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A STUDY

of the

PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT OF 1912 AND
OF THE THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT
OF 1924 IN THE STATE OF
MAINE

A THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts (in History)

By

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Orono

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 **1924, January-March, April-June ✓
 July-September, September-December

* The Lewiston Journal was the only newspaper in the state which was Progressive. This paper was the instrument of Frank Dingley, progressive owner and brother of Nelson Dingley, Republican.

**The Lewiston Journal did not support the Third Party Movement of 1924. The cause of that party was not sponsored by any Newspaper in the state. ✓

INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this paper is two-fold. First, a study will be made of the Progressive movement of 1912 in the state of Maine. This will include a narration of events and an analysis of the causes and results in state politics. Secondly, the Third Party of 1924 will be taken up and treated similarly. A conclusion will then be made giving the relative purposes of the two movements showing from what groups each drew its adherents and why the movements were supported by these groups.

I. The First Progressive Movement.

The Progressive and LaFollette movements of 1912 and 1924 in Maine were branches of the national movements which bore the same name. Nationally these parties were initiated into politics through the energies of a group of progressive congressmen, chiefly from the West. The parties grew up quickly and spread to alarming proportions because the people in the country believed that there was a need for the legislation which each party advocated.

From the beginning of the twentieth century to nineteen hundred and twelve the two major parties became less and less divided on clear cut issues. Both favored a revision of the tariff, government control of private monopolies, improved

currency and the extension of the Civil Service.¹ Besides these policies the parties planked their platforms with meaningless issues which promised a full dinnerpail to the laborer in return for which the bosses hoped to gain the undivided allegiance of the laborers' vote.² Both the Democratic and Republican parties were boss ridden. A group of progressive leaders in both parties rose in opposition to the conservative inactivity of the old regime.³ The progressive Democrats organized a Democratic Federation. Besides seeking to reduce the tariff they sought riddance of corrupt politics. With the progressives dominating the Democratic convention of 1912, that meeting goes on record as offering itself, as an agency through which complete overthrow and extirpation of corruption, fraud, and machine rule in American politics could be effected.⁴ But with Murphy, Taggart and Sullivan as the vocal organs of such an extravagant promise it is small wonder that the public lacked faith. As for Wilson, he thought of boss rule lightly and likened it to a "fabric of cardboard."⁵ Then, too, progressive Democrats wanted federal control of private

1. B. P. DeWitt, The Progressive Movement (New York - 1915) P.71.

2. Charles E. Merriam, The American Party System (New York - 1922)

P. 8.

3. DeWitt, P. 72.

4. The Outlook, (New York - 1912) V. 101 P. 156.

5. Ibid, V. 102 P. 566.

monopolies. Unlike the later out and out Progressives they believed in the enforcement of the anti-trust laws already on the statute books as opposed to commission regulations which infringed on their conception of state rights.⁶

Within the Republican party a similar feeling of discontent was growing up. It centered about the leadership of Robert LaFollette who entered upon his first term in the senate in 1906. Protest among his followers was particularly strong against the political machine as it operated in the senate. 1908 opportunity offered itself for both the Democratic and Republican progressives to get together in Washington and oppose the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill. The tariff was unsuccessfully opposed but this action gave the Progressive movement a great impetus. The Democrats who voted against it were within their own party lines while the Republicans who opposed it as did LaFollette, Clapp, Dixon, Bourn, Borah, Cummins and Bristow left the pale of the party.⁷

The House Rule of 1910 which limited the power of the speaker again gave the progressives in both parties an opportunity to act effectively together in curbing the rule of the party bosses. Goaded on by the power of the autocratic speaker to block them at every move these progressives by united action succeeded in getting

6. Hebert Knox Smith, Yale Review "The Progressive Party"

(New Haven - 1912) V. 12 P. 26.

7. DeWitt, P. 69.

rid of his opposition to them for good and all.⁸ An interesting fact in this connection is that Senator Norris who had introduced the bill to break Cannon's power voted later to retain him as speaker thus showing the reluctance to break down party lines.⁹

With the election of 1912 ahead of them the Progressives in both parties agreed to attempt reform within their respective parties. If they were to be unsuccessful in the nomination of a Progressive candidate for President then they agreed to unite into a third party.¹⁰ The Democrats were successful in the National Convention which met in Baltimore. Such was not the case with the Republicans and this fact accounts for the fact that the Progressive vote came from the regular Republican Party as will be seen later.

In April, 1911, the progressive Republicans got together in Washington and agreed to oppose Taft in the coming presidential campaign. LaFollette was agreed upon as the outstanding leader and a campaign for his nomination on the Republican ticket was immediately begun. The NATION reports at this time that Roosevelt approved of LaFollette's leadership.¹¹ Theodore Roosevelt had just

8. J. S. Bassett, A Short History of the United States

(New York - 1915) P. 837.

9. DeWitt, P. 75.

10. Ibid, P. 72.

11. The Nation (New York - 1924) V. 119 P. 214.

returned from a hunting trip to Africa. Thanks to the friendliness of the American Press his popularity was tremendous. He did not immediately enter into active politics but rather became an observer of the political situation making only a few speeches here and there in favor of Republican aspirants for office.

In the meantime a great deal of public interest was being manifest in the progressive candidacy for office. This cannot be attributed wholly to the popularity of Senator LaFollette who was the probable candidate but to the continued reactionary administration of President Taft. As for LaFollette he lost ground rather than gained it. The leaders who had supported him from the beginning blamed him for his own failure. On February 12, 1912 he spoke as the guest of the Periodical Publishers' Association at Philadelphia. Overworked to the breaking point and suffering from the effects of ptomaine poisoning he was merciless in his attack upon the American Press.¹² Besides incurring the wrath of his would-be host publishers he lost the support of such political giants as Gifford Pinchot of Pa., Garfield of Ohio, and Frank A. Munsey. These men now turned to Roosevelt for leadership. With the impetus which had already started the progressives on their way and with the great popularity of Roosevelt to lead them,

12. Ibid, V. 119 P. 214; DeWitt - P. 76.

the Republican party bid fair to turn progressive within it-self.¹³

As for LaFollette it is natural to expect that he was unwilling to loose the leadership of the progressives when he had done so much to advance the principles for which the progressives stood. On March 22, he is quoted as saying, "You will find in all Progressive territory a protest against the surrender of the progressive movement into the hands of the soft-shelled progressives and reactionaries."¹⁴ This was undoubtedly a stab at Roosevelt. Again on March 24, he said, "Has a man like Roosevelt the right to return where he wields absolute power over conditions when he permitted unlawful combinations to grow and thrive when all the time he had the Sherman anti-trust law to enforce their discontinuance?"¹⁵

Returns from the Presidential Primaries indicated that Roosevelt would make a strong showing at the Republican National

13. The Nation V. 119 P. 214 says that Roosevelt had no thought of running for the third term until he saw that growing unpopularity against Taft and sensed the likely chance of the success of any candidate who might oppose him. - DeWitt - P. 78.

14. Kennebec Journal (Augusta, Maine) March 22, 1912.

15. Ibid March 24, 1912.

Convention which was scheduled to be held in Chicago on June 18, 1912. The delegates to this convention were chosen in three ways. Those elected in state conventions, those chosen by direct primaries, and those chosen by the people under pledge to support designated candidates for President and Vice-President. Of these three groups of delegates the last two favored the nomination of Roosevelt.¹⁶ This was an indication that the people wanted Roosevelt while the Republican national machine, usually to be found in control of state conventions, favored President Taft.

The Republican convention met at Chicago as slated. When the delegates assembled a number of states sent two sets of delegates. Those in direct primary were in general Roosevelt men while those chosen from state conventions were pledged to Taft. There were in all 254 disputed seats. These contested seats went to the National committee which was controlled by the regular "stand Pat" Republicans. The decision of this committee gave to Taft 235 of the 254 disputed seats.¹⁷ This gave the Taft men complete control of the convention and made the nomination of

16. DeWitt, P. 80.

17. Bassett, P. 844 - In 1912 Presidential Primaries had been used by thirteen states for the first time. Of these Roosevelt carried 9, Taft 2 and LaFollette 2.

Roosevelt impossible.

This was too much for progressive Republicans who refused to accept the decision. War was declared on the Republican party machine. Urged on by the disappointment of those who sought his leadership, Roosevelt met the challenge to bolt the Republican party without much loss of time. On June 23, immediately following the adjournment of the Republican convention 6500 loyal Roosevelt men took steps to form a new party. Among this number were many national leaders. After some deliberation Governor Hiram Johnson of California was appointed to choose a committee of seven members ^{who} ~~which~~ were instructed to formulate a plan for future action. The committee consisted of such men as Mr. Garfield, Governor Pinchot of Pa. Governor Stubbs of Kansas, Medill McCormick of Chicago and Senator Clapp of Minnesota.¹⁸

Two days following this meeting in Chicago the National Democratic Convention assembled in Baltimore. Under the leadership of William Jennings Bryan who had been an interested spectator at Chicago, the progressive Democrats carried the day.¹⁹ Woodrow Wilson, who had been successful in defying the bosses in New Jersey,

18. Kennebec Journal, June 21, 1912.

19. Bryan used Roosevelt's new party as a club to get the conservative Democrats lined up with the progressive Democrats.

was nominated to head the Democratic ticket on the 46 ballot with Thos. Marshall of Indiana. Progressive legislation was promised in the platform which advocated the income tax, popular election of senators, the use of Presidential primaries and other Progressive measures.²⁰

This cut the ground from under the Progressives for the Republicans promised four more years of reactionary administration while the Democrats were progressive in the leadership which they offered as well as the legislation which they promised. According to DeWitt the issues were as clear cut and there was no need for the creation of a third party. But the new Progressive movement had received sufficient impetus to keep it moving. On the fourth of July following a conference of Progressive leaders was held at Sagamore Hills. Munsey and others were present. They denied that the result of the Democratic convention had dampened their spirits.²¹ Plans were made for the national Progressive convention. The date was set for August fifth at Chicago.

At the stated time a great throng of Roosevelt supporters flocked from all over the country. Roosevelt and Johnson were placed on the party ticket by acclamation. In a speech called his "Confession of Faith" Roosevelt outlined his national policies.

20. See Appendix P. 1.

21. Kennebec Journal - July 4, 1912.

Aside from denouncing vigorously boss rule and private monopolies his platform was not essentially different from the Democratic platform. The chairman of the convention was Senator Beveridge. Joseph M. Dixon was made national chairman of the Progressive party.²²

Once organized nationally, the states were invaded. A vigorous campaign was carried out throughout the United States. The result of the election was what the political forecasters had prophesied. The Progressive votes were subtracted from the Republican roster making possible the election of Woodrow Wilson. Proof of this is the fact that in 1908 Taft received a popular vote of 7,678,908 while in 1912 the popular vote cast for Taft and Roosevelt together was 7,604,463. Wilson, in turn had 116,085 fewer votes than did Bryan in 1908.²³ Even though the Progressives were unsuccessful in 1912 the national and state organizations continued. The state organizations had considerable success in the agricultural states.

22. Ibid - August 6, 1912 - Judge Ben Linsay, one of a few prominent Democrats to be found supporting the new movement, was offered the chairmanship but declined because of ill health.

23. DeWitt, P. 86.

During the summer of 1913 Roosevelt went on a hunting trip to Brazil. In 1914 he returned to the United States. He had not wholly recovered from the effects of a deadly fever with which he had been stricken while away. Looking over the political ground he found many of his progressive policies working out under the guidance of the Democratic regime. In the National Progressive movement he admitted that there was little real coherence. A few ardent Progressives were still looking to him for leadership in the coming Presidential campaign of 1916 yet he found nothing encouraging in the support offered. He spoke at a few Progressive gatherings and recommended a candidate for governor for the Progressives in New York to support. He wisely refused to run himself.²⁴ "In November he candidly confessed to friends the failure of the whole attempt to found a new party. It had been based too much on lofty general principles to appeal to the average man; it had had too many extravagant people in its ranks; and existence offended against a deep seated habit which made people regard it as natural to have two parties only."²⁵ He appeared even to realize that his grip on the American people

24. Lord Charnwood, Theodore Roosevelt (Boston 1923) P. 178 - 183.

25. Ibid, P. 188.

had loosened. "It would be foolish for me and my friends to blink at the fact that as things are now, my advocacy of a man or policy is in all probability a detriment and not an aid."²⁶

The state elections of 1914 brought many of the Progressives back to the old party, with the exception of California where a heavy progressive majority was rolled up. The breach in most of the states was healed in the presidential campaign of 1916. In California the Johnson-Hughes factions did not harmonize and the state went Democratic. The 1918 congressional elections showed that the Progressives had gone back into the Republican fold.²⁷ The Progressive party left the political field but not before it left its imprint on national politics.²⁸

II. The LaFollette Movement of 1924.

In 1923 the challenge to reform was again in the air. Again it centered around the senatorial activity of Robert LaFollette. The equilibrium of the two parties was threatened. As a leader for political reform it is hard to find one in recent American history who could excel LaFollette. Ever since his entrance into politics, which dates from within a few years of his graduation from the University of Wisconsin, he had fought one

26. Ibid, P. 188

27. The Encyclopedia, Americana (New York - 1925)V. 22 P. 637.

28. Charnwood, P. 179; Behind the Scenes in Politics P. 30.

battle after another for legislation which would benefit the great mass of wage earners. Before becoming governor of Wisconsin he served for six years in the House of Representatives. He gained there and as Governor of Wisconsin such a reputation for political fearlessness that the advent of his return to Washington in 1906 as a senator was greeted with a certain lukewarmness by the more conservative senators.

