Chapter Twenty-Eight

RADICALISM AND CONSERVATISM

Cristina V. Groeger

Introduction

One era's radicals may seem conservative or even reactionary to later generations; one era's conservatives might appear quixotic after the passage of sweeping social reform. The political landscape of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era does not neatly prefigure the political map of the twenty-first century. Modern liberalism emerged out of the New Deal, modern conservatism took shape in response to it. Only in the 1940s did Consensus school historians discover a "conservative" tradition in the United States as such. They distinguished between moderate conservatives and a "radical right" dating from the Federalists through the agrarian populists to William F. Buckley. Both a radical right and radical left stood outside of "a vital center" (Schlesinger 1949). New Left historians rejected the notion of such a center, instead stressing contestation and conflict among diverse groups. New Left historians contributed to a growing historiography of the radical ideas and tactics of primarily leftist dissidents. Since the 1980s, the history of conservatism has become a burgeoning sub-field, and while the latter half of the twentieth century has received most attention, more scholars are tracing the roots of the modern political right back to the nineteenth century.

This scholarship continues to unsettle easy definitions of radicals and conservatives. Increased attention to race, gender, and class has made radical heroes of the left appear to be as much predecessors of twentieth-century conservatism as liberalism. Social histories of non-elites, including recent studies of the Ku Klux Klan, have demonstrated that supposedly "radical" movements were in fact quite mainstream. These insights indicate that it is necessary to specify the particular ways in which individuals and groups were radical, and understand their radicalism in relation to a changing political common sense and balance of social power.

This chapter focuses on political and social movements that defined the outer limits of political possibility between Reconstruction and the mid-1920s. Some individuals and groups entered electoral politics directly; others organized outside the formal political process. All helped shape the political landscape that defined this era. The first section, focusing on the period between 1877 and 1896, explores the politics of national reunion after the Civil War. As the radical Reconstruction agenda was abandoned, a politically powerful economic elite was consolidated. The agrarian insurgency in the South and West, labor insurgency across the North, confrontations with Native Americans, and the growing participation of women in public life, among other major developments, shaped this process.

The second section focuses on the years between 1890 and 1914, and explores the politics of the varied movements that made up progressive reform in the Northeast, West, and the "New South." A new, educated middle class championed reforms that used the power of the state to humanize the effects of industrial capitalism and reform society along rational, scientific lines. These reformers were driven by a missionary zeal to realize social harmony and America's unique destiny at home and abroad. At the same time, progressive reforms were often premised upon the perpetuation of white supremacy, imperialist ventures, and immigration restriction. These aspects were resisted by a variety of pacifists, anti-imperialists, socialists, and anti-racist activists.

The third section, focused on the years between 1914 and 1927, explores the politics of state power leading up to and following World War I. The progressive agenda of a more aggressive state apparatus laid the foundation of the modern American welfare state. However, World War I and the failure of Wilson's internationalist vision abroad fractured the progressive movement and revealed its dark side: severe state repression of socialists, anarchists, feminists, pacifists,

and those deemed "un-American." Centralized state repression drew on long traditions of violence toward African Americans, Native Americans, immigrants, and political dissenters. New attention to state repression in the 1920s would fuel the movement for civil liberties and shape modern forms of liberalism and conservatism in the mid-twentieth century.

1877–1896: The Long Shadow of the Civil War

Since the 1960s, most historians no longer believe the myth of "black reconstruction" in which northern carpetbaggers, ignorant freedmen, and white southern scalawags took over the South, later "redeemed" by Southern Democrats. The revisionist interpretation, synthesized by Eric Foner and still the paradigm in which historians of Reconstruction operate, stressed the period's real gains in political and economic equality (Foner 1988). Over time, increased southern resistance, racist terrorism, and a shift in national attention to labor conflict eased relations between northern Republican capitalists and southern Democratic landholders. Laissez-faire liberalism and Social Darwinism shaped their worldview, not incompatible with a stress on philanthropy and stewardship of the poor. Radical Republicans retreated from the national project of enforcing the freedmen's newly acquired rights. But exactly how, when, and what factors were the most important in this retreat are still debated.

Many historians continue to emphasize the role of class. As Heather Cox Richardson (2001) argues, northern elites increasingly associated blacks with dangerous forms of worker radicalism. If Republicans were initially willing to protect the political rights of blacks, they stopped when faced with demands for full economic justice on behalf of both poor whites and blacks. The largest upwelling of insurgency focused on economic inequality in the late nineteenth century was the Populist movement. In response to declining agricultural prices and rising debt, farmers and sharecroppers in the South and West formed networks such as the fraternal Grange and Farmers' Alliance as alternative cooperative systems to finance and market their crops. Moving into politics by 1892 as the Populist or People's Party, they condemned the monopolistic power of corporations—especially the railroads—and sought to counter this power through state regulation and administration. In addition to the free coinage of silver, they called for a graduated income tax, a national currency, and the nationalization of an array of public goods: railroads, the telegraph and telephone, postal savings bank, and land for settlers. To avoid the corruption of an expanded government power, they also called for civil service regulations and the limitation of government expenses.

These agrarian populists have been perceived as provincial, backward agrarians (Hofstadter 1955), as the vanguard of a radical "movement culture" (Goodwyn 1978, Argersinger 1995, Sanders 1999), as evangelists (Creech 2006), to fully modern progressives (Postel 2007). The debate continues over the ways this amorphous, multi-faceted movement was radical, and the ways it was conservative.

The role of race in the populist movement brings out this ambivalence. The Farmers' Alliance was an amalgam of multiple regional alliances. The predominantly white Northern Alliance of the Midwest and plain states and the exclusively white Southern Alliance in Texas, Louisiana and Arkansas have received the bulk of historians' attention. Omar Ali's *In the Lion's Mouth: Black Populism in the New South, 1886–1900* (2010) is to date the most comprehensive work on black populism. Ali (2010) argues that Black Populism should be understood as its own, autonomous movement, rather than a biracial offshoot of white populism. The Colored Farmers' Alliance—at its height reaching 1.2 million affiliates across the South—consolidated multiple networks of black farmers and agrarian workers who demanded higher wages, better working conditions, better prices for crops, and better access to land and credit. As the populist movement transitioned from agrarian organizing in the 1880s to electoral politics in the 1890s, it opened up possibilities for interracial political alliances at the state and local level. Some of the earliest studies of populism explored these interracial alliances: C. Vann Woodward's dissertation and first book *Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel* (1938) examines the life of a Georgia Democrat turned Populist who championed political equality for African Americans. However, after electoral failures in the 1890s, a frustrated Watson turned to racism and anti-Semitism. Deborah Beckel (2010) traces a longer history of "fusionist" politics in North Carolina, leading to successful Republican and Populist state governments in the 1890s. Joseph Gerteis (2007) examines short-lived biracial cooperation in Georgia and Virginia populism. These studies also reveal the movement's limitations, as the racism of many white Republican and Populist leaders repeatedly threatened to overcome strategic political alliances. The People's Party effective merger with the Democratic Party in 1896 undercut populism as a force against white supremacy. Some historians reject the notion that populism ever held out the possibility of a truly biracial egalitarian movement. As Stephen Hahn (2005) argues, the limits of biracial politics in the South led many African Americans to embrace nationalist and emigrationist alternatives.

In addition to freed blacks and white agrarians, Native Americans also played an important role in shaping the course of nation building after the Civil War. Heather Cox Richardson (2007) and Eliot West (2009) have sought to shift the historiography of this era away from an exclusively North–South axis, to one that encompasses federal policy and the struggle over citizenship in the West. Eliot West uses the Nez Perce War of 1877 to explore what he calls the "Greater Reconstruction," or the contestation over the federal government's attempts to incorporate multiple nations

and peoples into one nation. The broader framework of nation-building and the subjugation of colonial subjects holds out promising possibilities for further comparative studies that situate the United States in a global context (Chang 2011).

One of the most dramatic opposition movements to emerge among Native Americans in this era was the Ghost Dance movement. The movement was inspired by Wovoka, described by his followers as a Christ-like Indian prophet who preached a moral code and a renewed world in which Indians would be forever free. Gregory E. Smoak (2008) argues that this movement was central to the process of "ethnogenesis," or pan-Indian identity formation. Smoak traces its roots to earlier traditions of native shamanism as well as Christianity spread by missionaries, and shows how it became a form of resistance to assimilation and forced adaptation to reservation life. He ends his story with the more commonly known 1890 Ghost Dance movement of the Lakota Sioux. Heather Cox Richardson (2011) describes the national party politics that ultimately led to aggressive federal suppression of this movement. Republicans, seeking to secure more votes through expanding statehood in the West, broke up the Great Sioux Reservation to encourage more white settlers. This social upheaval helped fuel the Ghost Dance movement. When South Dakotan white settlers turned to populism in 1890, President William Harrison believed that suppression of the Ghost Dance would win him electoral favors. In December of 1890, 400 federal troops massacred a band of Sioux Indians at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, killing or injuring between 200 and 300. Faced with overwhelming state violence, the Ghost Dance movement went into decline.

