

# **Domestic and Foreign Policy 1880 – 1920's**

# Progressive Social Reforms - Prohibition

- There are traces of a prohibition movement in Puritanism arguably as far back as the mid 1600's in New England
  - Prohibition as an organized and continuous movement traces back to the American Temperance Society that was founded in 1826 which expanded to 1.5 million members by 1836 with a large percentage of women members (but not definitively quantified)
  - By way of comparison, abolitionist society roles in 1860 were around 200,000
- Prohibition was advanced by a substantial number of groups and organizations that in most cases were bundled with other progressive causes
  - The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) is probably the most prominent but its charter and objectives defined much wider goals covering virtually all areas of progressive activism
  - Anti-Saloon League was the most powerful pro-prohibition lobbying group of the period pushing legislation targeting both consumption and production of alcohol prior to their ultimate victory with the passing of the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment in 1920
  - They were deeply associated with both the Klan and Progressive Party. An Alabama newspaper editor wrote " *In Alabama, it is hard to tell where the anti-Saloon League ends and the Klan begins*"
- Federal Council of Churches
  - This was an association that had representatives from a wide range of denominations that was active in temperance and prohibition and also advocated for a variety of other progressive causes generally related to welfare and labor reform.
  - It was founded in 1908 in Philadelphia and evolved into the National Council of Churches in 1950

# Progressive Social Reforms – Prohibition (cont..)

- Prohibition Party
  - The Party was founded in 1869 by John Russell and James Black and accepted women as members
  - Russell was a northern Methodist preacher and Black was the party's first presidential nominee
  - While starting around a single issue, its platform rapidly expanded to encompass a full progressive agenda and got over 2% of the national presidential vote in 1888 and 1892
- Ku Klux Klan (2<sup>nd</sup> Klan)
  - Acted as enforcers of prohibition – will be addressed separately
- World War I effectively implemented prohibition ahead of the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment with all food production being placed under Federal Control
  - At the time less than 2% of American cereal production went alcohol. As asked in the progressive weekly The Independent, *"Shall the many have food, or the few have drink"*
- The anti-Saloon League was specifically targeting producers
  - beer in particular was largely associated Germans, both Catholic and Lutheran, who had been thoroughly villainized and marginalized by that point
- Having been victorious over the demon rum in America the pietist prohibitionists turned their sights on the world
  - *""Personal Liberty" is at last an uncrowned, dethroned king, with no one to do him service. The social consciousness is so far developed, and is becoming autocratic, that institutions and government must give heed to its mandate and share their life accordingly. We are no longer frightened by that ancient bogy – "paternalism in government." We affirm boldly, it is the business of government to be just that – Paternal. Nothing human can be foreign to a true government"* Rev. Josiah Strong from the monthly journal, The Gospel of the Kingdom

# Women's Suffrage

- All of these movements were outgrowths of progressive applied Christianity but they all also had motives linked to demographics and collective evangelism
  - Support for the reform movements followed a geographical pattern reflecting migration from New England to the Midwest and then the West, although never establishing a clear majority anywhere
  - *"In the arid West these pioneers have halted and turned to perceive an altered nation and changed social ideals... If we follow back the line of march of the Puritan farmer, we shall see how responsive he has always been to the isms.. He is the prophet of the "higher law" in Kansas before the Civil War. He is the Prohibitionists of Iowa and Wisconsin, crying out against German customs and an invasion of his tradition ideals, He is the Granger in Wisconsin, passing restrictive railroad legislation. He is the Abolitionist, the anti-Mason, the Millerite, the Women Suffragist, the Spiritualist, the Mormon, of Western New York."* pietist historian Jackson Turner
- Women's Suffrage
  - Most suffrage activists were associated with the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and many had also been active abolitionists
  - Eventually, the WCTU's social reform causes included temperance with regard to drugs and tobacco, kindergartens, child labor, anti-prostitution, public health, sanitation, international peace, in addition to suffrage. It was sort of a hub for activist activities
  - Relatively large in comparison to the NWSA and AWSA (splinter suffrage groups)
  - The WCTU, along with other Christian nativist organizations like the YMCA and the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) organized *"Americanization"* activities aimed at liturgical immigrants
  - advocated the *"White Life for Two Program"* where men would reach women's higher moral standing (becoming women's equal) by engaging in lust-free, alcohol-free, and tobacco-free marriages

