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Notes

PREFACE


CHAPTER ONE. INTRODUCTION

2. It is interesting to note that as early as 1884, Herbert Spencer was criticizing the British liberal ministries of Lord John Russell and William Gladstone for “greatly increasing the compulsions and restraints exercised over citizens.” See Herbert Spencer, *Man versus the State* (1884; rev. ed., London: Penguin Books, 1969), 81. See chapter 1 in particular.
6. Walter Lippmann argued that the term “liberalism” was “introduced into the jargon of American politics by that group who were Progressives in 1912 and Wilson Democrats from 1916 to 1918.” “Liberalism in America,” *New Republic* (NR) 21 (December 31, 1919): 150.
7. See, for example, Herbert Croly to Eduard C. Lindeman, May 28, 1925,
Lindeman Papers, in which Croly discusses a major project for the "exposition of the status of liberalism in the modern world."

CHAPTER TWO. YEARS OF PREPARATION

1. One sibling died in infancy and another as a young adult. Two sisters survived with Herbert.


5. In the view of Herbert Croly's biographer, David W. Levy, Jane Croly was an inconsistent thinker in general and an opponent of women's suffrage in particular. David W. Levy, *Herbert Croly of the New Republic: The Life and Thought of an American Progressive* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985), 4-11, 18-29. "She opposed women's suffrage in the most violent and uncompromising terms" (10). These judgments seem to me quite wrong, and because I differ with this interpretation I have quoted at some length from Jane Croly's work.

6. Jane C. Croly, "Talks with Women: Woman's Rights," *Demorest's Monthly Magazine* (August 1866): 203. As regards tactics, Jane recommended reasoned argument, which she (mistakenly) thought was likely to produce the suffrage for women in Britain shortly: "Sensible women know what they want, and ask for it quietly and rationally. When a majority of the American women do this, they will get it easily enough; as Englishwomen appear likely to now" (204).

7. Ibid., 204.


9. Ibid., 98. On suffrage, see also an 1869 *New York World* column quoted by Blair, *Clubwoman*, 40. Jane Croly recommended that women use the tongue and the pen to advance their interests while waiting for the vote.

10. Jane C. Croly, *For Better or Worse* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1875), 191. Croly's arguments are similar to John Stuart Mill's famous arguments for democracy in the third chapter of *Considerations on Representative Government*.

13. Ibid., 392. Emphasis in the original.
16. Ibid., 62, 143-44.
17. Letter of Mildred Ahlgren, consultant to the General Federation of Women's Clubs, to the author, August 4, 1980. Blair judges Jane Croly to be "the single most important figure in the woman's club movement" (Clubwoman, 15).
18. See the Sorosis Files in the Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College. Members included former abolitionists, utopian community activists (including Mrs. Robert Owen), suffragists, and many professional women. See Blair, Clubwoman, 22.
19. Morse, Memories, 45.
21. Jane Croly, "Letter to Sorosis," May 1899; reprinted in Morse, Memories, 149-50. This stress on unity sometimes caused Croly to de-emphasize divisive issues within the club, including the topics of the suffrage and religion. Blair, Clubwoman, 23. She also opposed racial integration, at least in the short run: "I am very, very sorry the color question has been raised again. It almost made a split six years ago. It was, at the least, premature" (Jane C. Croly, letter of October 3, 1900; reprinted in Morse, Memories, 158).
23. Jane C. Croly, address on "The Advantages of a General Federation of Women's Clubs," New York, 1890; reprinted in Morse, Memories, 117-23; quotation from 121-22. The organization of the General Federation fulfilled an earlier dream of Croly's—to create a national women's organization. In 1869 she had encouraged Sorosis to convene a "Woman's Parliament" to "represent women upon all subjects of vital interest to themselves and their children" (quoted in Blair, Clubwoman, 39).
24. Blair, Clubwoman, 98. The full history of the relation between late nineteenth-century feminism and progressivism has yet to be written, but see Robyn Muncy, Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). Clearly women were increasingly involved in various aspects of progressivism, including educational reforms, child-welfare legislation, temperance issues, and pure food and drug legislation. Jane Croly proposed the establishment of a "State Industrial School for Girls" to deal with delinquency and moral reformation. See Morse, Memories, 188.
25. Louise Croly to Felix Frankfurter, April 2 (1931?), Frankfurter Papers, Library of Congress. Various commentators have followed this judgment. See Levy, Herbert Croly, 26; Forcey, Crossroads of Liberalism, 13. One of the few commentators who emphasizes Jane Croly's influence is Henry Ladd Smith, who writes: "Croly's mother may have been an even greater influence in his life [than his father]." "Editing for 'The Superior Few,' " NR 131 (November 22, 1954): 24.
26. Vida Croly Sidney, "Jennie June Croly," Sorosis Files, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College. See also an undated letter in the Schlesinger Library file on Jane Croly, in which she asks for a job for Herbert on the Washington Sunday