The first bill which LaFollette fought in Washington with any success was the Payne-Aldrich tariff.²⁹ His activity in the Progressive Republican uprising in 1912 has already been noted. When the Progressives of 1912 split the Republican ticket he remained a Republican. In reality he stood out alone. He gave his support to neither Wilson nor Taft. He remained in the Republican camp. On January 2, 1912 he is quoted as saying, "If I did not believe the Republican party was best for getting control into the hands of the people, I would leave it. If I believed that the Democratic party a better instrument I would join it. If I thought that a new party was better I would found it."³⁰ Later in the year speaking in the senate chamber he reiterated, "I would keep up the fight in the Republican party - to make that party really

29. The Nation - 1924 V. 119 P. 181.

30. The Kennebec Journal - January 2, 1912.

progressive."³¹ Standing out alone during the rise and fall of the Bull Moose party he assuredly did follow out the policy of progressivism in the senate chamber until in 1923 he became the recognized leader of the Third Party.

When LaFollette was returned to the senate in that year to serve his fourth term he undoubtedly had more power than any other senator. Enough of the radicals from the grain producing west had been returned to form a block in congress. Then due to the seniority rule in the senate he was the third ranking member on the Interstate Commerce and on the Finance Committees. These two Committees had practical control of all economic legislation.³²

As the Progressive Movement of 1912 the LaFollette Party of 1924 was a party of discontent. Like the former movement it was an attempt to get the government back into the hands of the people. Its greatest strength lay in the economic legislation which it advocated. It attempted to draw its support from the irreconcilable farm and mill earners. It was especially successful in winning the support of the grain producing states in the North West. As for the mill labor those who went over to the party were chiefly foreigners who had socialistic

31. Ibid, August 17, 1912.

32. Current Opinion, (New York 1923) V. 74 - P. 32.

tendencies.³³ This was because LaFollette had advocated strict government regulation in industry and control of the railroads. In a minority program submitted in the Republican National convention of 1920 he had also advocated government ownership of the meat packing industry.³⁴

This coalition Third Party had its convention in Cleveland in July of 1924 at which time the names of LaFollette and Wheeler were put on the Presidential ticket. The campaign lacked the fire and enthusiasm which marked the Progressive campaign in 1912. The election returns in the following November showed that LaFollette had carried only his own state while Roosevelt in 1912 had carried six states.

After the election the coalition Third Party disintegrated. Its failure was registered at a conference held in Chicago in March, 1925. At this conference the agrarian interests present could not agree with the representatives of Socialism or with Union Labor. The Farmer-Labor group of Minnesota did not send representatives. The Railroad Brotherhood and with one exception the Trade union delegates began the work of disintegration, by announcing their intention of resuming freedom from political action. The whole project was a failure. A few months of common political action and leadership was not sufficient to develop unity of policy and conduct in the Third Party. The result was a return to party regularity.³⁵

33. The Worlds' Work, (New York 1924) V. 48- P. 462. *Summary*

34. Current Opinion, (New York 1923) V. 74 - P. 34.

35. The New Republic, (New York - 1925) V. 42. P. 53-56.

Chapter I.

The Political Situation in Maine from Statehood
to the Progressive Movement in 1912.I. Political Reasons for the Separation of Maine from
Massachusetts.

Maine separated from Massachusetts and became a state in 1820. As early as 1785 an attempt was made to establish separate statehood. This was during the Confederation and little interest was shown, the opinion being that there were already enough states quarreling with one another. The matter was dropped and taken up again in 1791, 1797 and 1807. By popular vote the people of Maine registered disapproval these three times. In 1807 more interest was shown in the gubernatorial contest than in the issue of separation. Maine was Republican at this time while Massachusetts was Federalist. As a result the Republican candidate Sullivan, was elected Governor of Massachusetts. At the same time Maine rejected separation 3370 to 9404.¹

During the war of 1812 the British invaded Maine.

1. Albert A. Whitmore, The Separation of Maine from Massachusetts
(Orono, 1917) P. 1 - 10.

Massachusetts gave little support to the war because of her commercial interests and did not come to the aid of Maine in her hour of need. This grievance Maine nursed against her Influence mother-state until the act of separation in 1820. Again of the War in 1814 Massachusetts incurred the disapproval of of 1812 Maine through her connection with the Hartford Convention. Maine was loyal to the Federal Government and opposed to Massachusetts action.²

In 1816 upon petition it was voted by Massachusetts to put the question of separation again to the people of Maine. This time the vote was in favor of separation 17,075 to 10,584. On May 29, the Massachusetts General Court authorized the calling of a constitutional convention at Brunswick, Maine for August 26. It was further voted at this time that before the meeting of the Convention the people in the state would again be canvassed for their opinion on the separation issue. This time if the vote stood five to four separation would be granted. The vote taken fell short of this but the Convention met just the same. Nothing was accomplished at this time except that more Maine people went over to the side of separation. ✓ plain

In 1819 the Maine delegates to the Massachusetts General Court were chosen by the people because they were known to favor

2. Bassett, P. 336.

separation. They were successful in obtaining the right to take another vote. This was taken July 26, 1819. This time the vote was favorable by a majority of 9,959. A convention was called, a constitution was drawn up and Maine was admitted to the Union in 1820.³

II. General Trend of Parties from 1820 - 1854.

It will be remembered that in national politics there were no clear cut party lines at the time that Maine became a state. The election of Monroe in 1820 perpetuated the "era of good feeling." The Democratic Republicans had been in power since the beginning of Jeffersons' first administration in 1800. The power of the Federalists had diminished until Massachusetts was the only state in which the party could poll majority votes. One reason why Massachusetts had consented to separation was that the political views of the Maine people were out of keeping with those of Massachusetts. The first Governor of the new state, William Rufus King, was a Democratic Republican. Governor King declined to run the second year and Albion K. Parris of the same political faith served for five successive terms. In 1826 he was followed by Enoch Lincoln, of Paris, also a Democratic Republican. He served until 1829.⁴ In that year a new party appeared in the

3. Whitmore, P. 17-20.

4. The Maine Register, (Portland, Maine 1898-99) P. 119.

field. This party took the name of the National Republicans. In national politics they favored Adams in the presidential campaign of 1828. When that candidate was defeated by Andrew Jackson those who opposed the administration of the new President organized the National Republican party. This party grew in strength as the "reign" of Andrew Jackson progressed. By 1836, under the name of the Whigs the party made a creditable showing in the national campaign. In 1840 they were successful in electing William Henry Harrison.

In the state of Maine the National Republicans entered the political field in 1829. John Quincy Adams had been a strong candidate in the state the year before. Turning to Adams and Henry Clay for national leadership Republicans in 1829 the people supported Jonathan G. Hunton, in Maine of Readfield for Governor in opposition to the Democratic Republican candidate, Samuel E. Smith. Hunton was elected. The Adams men also carried the state legislature. A new council was appointed which consisted of National Republicans. The Secretary of state and the Treasurer were displaced by Adamites.⁵ The success of the party was short lived.

They wanted War Taste

5. The Kennebec Journal was the organ of the National Republicans while the Portland Argus was the instrument of the Democrats.

Maine with its agricultural and sea-faring interests, was naturally Democratic.⁶ That is shown from the fact that just twice from 1830 to the introduction of the Republican party in 1854 was a state election lost to them.⁷

summary needed

III. Third Party Movements before the Civil War.

Maine was not without third party movements during this pre-civil war period. In 1832 the anti-Masonic party nominated a candidate for Governor. The same candidate, Thomas A. Hill was nominated a year later and received over 2000 votes. The following year he was even less successful and the fall of the party was as sudden as its rise had been.

It was at this time that the anti-slavery agitation assumed a political nature. As early as 1825 Rufus King introduced a resolution setting aside the proceeds of public lands for the purpose of emancipation and removal of the slaves. In November, 1833, the first anti-slavery society was formed in the state, at Hallowell. Shortly after this the English lecturer, George Thompson, toured the state and spoke in

⁶ Lewis Clinton Hatch, Maine, A History, (New York, 1919) V. 1.

P. 209.

⁷ Maine Register, P. 119.

behalf of abolition. His meetings often ended in riots.⁸ The intense feelings which these meetings aroused among the people resulted in slavery becoming a strong partisan issue in the state. The sea port towns were in favor of slavery because of their trade relations with the south. At a meeting held at Machais it was agreed that it was, "unconstitutional and inexpedient to form societies in non-slave holding states for the immediate abolition of slaves."⁹ Later, intense feeling was aroused in the state against slavery by the introduction into congress of the "gag" rule and also by the bill introduced which carried provisions to keep anti-slavery propoganda out of the United States mails. In 1838 the Maine legislature passed a resolution resolving that congress had a right to free the slaves in the District of Columbia. A law was also passed at this time fining a man who, without lawful authority, assisted in the recapture of a slave. Two years later, Edward Kent of Bangor, a Whig, was elected as Governor because of his anti-slavery stand.¹⁰ Sentiment in opposition to slavery was destined to grow and to result in the formation of the Republican party.

8. Hatch, V.1 - P. 285-289-291-293.

9. Ibid, P. 293.

10. Ibid, P. 294.

The Prohibition issue was early introduced into Maine politics and made good progress in comparison to the movement in other states.¹¹ In 1821, the legislature passed a license law regulating the sale of liquor. The law called for the payment of a fee of \$6.00 for license and a fine of \$50.00 for common selling. The licensee was to be a man of "...sober life and conversation."¹² In 1828 a society was formed in Gardiner in which the members agreed, "...not to vote knowingly for a man who was a candidate for office who was in the habit of using ardent spirits and wines in excess."¹³ In 1837 the Maine Temperance Union was formed and its paper, "The Maine Temperance Herald" was put in circulation. In 1851, under the leadership of Neal Dow of Portland, an amendment was made to the constitution "Forever prohibiting the manufacture of intoxicating liquors and prohibiting their sale except for medicinal and mechanical purposes and the arts."¹⁴

The Prohibition
Party ?

did they enter politics.

-
11. Maine was the first state in the United States to pass a Prohibition law.
 12. Hatch, V. 1. - P. 297.
 13. Ibid, V. 1. - P. 300.
 14. Maine Register, P. 105.

In the early fifties the Know-nothing movement found a few adherents. In 1854 its candidate Anson P. Morrill was elected Governor. He favored the enforcement of a Prohibition law and

was opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

The Know-Nothing
Movement

He may be considered as early as this a Republican although the party was not called such until the following year at which time

Governor Morrill was re-elected, on a Republican ticket, as a Republican.¹⁵

summary

IV. The Rise and Growth of the Republican Party in Maine.

ward a. l. u.

From 1854 dates the Republican party in Maine. It has been on the ascendancy from that date to the present time.¹⁶ Starting in 1854 the party eventually absorbed the Liberty, Free Soil, Know-nothing, Whig and Prohibitionists parties.[?] The immediate reason for the party's success was the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The Maine Legislature instructed her representatives and senators in Washington to oppose the bill. Five out of the six voted against the measure. When it was learned in Maine that the bill passed there was an outburst of

15. Ibid, P. 120.

16. The Maine Register, P. 119.

anger. The Democratic party split on the issue and in the election of 1854 Shepard Cary, of Houlton, was the opposition candidate. The Lincoln "Democrat" declared that the Kansas-Nebraska bill contained the great democratic principle of self government. The ^{what} "Age" took the other point of view and said, "Certain loads we ^{age} can carry and certain ones that we cannot carry. This Nebraska bill is one that we can't."¹⁷ The attack on Sumner in the senate was the occasion for a fresh out burst against slavery and was looked upon as, "...an assault upon the freedom of debate and an attempt to silence Northern members by violence."¹⁸ Since the entrance of the Republican party in 1854 no other party except the Democrats has been in power. Four out of forty-nine administrations since that time have been controlled by the Democrats.

Third party movements other than the Greenback movement have met with little success in the state. In 1873 the Liberal Republicans nominated Joseph H. Williams for Governor. Only 2160 votes out of a total of 80,953 were polled in his favor. Three years later the Greenback movement became formidable in state politics. The first candidate nominated for Governor, Almon Gage,

17. Hatch, V. II - P. 377.

18. Ibid, P. 392.

received only 520 votes. The next year 5,291 votes were cast for H. C. Munson on the same ticket while in 1878, 41,371 were polled for J. H. Smith. ^BBecause neither candidate had a majority of the votes cast. The election went to the legislature. The Democrats and the Greenbackers combined and elected Alonzo Garcelon, Democrat. In 1879 a similar situation occurred. This time the legislature chose Daniel F. Davis, Republican. In 1880, at separate state conventions the Greenback and the Democrat parties nominated the same candidate, Harris Plaisted, of Augusta. The fusion candidate won and served for one administration of two years.¹⁹

Third Party
Movements
After the *Civil*
War

In 1910 the Democrats, led by the son of Harris Plaisted, again defeated the Republicans. They were aided at this time, not by a third party but by a group of men who were destined to organize a third Progressive party at a later date. What brought about the Democratic reaction and how did this effect the organization of the Progressive party in the state of Maine?

19. The Maine Register, P. 120-124.

V. The Gubernatorial Contest of 1910.

From 1900 to 1910 the Republican majorities in the state elections decreased until in 1910 the Democrats gained control of the administration for the first time since 1880. There were obviously three reasons for this. First, the extravagance of the Republican Governors, especially of Governor Fernald, was a source of discontent. The Democrats made political capital of this in 1910. At the Democratic convention in Augusta on June 16th Representative McGillicuddy made the statement that the expenditures of the Republican party since 1890 had increased 300%.