## Suffrage (cont..)

- Suffrage Demographics
  - By 1892 the WCTU had app. 150,000 dues paying members. Using the 1890 census data this was well less than 1% of the adult female population assuming all members were from the United States
  - Progressive and heavily pietist third parties like the Greenback and Prohibition parties, who saw the Republican Party of the day as being too moderate on social issues, were heavily in favor of suffrage
  - The Progressive Party of 1912, which effectively caused Wilson to win the presidency over Charles Evan Hughes, was strongly in favor of suffrage
  - Those opposed to suffrage were liturgical voters and immigrants (frequently one in the same)
  - A more detailed analysis by a Colorado feminist of a 1877 women's suffrage referendum revealed that the Methodists (most progressive denomination close behind or rivaling the Congregationalists) were "for us", the Presbyterians and Episcopalians "fairly so", and the Roman Catholics "were not all against us". Susan B Anthony explained it this way
  - *"In Colorado ... 6,666 men voted "Yes." Now, I am going to describe the men who voted "Yes." They were native-born men, temperance men, cultivated, broad, generous, just men, men who think. On the other hand, 16,007 voted "No." Now, I am going to describe that class of voters. In the southern part of that State are Mexicans, who speak the Spanish language*
- Opponents saw suffrage came as a package of positions that were not in their best interest culturally or economically and those who advocated it were attempting to erase their identity and religion
  - the supporters of suffrage saw pietist women voters as a means to gain a demographic electoral advantage in the struggle to control the country

# Other Progressive Social Movements (cont..)

- Suffrage and WWI
  - The idea of entering the war was not broadly popular and support for the idea was limited to a portion of the pietist progressive and fundamentalist demographics
  - The progressive female activists were the foot soldiers in selling US involvement in the war along with the collection of progressive objectives
- Nativism
  - This generally referred to converting everyone who was not of a Puritan or Yankee background (either genetically or assumed by choice) to adopt the characteristics and behaviors of this demographic
  - All progressive objectives to varying degrees shared this objective especially education
  - *“Southern and eastern Europeans have served to dilute tremendously our national stock, and to corrupt our civil life. ... Everywhere these people tend to settle in groups or settlements, and to set up here their national manners, customs, and observances. Our task is to break up these groups or settlements, to assimilate and amalgamate these people as a part of our American race and to implant in their children ... the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order, and popular government”* Progressive historian Ellwood P. Cubberley of Stanford University
- Welfare and Labor Reform
  - There was no consistent timeline relationship between industrialization the development of government managed and administered welfare systems either in the US or Europe
  - Cities were overwhelming immigrant and Catholic. The local church, and frequently the pub, were the center of social activity and charity was seen as a function of the church. Liturgical voters simply didn't support this sort of government expansion

# Other Progressive Social Movements (cont..)

- Early Welfare Structure
  - settlement houses established and maintained by Yankee Pietist women who either had family wealth or wealthy sponsors
  - Most of the notable figures were not married and several were known to be lesbians
  - Jane Allen was inspired by the writings of English Art Critic, Oxford professor, and Christian Socialist John Ruskin, she founded Hull House in 1889 (Ruskin was influential amongst Anglican clergy)
  - She had several prominent financial supporters
  - Mary Smith and Jane Adams proclaimed themselves to be married
  - Julia Crawford who descended from Congregational minister John Lathrop, founded the first Juvenile court in the country in Chicago in 1899, was the first female member of the Illinois State Board of Charities, and president of the National conference of Social Work
- These settlement houses became rapidly entwined with the government
  - And were then supported by the government
  - And then the political objective was principally to support the organization as opposed to the people it was supposedly intended to assist