While farmers, tenants, and sharecroppers mobilized through the Populist movement, urban workers faced different challenges. Organized labor has long received the bulk of attention of labor historians. The Knights of Labor, founded as a secret society of Philadelphia garment workers in 1869, grew into the largest labor organization in 1886, peaking at over 750,000 members. While the Knights positioned themselves against revolutionary modes of social change and divisive labor tactics like strikes, they sought to counter the "alarming development and aggression of aggregated wealth, which, unless checked, will invariably lead to the pauperization and hopeless degradation of the toiling masses" (Knights of Labor 1878). This trend could only be checked if all laborers, across divisions of skill, trade, gender, and race, acted in unison, to secure "the toilers a proper share of the wealth that they create" and realize a "cooperative commonwealth" (Knights of Labor 1878). Towards this end the Knights advocated an eight-hour workday, workplace safety laws, a ban on child and convict labor, gender equity in wages, land reserved for public use, cooperative institutions, and the establishment of bureaus of Labor Statistics (Fink 1983; Weir 2000). As shown by John Jentz and Richard Schneirov's study of Chicago (2012), the

Knights played an important role in forging cross-class alliances that shaped late nineteenth-century municipal reform associated with the Progressive Era. At the national level, they briefly succeeded in joining forces with the agrarian populists as the People's Party.

While nominally embracing workers regardless of race or sex, the Knights did not always live up to this standard of inclusiveness. Theresa Ann Case (2010) explores instances of successful biracial alliances forged in Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, and Illinois, but this alliance was premised on shared antipathy to Chinese workers and convict labor. Some of the most powerful female organizers started with the Knights of Labor, prominent among them Mary "Mother" Jones, the subject of Elliot J. Gorn's biography (2001). Jones, an Irish Catholic immigrant, later led strikes for the United Mine Workers. Many wives, sisters, and daughters of labor unionists played an important role in labor organizing. However, females made up a small number of the organized workers themselves, and their demands reflected the dominant gendered division of labor. Most, including Mother Jones, advocated for a family wage for working men that would allow wives to stay home and care for their children. Like many Catholic women, Jones ascribed to conservative gender roles, and she opposed women's suffrage on the grounds that it was an unnecessary distraction from more important labor reform and from women's duty as mothers.

In addition to female labor activism, the female-led political movements of women's suffrage and temperance also came to be allied with the People's Party, and recent scholarship has teased apart both their radical and conservative aspects. The white women leaders of the female suffrage movement emerged out of the radicalism of abolitionism, but their alliance with African Americans was broken during Reconstruction and the failure to cover women in the Fifteenth Amendment. Some of these first-generation suffragists sought to reconcile these two movements. In 1872 Victoria Woodhull ran as a presidential candidate for the Equal Rights Party, encompassing both women suffragists and African American activists. She also advocated a range of radical cultural and feminist reforms, and was involved with the free thought and spiritualism movements that, as Ann Braude (2001) shows, forged a powerful critique of patriarchal political and religious institutions. A proponent of free love, Woodhull was arrested for violation of the 1873 federal Comstock Law banning pornography and the circulation of information about contraception and birth control.

Most women were not this radical on issues of gender, sexual morality, and race. But many participated in politics, and defied traditional gender norms by entering the public sphere in new ways. Rebecca Edwards (1997) challenges the standard chronology of women entering the public sphere, long seen as an early twentieth-century phenomenon, by documenting how women participated in earlier party politics and third-party movements like the Prohibition Party and Populist Party. Frances Willard embodied some of the

radical as well as conservative tendencies of these movements. President of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) from 1879 to 1899, she pioneered an agenda that went well beyond banning liquor to advocate for women's suffrage, labor reform, federal aid to education, boards of health, prison reform, and the moral reform of prostitutes. While helping to carve out a new field of political activism for women, the widespread support for the movement relied upon arguments that tended to reinforce traditional gender norms. For the WCTU, female suffrage was premised upon "home protection," a rationale that allowed women to enter the public sphere in order to protect their proper domestic sphere from drunken men. As Louise Newman (1999) argues, these gendered rationales for women's political roles also took on a strong racial dimension, especially in the South, as they cast black men as responsible for corrupting politics and the home, which white women were uniquely qualified to purify. The racial dimension of women's political reform continues to be a fruitful area of historical scholarship.

Along with the populists and labor organizations, the People's party brought together the followers of a variety of socialist visions. It drew in adherents of Henry George, whose bestseller *Progress and Poverty* (1879) promoted a single tax on land to challenge the stranglehold of land monopoly, which George believed to be enriching non-producers at the expense of workers and manufacturers. It also drew in members of hundreds of Nationalist Clubs, inspired by Edward Bellamy's equally popular *Looking Backward, 2000–1887* (1888), which imagined a utopian future in which state ownership and regulation harnessed the abundance made possible by industrial capitalism to realize a harmonious, disciplined social order. The People's Party also channeled the religious energies of the popular Social Gospel movement, articulated by theologians such as Baptist pastor Walter Rauschenbusch, who reframed the dire social consequences of capitalism as social sins that compelled Christians to work to realize the Kingdom of God on earth.

The climax of the People's Party in 1896 marked the end of its most radical elements. The People's Party joined the Democratic Party to nominate William Jennings Bryan as their presidential candidate. While Bryan employed the fiery rhetoric of the populist insurgency, his famous Cross of Gold speech narrowly focused on the free coinage of silver at the expense of the wide array of pro-labor policies adopted in the People's Party platform. Additionally, as historians of the South have stressed, the alliance of the Populists and the Democratic Party fragmented local populist and Republican "fusionist" parties, facilitating the consolidation of Jim Crow in the South.

This turning point also marked an important shift in the labor movement. The radically inclusive vision of the general unionism of the Knights of Labor was replaced by an exclusive, craft unionism of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) in the next decades. The Knight's broad political agenda was replaced with a tighter focus on wages and working hours. However, some radical labor organizations and political parties were important exceptions to this trend, and, as we will see, bridged the nineteenth-century labor movement with the radical industrial unionism that emerged in the wake of the Great Depression.

Finally, this moment marked a transition for women's political movements. As Rebecca Edwards has argued, by the end of the century, both the Democratic and Republican parties had taken a conservative, masculine turn that pushed women out of direct engagement in party politics. Far from a decline in women's political activity, however, their activism shifted to other sites. In particular, women's leadership in non-partisan organizations became one of the defining features of the Progressive Era.

1890–1914: Progressive Reform

The progressive movement drew support from a new middle class that sought to use the power of the state to eliminate the worst abuses of capitalism and to restructure society on a more rational, scientific basis. Progressives drew on many of the same reform traditions of populists and labor unions, such as a producerist tradition of labor republicanism and an evangelical social gospel. But they also adopted new practices and institutions. They embraced the administrative capacities of corporations and the state while seeking to place them on more efficient and ethical grounds. They filled the ranks of new research universities that facilitated technological innovation and promised new scientific solutions to social problems. Women educated in newly founded women's colleges flocked to social settlements to address social ills directly, and led non-partisan associations to advocate for reforms in child labor, public health, city governance, public morality, and education.

Were progressives conservative or radical? This question continues to be debated by historians, and has been the ground on which, as Robert D. Johnston (2002) observed, historians are in effect debating the meaning of American democracy. Historians of the Progressive Era like Charles Beard and V. L. Parrington celebrated reformers defending the "people" against the "special interests." Consensus-era historians such as Richard Hofstadter and Louis Hartz (1955) focused on progressives' efforts to minimize class conflict and class consciousness, and portrayed them as solidly middle class. The fiercest critique came from New Left historians such as Gabriel Kolko (1963) and Samuel Weinstein (1968), who portrayed progressives as allies of a triumphant "political capitalism" or "corporate liberalism." Some recent works have continued to stress the ways progressives perpetuated class-based inequality (Stromquist 2006; Huyssen 2014). But later historians also attempted to reclaim some of progressives' democratic credentials. Intellectual historians like James T. Kloppenberg (1986)

saw progressives as navigating a "via media" between liberalism and socialism, and Douglas Rossinow (2008) placed progressives squarely alongside left radicals in a broad democratic tradition. Theda Skocpol (1992) traced the emergence of the "maternalistic welfare state" leading a generation of historians to study the role of women in the progressive movement and shifting the debate from the axis of class to gender. Increasing attention to race, empire, as well as gender and class, have continued to expose both radical and conservative elements of this era.