In 1909 Governor Fernald had \$568,534.00 in cash while in 1911 there was a deficit of \$750,100.00.²⁰ This fact was answered by Governor Fernald in his nomination speech at the Republican convention in Bangor on June 30th. He maintained that state expenditures had increased because state laws had increased. These laws, moreover had been favored by both parties. He also answered the charges that state institutions were borrowing money by maintaining that

20. Bangor Daily News, (Bangor, Maine 1910) June 16.

that was always the custom at the beginning of the year in which the legislature met as a means to tide the institution over while an appropriation bill was before the law makers.²¹ Again at a Democratic rally in City Hall, Bangor, Charles Johnson, Democratic candidate for senator, attacked the extravagance of the Republicans. He said that the Republicans may have spent the money for worthy things but even so in the management of ones' own house there were things worthy which for lack of funds should be cut out.²² ~~While~~ Plaisted, speaking in Bangor several days later declared that it was unconstitutional for state officials to borrow money to tide the institution over until an appropriation was made to meet their need.²³

The second reason for the failure of the Republican party in 1910 centers around Prohibition enforcement. In 1905 the Republicans passed the Sturgis Law which provided for a special commission to enforce Prohibition with authority to appoint deputy commissioners.²⁴ The result was that the Republican majority of 26,000 which in 1904 had elected Governor Cobb fell two years later to 6,000. One of the most important issues in the state

21. Ibid, June 30, 1910.

22. Bangor Daily News, August 29, 1910.

23. Ibid, September 2, 1910.

24. Hatch, V. III - P. 365.

campaign of 1910 as stated in the Democratic platform was a re-submission to the people of the Prohibition amendment. All through the campaign this party was dubbed the "party of free trade and free rum"²⁵. ^{yet} ~~Since~~ in 1911 this was resubmitted to the people and rejected by them. The importance of this plank in the Republican failure to return to office in 1910 might ^{therefore} be questioned.

The third and most important reason for the failure of the Republican party and that which bears directly on the formation of the Progressive party in 1912 was the failure of the national Republican administration to meet the expectations of the people in the state. As the Government in Washington was in the hands of the reactionaries so the people believed that the state machine was in the hands of politicians with the same notions of control. Vigorous attacks on the Republican policy of high protection were common through-out the United States and found their way into the Maine Press. No less a paper than the strongly partisan Republican Bangor Daily News quotes from a speech made by Representative Harrison of New York, "... today the Republican machine leaders are riding the backs of 90,000,000 American citizens.

25. Bangor Daily News, September 29, 1910.

Their ring-leader is the great apostle of privilege, Nelson W. Aldrich."²⁶ A short time later the same paper says, quoting from Eugne Foss, "The people need protection, protection from Payne-Aldrich."²⁷ The Democrats made political capital of this. At the Democratic convention in Augusta, Representative McGillicuddy said, "... the great contest in the coming campaign is the contest between the trusts and the people; led by Payne and Aldrich the party of Lincoln has become the party of privilege."²⁸ Charles Johnson of Waterville also voiced these sentiments when he said that the National Republican machine was rotten and that the same state of affairs existed in Maine. He, also, said that the contest was between the people in Maine and the political ^{machine} amchine.²⁹ What did the Republican party in the state have to say for itself? The Republican platform of 1912 replied, "The Republican administration endorse the administration of Taft as wise, progressive and safe and commend it for continuing energetically and effectively the policies of the Roosevelt administration The tariff question has been adjusted by legislation which in its broad and general features . . . meets

26. Bangor Daily News, April 14, 1910.

27. Ibid, May 23, 1910.

28. Ibid, June 16, 1910.

29. Bangor Daily News, August 29, 1910.

to an imminent degree the demands and expectations of the American people . . ."30

President Taft visited Maine the last week in July of 1910. In the speeches which he made while touring the state he did not touch on politics. He came the nearest to it while stopping in Rockland. There he became interested in the harbor and suggested that it would be a good thing if the government would subsidize a bill for its improvement.³¹

In September, 1910, all eyes were focused on Maine. "As goes Maine so goes the Nation" was the cry then as it is now.

	The election returns indicated that if
Result of Election	Maine was a political barometer there would
of 1910	be a hurricane in the Republican party.

Frederick Plaisted won over his Republican opponent by almost 9,000 votes, which was to make him the first Democratic Governor since 1880. Another striking result of the election was that two Republican Congressmen were defeated in districts which usually returned substantial Republican majorities

30. Ibid, June 30, 1910.

31. Ibid, July 27, 1910.

while in the other two congressional districts the Republican candidates ^{were} ~~got~~ elected by a bare majority.³² This indicated that the Republican regime in Washington was to some degree responsible for the turn of the tide in Maine and that the people as a whole did not favor the Payne-Aldrich tariff. During the campaign in Maine cards were circulated which asked the Republican congressmen, "Why did you vote to admit raw silk free and only place a duty of 63% on the Manufactured article, at the same time placing a duty of 135% duty on woolen and worsted cloth valued at more than .40 a pound. Was it because silk was used by a greater number of your constituents and woolen and worsted by only a few?"³³

The legislature elected in Maine in 1910 was also Democratic. Since the legislature was to elect a senator to take the place of the retiring Republican Eugene Hale, the control of the new legislature by the Democrats was of great importance and is a further indication that there was an antipathy for the National administration. The retirement of Senator Hale removed a man of ability but one who, "...had used his ability, not in the furtherance of constructive legislation but rather in the furtherance of ring power. In this respect he has been far more potent cause for evil than Senator Aldrich whose name has been most frequently used in

32. The Nation, V. 91 - P. 232 - 233 1910.

33 . Ibid, V. 91 - P. 233.

this connection"³⁴.

Summary

VI. State Politics from 1910 to 1912.

On January 2, 1911 at Augusta was convened the first Democratic legislature since 1847 and with the first Democratic governor since 1880.³⁵ Incidentally this was the first legislature to meet in the new state house, remodeled with the money that Republicans had appropriated. One of the first things that the legislature did was to turn down the resolution to recommend an extra tariff session in Washington. If such a session was called it was generally understood that reciprocity with Canada would be submitted to it for consideration. The action of the legislature would indicate that the people in the state did not favor reciprocity. The Maine lumbermen were opposed since that product would be put on the free list.³⁶ This tariff measure was also opposed by Stetson, Master of the Grange. He said that it would be a blow to the Maine agricultural interests since Canadian potatoes could be sold in this country as cheap, if not cheaper,

34. The Outlook, V. 96 - P. 139-140 - 1910.

35. Bangor Daily News, January 2, 1911.

36. Ibid, January 28, 1911.

than those grown in Aroostook.³⁷

The Democratic control of state politics proved to be a disappointment to those who hoped that reform would come with a change of administration although some progressive legislation was enacted by the Democrats. They voted to favor the popular election of United States senators; passed a corrupt practice act; enacted a Direct Primary law which was later amended; equalized the existing tax system; added Maine to the list of states favoring an income tax and reduced the public debt by almost one million dollars in fourteen months.³⁸ In spite of this splendid legislative record the lack of prohibition enforcement was to wreck the party control.

The Result of Democratic Control While campaigning, Mr. Plaisted had promised to keep Maine as dry as a covered bridge. From the very beginning it was evident that the bridge admitted of many leaks. At the special session of the legislature, called in 1912, the Governor ~~admitted~~ ^{confessed that as} that as sheriff of Kennebec County and as mayor of Augusta that ^{he had poured}

37. Ibid, February 8, 1911.

38. State Records, Special Session of the Legislature

(Augusta, Maine - March 1912) P. 7-11.

prohibition could not be enforced. Public sentiment wasn't behind it and it simply could'nt be done.³⁹ At the regular session of the legislature in 1911 it was voted to resubmit the prohibition amendment to the people. This was done in the following September and it was voted down by the people. In 1912 a special session was called by the Governor. At the time Mr. Plaisted pointed out that in the popular vote of the people regarding the proposed change in the state constitution, ~~that~~ twenty cities had given a majority of 12,000 votes in favor of the repeal of the prohibition amendment, ~~which~~ ^{this} was barely offset by the vote of the 500 towns.⁴⁰

~~Giving as an excuse~~ ^{He said} that the people in the state didn't know for what they were voting ~~for~~, in September 1911, ^{a special session of the} the legislature ~~meeting in special session~~ ^{was called. An} attempted ^{was made} to pass a bill again submitting the prohibition amendment to the people. This time the bill was killed in the legislature.

The discontent of the people with the non-enforcement of the Democrats was shown throughout the two years of the Democratic administration. The Methodists in conference at Rockland resolved, ".... that the present conditions of nullification and violation

39. Ibid, P. 29.

40. State Records, 1912 P. 11.

are largely made possible through the attitude of our leading state officials who have deliberately broken their pledges and have kept from the people of Maine an honest enforcement of the law."⁴¹ Professor Bateman, of Lewiston ~~reported on the journal~~ may be cited as one of a group of independent voters who was "... disgusted with the Republican corruption but the Democrats were worse. The people have jumped from the devil to the deep sea. Saloons are open, moral laws are broken without an attempt to punish or to stop"⁴². It was his belief that reform must come through some other agency than either the Democratic or Republican parties. Such an agency offered itself in the Progressive ^{Party} which became organized in the state in 1912.

41. Ibid, P. 253.

42. Kennebec Journal, January 17, 1912.

Chapter II.

The Progressive Movement of 1912 in the State of Maine.

I. The Presidential Election of 1912.

The Progressive party in the state of Maine became organized and established a few months preceding the presidential election of 1912. The party gained its adherents largely through the admiration of the people for the progressive leaders, Theodore Roosevelt.

Roosevelt had been the guest of the people of Maine twice prior to the National Republican Convention of 1912. While President of the United States, in 1902, he visited Maine ^{and went} going inland as far as Bangor. Again in March, 1912, he paid Maine the honor of a visit. This time he came as a candidate for the nomination of President of the United States on the Republican ticket. He made an appeal to the progressive Republicans within the state. He pleaded with them to rule themselves and not follow the dictation of the Republican machine. In being so out spoken he incurred the wrath of the party leaders while the people hailed him with great enthusiasm. During his visit in Portland, Col.

Frederick Hale promised Roosevelt his support as did other prominent state Republicans.¹

On January 3, 1912 the Republican state committee met at the Augusta House to set a date for the state convention. It was agreed to hold the convention in Bangor on April 10th.² On that date 1300 delegates assembled to draw up a platform for the coming gubernatorial campaign and to nominate state candidates to serve on the Republican ticket. There was a great deal of enthusiasm at that convention. The "big three" were Haines for governor, Burleigh for United States senator³ and Theodore Roosevelt for President. There was no mistaking the popularity of Roosevelt. "Teddy, Teddy was everywhere. There were bushels of buttons. Nobody escaped. One found its way to the back of J. P. Bass, editor of the Bangor Daily Commercial and a Democrat. There were Roosevelt whistlers and Roosevelt passers of tags and literature."⁴ The

1. Kennebec Journal, March 25, 1912.

2. Ibid, January 3, 1912.

3. The term of Obediah Gardiner expired leaving a vacancy for the legislature to fill.

4. Kennebec Journal, April 11, 1912.

few Taft men who were there were hopelessly in the minority. They could but smile and let the Roosevelt men have their way. A solid Roosevelt delegation was elected to attend the national Republican convention in Chicago. Each congressional district chose two delegates making a total of eight. Four delegates-at-large elected by the convention brought the total delegation to twelve.⁵

President Taft was not without some support in the state. Many of the older Republicans turned to him. An account of a meeting of the Lincoln Republican club of Portland was given by the Kennebec Journal. During the course of the meeting a telegram was sent to President Taft reading, "You were President Taft cheered three times three as President and next as a Candidate President of the United States."⁶ Everytime that Tafts' name was mentioned it was greeted with cheers while Roosevelts' name went by unnoticed. The speaker of the evening was congressman Hinds. He gave a resumé of the Republican administration speaking at some length on the tariff. He pointed out the value of a high tariff to the people of Maine. He said that the principal markets for Maine produce were in the industrial centers south. A high tariff resulted in a higher wage scale which

5. Kennebec Journal, April 11, 1912.

6. Kennebec Journal, February 13, 1912.

in turn brought the farmer a better price for his goods. He admitted, however, that reciprocity with Canada was not a good thing for the farmers. It has already been noted that the Payne-Aldrich tariff was one of the reasons for Democratic success in the state elections of 1910.⁷ *In spite of Congressman Huns statement* Sentiment in the state had not *the contrary* changed *a great deal* ~~much~~ since that time.

On June 21st, the national Republican convention met in Chicago. The Maine delegates arrived at the city on that date. Theodore Roosevelt granted them an interview the first day. He told them at this time that he had been defrauded by the national committee. This committee had been in session for several days attempting to award the disputed seats of several of the state delegations. Jesse M. Libby of Mechanic Falls was a member of the credentials committee. In his opinion the statement of Roosevelt was a bit premature for he said that in the short time that had *fairly* been at the committees' disposal it was almost impossible to judge. After the disputed votes were awarded to President Taft the Maine delegates went to Roosevelt and declared that since sixty-four members on the convention floor had been seated by fraud, they, the Maine delegates, would not vote until these members were put

7. See above P - 28.

out and the rightful ones seated. Roosevelt said that he would go even further than this. "...I will not accept the nomination until they have been put out."⁸ On the convention floor the Maine delegates let it be known that they were for Roosevelt. Mr. Kendall, of Bowdoinham, a member of the delegation states that for forty minutes at one time the Maine delegates stood on their seats and shouted, "We want Roosevelt". They took great pleasure in doing this since there was a Taft delegation directly behind them. Their enthusiasm was to no avail. Taft won the nomination. The Maine delegates returned home. They felt that Tafts' nomination had been an out and out steal. These delegates were to form the nucleus of the Maine Progressive party.

