Raise the Academic Standards
  - Established the concept of a “major” with electives and distribution requirements
  - Established a variation of the English tutorial system with each course offering two lectures per week plus a “conference” with a guide or preceptor
  - Reorganize and hire new Faculty
  - Build enough dorms so all students could live on Campus
Actions as Princeton President

- Raise the Academic Standards
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- Raise Money
Wilson’s Health

- June 1904 – developed weakness in the upper right limb that lasted for several months
- May 28, 1906 – awoke without vision in his left eye
- November 1907 – weakness and numbness of the fingers or upper right limb
- July 1908 – two attacks of “neuritis” affecting the upper right limb
Wilson & Princeton Clubs

- December 13, 1906 – Wilson recommends the abolishment of fraternity-like “eating clubs” on the Princeton campus
- June 10, 1908 - Plan approved by the Trustees
- September 1907 – due to alumni pressure, the Board of Trustees withdraws its approval to abolish eating clubs on campus

Andrew West  John Hibben
Princeton Graduate College

- Dispute between Wilson and West on the location of the Graduate College
- West receives a promise of financial support for the Graduate College from William C. Proctor
- May 18, 1910 – Isaac C. Wyman, a wealthy alumni left his estate to Princeton with the proviso that West decide how it was to be spent
Journey into Governmental Politics

As early as 1906, George Harvey, editor of *Harper’s Weekly* recognized Wilson’s potential in politics and brought him to the attention of “Big Jim” Smith.
Road to Governor of New Jersey

Wilson’s response to Smith:
“I have always been a believer in party organizations. If I were elected Governor, I should be very glad to consult with the leaders of the Democratic Organization.”

During the campaign for Governor:
“Although I try to be courteous to the men I differ from, I am always sure they are wrong.”
Road to Governor of New Jersey

- July 15, 1910 – announced he would accept the Democratic Party nomination for Governor of New Jersey
- September 15, 1910 – nominated at the Democratic Party Convention on the 1st ballot
- October 20, 1910 – resigns from Princeton
- November 1, 1910 – elected Governor of New Jersey
Governor Wilson

- Sworn into office on January 17, 1911
- First challenge with the Democratic Machine occurred almost immediately and involved naming a Senator
  - Senators were elected by the State Legislatures and not the public [Article I, Section 3]
  - This changed in 1913 with adoption of the 17th amendment to the U.S. Constitution
  - In a preference primary held in late 1910, Democratic voters preferred James E. Martine by a large majority
Reforms under Wilson

- Geran Bill – all candidates for public office be nominated in public primaries rather than party conventions
- Limitations imposed on campaign contributions
- Creation of a Public Utilities Commission to regulate railroads and public utility companies
- Worker’s Compensation Law to aid laborers injured while on the job
National Attention on Wilson

Because of the reform legislation that had passed the New Jersey legislature under Wilson’s leadership, he was considered a possible Presidential candidate in the 1912 election.

- While initially denying he was a candidate, he did embark on a national speaking tour in May 1911.
- November 1911 – literature sent to 40,000 newspapers, libraries and individuals across the nation.
Democratic Party “Landscape”

- William Jennings Bryan
- James Beauchamp “Champ” Clark
- Oscar Wilder Underwood
1912 Democratic Party National Convention - Baltimore

Wilson not present during the balloting but was represented by two senior members of his campaign staff.

William McCombs

William McAdoo
1912 Democratic Party National Convention - Baltimore

The key to receiving the nomination was Illinois!

Roger C. Sullivan
Road to the Presidency - 1912

- William Howard Taft – Republican Party
- Theodore Roosevelt – Progressive (“Bull Moose”) Party
- Eugene V. Debs – Socialist Party of America
Wilson’s Running Mate – Thomas Marshall

"What this country needs is a really good 5 cent cigar."
Road to the Presidency - 1912

- Wilson began his campaign on Labor Day, and traveled across the country speaking from the rear platform of his train.
- Early campaign appearances were unimpressive.
- Asked Louis Brandeis to help him clarify his ideas.

“We can either have democracy in this country or we can have great wealth concentrated in the hands of the few, but we can’t have both.”