# Eugenics

- This is the most controversial of the progressive social initiatives
  - Sought to minimize and reduce populations deemed undesirable (fix demographic problem)
  - Those would include roughly in order Irish, So. Europeans, Blacks, Jews, all Catholics
- The founder of the American eugenics was biologist Charles Benedict Davenport who was from New York with a New England background
  - The growing feminist movement supported eugenics provided so long as the biological superior population was sustained and the unfit diminished
  - Davenport Harry Laughlin, who was an expert witness to the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, stressed the importance of cutting the numbers of the “*biologically inferior*”
  - If “*Men with a small fraction of colored blood could readily find mates among the white women, the gates would be thrown open to a final radical race mixture of the whole population*”
- The American name most associated with Eugenics is progressive activist Margaret Sanger who was a prolific author and founder and editor of *Birth Control Review*
  - “*The ecumenists wanted to shift the birth control emphasis from less children for the poor to more children for the rich. We went back of that and sought first to stop the multiplication of the unfit. This appeared to most important and greatest step toward race betterment.*”
- Foreshadowing future atrocities eugenics expanded to address living populations
  - Fabian Socialist George Bernard Shaw represented these views before they were broadly acted upon
  - “[I]f we desire a certain type of civilization and culture, we must exterminate the sort of people who do not fit into it.”



# Understanding the Progressive Activist

- The Progressive Christian social reform movement of the late 1800's and early 1900's saw a small group of highly motivated, overwhelmingly female, activists over a fairly extended period of time effect very significant social changes
  - Statistically insignificant and not representative but proved to be very powerful
- This would beg the question “how were they successful?”
  - they were well connected, well-funded, used media well, and probably most importantly provided narrative for the political events and players of the era
- They shared a great many common characteristics
  - They were children of activists families and an activist culture (many traceable to China Opium trade)
  - They were either from a background of wealth (all were middle class or above) and/or connected to economic sponsors
  - They frequently had high level business and political connections generally related to the family members that increased their sphere of influence
  - They did not have to financially support themselves allowing them to be fully committed to their cause or causes
  - They formed an integrated network that crossed multiple different but associated causes
  - They were educated but in humanity disciplines as opposed to scientific, mathematical, or other technical disciplines
  - Most were influenced by a small number of academics or authors who represented specific philosophies that they already were in line with and were not exposed to alternative views
  - Along with Religious heritage, the vast majority were of English Anglo-Saxon ethnic origins and had linkages to similar social circles in England; a sort of Anglo-American elite

# The 2<sup>nd</sup> Klan

- The 2<sup>nd</sup> Klan was principally an anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic organization that had nothing in common with the original Klan other than symbolism
  - The second Klan was started in 1915 and declined rapidly in scandal and in fighting by 1926 with their maximum reach and membership coming from 1921 to 1924
  - It was many times larger than the first Klan claiming, in what was probably an exaggeration, claimed four million to six million members at their peak
  - Although they didn't publish membership rolls, a more accepted estimate would be 1.5 to 2 million dues paying members – Strongest in the North and West
  - Studying nine cities between 1915 and 1930 showed that 50% of active Klan's people were urbanites and 32% lived in the largest cities. There were at least 50,000 Klansmen in Chicago, 38,000 in Indianapolis, 35,000 in Philadelphia, and the same number in Detroit (150 pp. 235-49)
- The regional Klan branches varied considerably and some of the positions and literature were even contradictory
  - The consistent villains however were Catholics and the Catholic Church and anybody or anything having to do with alcoholic production and consumption
  - The Klan was linked to Eugenics and seemed to be especially sensitive to interracial unions that would dilute the northern European protestant population – specifically associated with Margaret Sanger
- About 20% of the Klan movement was female including some of its leadership
  - One notable person who also had a role in the history of feminism was Elizabeth Tyler who could be considered a founder of the group and came into the core membership through her eugenics activism