The organization of the Progressive party in both the nation and the state was well under way when the state election, a contest of personalities, was at its height. A Gubernatorial truce was called between the contending factions Election of in the Republican party. United they sought to 1912 flay the Democrats and oust them from state politics. Although the Democrats had passed some progressive legislation still non-enforcement of the prohibitory law had been the order of the day.⁹

8. Lewiston Journal, October 1, 1912.

9. See above P. 34.

Both the Democrats and the Republicans sought to keep state and national issues separate. The national Democratic party did not wish to be stigmatized as a rum party and Crafts, a member of the Reform National League and a supporter of Governor Wilson, warned Wilson of the danger of the Maine issue to the national platform and suggested that national leaders of the party should not enter the state until after the state election.¹⁰ He went so far as to say that no Maine Democrat is bound by loyalty to Democracy to vote the state Democratic ticket this year.¹¹

The Republican party had little to say regarding the Presidential election of the coming November. Party harmony was maintained with the tacit understanding that Taft and Roosevelt men would go their own way after the state election in September.¹² The state campaign was, then, the old time struggle between the two major parties for control of the state administration.

The election returns registered a Republican victory in both the Executive and Legislative branches of the state government.

10. Kennebec Journal, August 5, 1912 Thomas Marshall took the stump but he did not mention state issues.

11. Kennebec Journal, August 29, 1912.

12. Ibid, September 9, 1912.

The Democratic vote fell 10,000 below what that party polled in 1910. Republican harmony had been maintained. According to the New York Tribune, "... if Maine's example points to anything it is to the fact that the Republican party will not merely survive but regain its full strength whenever a chance is offered to its former members to come together in brotherly accord."¹³

But party harmony, even in Maine, did not exist after September, 1912. The Progressive element had already secured its ascendancy in the state. The starting point had been back in the presidential primaries in the spring of 1912 when a solid Roosevelt delegation was elected to attend the Republican national convention in Chicago. After the defrauding of Roosevelt these same men returned determined to launch the new Progressive party in the state. In July, 1912, the national Progressive committee issued the call for a national Progressive convention for Chicago, on August 5th.¹⁴ In response to this the Progressive leaders in the state called a state convention together in Portland on July 31st. The purpose of this convention was to perfect

13. New York Tribune, (New York - 1912) September 1st.

14. Kennebec Journal, July 8, 1912.

the organization of the Progressives in the state and to choose delegates to attend the national convention in Chicago. A new set of presidential electors was also to be chosen. The convention was called to order by Frank H. Haskell. Halbert P. Gardner, of Patten, was chosen temporary chairman. Both Gardner and Jesse M. Libby told of their experiences at the Republican convention in Chicago. Libby asserted that Roosevelt was the rightful nominee. The following resolutions were voted on by the convention members.

1. The theory of popular government has recently been attacked; the will of the people as expressed by the ballot is final and inviolate; the time has come when organized action is demanded to serve the interests of the people in order to protect them from the selfish politicians.
2. We believe in a more equal system of taxation in both state and nation; a national banking system which will serve the interests of legitimate business at all times and not exploit concentrated wealth; and a tariff system that will protect labor and business alike.¹⁵

The Presidential electors were nominated and the delegates to the

15. Kennebec Journal, August 1, 1912.

national convention were named. A state committee headed by Halbert P. Gardner was put in charge of the state campaign. Later Gardner was replaced by Irving E. Vernon, of Portland who served during the presidential campaign of 1912 as director of campaign speakers.

On August 5th, the Maine delegates assembled in Chicago with the Progressive delegates from all over the country. Halbert P. Gardner was made a member of the National committee. The convention keynote was sounded by Theodore Roosevelt in his "Confession of Faith."¹⁶ Of interest to Maine was his tariff policy and legislation which he offered in benefit of the farmers. He favored the revival of the country life commission; the co-operative association of farmers for the production and the selling of agricultural products. He favored a protective tariff from the standpoint of the whole people and not as a bundle of preferences to be given favorite individuals. The tariff should, furthermore, be in the hands of non-partisan experts. Reciprocity with Canada was not favored.¹⁷

The Maine delegates returned after the business of the Convention was over. Nothing was heard from them until after the

16. See Appendix P. 2.

17. Kennebec Journal, August 5, 1912.

balloting for Governor was over in September. Then the Bull Moose flag went up; the rapid fire guns of the Progressives started and did not cease until the voting was over on election day. There were rallies and rallies. Speakers came into the state from National headquarters. Judge Ben Lindsay, Frazer Metzzer, Progressive candidate for governor of Vermont, and Hiram Johnson Governor of California found their way into the state.

Red fire accompanied these rallies. Very few towns escaped the invasion of the Bull Moose. The Progressive Campaign of 1912 An account of a meeting at Bath reads, "There was a noticeable absence of politicians."¹⁸ Boothbay Harbor was a hot bed of Progressivism. It was hard to find any Republicans there.¹⁹ At a rally in Freeport the building couldn't hold the crowds. A torch light parade of the Progressives of Freeport and Brunswick preceded the meeting.²⁰ In Lewiston Judge Lindsay spoke to over 2,000.²¹ The very apex of enthusiasm was reached when on October 28th, Hiram Johnson arrived in Portland.

18. Lewiston Journal, August 1, 1912.

19. Kennebec Journal, October 1, 1912.

20. Ibid, October 7, 1912.

21. Lewiston Journal, October 9, 1912.

He drove from Portland to Bangor speaking at Biddeford, Portland, Lewiston, Auburn, Augusta, Waterville, Newport and Bangor. All along the way he was greeted by immense throngs of people. The meetings were out of doors. In the nine weeks of campaigning which Johnson had done he met the largest outdoor crowds in Maine.²² Another feature of the Progressive campaign was the part taken in it by the women. Roosevelt first enlisted their support through Jane Adams who seconded his nomination at the Cleveland convention. The Progressive campaign in the state of Maine was hardly under way when Mrs. Ida M. Parker came on from New York for the purpose of organizing a Progressive association among the women of the state.²³

In the meantime the Democrats and the Republicans were oiling their machines in order to get the voters out in November.²⁴

Campaign of the Democrats and Republicans	Neither party conducted such an active speaking campaign as did the Progressives. On October 25, Taft came into the state to address the Maine Teachers' Association in Portland. He refrained from talking politics as he did in
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22. Kennebec Journal, October 29, 1912.

23. Ibid., September 16, 1912.

24. Kennebec Journal, October 28, 1912.

1910 when he visited the state.²⁵ From the very beginning the Republicans had to contend with the resignation of state and local committeemen. Charles H. Hichborn, of Augusta, treasurer of the state Republican committee resigned.²⁶ Warren C. Philbrook, chairman of the State Republican committee was a strong Roosevelt man, who, after much hesitation remained within the party. Hichborns' resignation was followed by many members of town and city committees who resigned to go into the Progressive camp. This was especially true of many of the town committees in Aroostook²⁷ where the farmers were strong for Roosevelt.

On November 5, 1912 the voters went to the polls to cast their ^{ballots} ~~votes~~ for Presidential electors. A total vote of 129,631 was cast. Of these Wilson received a popular vote of 51,112.

Roosevelt took second place with a total of 48,494. Taft fell to third place with only 26,545. The cities saved the day for Wilson. Fifteen of the twenty cities in the state gave him a plurality of 5,000. He led Roosevelt by approximately 2,718, so had not the cities supported Wilson he

25. See above P. 30.

26. Lewiston Journal, October 4, 1912.

27. Kennebec Journal, September 25, 1912.

would have taken second place instead of first.²⁸ Arrostook county cast the largest number of Progressive votes according to population. In that county 60% of the votes cast were for Theodore Roosevelt. Piscataquis and Kennebec counties tied for second place. 45% of the votes cast in each of those two counties was for Roosevelt. This indicates, then, that Roosevelt found principal following among the farmers. It will also be noted²⁹ that about three-fourths of the Roosevelt adherents came from the Republican party and about one-fourth from the Democratic party.

II. The Progressives in the Legislature of 1913.

The Progressives were jubilant over the splendid showing made by their party in the November elections. Senator Dixon of the Progressive national committee said, ".... the fight has just begun. We have won second place and now we will devote our time to the next election."³⁰ Hiram Johnson is quoted as saying, ".... The work of the party will go on unabated for the next four

28. Lewiston Journal, November 6, 1912.

29. See table 1, P. 81.

30. Kennebec Journal, November 7, 1912.

years."³¹ A letter to the state committee written by Halbert Gardner, read in part, ".... The first struggle has passed into history and it is a victory (in Maine) of 50,000 ^{votes} for the new party. The Republicans refused to stand by us with the result that the administration was turned over to the Democratic party."³²

On November 14th, immediately following the election, a meeting of county Progressive chiefs was held in Bangor. This committee ~~was~~ agreed to support a progressive for officers in the coming legislature. All present ^{believed} agreed that the militant organization should be completed, and the members Party Organization were called upon to work for that end.³³ Completed When the legislature met in 1913, about a dozen Progressives found themselves members of a legislature, sent there by Republican votes. The question immediately arose as to whether they would act according to the policy of the party whose votes had made them legislators or whether they would conduct themselves according to their new party faith and in so doing support an independent list of candidates for state officers. Early in the session a meeting was held at the

31. Ibid, November 7, 1912.

32. Lewiston Journal, November 7, 1912.

33. Ibid, November 14, 1912.

Augusta House. The opinion of those present was divided on the subject. Edwin Lawrence, of Lubec, later Progressive candidate for Congress in the Third District, said that it was better to go out for a principle and get licked than it was to lick the hand that was trying to suppress you. This was also the opinion of the state committee already voiced at the meeting in Bangor just noted. Carl Milliken of Island Falls, president of the senate, was the leader of that group of Progressives and progressive Republicans who favor loyalty to the party ^{which had elected to} ~~that had put them in~~ office. Senators Hitchborn and Stearns of Oxford county were of the same opinion.³⁴ The course actually taken throughout the session was that a few Progressives, led by Alton Wheeler of South Paris, were independent of either of the two old parties while the progressive Republicans, as Milliken, voted with the Republican party.

The first serious break which the Progressives had with the Republicans in the legislature of 1913 was over the contest for United States senator to fill the seat of Obediah Gardner, Democrat. The Republican candidate, Edwin Burleigh, was a reactionary. Rather than support him, the Progressives cast their

34. Lewiston Journal, January 1, 1913.

votes for E. M. Thompson of Augusta although they knew that he could not possibly be elected. Roosevelt had sent a telegram urging them to oppose the Taft senator. In the wire he said that the

Election of United States Senator
 Progressives in the legislature were not bound to vote for a Republican senator simply because they had been elected by Republicans. ".... The Maine primary took place before the disgraceful convention at Chicago In my judgment no man who condoned, excused or approved the theft of the Republican National convention has any right to Progressive support."³⁵ Later after the balloting ^{took} ~~had taken~~ place the seven Progressives who cast their votes for Thompson were sent congratulatory messages by Roosevelt and Chairman Dixon.³⁶

From the time of this action on to the close of the legislative session, this group of Progressives stood out in defiance of party harmony. They voted irrespective of party lines. In the Fifty-four hour labor law they ^{voted} ~~were found~~ to a man with the Democrats. On the question of woman suff^{er}age they were found in the Republican camp. In a series of impeachment cases they voted

35. Lewiston Journal, January 11, 1913.

36. Lewiston Journal, January 15, 1913.

according to what they believed ^{To be} the merits of the case ~~to be~~.³⁷

III. The Bye-election of 1913 in the Third District.

1913 was politically an "off" year. The Progressives continued to organize and to boost their party. Beginning in June there were meetings held in every county. At these meetings the question of amalgamation and compromise with other parties was rejected.³⁸ The one election of note was in the Third district. The death of Congressman Goodwin of Skowhegan left a seat in congress to be filled by special election. It was rumored that the Progressives and the Republicans were going to get together and support the candidate successful in the June primaries.³⁹ This was without foundation. The Progressives in the Third district nominated Edwin M. Lawrence of Lubec.⁴⁰ William Pattangall was the choice of the Democrats at the primaries. The Republicans nominated John Peters of Ellsworth. The Republican primary vote was small. A few towns in the district did not cast any votes for this

37. Lewiston Journal, April 1, 1913.

38. Lewiston Journal, June 28, 1913.

39. Ibid, June 11, 1913.

40. Ibid, July 15, 1913.

party.⁴¹ This looked promising for the Progressives.