28. Levy, Herbert Croly, 14, 17. Blair writes that David Croly was ill with Bright’s disease (chronic nephritis) from 1879 to 1889, and that Jane had to assume increasing support for the family. Clubwoman, 16.


34. Jane C. Croly, “The Positivist Episode,” in Morse, Memories, 73.


37. On Jane Croly and positivism, see the section in Morse, Memories, “The Positivist Episode,” 51–76. I agree with Levy that positivism otherwise does not seem a major interest of Jane Croly’s. Levy, Herbert Croly, 23–24.


39. Ibid., 29, 45.

40. Ibid., 85.

41. Ibid., 31.

42. Ibid., 57, 64.

43. H.C. “From a Testimonial by Herbert D. Croly,” in Morse, Memories, 61–62. Croly noted that there were many Christian influences on him that his father hoped to oppose, presumably influences from Jane Croly and her family, among others.

44. Levy, Herbert Croly, 43–45.


46. H.C. to Louise Emory, June 1, 1891, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

47. David G. Croly to H.C., October 4, 1886; October 10, 1886; October 28, 1886, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

48. David G. Croly to H.C., October 31, 1886; reprinted in Morse, Memories, 64.

50. Ibid., 127.


52. David G. Croly to H.C., November 6, 1886, and March 20, 1887, Houghton Library, Harvard University.


54. David G. Croly to H.C., May 18, 1887, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

55. David G. Croly to H.C., April 28, 1887, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

56. David G. Croly to H.C., March 10, 1887, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

57. David G. Croly to H.C., March 4, 1887, Houghton Library, Harvard University.


59. Ibid., 62.


61. Ibid., 46–47, 150.

62. Ibid., 49.


66. Ibid., 366. An early article of Taussig’s in which he commented on the Homestead strike may give some indication of his views close to the time that Croly would have been his student. In this dispassionate review of that bloody strike, Taussig finds both capital and labor to blame, as well as the state authorities. His concluding point is that “the responsibilities of wealth and power were in some degree disregarded.” F. W. Taussig, “The Homestead Strike,” *Economic Journal* 3 (1893): 318.

67. I think Levy, *Herbert Croly*, follows David Croly much too closely in concluding that Herbert’s economics at Harvard were “typical Manchester School laissez-faire theory” (62). See also 67. Taussig might reasonably be called “neo-classical” but not “Manchester School.”

68. David G. Croly to H.C., October 22, 1887, Houghton Library, Harvard University.


70. David G. Croly to H.C., January 8, 1888, Houghton Library, Harvard University. See also letter of December 14, 1887.


72. Ibid., 219, 225.

73. Ibid., 46–54, 159–86.
74. Ibid., 184.
75. This openness was noticed by one of Croly's contemporaries: Norman Hapgood, *The Changing Years: Reminiscences of Norman Hapgood* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1930), 60.
82. Column of August 30, 1890, quoted in Levy, *Herbert Croly*, 75. Levy also points out that Croly reviewed a number of works by contemporary economists such as Simon Patten, E. R. A. Seligman, and Richard T. Ely. I think this shows that Croly's economics training at Harvard had left him open to an interest in modern economic theory.
84. Biographical summary of Herbert Croly enclosed with letters from David G. Croly, Houghton Library, Harvard University. There is a chance this summary was written by Felix Frankfurter; it is unsigned.
90. Ibid., 386.
92. Ibid., 186.
98. Ibid., 79.
99. Ibid., 79-80.
100. Ibid., 80-82.

101. See H.C. to Learned Hand, n.d. (1910), Hand Papers, Harvard Law School Library, indicating that Hand was involved in the awarding of the degree.