One site to look for radicalism in the Progressive Era is in states and municipalities that were "laboratories of democracy." As detailed in Nancy C. Unger's biography (2000), Wisconsin governor, senator, and presidential candidate Robert La Follette, Sr., became one of the strongest advocates of political reforms to make the state more responsive to citizens' needs and to challenge monopolies and trusts. These reforms included direct legislation, workmen's compensation for injuries, progressive taxation, and the regulation of railroads. La Follette believed that the state university system had an important role to play in developing public policy, a concept that became known as the Wisconsin Idea. Municipalities were similar laboratories during this era. A number of turn-of-the-century mayors—Samuel "Golden Rule" Jones of Toledo, Hazen S. Pingree of Detroit, and Tom Johnson of Cleveland—saw corporate greed as the root of government corruption, and sought to increase mechanisms of popular democracy (through the referendum, initiative, and recall) and expanded a wide range of public services (public utilities, evening schools, kindergartens, public baths, parks, and playgrounds). Robert D. Johnston (2003) shows how this same strain of anti-corporate populism in Portland drew support from the working class and, crucial to its success, a broad middle class. At the same time, many structural political reforms of this era—such as civil service reform, the city commission system, and the city manager system—drew on a technocratic strain of progressive reform that had the effect of sharply decreasing voter participation.

As the Wisconsin Idea indicates, new institutions—universities foremost among them—also shaped progressive politics. Universities were the sites in which intellectuals and social reformers developed new philosophical paradigms and new sciences of human society. Richard T. Ely, founder of the American Economic Association and professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, developed the school of "ethical economics" which posited the ethical problems of poverty and labor conflict as crucial objects of scientific analysis, and suggested broad economic and political reforms to address them. Andrew Jewett (2012) traces this democratic understanding of science that dominated the early human sciences, and examines the political process through which that understanding was forced out of universities and replaced by supposedly "value-free" sciences by mid-century.

Alongside radical traditions, universities also lent scientific credence to conservative disciplinary innovations. One of the most reactionary movements was eugenics. Although it had earlier precedents in statistics and agricultural and animal breeding, biologist Charles Davenport became one of the primary promoters of policies to improve the genetic pool of the human species. His Eugenics Record Office, founded in 1910, collected the medical histories of thousands of Americans and published studies purportedly demonstrating the hereditary unfitness of lower-class immigrants. Scientific racism, a corresponding movement that emerged out of the discipline of anthropology, sought to establish the scientific basis of a hierarchy of races. Scientific racism and eugenics were popularized in the writings of Madison Grant, whose *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916) advocated eugenic policies to promote Nordic superiority. Trained as a lawyer, Grant did not have professional credentials as a scientist, but as Jonathan Spiro's biography of Grant (2009) demonstrates, Grant inhabited a still-fluid position between nineteenth-century gentleman naturalist and professional scientist, and he sought to fix the criteria of authority on racial superiority rather than on academic credentials. Eugenic ideas were widely popular, accepted by feminists like Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Margaret Sanger, and even African American rights activist (and first African American to earn a PhD from Harvard), W.E.B. Du Bois. Organizations like the Immigration Restriction League and American Breeders Association lobbied for eugenic policies across the nation. Over 30 states adopted forced sterilization legislation, leading to the sterilization of 60,000 people by mid-century.

Other disciplinary developments had both reformist and conservative elements. Richard T. Ely, for example, sought to apply science to society by helping to found the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration in 1908. Business schools aimed to both elevate business into a subject of scientific research and inculcate a service ethic into professional managers. However, the new fields of scientific and personnel management at best humanized some of the most obvious forms of labor exploitation, and at worst turned the exploitation of human labor into a science (Nelson 1992). As women increasingly entered the ranks of universities, they played a leading role in developing the disciplines of domestic science and home economics. Ellen Swallow Richards, a founder of home economics, was the first woman admitted to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the field of chemistry and was appointed as an instructor in a newly founded MIT laboratory of sanitation. On the one hand, these were some of the first venues for women to enter fields of scientific research, and as these fields became ubiquitous in public high schools, they also provided thousands of women with teaching positions. On the other hand, these new disciplines reinforced a gender division of labor in both education and the workplace.

Educational institutions of a variety of types came to embody the environmentalist reform vision of many Progressives. The institutional form with the widest reach was the public school. The most ubiquitous of public services funded as part of the progressive political agenda, public school systems not only included new high schools and common schools, but also evening schools, vocational schools, commercial schools, nursery schools, kindergartens, health centers, gymnasiums, and free school lunch programs. These reforms were inspired by the ideas of progressive educators, none more prominent than philosopher and social reformer John Dewey. Dewey challenged the distinction between the liberal education of the historically leisured class and the vocational education of the working class. Instead, he argued that the criteria of educational value was the reconstruction of experience that allowed individuals to intelligently direct that experience. He imagined his Laboratory school in Chicago, in which students would collectively solve problems across a wide range of activities and vocations, to be an experiment in industrial democracy that would liberate human intelligence and sympathy. This holistic education, Dewey hoped, would transform labor relations and make possible the realization of an ethical social democracy.

In practice, however, a new stress on practical education within a rapidly expanding school system did less to reshape the economy than respond to its demands. The vast expansion of schooling in the early twentieth century replaced alternative forms of on-the-job training, but largely reflected the class-based, racial, and gendered norms of the labor market. By providing women with vocationally appropriate education, public schools reinforced the gendered division of labor. In the South, as James Anderson (1988) documents, northern philanthropists funded industrial education and teacher-training normal schools like the Hampton Institute and Tuskegee Institute. Philanthropists worked closely with figures like Booker T. Washington, who saw practical education and economic uplift as a better strategy to racial equality than classical academic education or the more confrontational demands for political enfranchisement and civil rights championed by activists such as W.E.B. Du Bois. On the one hand, these industrial normal schools marked a vast improvement over the alternative dearth of educational opportunities for African Americans, as many southern whites sought to keep public education in rudimentary stages through the mid-twentieth century (Kantrowitz 2000). Furthermore, it provided education to many African Americans who would become leaders in the fight for racial equality. At the same time, it circumscribed educational opportunities for African Americans, reinforced segregation, and was unable to challenge employment discrimination.

The middle-class women who led a variety of progressive movements grew up in the new educational institutions of the Progressive Era. Teaching, a feminized profession since the mid-nineteenth century, was a rapidly expanding occupation for women at the turn of the century, and played a crucial role in expanding higher education for women (Clifford 2014). Taking advantage of new educational opportunities, women entered a wide range of professions and helped develop new professions like social work and public health. These educated women, who led campaigns for labor laws, civil service reform, temperance, and public services, saw their activities as a means of social salvation. They often had their start in particular urban "redemptive places" (Spain 2001) such as social settlements, pioneered in the United States by Jane Addams in Chicago. As shown in Louise Knight's biography of Addams (2008), settlement houses served as communities that brought together middle-class women, like Addams herself, and poor and working-class immigrants. They offered a range of social services and activities shaped by the local needs of members. For Addams, these settlements, like the public school, served in practice as microcosms of radical democracy—across divisions of class, race, ethnicity, and gender.

But as an increasing number of historians have demonstrated, much of women's reform activity embraced conservative elements that sharpened these divisions. On gender, as seen with the women's suffrage campaign, the most politically successful non-partisan activities of women claimed to bring the domestic, nurturing role of women to politics. The most successful welfare services they championed were also premised on a male breadwinner model of the family. As Linda Gordon (1994) describes, white female reformers who assumed the death of a wage-earning husband was the primary source of insecurity for women successfully won widows' pensions and mothers' aid in states across the country by 1930. However, their efforts helped shape a bifurcated welfare state consisting of a privileged social insurance program for participants in economic sectors dominated by white men, and inferior welfare programs for others. Female-led moral reform efforts to "save" delinquent children, fallen women, and "white slaves" fueled the expansion of an intrusive and discriminatory system of state surveillance. Mary Odem (1995) describes the use of state regulation by these reformers to impose their own standards of gender and sexuality on working class, immigrant, and African American girls and their families. Brian Donovan (2005) examines the ways the panic over "white slavery," or forced female prostitution, and anti-vice activism in Chicago constructed and perpetuated racial and gender hierarchies.

The racially conservative dimensions of women's political activity are seen especially in new scholarship on women in the South. Francesca Morgan (2006) looks at the political role of both white and black female organizations. She details how the African American National Association of Colored Women, the mixed race Women's Relief Corps, and the white nationalist Daughters of the American Revolution and the United Daughters of the Confederacy

all shared assumptions of the moral and cultural superiority of women, while each constructed distinctive gendered and racial definitions of patriotism and citizenship. A number of scholars have also explored the particular shape of the southern women's suffrage movement. As Elna C. Green (1997) demonstrates, the arguments of white female federal suffragists, state suffragists, and anti-suffragists alike were premised on black disenfranchisement. As the new biography of anti-lynching activist Ida B. Wells (Giddings 2008) details, Wells dramatically and publically criticized suffragists like Frances Willard in the 1890s for contributing to racial arguments that gave ammunition to white supremacists in the South.