The campaign which led up to this election was one of the most spectacular in recent years. The national energies of all three parties were directed to the Third district of Maine. Speakers of note were sent into the district. Members of the administrative cabinet, including William Jennings Bryan, were sent into the state by the Democrats.⁴² The Progressives had the longest list of speakers and the greatest number of political

rallies. Among the national leaders who were sent were James R. Garfield, Albert A. Beveridge, Bainbridge Colby, and Victor Murdock.⁴³ From

August 18th to September 5th, seventy political rallies were scheduled in the district by the Progressives. Roosevelt sent a telegram reading, "Elect Lawrence to congress on a straight Progressive ticket."⁴⁴

On September 5th the voters went to the polls. A fair day coupled with the political excitement resulting from competition brought out a large vote. Hon. John Peters Republican led

41. Ibid, June 29, 1913.

42. Lewiston Journal, September 9, 1913.

43. Ibid, June 30, 1913.

44. Ibid, August 31, 1913.

the three cornered race with a plurality of 15,019. Hon. William Pattangall Democrat was second polling 14,552 while Hon. Edwin Lawrence Progressive was third with but 6,479. This vote indicated that the Progressives had lost ground since 1912. At that time only 7000 votes were cast for Taft. Peters vote was The Result 108% greater than the Republican vote for Taft in 1912.⁴⁵ But in spite of the outcome the Progressives were not discouraged. Chairman Vernon thought that it was a pleasing vote in view of the party's infancy.⁴⁶ The Lewiston Journal measured the success of the campaign by the great amount of enthusiasm shown at the Progressive rallies.⁴⁷

IV. Suggested Amalgamation of the Republicans and Progressives in 1914.

In 1914 the Republicans became anxious over the prospects of continued state control. Under Governor Haines they had experienced a successful two years. A united Republican party in 1912 had made this possible. Realizing that the break in the party ranks in the presidential election of 1912 had sent President

45. Literary Digest, V. 47 - P. 457-458.

46. By letter to the writer.

47. Lewiston Journal, September 12, 1913.

Wilson to the White House, in 1914 the state Republicans were anxious to amalgamate with the Progressives. In order to do this there must be a compromise. This compromise was not possible in 1914 for two reasons. First, the Progressives were flushed by their success in the presidential election of 1912. At that time Roosevelt got eleven times as many votes in Maine as did the Republican, Taft.⁴⁸ History might repeat its-self if it were given a chance to do so in 1914.

The second reason why compromise was impossible was because the Republicans would not compromise. The Republican machine piloted by Parkhurst, Hale, Peters and Burleigh endorsed the administration of Haines but Governor Haines was not acceptable to the Progressives. In 1912 he had been outwardly for Roosevelt and they had voted for him. After the election he turned out to be a reactionary. Among things ~~which~~ he did while governor was the nomination ^{that} of a Public Utilities Court, modeled after Taft's ^{to} ~~and opposed to the Commission favored by~~ the Progressives. ~~instead of following a plan acceptable to~~

Republican overtures for compromise were made as early as January, 1914. At a meeting of the Republican state committee in Augusta progressivism was discussed. At the close of the meeting a sub-committee was appointed to confer jointly with a similar

48. Lewiston Journal, May 24, 1913.

committee appointed by the Progressives if the group saw fit to appoint it.⁴⁹ On February 5th the Progressive leaders met in Portland. A telegram from Col. Parkhurst was read. It contained an invitation for The Republican a joint meeting of the Progressives and Invitation Rejected a joint meeting of the Progressives and Republicans in order to formulate a truce. In answer to the message a resolution was drawn up. It read as follows:

"Resolved, that it is the sense of this meeting that the state committee be requested to acknowledge this communication from the Republican state committee and to say to them that the Progressive party of Maine has decided to put a complete Progressive ticket in the field, as it is in principle opposed to any form of merger or amalgamation, but the door of the Progressive party is wide open and all men who are progressive in principle are invited to enter."⁵⁰

V. The Gubernatorial election of 1914.

According to state law the Progressives could not conduct

49. Lewiston Journal, January 3, 1914.

50. Lewiston Journal, February 5, 1914.

primaries since they had not been on the state ticket in 1912. A state convention was therefore necessary. This was called by chairman Vernon for March 24th to be held in Bangor. Each town in the state casting 50 votes or less for Roosevelt in 1912 was entitled to one delegate. Towns casting more than fifty votes were invited to send a delegate for each additional fifty votes.⁵¹

At the appointed time a great throng of The Progressive State Convention delegates assembled in Bangor equal in number to those attending any previous convention in Maine. Hon. Morrill Drew was chosen chairman of the convention. Moses Clapp of Minnesota sounded the key-note speech.⁵² The convention nominated Hon. Halbert P. Gardner of Patten for governor and Merton T. Goodrich for state auditor. A straight Progressive ticket was urged for county, district, town and municipal offices.⁵³ Members of the four Maine congressional districts also nominated candidates. The platform drawn up at the convention repudiated the work and record of both major parties.⁵⁴ Rev. Mr. Dunnack led in an effort to put in the platform a plank

51. Lewiston Evening Journal, February 5, 1914.

52. Lewiston Evening Journal, March 24, 1914.

53. Chairman Vernon states that there were approximately 3300 candidates in the state field in 1914.

54. See Appendix P. 4.

favoring national prohibition.⁵⁵ This was defeated on the floor by a majority of sixty-four. The work completed the delegates returned home to await the coming campaign.

The Progressive speaking campaign began on August 10th. and lasted until September 14th, election day. The men who stumped in 1914 were practically the same ones as those who had

spoken at rallies during the campaigns of 1912

The Campaign and 1913. In addition to these Miss Jane Addams and Theodore Roosevelt came into the state.

Roosevelt's popularity had not waned since his visit in the early part of 1912. On August 17th. and 18th. he made speeches in Portland, Old Orchard, Lewiston and Auburn.⁵⁶ He spoke frankly against fusion in Maine although he himself had advocated it in New York state. In New York the regular Republican candidate for governor, Mr. Hinman, was an anti-machine man. The Maine candidate Haines, Roosevelt believed to be a reactionary who had approved of the tactics used in the National Republican convention of 1912.

".... Burleigh, Peters and the other leaders of the bourbons and the reactionaries ...(who support Haines) have put the Republican organization in a position of violent antagonism to the

55. Lewiston Journal, March 24, 1914.

56. Lewiston Journal August 18, 1914.

fundamental principles of the Republicans of the days of Abraham Lincoln."⁵⁷

On the second Monday of September, 1914, the voters went to the polls. The number of votes cast exceeded those cast in 1912 by 10,000. In spite of this Mr. Gardiner received 63% less than Mr. Roosevelt received in 1912.⁵⁸ One Progressive Democrat found his way into the state senate, another into the House while five straight Progressives were returned to the House.⁵⁹

VI. The Progressives Cause a Deadlock in the Legislature.

Although there were but five out and out Progressives in the legislature in 1915 these five agreed to work together and to support a separate state ticket. When it came to the election of state officers the political make-up of the legislature was such that these five Progressives could cause a temporary deadlock and prevent the election of a Republican. It came about in this way. The Maine House and Senate vote jointly in the election of some state officers such as Secretary

57. Lewiston Journal, August 1, 1914.

58. Election Returns - Secretary of State, 1914.

59. Howard Owens, Biographical Sketches of the Members of the Senate and House of Maine.

of State, etc. The senate, in 1915, was Republican and the House was Democratic. Granting that all were present in joint session the Republicans had a total of 86 votes while the Democrats totaled 91. *The balance of power was held by these five* ~~The difference of five was in the hands~~ of the Progressives.⁶⁰ The election of the Secretary of State showed that the Progressives, by voting together, could delay the process of The Election of Secretary of State election. The Democratic candidate was Mr. Bunker, the Republicans nominated Mr. Alexander while the Progressives supported Mr. Clark. The vote totaled in joint session to 182, making 91 votes necessary to a choice. Over a dozen ballots were taken before the Democratic candidate was chosen. Had the Progressives voted with the Republicans, in the absence of a Democrat a Republican might have been elected. The Democrats also elected seven councillors and the state treasurer.⁶¹ Later on in the session as an expression of gratitude to the Progressives, the governor and his council appointed Irving E. Vernon as Bank commissioner⁶² and a short time later Rev. Henry E. Dunnack became State Librarian.⁶³

60. Lewiston Journal, January 5, 1915.

61. Lewiston Journal, January 5, 1915.

62. Ibid, January 29, 1915.

63. Ibid, February 17, 1915.

The Lewiston Journal states at the close of this session that the greatest achievement of the legislature of 1915 was the motion for adjournment. Some good legislation had been done in the Workmans' Compensation and in the Fifty-four hour labor law for women and children. The Journal claimed it did more to protect yellow perch, eels and horn-pout than it did to protect the consumers' league against the System.⁶⁴ On the whole this regime of the Democrats, ushered in by a party split had been unsatisfactory to the state Progressives. In view of this fact it was not unlikely that they would take a more friendly attitude toward Republican suggestion for amalgamation.

VII. The Decline of the Progressive Party in State Politics.

There are two outstanding factors in the final disintegration of the Progressive party in the state of Maine. The first and most important reason ^{for the decline of the party} was that the national Progressive leader, Theodore Roosevelt, returned to the Republican Party. In the presidential campaign of 1916 he supported the Republican Charles Evan Hughes. The second reason for the party's ~~de-~~ ^{disintegration} ~~cline~~ was that the members of the Republican and Progressive parties in the state realized, after several years of separate existence, ^{and bitter experience}

64. Ibid., April 3, 1915.

that unification was necessary in order to defeat the common enemy, Democracy.

The Republicans were the first to realize that party harmony was the only way in which the Democrats could be kept in the background. The split in the Republican ranks had made possible the election of the Wilson electors in 1912. In 1914, the first state election in which the Progressives had supported a separate ticket, the Democrats were again successful and polled enough votes to make Oakly Curtis governor of the state. Immediately after the election of 1914, Colonel Parkhurst, chairman of the Republican State Committee, sent another appeal to the Progressives to return to the party fold. In ~~an~~ ^{letter} appeal sent to the Progressive state committee he said, "... Only by acting together can we defeat the Democrats... a majority of the people do not favor the Underwood tariff or the Wilson administration."⁶⁵ This invitation, as the others preceding it, did not have an immediate outward effect. The most that it did do was to keep the issue before the people.

It was not until the latter part of 1915 that the Progressives showed an inclination to return to the Republican party in large numbers. In November of that year, in Franklin

65. Lewiston Journal, September 25, 1914.

county, a joint political meeting of Republicans and Progressives was held. The program of the meeting included speakers from both ^{parties} ~~both~~. This meeting ^{was} ~~being~~ the first of its kind ^{and} attracted considerable comment. The Progressives present were characterized as, ".... Modest in tone, sincere and candid in their expression of independence of thought, pride in their past political profession and were without apologies, and yet pledged adherence to the Republican party in the future as the means through which there could be practical opposition to continuance in power of the Democrats."⁶⁶ The point of view taken by the Progressives present was that the Republican party had deserved a Progressives Show rebuke in 1912 and that they had received it. Inclination to As a result the party had reformed.⁶⁷ This Return en Mass. same sentiment was expressed at a similar ^{meeting} in Oxford county at about the same time. It ^{was} ~~is~~ characteristic of the attitude ^{now} taken by a great many Progressives ~~at this time~~. There were still, however, a number of strong Progressives who, in 1916, favored a separate ticket in the state elections.

On April 5, 1916, the progressives in the state met in their second and last state convention. The purpose of the

66. Lewiston Journal, November 18, 1915.

67. Ibid, November 18, 1915.

convention was to nominate a state ticket, draw up a platform and ~~to~~ choose delegates to attend the national Progressive convention of 1916. Hardly had the convention been assembled than there were indications of a dispute over the subject of a separate state ticket. The members of the convention were divided on the subject. Finally it was suggested by Halbert Gardner that the Progressive state party ^{should} act ~~on~~ the question of a separate state ticket ^{accordingly} ~~in~~ the same way that the national Progressive party ~~would~~ act in regard to the presidential ticket of 1916. If the two parties united in the support of a single ticket, then the state Progressives agreed to unite with the Republicans in the support of a single candidate for governor. Edwin E. Lawrence was nominated for governor pending the outcome of the National Progressive Convention in June.⁶⁸ The business of the convention ~~over~~, the meeting adjourned.

The position of the national Republican party was exactly the same as the position of the Republican party in the state of Maine. ".... You must support our candidate in order to keep the wicked Democrats from succeeding," was the cry.⁶⁹

68. Lewiston Journal, April 5, 1916.

69. Ibid, April 15, 1915.

The only hope of the Republicans lay in the choice for President of a man who would be acceptable to the Progressives.

On January 11, 1916, the Progressives from 46 states met in Chicago. Maine was among those states represented. It was agreed by those present to hold the National Progressive Convention in Chicago on June 7, 1916. This was the date and the place slated for the National Republican Convention for that same year. By meeting at the same time it was hoped that both could agree upon the same candidate for President and Vice-president.⁷⁰

In the following June delegates assembled in Chicago to attend the two party conventions. The Progressives met in the Auditorium. The Republicans held their meetings in the Coliseum.

The National Republican and Progressive Conventions

There was plenty of life at the Auditorium. Every time Roosevelt's name was mentioned the convention went wild. Roosevelt was not in the city during the sessions of the conventions. It was rumored that if the G. O. P. wanted him to, he would address them.⁷¹ The Republican Convention was characterized as "....

70. Lewiston Journal, January 12, 1916.

71. Ibid, June 8, 1916.

one of the Quietest one ever held."⁷² For them Elihu Root was an ideal candidate but Charles Evans Hughes was the best compromise.⁷³ Hughes was unanimously nominated for President and Charles Warren Fairbanks of Indiana was placed upon the Republican ticket with him. A little later, on the same day, Theodore Roosevelt was nominated for President of the United States by the Progressives. He did not make any statement until after the adjournment of both conventions. It was removed that ✓ he would support Charles Evans Hughes. On June 26th, he made his position public in the following statement, ".... In my judgment ... Mr. Hughes meets the conditions set forth in the statement of the Progressive national committee, issued last January... He will not only stand for a clean cut straight forward Americanism before election, but he will resolutely, and in good faith, put it through if elected."⁷⁴

The Progressives in the state again followed the leadership of Mr. Roosevelt even though it led them back into the Republican party. In the June primaries of 1916 that party nominated Carl E. Milliken of Island Falls for governor. According to the agreement made at the state convention in Bangor, the

72. Ibid, March 31, 1916.

73. Ibid, June 7, 1917.

74. Lewiston Journal, June 10, 1916.

Progressive nominee, Mr. Lawrence, withdrew. As a result of the unification of the two parties, Mr. Milliken carried the day with the substantial plurality of 13,830. There were 19 Progressive candidates for county officers.⁷⁵ None of these were elected. In addition there were 13 Progressive candidates for state senator and 31 for the House of Representatives.⁷⁶ Of these just one Representative was elected, and after the session opened he was listed as a Republican.⁷⁷ About one fourth of subsequent state legislatures were made up of men who bolted the party in 1912.