# The Great Leveling

- The greatest single accomplishment of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Klan was the enacting of immigration reform which limited foreign immigration until 1964
  - Immigration reform (limiting immigration) appears to have been broadly supported by American workers throughout the history of the Republic
  - It was, however, opposed by business and the “donor class” so it never happened
  - If it had, this would have caused more of a demographic mixing of people much earlier
- The Klan had the political muscle nationally for a few years to enact limits on immigration
  - Targeted to stop the flow of Irish, southern European, and other predominantly Catholic groups to the United States
- Ironically this over time greatly improved the wages and working conditions of people groups they generally opposed
  - Blacks, Irish, Catholic, etc..
  - Didn’t just bring about improved wages but also creation of wealth and land ownership
- This benefitted labor over capital in an economic sense but stopped and reversed after the immigration act of 1964
  - Trend against labor has accelerated steadily after that point due to immigration and a number of other compounding factors
- Observation: Workers overwhelmingly understand that increasing the supply of labor decreases the cost of labor (wages)

# American Expansionism (Despotic at Home and Tyrannical Abroad)

- Starting during and shortly after the Civil War, The US was involved in a nearly continual string of foreign military ventures
  - These were generally smaller and could go unnoticed to most but they shaped the world
  - The following are some of the highlights (but are very far from a complete listing)
- Mexico 1860 to 1870
  - By 1861 Mexican anti-cleric liberals under Benito Juarez, with American support, had won a long and bloody civil war (referred to as the War of Reform) for the control of Mexico
  - Juarez was a progressive nationalists, similar to Lincoln, who was closely associated with confiscation of church property and dramatically reducing the role of the Catholic Church in society and culture
  - Mexican conservatives had sought European help in resisting American influence
  - Napoleon III headed these warning and in 1862 invaded, defeating the liberal forces and installing Emperor Maximilian, brother of Franz Joseph of Austria-Hungary, as Emperor of Mexico. Britain and Spain were also involved but backed off prior to actually committing troops
  - While the American war was still raging, Republican clubs raised funds for Juarez and referred to him as “our man in Mexico” and several Union generals called for the immediate invasion of Mexico
  - With the American war winding to a close the U.S. government was able to refocus on Mexico with Grant sending 50,000 troops to the Texas-Mexican border and 30,000 rifles. As a result of this “*diplomatic pressure*” Napoleon began to withdraw his troops
  - Maximilian was defeated and executed on June 19, 1867 (celebrated by Cinco de Mayo which is more a an American holiday than a Mexican one)
  - It’s difficult to say for certain but Catholic government was probably more popular with the population

# American Expansionism (Ecuador, Hawaii)

- Ecuador

- Jose Garcia Moreno was the most successful of the Catholic rulers of Latin America
- Studied in Europe 1854 to 56 which shaped his views on the dangers of liberalism and secularism
- Under Moreno's rule slavery was abolished while providing compensation for the owners
- The army was reformed, with officers being sent to Prussia to study, and illiterate recruits taught basic skills. Hospitals opened in all the major towns, railroads and national highways were built, telegraphs extended, and the postal and water systems improved
- When he was elected for a third term in 1875, he wrote to Pope Pius IX anticipating that he might be killed and, in fact, he was assassinated shortly thereafter.
- The U.S. and the American ambassador specifically were considered to be behind the planning of the assassination

- Hawaii

- The Kingdom of Hawaii was established in 1795 under King Kamehameha who united all the Hawaiian Islands under his rule.
- The kingdom would last until 1893 when Queen Lili'uokalani was overthrown by a combination of immigrants from the US, American commercial interests, and the threat of the US military.
- Since 1854, around the end of the reign of King Kamehameha, the Kingdom of Hawaii was a constitutional democracy structured similar to Great Britain
- By the time the New Englander's arrived, Hawaii actually wasn't such a backwards place and was moving forward. By 1838, the year Queen Lili'uokalani was born, the Kingdom of Hawaii was a Christian nation, with a written language, and Western style government