Historians have used gender as a lens to further enrich the broader political history of the Jim Crow South. As Bruce Baker (2008) describes, the 1890s witnessed a dramatic spike in lynching by reactionary vigilante groups like the Ku Klux Klan, building on a long tradition of mob violence. Many African Americans decided to leave segregation, the threat of lynching, and scarce job opportunities in the South and move north in the Great Migration. Those who remained navigated the transformations of the New South. Glenda Gilmore (1996) argues that as black men were disenfranchised, new spaces opened for the political activity of black women. Communities of faith played a crucial role. Within churches and voluntary associations—including the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the YWCA, and the National American Women's Suffrage Association (NAWSA)—a "better class" of black women sought strategic alliances with white women progressives to gain from the expanding welfare state. Their class-based strategies of respectability, uplift, hard work, education, and moral behavior were used to subvert a racially exclusive reformist agenda, as demonstrated by Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham (1993) and Stephanie Shaw (1996). Maggie Lena Walker represents one such woman. Walker was born to slave parents in Richmond, Virginia, and grew up within the black community of the First African Baptist Church. After graduating from a black normal school and teaching for several years, she married, but did not cease working outside the home. She is most well-known for becoming president of the St. Luke Penny Saving Bank in 1903, making her the first black woman bank president (Marlowe 2003). As Elsa Barkley Brown (1989) notes, Walker championed universal suffrage and a "womanist" vision of Black Nationalism based on the crucial role of women in African-American economic and political empowerment.

These strategies were innovated in response to the terror and violence of the Jim Crow South. Leon F. Litwack (1998) shows how the first generation of African Americans born in freedom, less inclined to show deference to whites, helped to provoke the most violent period of American race relations. In his bleak portrait, the achievements of middle-class blacks did not create a way out of this cycle, but only generated more antipathy among whites who perceived

them to be threatening competitors. While Gilmore (2008) highlights the few instances of interracial cooperation and the political activists who laid the groundwork for the Civil Rights Movement, Litwack gives voice to countless black southerners who privately upheld dignity in the face of everyday brutality. The stranglehold of white domination helps explain the continuous appeal of separatist rather than integrationist strategies. Like Hahn's nationalism lens, Michele Mitchell (2004) argues that the notion of a common fate shaped post-emancipation African American politics, and traces separatist and emigration movements from "Liberia fever" to Garveyism. She also shows the ways in which gender and sexuality—often in conservative forms—were central to these reform discourses. 1870s emigrationists argued colonization would improve masculinity, fecundity, and protect black women; Garveyites emphasized black motherhood and the control of black women's sexuality in the realization of an idealized, racially pure nation.

African Americans not only confronted racial exclusion by white political and economic elites, but also within the very organizations aimed to challenge those elites: labor unions. The labor question emerged as the central concern of many progressives. Most supported organized labor as an important means of challenging corporate power and realizing "industrial democracy." Labor organizations, however, existed on a spectrum of more or less radical visions and tactics. The AFL emerged as the dominant labor organization of the Progressive Era, and focused on "bread and butter" gains for a skilled aristocracy of labor. The AFL did play an important role in politics, as Julie Greene (1998) argues. However, it did not reimagine workplace governance along democratic lines or challenge wage labor itself, and also tended to exclude women, immigrants, and African Americans.

Women did carve out important new spaces, including new feminists' spaces, in the labor movement. Annelise Orleck (1995) focuses on female labor leaders who emerged out of the 1909 "Uprising of 20,000," or the mass spontaneous strike of Jewish, Polish, and Italian female garment workers in New York that grew the ranks of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU). While many women involved in the labor movement still held to traditional gender norms, a new group of "industrial feminists" also advocated for feminist causes. For example, Rose Schneiderman, a Jewish immigrant who had grown up in the sewing trades, became an organizer for ILGWU as well as a prominent member of the class-bridging Women's Trade Union League (WTUL) and an active member of NAWSA. As Lara Vapnek (2009) discusses, Schneiderman, along with Clara Lemlich, the ILGWU organizer who led the 1909 strike, and Leonora O'Reilly, founding member and organizer of the WTUL, formed the Wage Earner's Suffrage League in 1911. This league, which emerged out of disagreements within the predominantly middle-class dominated NAWSA and over the role of women's suffrage within the Socialist

Party, aimed to give a political voice to working women, directly linking economic independence with political rights.

While most progressives tended to shy away from the word "socialism" and favored incremental reformist strategies, a variety of more radical social reformers gained momentum during this period. The most popular third party was the Socialist Party, led by Eugene V. Debs, which won 6% of the popular vote in 1912. As Nick Salvatore's biography of Debs (2007) describes, after Debs was jailed for his leading role in the Pullman Strike in 1894 as president of the American Railway Union, he helped found the Socialist Democratic Party in 1898, which became the Socialist Party in 1901. Drawing on traditions of labor republicanism, populism, the Social Gospel, Bellamy's nationalism, and Marxism, Debs accused capitalism of reducing workers to slaves, and advocated worker control of the state to realize true political and industrial democracy. While his ultimate goal of abolishing the capitalist system was more radical than the aspirations of even the most democratic progressives, the immediate program of the Socialist Party, including public ownership of banks and railroads, unemployment aid, stricter labor laws, and a graduate income tax, was substantively similar to that of many progressives.

While the Socialist Party included women, immigrants, and African Americans, a critique of gender norms and racial inequity was not central to its program. Sally Miller (1993) details the life of one of the most popular female socialist orators, Kate Richards O'Hare, a Kansas native who lectured to audiences across the plains states. While preaching socialist reform as a married mother of four, she believed that the "Woman Question" was subsumed within the "Social Question," and she reassured a southern audience that socialism would not mean full social equality with blacks. The most prominent black socialist, Hubert Harrison, was drawn to socialism as a radical alternative to Booker T. Washington's accommodationist strategy of economic uplift (Perry 2008). However, he became disillusioned by the party's lack of unified action on race and its tolerance of segregated local branches in the South, and became a leader of the New Negro movement.

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) presented a more radically inclusive vision. David Brundage (1994) traces the emergence of the IWW out of many reform currents: Irish nationalism, republicanism, populism, prohibition, the general unionism of the Knights of Labor, and the militancy of the Western Federation of Miners. Other interpretations stress the crucial role of foreign immigrants and their anarchist and syndicalist roots. Undoubtedly, when it was founded in 1905, the IWW drew together a wide range of workers, labor organizers, and socialists who were frustrated with the limited craft unionism of the AFL. The IWW instead presented an inclusive vision of worker solidarity to regain full control of their workplace and the fruits of their labor. While the IWW's call for "one big union" evoked the

Knights of Labor, it was based on an updated analysis of labor relations. As their 1905 Manifesto stated, new machines and technological innovations continuously wiped out entire trades and threw workers "upon the scrap pile" to sink into the "uniform mass of wage slaves" (IWW 1905). Rather than unite to challenge this system, workers were being manipulated by employers and exclusive unions that promoted differences of skill, trade, race, and gender to turn workers against each other. The IWW ridiculed progressive institutions of business–labor collaboration—such as the National Civil Federation, of which AFL President Samuel Gompers was a member—as instruments to mislead workers and better carry out the wealthy's war upon labor. Against this united front, workers needed to overcome their differences and form a broad industrial organization that could use the most powerful tool available to workers: the general strike. As articulated by IWW leader William D. "Big Bill" Haywood, the general strike was more powerful than the ballot: it "prevents the capitalist from disenfranchising the worker; it gives the vote to women, it re-enfranchises the black man and places the ballot in the hands of every boy and girl employed in a shop" (Haywood 1911). A fully organized workforce deploying the general strike would allow workers to take control of the industries in which they worked, realizing the true meaning of industrial democracy.

The IWW led some of the few successful organizing campaigns for women, immigrant, and African American workers—dockworkers, agricultural workers, textile workers, and mining workers—in the early decades of the twentieth century. They were involved in over 100 strikes. They also championed free speech and free assembly, and opposed laws banning street meetings that were a primary mode of labor organizing. But while the organization made new inroads into organizing the "unorganizable," the IWW's own tactics made the consolidation of its significant, if not revolutionary, victories difficult. Based on the philosophy of constant labor agitation that was extremely challenging to maintain in practice, the IWW's refusal to negotiate contracts led to the rapid loss of any concessions won from employers during strikes, as occurred after the 1912 Lawrence textile strike and 1913 Patterson silk strike. It was this "industrial anarchy" that led to Eugene Debs, a founding member of the IWW, to break with the organization (Salvatore 2007).

Historians of U.S. labor have long noted the particular violence of labor conflict in the Progressive Era. This was dramatically apparent in the battles between one of the most aggressively anti-union employers' associations, the National Erectors' Association, and the Ironworkers' Union, which funded a dynamite campaign to bomb iron and steel buildings, employers and contractors. In what became known as the "crime of the century," union members John J. and James B. McNamara were tried for bombing the Los Angeles Times building, leading to the death of 21 employees. As Sidney Fine (1995) argues, explanations

for these violent tactics must be attentive to particular work-place cultures and worldview. In this case, violent tactics had developed among largely Irish ironworkers, the least skilled of the construction trades, who inhabited a more aggressive working-class culture and drew on traditions of Fenianism and Darwinism. Anti-union campaigns have also been the subject of recent works tracing the longer history of conservatism back to the early twentieth century (Millikan 2001; Gage 2009).