VIII. Summary.

The Progressive party in the state of Maine was short lived. The only national campaign in which it took part was in 1912. At that time the party was formed as a reprisal to get back at the Republicans for nominating Taft at the national Republican convention. In the state the party had marked success, taking second place in the three cornered contest, ~~while there was no state organization or candidates in 1912.~~ After the state election of that year the party completed its organization in the

75. Lewiston Journal, May 19, 1916.

76. Howard Owen, Biographical Sketches, (Augusta, Maine - 1917).

77. Ibid, 1919, 1921, 1923.

state and entered state politics in the bye-election on 1913 and the state election of 1914. In these elections the results were not so satisfying. Many Progressives who had voted for Roosevelt in 1912, did not believe in dragging the movement into state politics. Others did not take this point of view and the split in the Republican ranks in 1914 was great enough to result in the election of Oakly Curtis, a Democrat. In the year following this Republican proposals for compromise were taken seriously. The leaders in both parties realized the uselessness of separate organization. It may well be said that the Republicans came to Progressive terms. They nominated the Progressive Republican, Carl Milliken, for governor in 1916 and endorsed progressive legislation in order to meet the expectations of the Progressives. As in national politics, the Progressives did not leave the field until they had left their imprints in state politics.

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Chapter III.

The Third Party Movement of 1924 in the State of Maine.

I. The Motive for the Establishment of a Third Party in 1924.

In 1924 there arose political discontent among the people of the grain producing states of the west. They believed that a united political organization would result in remedying the existing economic ^{evils} conditions from which they were suffering. Chief among these ills were the high railroad rates which ate up all the profit made by the farmer in the sale of his produce to the consumer. Then, too, the farmer believed that a low tariff would help him to live cheaper and that the Federal Farm Loan system, if reconstructed, would make credit available to him on fairer terms. Furthermore, gambling in agricultural products by speculators and profiteers should be abolished.¹ With this end in view a conference was called for Progressive political action to be held at Cleveland, Ohio on July 5th, 1924. Already the congressmen from these discontented states had sufficient numbers in congress to form an effective bloc.

1. See Appendix P. 9.

Upon one of these congressmen was to fall the leadership of the national Progressive movement. The outstanding leader in the country was the veteran congressman and one-time governor of Wisconsin, Robert Marion LaFollette. This insurgent Republican senator from Wisconsin had fought many battles on the floor of congress for the farmers of the Middle West. As governor of Wisconsin his six years of administration had been characterized by the regulation of railroad rates and the suppression of monopolies. It is not surprising, then, that the Progressives turned to Senator LaFollette for leadership in 1924. The people expressed their desire to have him become a candidate for president by a petition signed by over 200,000 Progressive voters.²

On July 5, 1924, when the Democrats were also in session, the Progressives assembled in Cleveland, Ohio. At this time LaFollette accepted the invitation of the Progressives to become a candidate for President by means of a formal note issued to the convention.³ Accompanying his note was an official statement of his beliefs. This statement of LaFollette's was the basis for the platform which the convention drew up. It was also identical

2. LaFollette - Wheeler Campaign Book, The Facts, (Chicago - 1924)

P. 30.

3. Ibid.

with the platform which was presented to the Republican convention and rejected by them hardly a month before.⁴ There was no choice for vice-president at this time. A committee was appointed, by the convention, to decide upon such a candidate after the termination of the Democratic convention in New York.⁵ Further business of the convention was to perfect the political machine in order to effectively combat the two older parties in the campaign of 1924. To this end the central organization was established at the Morrison Hotel, Chicago, Illinois. From this starting point the arms of the national committee were extended to the several states.⁶

II. The Third Party Movement in the State of Maine.

It has already been shown that Maine, with its rural population, has been susceptible to third party agrarian movements. The explanation of this may be that farming has not been a prosperous ^{occupation} ~~business~~ in Maine. With a few exceptions the soil is poor and the farmers' profits are likely to ^{be} small, or if large to be irregular. He is therefore as a class peculiarly subject to discontent and

4. See Appendix, P. 9.

5. Lewiston Journal, July 5, 1924.

6. The Facts, P. 1.

open to suggestions for political remedies. *For this reason* ~~This was true of~~ the Greenback movement in the seventies and of the Progressive movement of 1912. *made a creditable showing in state politics.* The Third Party movement of 1924 was essentially a movement to bring relief to the farmers. After its organization it was endorsed by the Railroad Brotherhood at their annual convention in Cincinnati.⁷ Similarly the American Federation of Labor meeting in Atlantic City agreed to act as a political unit in support of the LaFollette-Wheeler candidacy.⁸ The Farmers with the Laborers which attracted the support of the laboring class was the abolition of injunction in the labor disputes, the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively and the abolition of child labor.⁹ The Third Party movement also gained some adherents from the Socialist party even though that party nominated a separate ticket.

Maine, naturally a Republican strong hold, endorsed and favored the candidacy of President Coolidge. There apparently was no discontent among the farmers and laboring classes in the

7. Lewiston Journal, July 31, 1924.

8. Lewiston Journal, August 4, 1924.

9. See Appendix P. 9.

The Republican

state. At the state convention of ¹that party, April 3rd, in Portland, the national and the state Republican administrations were endorsed and a delegation, instructed to vote for President Coolidge, was elected to attend the national convention of the Republican party. Unlike the condition in 1912, there was no outward split in the Republican party. There was also harmony within the Democratic party. With no outward discontent in the state the political outlook from the point of view of the Third Party was indeed dubious. On August 5, 1924, Senator LaFollette made the statement to Gilbert E. Roe, Eastern campaign manager, that conditions were satisfactory in the Eastern states except in Maine and Vermont. In these two states he did not believe that his own and Wheelers' name would be on the state ballot.¹⁰ x

Even though the political outlook was dark the Third Party organized within the state. Henry M. Donnelly was first put in charge of the Maine organization. He was at that time a resident of the state and had served Third Party Organization as Deputy Commissioner of Labor under in the State governors Haines, Curtis, Plaisted and Milliken. Shortly after his appointment as state manager of the Third Party he was transferred

10. Lewiston Journal, August 15, 1924.

to Rhode Island and put in charge of the movement in that state.¹¹ After his removal, which occurred early in the campaign, the state leadership passed to Alexander F. Eagles, of Portland, President of the Maine Federation of Labor. Mr. Eagles was appointed by Mr. Kaufman, from national headquarters, who came to Portland for the purpose of planning the state campaign with Mr. Eagles. The six electors were appointed by these two men and notified immediately by long distance telephone. These men, as Mr. Eagles, were identified with local labor organizations. The state movement was built around the labor unions. LaFollette-Wheeler Progressive Clubs were organized in union centers. After their organization they were to have drawn in outsiders by means of membership cards. Through these unions literature relating to the Third Party movement was distributed. No special appeal was made to the farmer in the personnel of the state organization. Pamphlets arranged for the farmer were mailed or otherwise distributed in farming sections.¹²

The Third Party campaign in the state lacked the fire

11. By letter of Mr. Donnelly to the writer.

12. Mr. Donnelly's letter to the writer.

and enthusiasm that characterized the Progressive political activity in 1912. There were few political rallies and the national committee sent only one speaker of note into the state, although more were promised by the central The Campaign organization. On September 2nd Burton K.

Wheeler came into the state and spoke at the industrial centers of Biddeford and ~~at~~ Portland.¹³ The Portland meeting was poorly attended *because there was* a severe storm raging at the time. Besides these meeting there were small political rallies at Skowhegan, Lewiston and Bangor. Mr. Eagles attempted to call a state convention but the attempt failed. During the campaign Mr. Eagles and Mr. Maxfield, one time socialist candidate for governor, attended the state convention of New Hampshire, at Manchester, and they were impressed with the spirit and the strength of the Third Party movement in that state.¹⁴

On the first Tuesday in November the voters went to the polls. President Coolidge received 137,581 votes, the Democratic candidate, John W. Davis received a total of 41,670 while Robert M. LaFollette received 11,507 or 6% of all the The Result votes cast in the state.¹⁵

13. Lewiston Journal, September 3, 1924.

14. Mr. Eagles to the writer.

15. Presidential Returns at the office of the Secretary of State.

This is a striking contrast to the 37% of total votes which were cast for Theodore Roosevelt in 1912 in the state of Maine. In view of the fact that the legislation which each group promised was very similar. A comparative analysis of these two movements will follow in the conclusion.

III. Conclusion

The Progressive movement of 1912 was well organized in both the state and the nation. Here lies one of the strongest reasons for whatever success it had in the state and in the nation from 1912 to 1916. In Maine the party was definitely linked up with the national Progressive party. It was represented at the National conventions held at Chicago in 1912 and in 1916, and had a member on the national committee of the party. This committee supported the state movement by sending speakers into the state at election time and in campaign contributions. The Progressive party also had an active state committee. It was organized in the counties and local communities. There were two state conventions during its existence, one in 1914 and one in 1916. Both were held in Bangor. In 1914 a complete state ticket was placed in the field and there were many candidates for both county and

local offices from 1912 to 1916.

The Third Party movement of 1924 ^{was a} ~~is in almost~~ complete contrast to this strongly centralized third party of 1912. From the very beginning of that movement in Maine, the state and the national committee worked at cross purposes. Before the state committee was even organized the national committee was in the state organizing local LaFollette-Wheeler clubs and collecting subscription money. Some of this money was to have been returned to the state committee in order to finance it. This was not done. Mr. Eagles, the state chairman of this party states that about \$200.00 contributed by labor unions in the state was at the disposal of the state committee. With this money they had to carry on the expenses of the state committee besides sending out large quantities of printed matter which was sent to Portland by the national headquarters. Some of this material was not sent out because of lack of funds. Mr. Rawleigh, national treasurer of the party, states that approximately \$114.75 was received from a total of 28 subscriptions from the state of Maine. This money was expended for the payment of lithographs, buttons and literature^d the like of which was sent into Maine for distribution. Local LaFollette-Wheeler clubs were formed ^{which had} having for their

nucleus the labor unions. The writer has been unable to estimate the number that were in existence in the state at the time. There was no state convention of any sort. Maine was not represented on the national committee nor were there delegates sent to the national convention at Cleveland. The only election in which this party participated was the presidential election of 1924. At that time the organization was hastily and loosely put together.

Another reason for the difference in the volume of support given to the two leaders at election time may be attributed to the personality of the two leaders. The Progressive party of 1912 was organized in order to elevate Theodore Roosevelt to the presidency. The members of the party from the beginning were followers of Roosevelt. The voters of Maine followed him 48,000 strong because they admired his personality and resented the treatment which had been meted out to him by the regular Republicans. In 1912 there was no essential difference between the platforms of the Republicans and Progressives. It may well be assumed, then, that the deciding factor in the strength of the Progressives in 1912 was the personality of the national

The Influence of
the Personalities
of Roosevelt and
LaFollette

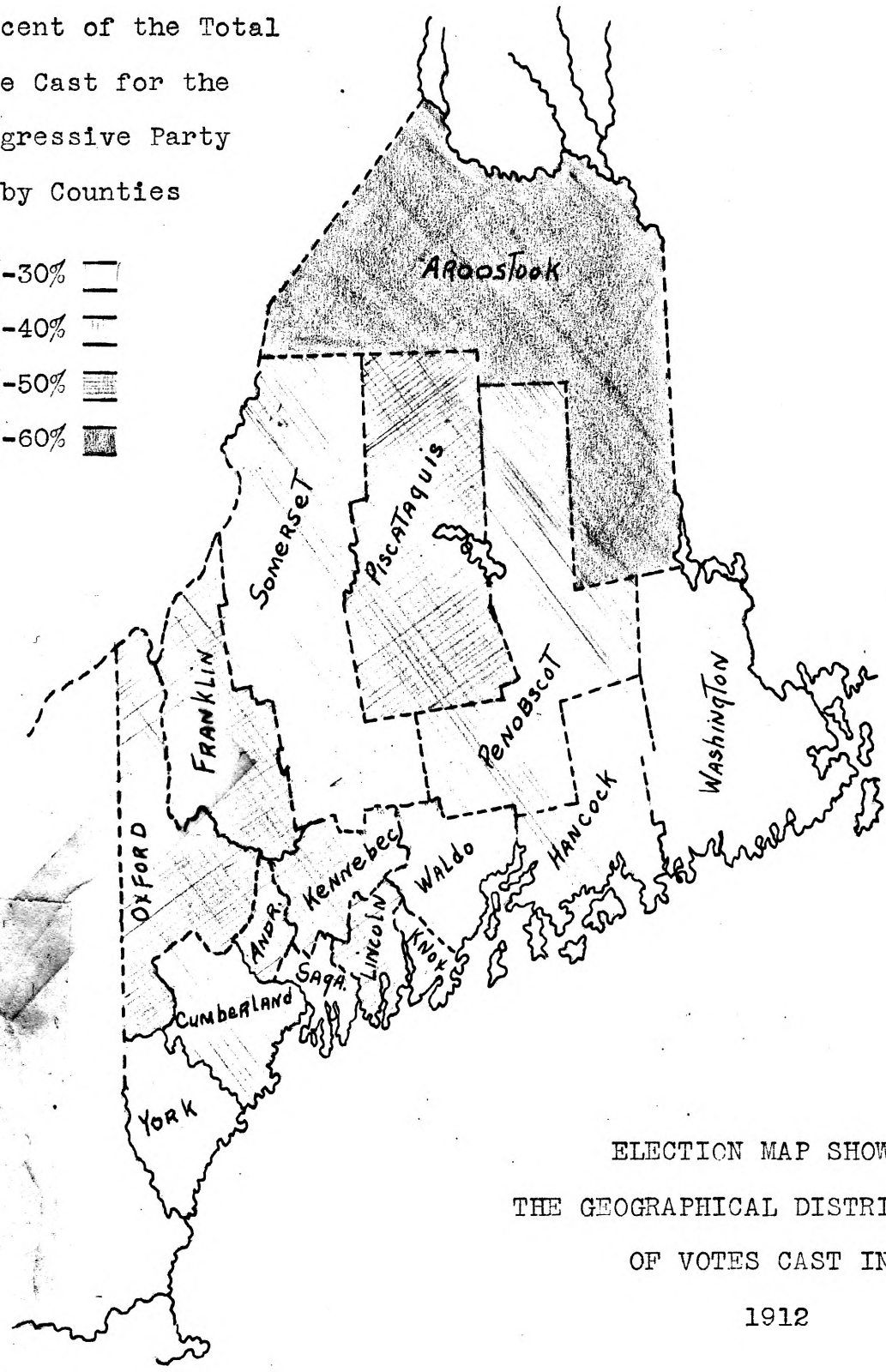
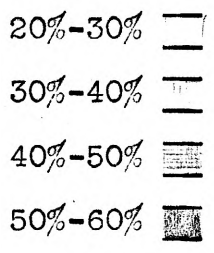
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the Progressives in 1912 was the personality of the national