102. Levy, Herbert Croly, 81.


106. Ibid., 15.

107. Ibid., 470.

108. Levy, Herbert Croly, 81. Levy emphasizes the course with Norton, which was primarily a consideration of the (sad) state of American culture.

109. Ibid., 82.


111. H.C., Autobiographical fragment, Felix Frankfurter Papers.


113. Ibid., 248–56.


115. Robert Grant, Unleavened Bread (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1900).


117. H.C. to Robert Grant, December 3, 1914, Houghton Library, Harvard University. It is interesting to note that Theodore Roosevelt was also quite taken by the novel but saw it primarily as the moralistic tale of a woman who neglected the duties of motherhood in favor of social advance, suffering in the end her just punishment. John M. Blum, The Republican Roosevelt (New York: Atheneum, 1962), 30.


120. See Desmond and Croly, Stately Homes, 279.


123. Ibid., 260.


129. Hans Kohn notes that there were 1.1 million immigrants in the single


132. Croly had reviewed an earlier Wharton novel. He presumably was familiar with *The House of Mirth*.

133. Grant, *Unleavened Bread*, 15, 115. See also 146.

134. Ibid., 347, 363, 374, 382, 388, 391. Grant also asks, in effect, whether larger industries are more efficient, a central question in Croly’s later economic theory. See 389. Earlier commentators on Croly have entirely overlooked the importance of the third section of the novel for his thought. See, for example, Charles Forcey, *Crossroads of Liberalism*, 22–24, or David Levy, *Herbert Croly*, 92, 118, 123–25. Levy goes out of his way to de-emphasize Croly’s own references to Grant so as to elevate the Comtean heritage of David Croly.


CHAPTER THREE. POLITICAL THEORY AND “THE PROMISE OF AMERICAN LIFE”


3. H. G. Wells, *The Future in America: A Search after Realities* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1904). Wells wrote the series of essays about his impressions of a trip to America. Croly would have appreciated a number of points, including the following attack on Spencer’s laissez-faire theory, written after experiencing the “stink ... brutal economic conflict and squalid filthiness” of “packing-town”: “I wish I could catch the soul of Herbert Spencer and tether it in Chicago for awhile to gather fresh evidence upon the superiority of unfettered individualistic enterprises to things managed by the state” (61). Croly also quotes in the beginning of *The Promise of American Life* (New York: Macmillan, 1909; reprint, Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1963) from Hugo Munsterberg’s *The Americans* (New York: McClure, Phillips and Company, 1904). Munsterberg was a philosophy professor at Harvard, and though Croly apparently never took a course with him he would have been familiar with his views. On Munsterberg, see Kuklick, *Rise of American Philosophy*, 196–214.


5. Ibid., 6.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., 23.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., 426.
10. Ibid., 20.
11. Ibid., 21.
12. Ibid., 278.
13. Ibid., 170.
15. This is a complicated issue. The basic point for classical liberal theory is that an emphasis on individual liberties implied a rejection (at least in theory) of groups and classes and called for certain forms of equality such as equality of rights. The classic statements are John Locke's argument "to have one Rule for Riche and Poor, for the Favourite at Court, and the Country Man at Plough." John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government*, paragraph 142; or Thomas Jefferson's reprise: "That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights." Of course, the political effect of this theory, as in Locke's, may be a critique of both a hereditary aristocracy and a property-less poorer class and the elevation of middle-class values. For the views of modern liberals, note the emphasis in the work of Leonard Hobhouse, an English contemporary of Croly's, on the "welfare of the whole community" and the "ultimate good of society as a whole." Leonard Hobhouse, *Liberalism* (1911; reprint, New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 41. Or note Lyndon Johnson's comment that he wished to be "President of all the people." I return to a more extended discussion of Croly's liberalism below.
19. Ibid., 268.
20. Ibid., 27. Croly noted that "as a matter of fact, the ideal itself has been sensibly modified during the course of this attempt to give it an historical application" (27).
22. I will argue below that Croly stated the ideal more narrowly than he actually reasoned. His treatment of democracy inevitably caused him to think about equality as well. Even more important, the centrality of freedom in American thought was not acknowledged in Croly's "national democracy," but his full analysis of the American condition very much took account of the concept of freedom.
24. Ibid., 29.
25. Ibid., 40.
26. H.C. to Walter Lippmann, March 30, 1921, Series I, Box 7, Folder 303, Lippmann Papers, Yale University Library.
28. H.C. *The Promise*, 51. Croly's frequent use of "sterile" versus "fruitful" is a most suggestive turn of phrase. It runs all through his writings.
29. Ibid., 169. In his historical analysis, Croly credited the "Western pioneers" or "Western Democrats" (such as Andrew Jackson) with first effecting the combination of nationality and democracy. But they didn't follow out the implications of this combination in practice. *The Promise*, 61.