Other historians have similarly looked away from the leadership of unions to the workers themselves to find evidence of radicalism in the labor movement. As Howard Kimeldorf argues (1999) in his study of Philadelphia dock workers and New York hotel and restaurant employees, workers' strategic choices to organize with the AFL or IWW were determined less by ideological commitments than the nature of their particular workplace environment. Kimeldorf finds continuous evidence of syndicalist, radical tendencies of workers seeking to control their own workplaces, challenging interpretations of workers as conservative. Racial inclusion and class solidarity made possible the IWW-affiliated, predominantly African American, Marine Transport Workers Union Local 8 in Philadelphia in 1913. When this union dissolved, the strategies of racial and class solidarity and direct action were carried into the subsequent unions under AFL leadership. But these cases remained on the fringe of the labor movement. As documented by Bruce Nelson (2001) and Robert Zieger (2007), African Americans would only become integrated into the mainstream labor movement in the 1930s.

Much labor radicalism in the early twentieth century was dominated by immigrants, who inhabited the lowest rungs of the economic ladder and brought revolutionary European traditions with them. Feminist activist Emma Goldman emigrated from the Russian Empire and became involved in New York City's subculture of anarchists in the late 1880s. As detailed in Vivian Gornick's biography (2011), in the midst of the Homestead Strike in 1892, Goldman and co-conspirator Alexander Berkman planned to assassinate Henry Frick, the factory manager of the Homestead plant, in the hopes of inciting a wider workers' revolt. Goldman was arrested and subsequently detained dozens of times for seditious statements, but she tirelessly spoke to audiences around the country about anarchism, women's rights, birth control, homosexuality, and the freedom to be able to discuss all these matters openly.

Despite the reputation of anarchism as a destructive and violent movement, Emma Goldman defended anarchism as fundamentally opposed to violence. According to Goldman, anarchism was premised on the theory that violence was at the foundation of all forms of government, which anarchism rejected in defense of the "freest possible expression of all the latent powers of the individual" (Goldman 1911, 293). Rather than a purely individualistic notion of freedom, however, anarchism reconciled the individual and society, as it would eliminate the pernicious economic,

political, and religious influences that hindered this unity. Like socialism, anarchism held that "a perfect personality, then, is only possible in a state of society where man is free to choose the mode of work" (Goldman 1911, 293). And far from a foreign or anti-American philosophy, Goldman repeatedly invoked transcendentalists Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau, calling the latter the "greatest American Anarchist" (Goldman 1911, 294). The willingness of anarchists to openly resist the law, she argued, had a long American tradition, including the activism that led to American independence, the emancipation of slavery, universal suffrage, and the achievements of the labor movement.

While most immigrants were not anarchists, the stereotype of immigrant radicalism gave fodder to widespread anti-immigrant sentiment during the Progressive Era. A rash of anarchist violence, including the assassination of President William McKinley in 1901, led to the passage of the 1903 Immigration Act, or the Anarchist Exclusion Act. The relationship between anarchism and immigration policy in the United States continues to frame contemporary historiography. As Mary Barton (2015) has recently argued, while European nations pursued collective multilateral action against anarchism, the United States tended to opt for unilateral anti-immigration policies.

American anti-foreign sentiment has a long historiographical tradition dating back to John Higham's classic study, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (1955). Aristide Zolberg (2006) takes a broad interpretation of immigration—including slavery and internal migration—in a sweeping survey of American state policy as an instrument of nation building. Jeane Petit (2010) focuses more narrowly on the literacy test as a means of immigration restriction, originating in the 1890s and passed into law in 1917. Some organizations like the Immigration Restriction League, founded in 1894 by three Harvard alumni, championed the literacy test to make sure genetically inferior southern and eastern Europeans would not degrade and emasculate the Anglo-Saxon race. Other groups like the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers opposed the literacy test, but on a different set of racial and gendered assumptions: they claimed that southern and eastern Europeans (although not non-Europeans) would reinvigorate an effete American stock through inter-breeding.

The "barbarian virtues" of manliness, vitality, and vigor, in Theodore Roosevelt's terms, linked immigration to imperialism in the minds of many Americans. They have also provided a conceptual framework for historians to link American domestic and foreign policy. Matthew Frye Jacobson (2000) posits immigration and empire as two sides of the same coin. White man's civilizing mission provided the justifications for both the Americanization of immigrants at home as well as imperialism abroad. As millions of immigrants entered the country and the United States acquired new territories, however, Jacobsen argues that both immigrants and colonial

dependents threatened racialized conceptions of citizenship, provoking extensive debate over the meaning of American nationalism.

Along with ethnic and racial assumptions shaping foreign policy, numerous studies of American foreign policy explore the gendered dimensions of empire. Kristin L. Hoganson (1998) argues that specific scripts of masculinity directly informed foreign policy to determine the place of the United States in an emerging world order. In the wake of an economic depression that threatened the male wage-earner, Hoganson argues that men pursued empire as an arena in which to enact martial virtues, and elevate their stature with these territorial possessions. Mary Renda (2001) uses "paternalism" as the central lens through which to explore the military occupation of Haiti from 1915 to 1934. Renda reveals how, through the encounter with an exotic other, the United States was in turn shaped by the cultural legacies of the occupation.

Despite the powerful cultural, racial, and gendered ideologies that supported American imperialism, there were many Americans opposed to these military ventures. Michael Patrick Cullinane (2012) roots anti-imperialist sentiment in earlier critiques of American expansion within a transnational network of anti-imperialist activism. William James, member of the Anti-Imperialist League formed in 1898, articulated the moral repugnance some Americans felt at the brutality of U.S. activities in the Philippines. To the *Boston Evening Transcript* in 1899 he wrote: "Could there be a more damning indictment of that whole bloated idol termed 'modern civilization' than this amounts to? Civilization is, then, the big, hollow, resounding, corrupting, sophisticating, confusing torrent of mere brutal momentum and irrationality that brings forth fruits like this!" (James 1899). Trygve Throntveit (2014) interprets James' opposition to imperialism as a central component of his broader ethical philosophy. While a proponent of martial virtues, James observed how quickly a sense of philanthropic duty could be undercut by moral superiority and chauvinism. Not all anti-imperialist arguments were driven by the same democratic ideals, however. Christopher Nichols (2011) places 1890s anti-imperialism at the root of an isolationist ideology, premised on soft-power forms of economic international engagement rather than formal imperialism. Other anti-imperialist arguments derived from the same racist premises that drove anti-immigration efforts. As Eric Tyrone Lowery Love (2004) describes, it was a defense of a republicanism premised on a racial conception of citizenship that led many to oppose the incorporation of foreign people through empire.

1914–1927: World War I, State Repression, and the Birth of Civil Liberties

The U.S. entrance into World War I was an important turning point in progressive reform and the history of radicalism and conservatism in this era. But there are many narratives about how and why the war was a turning point. One common narrative focuses on the climax and decline of progressive internationalism. According to Alan Dawley (2003), many progressives who supported entry into the war, including John Dewey and W.E.B. Du Bois, were lured by Wilson's vision of internationalism and self-determination. However, Wilson's failure to convince his own nation to join the League of Nations is often taken as the decisive blow to the heady idealism of the war to end all wars.

Another narrative in which World War I was a turning point focuses on anti-war activism and state repression. While many progressives were persuaded by Wilson's vision, the majority of Americans had been opposed to U.S. entry, and the war remained unpopular even after 1917. Opposition to the war fueled a broad pacifist movement. Joseph Kosek (2011) uses the history of the United States Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR USA) founded in 1915 to demonstrate how pacifists shaped the primary modes of non-violent political action crucial to subsequent social justice movements. Many women—including prominent progressive social reformers—became leaders of the peace movement. The Women's Peace Party (WPP), to which Jane Addams, a co-founder of FOR USA, was elected first president, was also founded in 1915 and made use of public demonstrations to advocate against militarism and for women's suffrage. The WPP also helped organize an international gathering of female peace activists, the International Congress of Women, held in The Hague in 1915. This international organization became the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) in 1921, with Emily Balch and Jane Addams as central leaders (Gwinn 2010; Nichols 2011). Joyce Blackwell (2004) and Melinda Plastas (2011) look at the role of black women in the WILPF, who, while combatting racial prejudice within the organization, helped expand its agenda to address racist violence in the United States and fight racism around the world.

As a testament to the war's unpopularity, multiple state measures were used to repress dissent. President Wilson enlisted progressive muckraker George Creel to lead the War Committee on Public Information, deploying all the latest techniques of modern advertising to sell the war to the public. For those not convinced, a heavier hand was used. Under the broad umbrella of the Espionage and Sedition Acts, passed between 1917 and 1918, many anti-war activists were targeted. In June of 1918, while making an anti-war speech in Ohio, Eugene V. Debs was arrested under the Espionage Act and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment. The Supreme Court upheld the legality of the Espionage Act in *Debs v. United States*. It followed the logic Oliver Wendell Holmes had used in an earlier anti-war case, *Schenk v. United States*, limiting First Amendment rights when posing a "clear and present danger." Extra-legal measures were also deployed. William Thomas Jr. (2008) used the declassified files of the Bureau of Investigation to recount the wide variety of targets of federal repressions: socialists, pacifists, immigrants, labor organizers, teachers, students, and Roman Catholic and Lutheran clergy.