# American Expansionism (Hawaii, Cuba)

- Hawaii (cont..)
  - In 1887, the Missionary Party, which was chiefly composed of descendants of New England missionaries, and some related groups forced King Kalakua to dismiss his cabinet and accept what came to be known as the Bayonet Constitution
  - Queen Lili'uokalani, who would attempt to re-establish an independent Hawaiian Kingdom
  - After threat of invasion a new provisional government was established
  - After a good deal of political debate in Washington, Hawaii was eventually annexed
  - *By an act of war, committed with the participation of a diplomatic representative of the United States and without authority of Congress, the Government of a feeble but friendly and confiding people has been overthrown.* President Grover Cleveland
- The Spanish American War and Cuba
  - By the late 1800's Spain had lost almost all of its foreign possessions with only Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, the Philippines, and Micronesia remaining
  - anti-clerical insurgency in Cuba, aided by the United States and expatriates, had fought the Spanish for decades and the Spanish military was confined to defensive positions around cities
  - By the 1890's over 50% of Cuba's trade was with the U.S. and the ongoing war was damaging commerce - US journalists promoted invasion with dubious reports of Spanish atrocities
  - U.S.S. Maine blew up in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898, this was the spark needed to ignite a brief and decisive war with Spain – evidence shows this was an accident or false flag
  - The remaining territories, with the exception of the Philippines, also rapidly came under U.S. control and efforts began to break down and reshape the cultures
  - These events did lead to a good deal of public debate on the morality of U.S. actions and the establishment of the expanding American empire

# American Expansionism (The Philippines)

- The real prize of the Spanish American War was the Spanish held Philippines that would provide a base of operations in the Far East
  - Teddy Roosevelt directed Admiral Dewey to move against the Philippines in a “splendid little war”
  - Republican Senator from Indiana Beveridge described this opportunity for expanded commerce by saying, *“The Philippines are ours forever ... and just beyond the Philippines are China’s illimitable markets.... The Pacific Ocean is ours*
- The resulting war took over 200,000 Philippine lives and caused widespread devastation of the population
  - The American military, in response to one ambush, carried out orders to kill every male ten years or older in the district where the ambush occurred
  - *“We have robbed a trusting friend of his land and his liberty; we have invited clean young men to shoulder a discredited musket and do bandit's work under a flag which bandits have been accustomed to fear, not to follow; we have debauched America's honor and blackened her face before the world.”*  
Samuel Clemens
- After WWII the Philippines were granted independence so long as the US was allowed to retain military bases and maintained special provisions for American businesses

# China, Chinese Missions, and the China Lobby

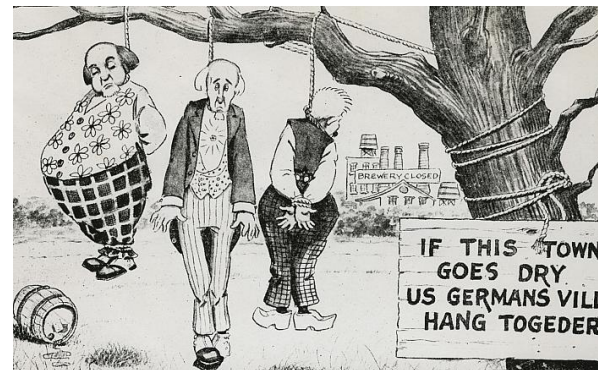
- The British and Americans had established trade to China starting in the 1700's that was based on the illegal trafficking of opium to Chinese markets
  - Initially this was to correct a drastic balance of payment problem – Opium was in effect currency
  - The US was not directly involved in the Opium Wars but benefitted from them
  - Us and British missionaries (progressive Christian variety ) couldn't access the interior but gained some improved stature as the result of these
  - This began what the Chinese referred to as the "Century of Humiliation"
- In the late 1890s, defenders of Chinese sovereignty established the Society of Righteous and Harmonious Fists, which came to be known in the West as the Boxers
  - By 1900, the ruling Qing Dynasty allied itself with the Boxers, and a war to expel foreigners broke out
  - The US joined in the fray sending troops from the newly conquered Philippines
- With their defeat, the government of China was forced to sign the Treaty of Boxer Protocol
  - Required China to destroy forts protecting Beijing and foreign powers were to be allowed to station troops in Beijing - numerous Chinese officials involved in the rebellion were to be executed
  - China was not allowed to modernize its military, and China was required to pay foreign governments involved in putting down the rebellion \$330,000,000. Foreign courts were to have final jurisdiction over foreigners
- China would from that point become a failed state run by warlords
  - This would ultimately play a mayor role in the US entry into WWII, Korea, the Cold War, and Vietnam