Louis Brandeis
Road to the Presidency - 1912

- Used limericks in his speeches
- Used the term “New Freedom” in an address given in Indianapolis
- Neither Wilson or Roosevelt spoke about their support to end segregation laws (Jim Crow laws)
- Suspended his campaign on October 14, 1912 after the assassination attempt on Roosevelt
Election Results - 1912

A map showing the results of the 1912 presidential election in the United States. The map indicates the distribution of electoral votes by state, with blue states indicating the winner and red states indicating the losing candidate. The numbers in each state represent the number of electoral votes. The map highlights the states that were won by the candidate who ultimately won the presidency in 1912.
President Woodrow Wilson

Oath of office – March 4, 1913
Wilson Cabinet & Key Advisors

William Jennings Bryan
William McAdoo
Albert Burleson
Joseph Tumulty
Cary T. Grayson
Louis Brandeis
James C. McReynolds

- Appointed to the Supreme Court by Wilson on August 19, 1914
- Served on the Supreme Court for 27 years and authored 503 decisions

James McReynolds
Wilson’s Presidential Style

- Tight schedule of appointments kept by Joe Tumulty
- Wrote most of his own speeches and personally answered correspondence related to foreign policy
- First President to hold regular press conferences
- Afternoons – lunch with Ellen and then golf or a drive in his electric car
Wilson & Congress

- In 1913 – Democrats controlled both Houses of Congress
- April 8, 1913 – Wilson addressed a joint session and personally appealed to Congress to lower tariffs on foreign imports
- Underwood Simmons Act – September 1913
  - Reduction of tariffs
  - Re-Institution of an Income Tax [16th Amendment]
Significant Progressive Legislation

- Federal Reserve Act – December, 1913
- Clayton Antitrust Act – October, 1914
- Seamen’s Act – March, 1915
- Federal Farm Loan Act – July, 1916
- Keating-Owen Child Labor Act – Sept, 1916
- Adamson Act – Sept, 1916
- Workingmen’s Compensation Act – Sept, 1916
- Three Amendments to the Constitution
GERMANY DECLARES WAR ON RUSSIA, FIRST SHOTS ARE FIRED; FRANCE IS MOBILIZING AND MAY BE DRAWN IN TOMORROW; PLANS TO RESCUE THE 100,000 AMERICANS NOW IN EUROPE
Personal Tragedy Strikes

President’s Wife, Ellen, dies of Bright’s Disease on August 6, 1914
Life After Ellen Wilson’s Death

- A cousin, Helen Woodrow Bones, took over the hostess duties at the White House
- Introduced to Edith Bolling Galt
Edith Wilson

- August, 1915 – secretly engaged
- October 8, 1915 – announced to the public that he would marry Edith Galt
- December 18, 1915 - married
Sinking of the Lusitania – May 7, 1915

The New York Times

LUSITANIA SUNK BY A SUBMARINE, PROBABLY 1,260 DEAD;
TWICE TORPEDOED OFF IRISH COAST; SINKS IN 15 MINUTES;
CAPT. TURNER SAVED, FROHMAN AND VANDERBILT MISSING;
WASHINGTON BELIEVES THAT A GRAVE CRISIS IS AT HAND

SINKS THE PRESIDENT


BULLIINGS AT WHITE HOUSE

When heard through clearly, but it is silent on the nation's courses.

WOETS OF CONGRESS CALL

Loss of Lusitania Recalls Firm Tons of Our First Warning to Germany.

CAPITAL FULL OF SADNESS

Raging that this war is not the nation's course.

The Lost Cunard Steamship Lusitania

Spring - 1916

- Germany again threatens to use submarine warfare on passenger ships
- Wilson asks Congress for legislation to increase military preparedness
- March 24, 1916 – Germany torpedoes the unarmed French Ferryboat, Sussex
- May 4, 1916 – Germany agrees not to attack without giving a chance for surrender
Presidential Election - 1916

Republican Convention – Chicago – June, 1916

Charles Evans Hughes
Presidential Election - 1916
Democratic Convention – St. Louis - June, 1916
Election Results – 1916
Early-1917 Developments

- Britain willing to negotiate a peace, but Germany decides to make an all out effort to win the war.
- “Zimmermann Telegram”
America Enters World War I

April 2, 1917 – Wilson addresses Congress and then signs the War Resolution
Mobilization

May 18, 1917 – Selective Service Act passed by Congress
Home Front

- Anti-German sentiments increased
- Espionage Act passed on June 15, 1917
- Sedition Act - 1918
  - Mail was censored
  - Anyone questioning government policies could be punished
January 8 – Wilson proposes a 14 Point Plan to a joint session of Congress
March 3 – Germany finalizes a separate peace treaty with Russia
July – Germany attempts to cross the Marne River but is defeated
October – German government asks for peace and the Kaiser abdicates.
November 11 – New German government surrenders. The war is over.
Wilson the Peacemaker