30. Ibid., 250.
31. Ibid., 251–52.
32. Ibid., 254–55.
33. Ibid., 284.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., 42.
36. Ibid., 43.

37. Ibid., 176. Surprisingly, Croly referred to Jefferson's "intellectual superficiality and insincerity" (29). He also wrote of Jefferson's "triumphant intellectual dishonesty, and of the sacrifice of theory to practice" (419).

38. Ibid., 45.
39. Ibid., 43.

40. Ibid., 43, 44. This and a number of other passages in *The Promise* suggest the influence of Alexis de Tocqueville. Croly does not cite Tocqueville, but he does mention other French liberals and it seems likely he had read *Democracy in America*.

41. Ibid., 176.
42. Ibid., 177, 178. I return to Croly's view of "constitutional liberals" and "genuine liberty" in my discussion of freedom in a following section of this chapter.

43. Ibid., 178, 179.
44. Ibid., 179–80. Croly specifically identified this view with a "square deal," suggesting the point that he makes explicitly elsewhere: that T.R.'s views needed to be "reconstructed" as well.

45. Ibid., 180.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., 181.
48. Ibid., 182.
49. Ibid., 184, 185.
50. Ibid., 188.

51. "I agree with you that there is a natural aristocracy among men. The grounds of this are virtue and talents . . . May we not even say, that that form of government is the best, which provides the most effectually for a pure selection of these natural aristoi into the offices of government?" Thomas Jefferson to John Adams, October 8, 1813, in Adrienne Koch and William Peden, eds., *The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Modern Library, 1944), 632–33.

53. Ibid., 193.
54. Ibid., 194.
55. Ibid., 198.
56. Ibid., 199.
57. Ibid., 180. My emphasis.
58. Ibid., 195, 196.
59. Ibid., 196.
60. Ibid., 214.
61. Ibid., 207.

63. I think that this discussion is related to Croly's argument for a steep inheritance tax. See chapter 4.

64. H.C., *The Promise*, 89.

65. Ibid., 90–91.

66. Ibid., 98. Compare to Hegel's theory of "World-historical individuals" who assist the realization of the world-spirit.

67. Ibid., 170.


70. Ibid.

71. Ibid., 400, 454.


74. Ibid., 281–82.

75. Ibid., 282.

76. Ibid., 208. Croly clearly contrasts "brotherhood" to the materialism of laissez-faire theory. It is interesting that his emphasis on brotherhood does not translate into an emphasis on the moral equality of individuals. The community is very important to him, but it is a structured not an equalitarian community.

77. Ibid., 79.

78. Ibid., 271.

79. See Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory*, 234.


81. Ibid.

82. Ibid. Croly's point is inexact. It could be read simply as an endorsement of the amending process of the U.S. Constitution. However, I think Croly's "necessarily prolonged deliberation" and "decisive majority" are meant to be less restrictive.

83. Ibid., 36.

84. Ibid., 200.

85. See Thompson, *Reformers and War*, 72–73.

86. H.C., *The Promise*, 81. It is not wholly clear whether Croly is arguing an innate or a cultural equality, or whether he means for the comment to be specific to the period of slavery.


88. Ibid., 122–31.

89. H.C., *The Promise*, 233, 238–39. By terming the idea English, Croly is suggesting both its importance for American thought and its insufficiency to be the American "formative idea," for which he has proposed "national democracy."

90. Ibid., 235.
91. Ibid., 237. Kloppenberg writes that for European social democrats at the end of the nineteenth century, "the negative concept of liberty had become a pretense shielding privilege" (278). This is precisely Croly's point, but I think he rejected somewhat less of the original (noneconomic) conception of liberty. Lustig (Corporate Liberalism, 3) argues that liberalism is inevitably tied to capitalism. I disagree.