The Russian revolution, the founding of the Communist Party of the USA, a wave of labor strikes, and an anarchist bombing campaign in the year 1919 led to the continued repression of radicals, especially immigrant labor radicals. After several anarchist bombings aimed at prominent government officials, Attorney General Mitchell Palmer orchestrated the deportation of hundreds of immigrants, including Emma Goldman, to the Soviet Union. In 1921, Italian anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti were convicted on flimsy evidence of killing two people during an armed robbery of a shoe company in Boston. While their cause drew international attention and sparked protests around the world, they were executed in 1927. The classic text by William Preston, Jr., *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903–1933* (1963), presents the Red Scare within a nativist tradition as the logical consequence of decades-long attempts by the federal government to repress alien radicals. Preston uses the Bureau of Immigration records to detail federal policies that targeted the IWW, colluding with powerful interests at the state level as well as the more conservative wing of the labor movement. Scholars have pointed out the limits of anti-foreign sentiment as an explanatory device, drawing attention to the federal repression of other racial groups including Native Americans, African Americans, Chinese, and Japanese. Along these lines, more recent studies such as Theodore Kornweibel, Jr.'s *Seeing Red: Federal Campaigns Against Black Militancy, 1919–1925* (1998) and Regin Schmidt's *Red Scare: FBI and the Origins of Anticommunism in the United States, 1919–1943* (2000) have broadened the scope and the legacy of federal surveillance and repression during this period.

One of the most important legacies of state repression was the new salience of free speech. Debs turned his trial into a platform to defend First Amendment rights. Addressing the court, he recalled famous dissenters now considered patriotic heroes: "Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Paine and their compeers were the rebels of their day" (Debs 1918). Rather than breaking the law, he and other rebels were in fact the ones upholding the Constitution of the United States. Ernest Freeberg (2008) argues that the amnesty movement to liberate anti-war and leftist dissenters after World War I provoked a much larger debate over the meaning of civil liberties. The American Civil Liberties Union, founded in 1920, drew together both progressives and peace activists like Jane Addams as well as IWW organizers and Communist Party activists like Elizabeth Gurley Flynn (Camp 1995; Vapnek 2015).

Historians have increasingly traced the roots of the free speech movement to earlier radical dissent movements. David Rabban (1999) describes a long tradition of free speech activism by both labor radicals and feminists. The 1873 federal Comstock Law and other anti-obscenity laws were the primary targets of free-speech feminists. The Bohemian circle of anarchists, cultural modernists, and feminists in New York's Greenwich Village became the center of free-speech activism before and after WWI. Christine Stansell (2000) describes the activism of New Women like Emma Goldman and Margaret Sanger, who popularized the term "birth control," and who both championed free speech on behalf of women's rights, health, and safety. For Stansell, sexual expression and the politics of free speech were at the heart of American modernism. This milieu of anarchism and cultural radicalism was also foundational to the origins of gay rights prior to 1917, as Terence Kissack (2008) describes.

The religious fundamentalist movement of the 1920s can also be understood as a reaction to labor radicalism, feminism, anti-racism, cultural modernism, as well as theological divisions among American Protestants. While drawing on some of the same evangelical traditions that had animated populist and progressive era reform, religious fundamentalists moved solidly to the far right of the American political spectrum in the 1920s. George Marsden (1980) explores the roots and development of fundamentalism as first and foremost a religious movement, while seeking to place it within its broader cultural and political context. Janette Hassey (1986) traces the shift from "evangelical feminism" at the turn of the century to 1920s fundamentalism that severely circumscribed women's ministries. While most studies have focused on the North as the central site of struggle between fundamentalism and theological liberalism, William Glass (2001) explores the complex denominational terrain of the South, and William Trollinger (1990) uses the life of popular evangelist William Bell Riley to tell the history of fundamentalism in the Midwest. Understanding the relationship between religious beliefs, practice, and political activity in the United States remains an important area of further research.

The turning point of World War I also saw the realization of women's suffrage, which gained momentum as a patriotic reform at the onset of the war and was ratified as the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. A new generation of radical feminists was active in the final push for women's suffrage. Alice Paul, a settlement house worker and sociologist, used militant tactics in the UK women's suffrage movement before playing a key role in the corresponding movement in the U.S. (Zahniser and Fry 2014; Lunardini 2013). But suffragists continued to rely on conservative arguments to make women's suffrage politically palatable. Other women were not convinced at all, and joined an active anti-suffragist movement. These women are central players in Kim Nielson's study of anti-radical, anti-feminist women (2001). As Nielson describes, after the Nineteenth Amendment was passed, the network of women involved in the anti-suffrage movement mobilized against other radical and progressive causes: socialism, pacifism, birth control, a federal education bureau, welfare legislation, and protective labor legislation. Anti-feminists saw this progressive agenda as a subversive socialist conspiracy that would undermine male authority and degrade the nation.

The turning point of World War I also looked different from an African American perspective. The war witnessed the height of the first wave of the Great Migration, as African Americans moved to cities in the North and West to take advantage of wartime job opportunities. Many African Americans also went to war to fight in the name of democracy. When they returned, they demanded their rights as citizens. However, with renewed postwar job competition and the conflation of Soviet Bolshevism with demands for racial and economic equality, newly emboldened African Americans were subject to a wave of brutal attacks. During the "Red Summer" of 1919, there were at least 38 separate race riots across the nation in which 43 blacks were lynched and eight were burned at the stake. The Ku Klux Klan also experienced a revival during the 1920s, the subject of many recent works (Blee 1991; MacLean 1994; Pegram 2011). These studies have debunked notions that the "New Era Klan" was a marginal extremist organization. Rather, they portray it as a popular organization among native-born white Protestant men and women, standing for a wide range of causes adaptable to local conditions: moral policing on prohibition and prostitution, local control of community affairs, the cultural authority of religion, anti-political corruption, and even promoting popular public services. At its height, the new Klan reached a membership of approximately 4 to 5 million. Just how "mainstream" this organization was, and what the answer to that question implies about other social groups and movements, should provide a rich line of inquiry for continued historical research.

The violence and betrayal experienced by African Americans after the war led many to support the separatist movement of Marcus Garvey. Inspired by Booker T. Washington's ideas of economic uplift and Pan-African nationalism, the Jamaican native founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association in 1914. By the early 1920s Garveyism had become the largest black activist organization in the history of the United States. Most scholarly attention has focused on Garveyism in the North, but there is increasing scholarly attention to Garvey's appeal in the South (Harold 2007; Rolinson 2007). Like Stephen Hahn, Rolinson argues that Garveyism gained a large southern constituency, drawing on southern traditions of racial uplift, separatism, and religious redemption. In addition, scholars have explored Garveyism with a broader transnational network. Winston James (1998) details the distinct ways in which Caribbean immigrants contributed to new waves of African American radicalism in the United States.

One of these immigrants was Hugh Harrison, the aforementioned socialist activist who went on to embody the widest range of twentieth-century economic and political radicalism. After his disillusionment with the Socialist Party, he led the New Negro movement and embraced a "race first" approach to social change that stressed black leadership of black organizations. Dubbed the "father of Harlem radicalism," he founded the Liberty League as a radical alternative to the NAACP, advocating for federal anti-lynching laws, enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, labor organizing, and anti-imperialism abroad. Harrison strongly influenced both Marcus Garvey and labor leader A. Philip Randolph, and his biographer presents Harrison as the key link between the Black Nationalist trend associated with Malcolm X, and the labor and civil rights trend associated with Martin Luther King, Jr. (Perry 2009).

Glenda Gilmore (2008) traces a different radical path to the Civil Rights Movement. Hers follows the labor activism of the Communist Party in the South. Her central actors include activists such as Lovett Fort-Whiteman, a graduate of Tuskegee Institute who spent time in Mexico before joining the circle of Harlem radicals where he became editor of the political and literary journal *The Messenger*. He became a Communist Party activist in 1919 and after attending a Comintern training school in the Soviet Union helped found the American Negro Labor Congress in 1925 that brought together black workers, labor leaders, and community organizers in a central black Communist organization. Activists like Fort-Whiteman were the earliest examples of Communist organizing among African Americans, which reached a height in the 1930s and laid important groundwork for the black labor and civil rights tradition.