leader, Theodore Roosevelt. Robert LaFollette, on the other hand, was chosen as standard bearer of the Third party after the organization of that party was well under way. He was not able to appeal to the Maine people as had Roosevelt before him. The rustic personality and stern New England virtues of LaFollette's opponent, Calvin Coolidge, native of Vermont, did more to grip the farmers in the state than did Robert LaFollette. The election returns bear this fact out.

Although the Third Party movement originated among the farmers of the grain producing states it became allied to labor and drew in men of socialistic beliefs. It was from these two latter groups that LaFollette won what little support was given to him in Maine. The accompanying maps will show the trend of the vote by counties in the presidential returns of 1912 and 1924. The coloring is shaded by counties in order to denote the comparative strength of the two third party movements in the state. The ^{Red} white signifies the greatest amount of strength while the ~~deep red~~ ^{white} shows the counties which gave the least support to the two parties. It will be noted that the three counties which led in the number of votes cast for LaFollette were Androscoggin having within its borders Lewiston and Auburn; Cumberland with Portland, its principal city; and Penobscot having Bangor for its

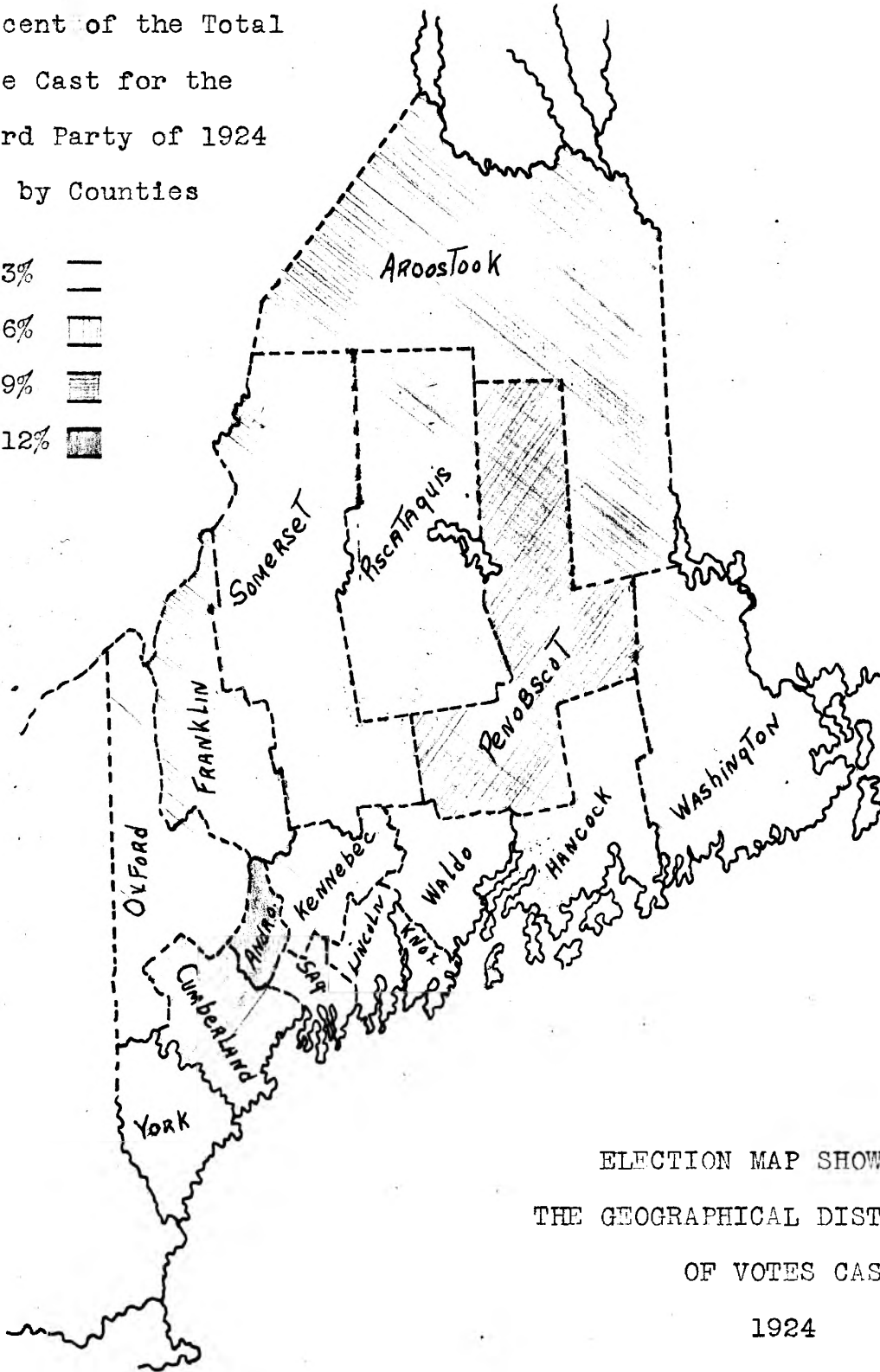
Percent of the Total
Vote Cast for the
Progressive Party
by Counties



ELECTION MAP SHOWING
THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION
OF VOTES CAST IN
1912

Percent of the Total
Vote Cast for the
Third Party of 1924
by Counties

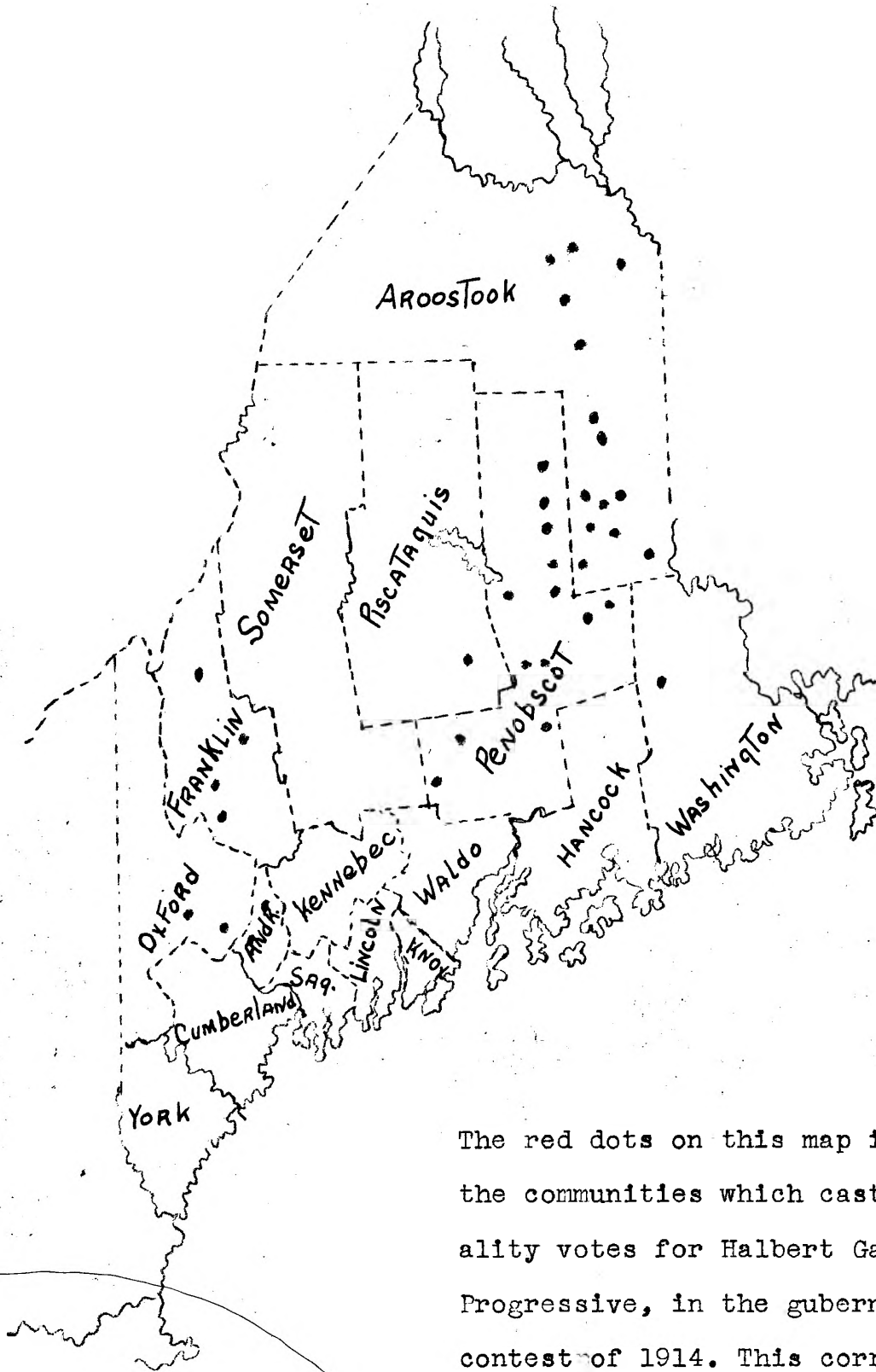
- 1%-3% —
- 3%-6% ▨
- 6%-9% ▩
- 9%-12% ▧



ELECTION MAP SHOWING
THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION
OF VOTES CAST
1924

county seat. In 1924 a little less than one half of the votes cast for LaFollette were cast in the city of Portland and the same is true of Bangor. Seven cities, including those just named, cast almost one third of all the votes that LaFollette received in Maine. It may be concluded, then, Geographical that LaFollette drew his support from the labor- Distribution ing class in the industries of the state. Since of the Votes he made his appeal through the laboring organizations it is not surprising that they rallied to his support in greater numbers. The map illustrating the trend of the Progressive vote in 1912 shows that Roosevelt ^{found} won [✓] his support in the farming sections. Arcostock led the state. Next in line came the farmers of the Rangeley regions, the Moosehead Lake country and the Kennebec valley lands. Of the twenty cities in the state, Roosevelt carried Auburn, Brewer, Gardiner, Old Town and South Portland.¹ Auburn was the only city to succeed in installing a Progressive municipal ticket. This it did in the year 1913-1914.²

Lewiston Journal, November 6, 1912.



The red dots on this map indicate the communities which cast plurality votes for Halbert Gardiner, Progressive, in the gubernatorial contest of 1914. This corresponds, in general, to the shading of the Progressive map of 1912.

TABLE NO. 1. *former*
Estimate ~~DETERMINES~~ *this party allegiance*
 A TABLE WHICH ~~DETERMINES~~ FROM WHICH OF THE TWO
of those who voted for Roosevelt in 1912 ~~MAJOR PARTIES~~ THE VOTE CAST FOR ROOSEVELT IN
 1912 CAME.

September election for GOVERNOR 1912.

Republican	70,931	-	51%
Democratic	67,602	-	49%
	<u>138,533</u>		

November Election for PRESIDENT 1912.

Republican	26,545
Democratic	51,113
Progressive	<u>48,494</u>
	126,152

Difference in total vote - 12,382

Assuming that the Democrats and Republicans alike refrained from voting in November 1912, thereby causing the difference in vote in equal proportions to their numbers in September we find that the 12,382 difference is divided as follows:

Republicans	51%	6313	plus	26,545	votes in Nov.	32858
Democrats	49%	6069	"	51,113	"	57182

We may assume, then that the difference between the above hypothetical figures for November and the actual votes of September for each of the two major parties was cast for the Progressives.

Republicans	70,931	-	32,858	equal	38,073	votes
Democrats	67,602	-	57,182	equal	10,420	votes

48,494

What were the former party affiliations of those who were found in the ranks of these two third party movements? In 1912, 48,491 voters in Maine cast their ballot for Theodore Roosevelt. It has been estimated, by means of table No. 1, that almost approximately 38,073 of the total Progressive voters were former members of the Republican party, while 10,421 had been former Democrats. These figures are based on supposition from a comparison of the total vote cast in the gubernatorial election of 1912 when there was no third party in the field and that vote cast the same year, in November, for presidential electors when the Progressive party was on the ballot. It will be noted, in Tables No. 3 and No. 4, that the Socialist vote in the presidential election increased slightly over the vote cast in September when there was no third party. It may be assumed, then, that the Progressives were not reinforced by Socialist support.