92. Berlin, Four Essays, 133; see 131-34 for positive freedom.

93. Ibid., 133-54. Berlin's own criticisms of this concept are evident.


97. Ibid., 372. Berlin (Four Essays, xlix) argues that this passage indicates the first (moral) sense of positive freedom. It is related, but I think the passage is not Hegelian but rather emphasizes economic security. See Kloppenberg, Uncertain Victory, 396, for other passages in which Green describes positive freedom in this sense. I agree with Kloppenberg's emphasis on the differences between Hegel and Green.

98. Hobhouse, Liberalism, 71.

99. Ibid., 78. Hobhouse emphasizes state compulsion as countering economic restrictions on the individual.

100. H.C., The Promise, 205.

101. Ibid., 409.

102. Ibid., 416.

103. Ibid., 196.

104. Ibid., 414.

105. Ibid.


107. H.C., The Promise, 453. This emphasis on brotherhood could echo Comte's "religion of humanity," but it seems to me a more general religious inspiration that runs through Croly's life and thought. Much of his religious terminology is specifically Christian rather than Comtean and seems to derive more from Jane Croly's influence (her brother was a minister) and particularly from Herbert's extensive study of Christianity at Harvard. I disagree with Levy's very strong emphasis on the Comtean influence. See, for example, Levy, Herbert Croly, 131.

108. Santayana, quoted by Croly, ibid., 454.

109. Ibid.

110. Hobhouse, Liberalism, 70.

111. Ibid., 118.

label of "liberal," but most commentators have viewed the book as the best statement of contemporary liberal political theory.

CHAPTER FOUR. "THE PROMISE"
AND REFORM POLITICS


2. H.C., The Promise, 274.


5. Ibid., 276.

6. Ibid., 278.


11. Ibid., 329.

12. Ibid., 333.

13. Ibid., 339.

14. See McCormick, Realignment to Reform, chapters 7 and 8; McCormick, The Party Period and Public Policy, chapters 8 and 9.


17. Ibid., 160. Wiebe includes Croly as one of the major originators of this view, 159. See also Samuel Haber, Efficiency and Uplift: Scientific Management in the Progressive Era, 1890–1920 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), especially pages 83–89.


20. H.C., The Promise, 343.


25. Ibid., 133.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid., 136.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid., 327.
33. Ibid., 328.
36. See McCormick, *The Party Period and Public Policy*, chapter 4, especially 176–80. See also chapter 2 in which McCormick reviews works by historians and political scientists on the theory of critical elections or crucial realignments in the party system. It is normally assumed that 1896 was the crucial election dominating the party system of the progressive period, but it is not clear that this theory explains much about progressivism.
38. Ibid., 244. The Hughes bill continued to give party organizations a greater role than many more radical progressives desired.
41. Ibid., 62.
42. Ibid. See also Lewis L. Gould, *The Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991), for a full study of Roosevelt’s administration.
45. Ibid. Vogel’s point raises the large question of the relation of business to progressive regulation. Lustig, *Corporate Liberalism*, emphasizes the benefit that many businessmen derived from regulation. No doubt this was true in many cases. However, my own sense is that Richard McCormick better captures the political dynamic when he writes that “commonly, the affected interests opposed state regulation until its passage became inevitable, at which point they entered the contest in order to influence the details of the law” (*McCormick, The Party Period and Public Policy*, 354n).

47. Ibid., 94.

48. Ibid., 95.


51. Ibid., 351–52, 360. Croly clearly hoped that the Court would take the step that it finally did take in 1937 and refuse to intervene in most questions of regulating the economy. Many of Croly’s points in his economic analysis could have been influenced by arguments in a work he cited early in the book: Hugo Munsterberg, *The Americans*, trans. Edwin B. Holt (New York: McClure, Phillips and Co., 1904), especially 301–18. Munsterberg’s comparisons to Germany make an interesting contrast. German social legislation was certainly one influence on Croly.


55. Ibid.; see also *The Promise*, 24.

56. H.C. to Learned Hand, “Tuesday” [December 19, 1911?], Hand Papers. See also *The Promise*, 115.

57. H.C., *The Promise*, 369. See also 357.

58. Ibid., 359.

59. Ibid., 191.

60. Ibid., 360–61.

61. Ibid., 361–62.


63. Ibid., 366.

64. Ibid., 370. Lustig (*Corporate Liberalism*, 210) argues that this proposal was taken directly from Henry George.

65. Ibid., 370–71.

66. Ibid., 372.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid., 372–73.

69. Ibid., 373–78; quotation at 378.

70. Ibid., 379.

71. See Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory*, 256. Municipal ownership of utilities was quite common. See McCormick, *From Realignment to Reform*, 156–57.