Conclusion: Tracing Radicalism and Conservatism Backwards

The many paths from the radicalism and conservatism of the late nineteenth century to the twentieth and early twenty-first century will continue to be a fruitful agenda for historical research. While traditions of left radicalism have received the most attention from historians, the history of conservatism is catching up. In 2011 Leo Ribuffo criticized the current "rediscovery" of conservatism for failing to look to events before 1950 and ignoring the works of earlier scholars of conservatism such as Richard Hofstadter (1965), Daniel Bell (1963), and Seymour Martin Lipset (1970). However, historians have begun to trace the roots of modern conservatism back to the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, exploring anti-union battles (Millikan 2001; Gage 2009), anti-feminist women (Goodier 2013; Nielson 2001), nativism and racism (MacLean 1994; Pegram 2011), and religious fundamentalism (Glass 2001; Hart 2002). Julia Ott (2011) explores the popularization of a free-market ideology in the early twentieth century through the sale of stocks and bonds to a broad public. Lisa McGirr (2015) places Prohibition at the center of the development of the modern penal state. These studies have revealed the many ways in which some "conservative" ideas had widespread public appeal. As Ribuffo also points out, studies of these rank-and-file political actors promise to aid understanding of the ways in which the United States "may

be in some sense a conservative country" (Ribuffo 2011). Because the political landscape has changed dramatically, further studies would continue to reveal unexpected lineages and relationships and deepen our understanding of these political contours.

This chapter is a sketch of what a synthetic narrative of radicalism and conservatism in the United States might look like. Although they would not be consolidated until the Great Depression and New Deal, the major political fault lines of modern liberalism and conservatism emerged by the mid-1920s. The new civil liberties tradition that grew in the aftermath of World War I, coupled with a populist and progressive reform agenda, defined the modern political left. However, strains of radical populism and progressivism had deeply conservative elements woven into their history. The modern political right, defined by a new anti-statist, white conservatism that emerged in opposition to the New Deal, also drew on populist traditions of political dissent, white supremacy, religious traditionalism, and moralistic reform. Radicals and conservatives defined and redefined themselves in relation to one another, and a historical understanding of their interconnectedness reveals both the stark disjunctures as well as deep continuities between the current age and theirs.

References

Ali, Omar H. 2010. *In the Lion's Mouth: Black Populism in the New South, 1886–1900.* Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.

Anderson, James D. 1988. *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Argersinger, Peter H. 1995. *The Limits of Agrarian Radicalism: Western Populism and American Politics.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Baker, Bruce E. 2008. *This Mob Will Surely Take My Life: Lynchings in the Carolinas, 1871–1947.* London: Continuum.

Barton, Mary S. 2015. "The Global War on Anarchism: The United States and International Anarchist Terrorism, 1898–1904." *Diplomatic History* 39, 2: 303–30.

Beckel, Deborah. 2010. *Radical Reform: Interracial Politics in Post-Emancipation North Carolina.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

Bell, Daniel. 1963. *The Radical Right : The New American Right Expanded and Updated.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Bellamy, Edward. 1888. *Looking Backward, 2000–1887.* Boston: Ticknor and Company.

Blackwell, Joyce. 2004. *No Peace Without Freedom: Race and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915–1975.* Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Blee, Kathleen M. 1991. *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Braude, Ann. 1989. *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Brown, Elsa Barkley. 1989. "Womanist Consciousness: Maggie Lena Walker and the Independent Order of Saint Luke." *Signs* 14, 3: 610–33.

Brundage, David Thomas. 1994. *The Making of Western Labor Radicalism: Denver's Organized Workers, 1878–1905.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Camp, Helen C. 1995. *Iron in Her Soul: Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and the American Left.* Pullman: Washington State University Press.

Case, Theresa Ann. 2010. *The Great Southwest Railroad Strike and Free Labor.* College Station: Texas A&M University Press.

Chang, David A. 2011. "Enclosures of Land and Sovereignty: The Allotment of American Indian Lands." *Radical History Review* 109: 108–19.

Clifford, Geraldine. 2014. *Those Good Gertrudes: A Social History of Women Teachers in America.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Creech, Joe. 2006. *Righteous Indignation: Religion and the Populist Revolution.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Cullinane, Michael Patrick. 2012. *Liberty and American Anti-Imperialism: 1898–1909.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dawley, Alan. 2003. *Changing the World: American Progressives in War and Revolution.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Debs, Eugene. 1918 (2003). "Address to the Jury." In *The Radical Reader: A Documentary History of the American Radical Tradition*, ed. Timothy Patrick McCarthy and John Campbell McMillian, 285–287. Reprint. New York: The New Press.

Donovan, Brian. 2005. *White Slave Crusades: Race, Gender, and Anti-Vice Activism, 1887–1917.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Edwards, Rebecca. 1997. *Angels in the Machinery : Gender in American Party Politics from the Civil War to the Progressive Era.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Fine, Sidney. 1995. *Without Blare of Trumpets: Walter Drew, the National Erectors' Association, and the Open Shop Movement, 1903–57.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Fink, Leon. 1983. *Workingmen's Democracy: The Knights of Labor and American Politics.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Foner, Eric. 1988. *Reconstruction : America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877.* Updated edition. New York: Harper & Row.

Freeberg, Ernest. 2008. *Democracy's Prisoner: Eugene V. Debs, the Great War, and the Right to Dissent.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gage, Beverly. 2009. *The Day Wall Street Exploded: A Story of America in Its First Age of Terror.* New York: Oxford University Press.

George, Henry. 1879. *Progress and Poverty: An Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depressions and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth; the Remedy.* National Single Tax League.

Gerteis, Joseph. 2007. *Class and the Color Line: Interracial Class Coalition in the Knights of Labor and the Populist Movement.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Giddings, Paula J. 2008. *Ida: A Sword Among Lions: Ida B. Wells and the Campaign Against Lynching.* New York: Amistad.

Gilmore, Glenda Elizabeth. 1996. *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896–1920.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

—. 2008. *Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights, 1919–1950.* New York: W.W. Norton.

Glass, William Robert. 2001. *Strangers in Zion: Fundamentalists in the South, 1900–1950.* Macon, GA: Mercer University Press.

Goldman, Emma. 1911 (2003). "Anarchism: What it Really Stands For" In *The Radical Reader: A Documentary History of the American Radical Tradition*, ed. Timothy Patrick McCarthy and John Campbell McMillian, 288–295. New York: The New Press.

Goodier, Susan. 2013. *No Votes for Women: The New York State Anti-Suffrage Movement.* Women in American History. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Goodwyn, Lawrence. 1978. *The Populist Moment : A Short History of the Agrarian Revolt in America: A Short History of the Agrarian Revolt in America.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Gordon, Linda. 1994. *Pitied But Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare, 1890–1935.* New York: Free Press.

Gorn, Elliott J. 2001. *Mother Jones: The Most Dangerous Woman in America.* New York: Hill & Wang.

Gornick, Vivian. 2011. *Emma Goldman: Revolution as a Way of Life.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Grant, Madison. 1916. *The Passing of the Great Race: Or, The Racial Basis of European History.* New York: C. Scribner.

Greene, Julie. 1998. *Pure and Simple Politics: The American Federation of Labor and Political Activism, 1881–1917.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Green, Elna C. 1997. *Southern Strategies: Southern Women and the Woman Suffrage Question.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Gwinn, Kristen E. 2010. *Emily Greene Balch: The Long Road to Internationalism.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Hahn, Steven. 2003. *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South, from Slavery to the Great Migration.* Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press/Harvard University Press.

Harold, Claudrena N. 2007. *The Rise and Fall of the Garvey Movement in the Urban South, 1918–1942.* New York: Routledge.

Hart, D. G. 2002. *That Old-Time Religion in Modern America : Evangelical Protestantism in the Twentieth Century.* Chicago: Ivan R. Dee.

Hartz, Louis. 1955. *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought Since the Revolution.* New York: Harcourt, Brace.

Hassey, Janette. 1986. *No Time for Silence: Evangelical Women in Public Ministry at the Turn of the Century.* Grand Rapids, MI: Academie Books.

Haywood, William. 1911 (2003). "The General Strike." In *The Radical Reader: A Documentary History of the American Radical Tradition*, ed. Timothy Patrick McCarthy and John Campbell McMillian, 285–287. New York: The New Press.

Higginbotham, Evelyn Brooks. 1993. *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880–1920.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Higham, John. 1955. *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Hofstadter, Richard. 1955. *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* New York: Vintage Books.

—. 1965. *The Paranoid Style in American Politics: And Other Essays.* 1st edition. New York: Knopf.

Hoganson, Kristin L. 1998. *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish–American and Philippine–American Wars.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Huyssen, David. 2014. *Progressive Inequality: Rich and Poor in New York, 1890–1920.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

IWW (Industrial Workers of the World, The). 1905 (2003) "Manifesto and Preamble." In *The Radical Reader: A Documentary History of the American Radical Tradition*, ed. Timothy Patrick McCarthy and John Campbell McMillian, 281–284. New York: The New Press.

Jacobson, Matthew Frye. 2000. *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876–1917.* New York: Hill & Wang.

James, William. 1899. "The Philippine Tangle." *Boston Evening Transcript*, March 1.

James, Winston. 1998. *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early Twentieth-Century America.* New York: Verso.