December 4, 1918 – Wilson and his wife leave for France on the U.S.S. George Washington
Peace Conference

- Convened in Paris on January 18, 1919 with 29 nations represented
- Ultimately, a Council of Four was formed

David Lloyd George, Vittorio Orlando, Georges Clemenceau, Woodrow Wilson
Trouble in the Senate

On his return to Washington, D.C., Wilson found that Henry Cabot Lodge opposed the formation of the League of Nations.
Return to Europe

- Wilson returned to France and the Peace Conference, but was ill on the voyage.
- On his return to the Conference, he learned that Col. House had compromised away any discussion on the League of Nations.
- April 1919 – Problems with Japan
- June 28, 1919 – Peace Treaty signed at the Palace of Versailles
- July 19, 1919 – Wilson had returned to Washington and was aboard the Presidential Yacht when he suffered a stroke.
Failure to Ratify the Treaty

- Unable to convince Lodge and enough other Republican Senators, Wilson took his case to the people.
  - Traveled over 8,000 miles in 22 days by train
  - Visited San Diego on Sept 18, 1919 – 30,000 people in attendance at the Balboa Stadium where Wilson used a “voice phone” to address the audience
  - Collapsed in Pueblo, Colorado – September 25, 1919 and returned to Washington, D.C.
 Failure to Ratify the Treaty

- October 2, 1919 – Edith found Wilson unconscious on the bathroom floor of the White House.
- Dr. Francis Dercum summoned to the White House.
Failure to Ratify the Treaty

- November, 1919 to March, 1920 – Senate would vote on the Treaty three times and failed to pass it.
- “With another year to his term, Woodrow Wilson became the lamest duck ever to inhabit the White House, residing more than presiding for the rest of his days there.”

A. Scott Berg
Presidential Election of 1920

James Cox, the Democratic nominee for President, would lose to Warren G. Harding on November 2, 1920.
Nobel Peace Prize

- December 10, 1920 – Wilson was awarded the 1919 Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts to form the League of Nations
- Other Presidents awarded the Nobel Peace Prize:
  - Theodore Roosevelt - 1905
  - Jimmy Carter - 2002
  - Barak Obama - 2009
Journey’s End

Woodrow Wilson died on February 3, 1924, and was buried in the Washington Cathedral
THE END
Additional Slide Materials
College Years

- Davidson College – 1873 - 1874
## World War I Casualties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Total Mobilized</th>
<th>Died</th>
<th>Wounded</th>
<th>Prisoners or Missing</th>
<th>Total Casualties</th>
<th>% Casualties of Mobilized</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allied Powers</td>
<td>42,188,810</td>
<td>5,152,115</td>
<td>12,831,004</td>
<td>4,121,090</td>
<td>22,104,209</td>
<td>52.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>12,000,000</td>
<td>1,700,000</td>
<td>4,950,000</td>
<td>2,500,000</td>
<td>9,150,000</td>
<td>76.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>8,410,000</td>
<td>1,357,800</td>
<td>4,266,000</td>
<td>537,000</td>
<td>6,160,800</td>
<td>76.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>British Empire</td>
<td>8,904,467</td>
<td>908,371</td>
<td>2,090,212</td>
<td>191,652</td>
<td>3,190,235</td>
<td>35.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>5,615,000</td>
<td>650,000</td>
<td>947,000</td>
<td>600,000</td>
<td>2,197,000</td>
<td>39.1</td>
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<td>United States</td>
<td>4,355,000</td>
<td>126,000</td>
<td>234,300</td>
<td>4,500</td>
<td>364,800</td>
<td>8.2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Table does not show Casualties for Japan, Romania, Serbia, Belgium, Greece, Portugal or Montenegro*
## World War I Casualties