# Hyphenated Americans

- This was a line from a speech by Teddy Roosevelt that has gained popularity today
  - *“There is no room in this country for hyphenated Americanism. When I refer to hyphenated Americans, I do not refer to naturalized Americans. Some of the very best Americans I have ever known were naturalized Americans, Americans born abroad. But a hyphenated American is not an American at all*
- The good will between Puritan Anglo-Saxon and Germanic and Eastern European Immigrants was long gone at this point between Prohibition and the War
  - In it's place was an Anglo-Saxon alliance across the Atlantic
  - Elements of the British upper class had been actively cultivating the relationship with those in America who shared their religious heritage and ethnic origin for some time prior to the war
  - This was effective in creating strong support for the British amongst the American political class and in securing American investment in the war but was still faced with some demographic challenges
  - Immigrants didn't “Americanize” rapidly – Many Lutheran churches held services in German into the 1960's

2nd Generation Immigrants derived from 1910 Census		
Area of Origin	Number	% of US Population
German	8,282,618	9.01%
Austria - Hungarian	2,701,786	2.94%
Irish	4,504,360	4.90%
English - Scottish - Welsh	3,231,052	3.51%
Russian - Finnish	2,752,675	2.99%
Italian	2,098,360	2.28%
Total US population 91,972,266		