Jentz, John B., and Richard Schneirov. 2012. *Chicago in the Age of Capital: Class, Politics, and Democracy during the Civil War and Reconstruction.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Jewett, Andrew. 2012. *Science, Democracy, and the American University: From the Civil War to the Cold War.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Johnston, Robert D. 2002. "Re-Democratizing the Progressive Era: The Politics of Progressive Era Political Historiography." *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 1, 1: 68–92.

—. 2003. *The Radical Middle Class: Populist Democracy and the Question of Capitalism in Progressive Era Portland, Oregon.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Kantrowitz, Stephen David. 2000. *Ben Tillman & the Reconstruction of White Supremacy.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Kimeldorf, Howard. 1999. *Battling for American Labor: Wobblies, Craft Workers, and the Making of the Union Movement.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kissack, Terence S. 2008. *Free Comrades: Anarchism and Homosexuality in the United States, 1895–1917.* Edinburgh: AK Press.

Kloppenberg, James T. 1986. *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870–1920.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Knight, Louise W. 2005. *Citizen: Jane Addams and the Struggle for Democracy.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Knights of Labor. 1878 (2003). "Preamble." In *The Radical Reader: A Documentary History of the American Radical Tradition*, ed. Timothy Patrick McCarthy and John Campbell McMillian, 243–245. New York: The New Press.

Kolko, Gabriel. 1963. *The Triumph of Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History, 1900–1918.* Chicago: Quadrangle Books.

Kornweibel, Theodore. 1998. *Seeing Red: Federal Campaigns Against Black Militancy, 1919–1925.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Kosek, Joseph Kip. 2009. *Acts of Conscience: Christian Nonviolence and Modern American Democracy.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1970. *The Politics of Unreason: Right Wing Extremism in America, 1790–1970.* New York: Harper & Row.

Litwack, Leon F. 1998. *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow.* New York: Knopf.

Love, Eric Tyrone Lowery. 2004. *Race Over Empire: Racism and U.S. Imperialism, 1865–1900.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Lunardini, Christine A. 2013. *Alice Paul: Equality for Women.* Lives of American Women. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

MacLean, Nancy. 1994. *Behind the Mask of Chivalry : The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Marlowe, Gertrude Woodruff. 2003. *A Right Worthy Grand Mission: Maggie Lena Walker and the Quest for Black Economic Empowerment.* Washington, DC: Howard University Press.

Marsden, George M. 1980. *Fundamentalism and American Culture.* New York: Oxford University Press.

McGirr, Lisa. 2015. *The War on Alcohol: Prohibition and the Rise of the American State.* New York: W.W. Norton.

Miller, Sally M. 1993. *From Prairie to Prison: The Life of Social Activist Kate Richards O'Hare.* Columbia: University of Missouri Press.

Millikan, William. 2001. *A Union Against Unions: The Minneapolis Citizens Alliance and Its Fight Against Organized Labor, 1903–1947.* St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

Mitchell, Michele. 2004. *Righteous Propagation: African Americans and the Politics of Racial Destiny After Reconstruction.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Morgan, Francesca. 2006. *Women and Patriotism in Jim Crow America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Nelson, Bruce. 2001. *Divided We Stand: American Workers and the Struggle for Black Equality.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Nelson, Daniel. 1992. *A Mental Revolution: Scientific Management Since Taylor.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Newman, Louise Michele. 1999. *White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Nichols, Christopher McKnight. 2011. *Promise and Peril : America at the Dawn of a Global Age.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Nielsen, Kim E. 2001. *Un-American Womanhood: Antiradicalism, Antifeminism, and the First Red Scare.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Odem, Mary E. 1995. *Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States, 1885–1920.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Orleck, Annelise. 1995. *Common Sense & a Little Fire: Women and Working-Class Politics in the United States, 1900–1965.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Ott, Julia C. 2011. *When Wall Street Met Main Street: The Quest for an Investors' Democracy.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Pegram, Thomas R. 2011. *One Hundred Percent American: The Rebirth and Decline of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s.* Chicago: Ivan R. Dee.

Perry, Jeffrey Babcock. 2009. *Hubert Harrison: The Voice of Harlem Radicalism, 1883–1918.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Petit, Jeanne D. 2010. *The Men and Women We Want: Gender, Race, and the Progressive Era Literacy Test Debate.* Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press.

Plastas, Melinda. 2011. *A Band of Noble Women: Racial Politics in the Women's Peace Movement.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Postel, Charles. 2007. *The Populist Vision.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Preston, William. 1963. *Aliens and Dissenters; Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903–1933.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Rabban, David M. 1997. *Free Speech in Its Forgotten Years, 1870–1920.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Renda, Mary A. 2001. *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915–1940.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Ribuffo, Leo P. 2011. "Twenty Suggestions for Studying the Right Now That Studying the Right Is Trendy." *Historically Speaking* 12, 1: 2–6.

Richardson, Heather Cox. 2001. *The Death of Reconstruction.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

—. 2007. *West from Appomattox: The Reconstruction of America After the Civil War.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

—. 2011. *Wounded Knee: Party Politics and the Road to an American Massacre.* New York: Basic Books.

Rolinson, Mary G. 2007. *Grassroots Garveyism: The Universal Negro Improvement Association in the Rural South, 1920–1927.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Rossinow, Douglas Charles. 2008. *Visions of Progress: The Left-Liberal Tradition in America.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Salvatore, Nick. 2007. *Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Sanders, Elizabeth. 1999. *Roots of Reform: Farmers, Workers, and the American State, 1877–1917.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Schlesinger, Jr., Arthur M. 1949. *The Vital Center: The Politics of Freedom.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Schmidt, Regin. 2000. *Red Scare: FBI and the Origins of Anticommunism in the United States, 1919–1943.* Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.

Shaw, Stephanie J. 1996. *What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do: Black Professional Women Workers during the Jim Crow Era.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Skocpol, Theda. 1995. *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Smoak, Gregory E. 2006. *Ghost Dances and Identity: Prophetic Religion and American Indian Ethnogenesis in the Nineteenth Century.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Spain, Daphne. 2001. *How Women Saved the City.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Spiro, Jonathan Peter. 2009. *Defending the Master Race: Conservation, Eugenics, and the Legacy of Madison Grant.* Burlington: University of Vermont Press.

Stansell, Christine. 2000. *American Moderns: Bohemian New York and the Creation of a New Century.* New York: Metropolitan Books.

Stromquist, Shelton. 2006. *Reinventing The People: The Progressive Movement, the Class Problem, and the Origins of Modern Liberalism.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Thomas, William H. 2009. *Unsafe for Democracy: World War I and the U.S. Justice Department's Covert Campaign to Suppress Dissent.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Throntveit, Trygve. 2014. *William James and the Quest for an Ethical Republic*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Trollinger, William Vance. 1990. *God's Empire : William Bell Riley and Midwestern Fundamentalism*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Unger, Nancy C. 2000. *Fighting Bob La Follette: The Righteous Reformer*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Vapnek, Lara. 2009. *Breadwinners: Working Women and Economic Independence, 1865–1920*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

—. 2015. *Elizabeth Gurley Flynn: Modern American Revolutionary*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Weinstein, James. 1968. *The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State, 1900–1918*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Weir, Robert. 2000. *Knights Unhorsed: Internal Conflict in a Gilded Age Social Movement*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press.

West, Elliott. 2009. *The Last Indian War : The Nez Perce Story*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Woodward, C. Vann. 1938. *Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Zahniser, Jill Diane and Amelia R. Fry. 2014. *Alice Paul: Claiming Power*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Zieger, Robert H. 2007. *For Jobs and Freedom: Race and Labor in America Since 1865*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

Zolberg, Aristide R. 2006. *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Further Reading

Ali, Omar H. 2008. *In the Balance of Power: Independent Black Politics and Third-Party Movements in the United States*. Athens: Ohio University Press.

Brinkley, Alan. 1994. "The Problem of American Conservatism." *The American Historical Review* 99, 2: 409–29.

Foner, Eric. 1998. *The Story of American Freedom*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Horowitz, David A. 1997. *Beyond Left & Right: Insurgency and the Establishment*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Kazin, Michael. 1995. *The Populist Persuasion: An American History*. New York: Basic Books.

Lichtman, Allan J. 2008. *White Protestant Nation : The Rise of the American Conservative Movement*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press.

McCarthy, Timothy Patrick, and John Campbell McMillian. 2003. *The Radical Reader: A Documentary History of the American Radical Tradition*. New York: The New Press.

Phillips-Fein, Kim. 2011. "Conservatism: A State of the Field." *Journal of American History* 98, 3: 723–43.

Ribuffo, Leo P. 1992. *Right Center Left: Essays in American History*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

—. 2003. "The Discovery and Rediscovery of American Conservatism Broadly Conceived." *OAH Magazine of History* 17, 2: 5–10.

Voss-Hubbard, Mark. 1999. "The 'Third Party Tradition' Reconsidered: Third Parties and American Public Life, 1830–1900." *The Journal of American History* 86, 1: 121.