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<th>% Casualties of Mobilized</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>11,000,000</td>
<td>1,773,700</td>
<td>4,216,058</td>
<td>1,152,800</td>
<td>7,142,558</td>
<td>64.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Austria-Hungary</td>
<td>7,800,000</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
<td>3,620,000</td>
<td>2,200,000</td>
<td>7,020,000</td>
<td>90.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>2,850,000</td>
<td>325,000</td>
<td>400,000</td>
<td>250,000</td>
<td>975,000</td>
<td>34.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
<td>87,500</td>
<td>152,390</td>
<td>27,029</td>
<td>266,919</td>
<td>22.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central Powers</td>
<td>22,850,000</td>
<td>3,386,200</td>
<td>8,388,448</td>
<td>3,629,829</td>
<td>15,404,477</td>
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<tr>
<td>Allied Powers</td>
<td>42,188,810</td>
<td>5,152,115</td>
<td>12,831,004</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
League of Nations

- Founding member that stayed until the end
- Founding member that left and joined
- Founding member that left
- Joined later and stayed until the end
- Joined later and left later
- League of Nations mandate
- Never members
- Colonies of members
- Colonies of members that left
- Colonies/territories of non-members
Relations with Mexico

- Mexican Revolution – February, 1913
- General Victoriano Huerta seized power after the Mexican President, Francisco Madero, was assassinated
- Wilson sided with a revolutionary leader, Venustiano Carranza
- Military Action – Tampico and Veracruz
Hetch Hetchy Project

Raker Act - 1913

Hetch Hetchy Dam Site - 1914
O'Shaughnessy Dam
The Inquiry

- Secret intelligence gathering project [Think Tank] led by Colonel House
- Team of experts who would help to redefine boundaries between countries and redistribution of colonial possessions
  - Sidney Mezes – President of CCNY
  - Walter Lippmann – writer, political commentator
The Inquiry – December, 1917

- Produced a comprehensive document: "The Present Situation: The War Aims and Peace Terms It Suggests"
  - Particular attention paid to Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria
  - Military situation in Russia
  - Middle East
  - Alsace-Lorraine
  - Instability of Italy
Wilson’s 14 Point Plan

- First five points were edicts for all nations to obey:
  - Open covenants of peace arrived at openly (no secret treaties)
  - Freedom of navigation on the seas
  - Removal of all economic barriers
  - Reduction of national armaments
  - Impartial adjustment of all colonial claims
Wilson’s 14 Point Plan

- Pt 6 – German evacuation of all Russian territory
- Pt 7 – Evacuation & restoration of Belgium
- Pt 8 – Release & restoration of all French territory (Alsac-Lorraine)
- Pt 9 – Readjustment of Italy’s borders
- Pt 10 – Reorganization of the Austria-Hungary Empire
- Pt 11 – Balkan states (Serbia)
- Pt 12 – Reorganization of the Ottoman Empire
- Pt 13 – Creation of an independent Poland
- Pt 14 – Creation of a League of Nations
Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.

The more things change, the more they stay the same.
Income Inequality

CNN Money, 2011
Share of Income

32 – Franklin D. Roosevelt
36 – Lyndon B. Johnson
40 – Ronald Reagan
43 – George W. Bush

Bloomberg Business
Bermuda

- mid-January 1907 – Travels for the first time to Bermuda on a midyear break for a month to convalesce
- Meets Mary Hulbert Peck
Returns in January 1908 for another month long midyear break, and renews his acquaintance with Mary Peck.
Wilson & Freud

- William Bulitt was a U.S. diplomat sent by Wilson to meet with Lenin in 1918-9
- His recommendations to recognize the new Bolshevik regime were rejected
- He complained to his therapist, Sigmund Freud, that Wilson had a “Christ complex”, and together they wrote a biography of Wilson

![William Bulitt](image1.png)  ![Sigmund Freud](image2.png)  ![Woodrow Wilson: A Psychological Study](image3.png)
Wilson & Princeton Clubs

- December 13, 1906 – Wilson recommends the abolishment of fraternity-like “eating clubs” on the Princeton campus
- June 10, 1907 - Plan approved by the Trustees, although it is opposed by some prominent alumni and faculty
- September 1907 – due to alumni pressure, the Board of Trustees withdraws its approval to abolish eating clubs on campus
Progressives

- Early 1900’s reformers
  - Eradicate political corruption
  - Regulate business
  - Address the most urgent problems of the poor

- Smith became concerned about Wilson’s willingness to go along with the Democratic Machine
Travelers intending to embark on the Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her allies and Great Britain and her allies; that the zone of the war includes waters adjacent to the British Isles; that, in accordance with formal notice given by the Imperial German Government, vessels flying the flag of Great Britain, or of any of her allies, are liable to destruction in those waters and that travelers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk.

Imperial German Embassy, Washington, D.C.