LaFollette found his adherents, in Maine, from former Democrats and Socialists. Comparing the three cornered contest in 1924 with 1920 which was a normal two party year, the returns by parties show that the Democratic vote dropped, in 1924, 7,010; the Socialists vote fell by 1740. The Republican vote in 1924 was over 10,000 greater than in 1920. From this it will be seen that

TABLE II.

CITY	1914	1916	1924	PARTY
Auburn	514 1241 23 801	1654 1241 45 -	3679 959 8 386	Rep. Dem. Soc. Prog.
Lewiston	851 2852 42 469	1755 2793 37 -	2504 2804 2 158	Rep. Dem. Soc. Prog.
Portland	4963 5974 147 380	6329 5523 119 -	13735 3426 32 1640	Rep. Dem. Soc. Prog.
Augusta	1203 1300 32 164	1657 1220 23 -	2714 873 9 109	Rep. Dem. Soc. Prog.
Waterville	876 1173 14 113	966 1386 33 -	2618 1546 7 407	Rep. Dem. Soc. Prog.
Bangor	1211 2516 16 463	1901 2476 37 -	4785 1226 7 716	Rep. Dem. Soc. Prog.

The total vote cast in 1924 was considerably greater than in 1920 but that the general drift was for the Democrats ^{now} and Socialist^s party to ~~vote in~~ the Third Party ranks ^{of} for LaFollette and Wheeler. It has already been shown that the cities supported LaFollette. The table on the opposite page indicates the Democratic and Socialist vote fell in the six largest cities in 1924., even though the total vote was increased because of the extension of the franchise to the women. It will also be noted, in this table, that the Democratic vote remained practically the same in 1914, and 1916, even though there was an independent Progressive ticket in 1914. This, then, adds to the testimony and proves as near as it can be proven that the Progressive Party in 1912 was a movement sponsored by the farmers who were Republicans while the Third Party movement of 1924 was supported, in Maine, by the labor unions, found in the industrial centers in the state and who normally voted either a Democratic or a Socialist ticket.

Re write

TABLE NO. 3

GUBERNATORIAL VOTE - 1912

COUNTY	REPUB- LICAN	DEMOC- RATIC	SOCIAL- IST	PROHI- BITION
Androscoggin	4404	5666	239	79
Aroostook	5864	3410	57	105
Cumberland	9939	10427	347	321
Franklin	2429	1762	21	41
Hancock	3472	3527	131	29
Kennebec	6720	6474	119	112
Knox	2383	3082	220	35
Lincoln	1930	2142	72	26
Oxford	3969	3506	78	43
Penobscot	7849	7657	94	100
Piscataquis	2186	1814	11	37
Sagadahoc	1878	1178	106	44
Somerset	3968	3698	228	58
Waldo	2846	4770	117	37
Washington	4041	3987	58	36
York	7054	5902	129	114
TOTAL	70,931	67,602	2,081	1,217

TOTAL VOTE CAST - 141,831.

TABLE NO. 4.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RETURNS

1912 - Maine

COUNTY	REPUB- LICAN.	DEMOC- RATIC.	SOCIAL- IST.	PROHI- BITION.	PROG- RESSIVE.
Androscoggin	858	4516	316	61	4424
Aroostook	898	1924	100	92	4799
Cumberland	5154	8480	355	135	6535
Franklin	668	1421	38	43	1633
Hancock	1399	2655	156	20	1932
Kennebec	1782	4397	175	76	5295
Knox	1097	2751	233	26	1392
Lincoln	457	1633	83	21	1527
Oxford	1234	2941	111	38	3068
Penobscot	3367	5093	145	183	5294
Piscataquis	807	1210	20	28	1704
Sagadahoc	885	1331	108	44	1129
Somerset	1235	2317	286	39	2479
Waldo	881	2145	146	33	1636
Washington	1862	3178	86	33	1893
York	3960	5121	183	73	3751
TOTAL	26,545	51,113	2541	947	48,495

TOTAL VOTE CAST - 129,637

TABLE NO. 5.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RETURNS - 1924.

COUNTY	REPUB- LICAN	DEMOC- RATIC	SOCIAL- IST	PROHI- BITION	PROG- RESSIVE
Androscoggin	9650	4680	30	-	1730
Aroostook	9554	1510	14		617
Cumberland	26187	7078	50		2398
Franklin	3350	1110	13		150
Kennebec	13122	4170	25		830
Hancock	5460	1385	12		190
Knox	4890	1760	67		272
Lincoln	3300	870	9		82
Oxford	6990	2535	13		465
Penobscot	14954	3585	41		1580
Piscataquis	40000	960	3		296
Sagadahoc	3498	1084	7		193
Somerset	6780	1798	28		575
Waldo	3990	1120	4		146
Washington	5660	2075	21		476
York	16200	5950	48		1527
TOTAL	137,580	41,670	385		11,527

APPENDIX.

*The Democratic Platform - 1912.

1. The Democratic party favors an amendment to the constitution whereby an income tax may be levied by the government.
2. A constitutional amendment to enable the popular election of senators.
3. Presidential primaries.
4. The control of campaign contribution by law.
5. A single term for president.
6. The extension of the power of the interstate commerce commission over express companies, telephone and telegraph lines.
7. The reform of the national currency and credit system.
8. The development of the Mississippi river.
9. The creation of a department of labor.
10. The conservation of natural resources.
11. The reform of the navigation policy and the merchant marine.
12. A generous pension policy.
13. The independence of the Philippines.
14. An extension of the merit system.
15. The enactment of a pure food and health law.

* The Outlook, Vol. 101, P. 560.

*The National Progressive Platform - 1912.

1. A presidential primary law to be enacted.
2. The election of senators by popular vote.
3. Compulsory use of the short ballot.
4. Publicity of campaign contributions.
5. The establishment of minimum wage commissions.
6. Prohibition of night work for women and children.
7. Aid in the protection of the farmer through the revial of the country life commission.
8. The establishment of farmer cooperative associations for the production and sale of agricultural products.
9. Tenement house manufacture prohibited.
10. Does not favor pension act of 1910 increasing the appropriation to \$25,000,000.00.
11. Compensation for industrial accidents.
12. Continuation schools for industrial education.
13. A protective tariff from the standpoint of the interests of the whole people and not as a bundle of preferences to be given favorite individuals. It should be under the administration of a group of non-partisan experts.
14. The establishment of a strong federal administrative commission which will maintain active supervision over industrial corporations engaged in inter-state trade.

* The National Republican Platform - 1912.

1. The interpretation of the law by means of an untrammelled and independent judiciary.
2. Enactment of generous compensation laws for workmen.
3. To limit the labor of women and children.
4. Favors legislation which will prevent delays in legal procedure.
5. Against the removal of judges by recall but would simplify the procedure of removing unworthy judges.
6. Opposed to special privileges and monopolies.
7. The peaceful settlement of international disputes by means of an international court.
8. The creation of a federal trade commission.
9. A protective tariff but a slight reduction favored in some of the rates of the Payne-Aldrich tariff. The use of a tariff commission made up of experts.
10. The revision of the banking and currency system.
11. The extension of the competitive civil service law.
12. Favors legislation to more effectually prohibit campaign contributions by corporations and to publish contributions made.
13. The enactment of a parcel post law.
14. The assistance of the federal government in the control of the Mississippi flood.
15. Would open Alaska coal lands by lease.
16. Relief from growing undersirable immigration.
17. Commends Tafts' administration.

* The Independent, 1912, Vol. 72, P. 1434-35.

*The State Progressive Platform - 1914.

1. An intelligent protective tariff constructed on sound economic lines laid out by a non-partisan expert.
2. Strict and impartial enforcement of the Prohibition law.
3. An amendment favored giving to the people the initiative in constitutional amendment.
4. Favor suffrage for women.
5. The fifty-four hour law for women and children and a demand for the enforcement of the Maine child labor law.
6. A federal child labor law prohibiting the labor of children.
7. A compulsory child labor law which will be paid by the industry.
8. Genuine secret ballot like that used in Massachusetts.
9. A public utilities commission made up of experts.
10. The use of recall in the state.
11. The direct election of attorney-general, secretary of state, treasurer and a commissioner of agriculture these serving as a council to replace the governor's council.
12. A co-operative agricultural banking system.
13. Compulsory issue by the railroads of 500 mile mileage rate books.
14. More simple legal system to insure justice without delay.
15. The closing of factories between twelve and two P. M. on election day.
16. Appropriations for free treatment of needy in state institutions.

*Lewiston Journal, March 25, 1914.

* The Democratic State Platform - 1914.

1. The revision of the state constitution by a non-partisan committee.
2. Compulsory workmans' compensation.
3. Favored the 500 mile mileage rate book issue.
4. Denunciation of the public utilities law of the last legislature.
5. The democrats believe in temperance, in law and order and in the enforcement of law, but recognizes the failure of the prohibition law.
6. Advocates the development of the water power for the use of Maine and under such regulations as will be fair and reasonable toward private capital, while fully protecting all public interests.
7. Careful and systematic protection of our waste land areas.
8. Establishment of a reformatory for women.
9. A fifty-four hour law regulating the hours of labor for women and children.
10. Such legislation as will expedite the administration of justice in our courts.

* Lewiston Evening Journal, March 28, 1914.

* The Republican State Platform - 1914.

1. The tariff is the most beneficial in the development of our natural resources. The Republicans would continue it as under Taft. They oppose the Underwood tariff.
2. Prohibition is a settled issue and the Republicans believe in strict enforcement. They are opposed to Democratic plan to license cities and the Progressive plank favoring amendment of the state constitution by means of the initiative.
3. They favor workmans' compensation and the fifty-four hour law.
4. They uphold Governor Haines' veto of the mileage rate bill.
5. They believe in woman suffrage and in ballot reform.
6. The enactment of a state law for presidential primaries is favored.
7. Legislation which will enable employees to leave work and go to the polls on state and national election days.
8. A law by which the amendment giving state power to tax intangible property would be changed and thus insure justice.

* As read at the Republican state convention by ex-governor Cobb, Lewiston Journal, April 10, 1914.

*The National Republican Platform - 1924.

1. The Progressive reduction of taxes as a means of tax reform.
2. A reorganization of executive departments and bureaus.
3. The placement of prohibition officers in the civil service.
4. Opposed to cancellation of debts.
5. Tariff protection as a national policy.
6. Favor the United States becoming a member of the International Court, and the calling of a conference for the limiting of land forces.
7. The reorganization of the market system in Hawaii and Alaska in order to bring about prosperity.
8. The passage of a child labor amendment.
9. The scientific adjustment of wage schedules with a view to the encouragement of agriculture and other basic industries.
10. Opposed to government entering business.
11. Strike mediation board to bring to an end coal strikes.
12. A strong merchant marine.
13. The improvement and the development of rivers and harbors.
14. Will meet problems of future concerning the care of war veterans.
15. Creation of a cabinet post for education.
16. The education of the alien.
17. Continuance of the policy in the Philippines.
18. Reclamation of the arid land in the west.
19. Promoted commercial aviation.
20. Re-affirms constitutional guarantees of civil, political and

7. Continued.

religious law.

* Lewiston Journal, June 12, 1924.

*The National Democratic Platform - 1924.

1. Will drive from public office all dishonest officials and put honest ones in office.
2. Denounces the Fordney-McCumber tariff because it has increased the cost of living and the Mellon tax bill because it lightens the tax burden of the rich.
3. Would help agriculture by lowering railroad rates.
4. The repeal of the Esch-Cummins transportation act of 1920.
5. The operation of Muscle Shoals for the maximum production of fertilizers.
6. Strict public control and the conservation of the nations industries.
7. Government owned merchant marine so long as it will be necessary.
8. Faithful compliance with the spirit of civil service and its extension to internal revenue officers.
9. Adequate salaries for postal employees.
10. The adoption of so-called lame duck constitutional amendment which would prevent members of congress from participation in a session after their defeat for re-election.
11. Revision of corrupt practice act to prevent excessive campaign contributions and expenditures.
12. Maintenance of Asiatic exclusion act.
13. Immediate independence of Philippines.
14. Establishment of full territorial rights for Alaska.

8. Continued.

15. Protection of American rights in Turkey and carrying out of President Wilson's policy in regard to Armenia.

* Lewiston Journal, June 30, 1924.

* The National Platform of the Third Party.

1. Thorough housecleaning in the Executive Departments.
2. The recovery of stolen natural resources, revision of the law to make future thefts impossible, strict public control.
3. Public ownership and development of water power; Great Lakes way.
4. Railroad freight rates based on actual investment and cost of service, and immediate reduction of rates on farm products, implements and materials to pre-war levels.
5. Public ownership of railroads protected against bureautic control; repeal of Esch-Cummins law; enact Howell-Barkley bill.
6. Reduction of Federal taxes upon individual incomes and legitimate business.
7. Reduction of exorbitant tariff rates.
8. Congressional power to repass laws over judicial veto; the election of Federal judges.
9. Direct nomination and election of President; national initiative and referendum.
10. Reconstruction of Federal Reserve and farm loan system.
11. Abolition of gambling in agricultural products by speculators and profiteers.
12. Abolition of injunction in labor disputes.
13. Right of labor to organize, bargain collectively, and conduct co-operatives.

9. Continued.

14. Veterans adjusted compensation; postal salary adjustment.

15. The abolition of Child Labor.

*What They Stand For LaFollette-Wheller Campaign Book.