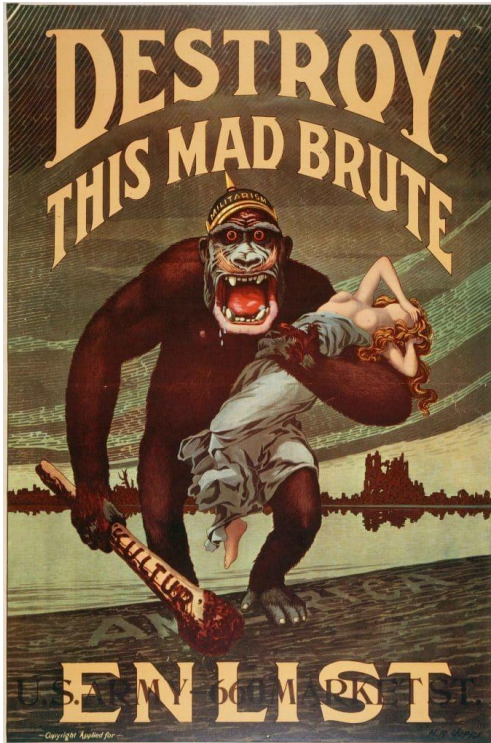
# Overview of WWI

- World War I was a complex and vast event that determined a great deal of subsequent history
  - Academic views on blame have been argued since and the prevailing view probably can be summarized fairly by saying that the war was caused by a combination of complex alliances, military doctrines that responded to complex alliances that then created a sort of sequential trigger effect, competitive colonialism, and the collapse of the Ottoman empire
  - Adding family intrigue, Kaiser Wilhelm was grandson to England's queen Victoria, first cousin to England's King George V, and was also related to the Czar
  - View gaining favor is that an element of British aristocracy saw Germany as an emerging economic and military threat that needed to be dealt with and they assumed they could win a quick war
  - *"I have no doubt about it: England, Russia, and France have agreed among themselves...to take the Austro-Serbian conflict for an excuse for waging a war of extermination against us" Wilhelm*
- German war doctrine at the time held that Germany could not survive a two front war for more than a few months
  - Allied food relief program may have indirectly helped Germany along with porous embargo
- US Involvement in the war eventually tilted the outcome to the Allies
  - Tighter embargo led to mass starvation in Germany in later phases
- US Involvement in the war was a difficult sell
  - Progressive and the new fundamentalist churches supported it and were critical in selling it
  - Restoration and Pentecostal churches actively opposed it
  - Involved first open use of propaganda by the federal government (George Creel)

# Wilson, the Church, and the War

- Woodrow Wilson was elected President in 1912 over William Howard Taft with help from a third party run by Teddy Roosevelt
  - His original sponsors saw him as a Democratic conservative to return the party to its former perspective but that was quickly lost
  - He oversaw a massive expansion of the federal government both before and during the war.
  - He won re-election in 1916 against Charles Evan Hughes with the campaign slogan “*He Kept Us out of War*” but that was clearly not his intent going forward
- Wilson created the Committee on Public Information (CPI) headed by George Creel which was in charge of censorship and promotion of the war
  - This in turn incited violence against not just German-Americans but others who refused to salute the cause - The degree to which all of this was effective was not by any means universally high
  - While 2 million men did eventually volunteer, 2.8 million had to be drafted
  - The phrase “*Rich Man’s War, Poor Man’s Fight*”, while originating in during the War Between the States, is most associated with World War I
- There was actually a good deal of concern that instituting a draft would lead to mass insurrection and open armed rebellion but that didn’t come to pass
  - Still politicians of the period were both surprised and impressed at how easily they pulled off imposing the draft and were somewhat emboldened by it
- As the US entry into the war drew closer religious periodicals reflected a gradual acceptance of it and a sense of inevitability and even opportunity. Once War was declared the tone grew significantly harsher

# Government Generated War Propaganda



These are a couple US propaganda posters from WWI, the first seeking recruits and second urging people to buy bonds. Note the “Mad Brute” phrase and the emotional appeal of the young bare breasted female victim. Suppression of anti-war sentiments was swift, harsh, and effective.

- As to who really was the “*Mad Brute*” it appears as if the Entente was somewhat more brutish then the Central Powers in the end. Quoting from Professor Carroll Quigley’s *Tragedy and hope*
  - “Probably on the whole these violations were more extensive (although less widely publicized) on the part of the Entente than on the part of the Central Powers. The reasons for this were that the Germans still maintained the older traditions of a professional army.....”

# Reflections on the Era

- In the end the progressive reformer generation passed from this life without seeing or bringing about the millennium or being players in the final act of history
  - Most held to their rapidly evolving faith to the end while some did not
  - Harvard professor Irving Babbitt observed regarding the progressive view of inevitable historical progress, *“some persons began to have doubts on this point even before the war”*
  - A writer in New Republic observed that the war consumed the *“secular deity of progress”*
- Progressivism became widely rejected by the public but at this point controlled all institutional power so it wasn't going away
  - On the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of America's entry into the war a Gallup poll found that 70 percent of respondents thought "it was a mistake for the United States to have entered the Great War."
  - Even President Wilson, who was the face of the crusade, eventually acknowledged in 1919 that. *“We all know this was a commercial war”*
- Still the progressive clergy ultimately chose not to look back but to accelerate towards internationalism
  - Had they looked back they might have noticed that their ability to lead followers, which was never as great as they perceived, was starting to diminish
  - We were to be perpetual redeemers and perpetually, as historian Forrest Macdonald noted, in need of the services of those who make it a profession to show us the way