73. Ibid., 126–31.

74. Ibid., 385–88; quotation at 387.

75. Ibid., 205.

76. Ibid., 367.

77. Ibid., 381–84.

78. Ibid., 384. Roosevelt had called for an inheritance tax and discussed an income tax in his December 1906 message to Congress. See Gould, *The Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt*, 162, 245.

79. For an overview of progressivism and urban reform, see Wiebe, *The
80. Thompson, Reformers and War, 120.
82. Ibid., 498. On Roosevelt and progressive foreign policy, see also Wiebe, The Search for Order, chapter 9.
83. Ibid., 501.
84. H.C., The Promise, 289.
86. Ibid., 308.
87. Ibid., 308-9.
88. Ibid., 293.
89. Ibid., 293-94, 300-303.
90. Ibid., 297-98.
91. Ibid., 309.
94. Ibid., 167.
95. Crunden, Ministers of Reform, 276-77. McCormick, The Party Period and Public Policy, 271, agrees that most progressives were evangelical.
96. Ibid., 276.
98. Roosevelt to Hand, April 22, 1910, Hand Papers.
99. Roosevelt to Croly, quoted in Croly to Hand, August 1, 1910, Hand Papers. Levy cites Ray Stannard Baker as visiting Oyster Bay in this period and seeing The Promise with Roosevelt's comments in the margins. Levy, Herbert Croly, 139.

CHAPTER FIVE. PROGRESSIVISM AND "PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY"
1. Levy, Herbert Croly, 132-36, discusses the reception of the book and summarizes a number of reviews.
5. H.C. to Hand, March 5, 1911, Hand Papers.
6. H.C. to Hand, February 3, 1911. Croly used the "disfigurement" point
specifically about a series of articles he wrote for the *Cleveland Leader*, but it seems applicable to other writings as well.

7. H.C. to Hand, “Monday, 1913” [Summer 1913], Hand Papers. The Straights invited Croly to form the *New Republic* in the summer of 1913 (see below). See the Croly-Hand correspondence for a more general discussion of Croly’s finances.


10. Ibid., 171.


12. Ibid., 628, 629.

13. Ibid., 631.


15. Ibid., 633-35.

16. Ibid., 634.

17. Ibid., 634-35.


20. Ibid., 319-20. On the connection of monopolies to conservation, see also the writings of Charles Van Hise, especially his *Conservation of Natural Resources in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1910). Van Hise was soon to agree with Croly on the regulation of corporations, as opposed to the Brandeis argument for antitrust prosecution.


23. Ibid., 36.

24. See William E. Leuchtenburg, “Introduction” to ibid., for an argument that Roosevelt was more influential on Croly than Croly on Roosevelt; yet, Leuchtenburg argues that “in Croly’s work, we can find a more systematic statement of Roosevelt’s New Nationalism than Roosevelt himself ever found time to set down.” (13). Mowry, *Era of Theodore Roosevelt*, 222, argues that most of the ideas in the speeches could be found in T.R.’s earlier presidential messages. Cooper, *The Warrior and the Priest*, argues that “aside from a somewhat greater specificity about regulatory legislation, nothing in *The New Nationalism* was new to Roosevelt except the phrase” (145). Cooper argues for a coincidence of opinions. Levy, *Herbert Croly*, argues for an “unspectacular, quiet, confirming influence” of Croly on Roosevelt (140).
25. Roosevelt, *The New Nationalism*, 165. Roosevelt noted that his chief "development" was to adapt a quotation from Lincoln.


28. H.C. to Hand, "Thursday, 1910," Hand Papers. (The text of this letter seems to indicate that it was written just after the election, despite a customary dating of October 20, 1910.) See also Croly to Hand, October 29, 1910.

29. H.C. to Hand, November 4, 1910, Hand Papers. Emphasis in the original. Croly's sarcasm clearly indicates an awareness of the very limited influence he was likely to have on T.R.


33. John D. Buenker, *Urban Liberalism and Progressive Reform* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), 222. See chapter 7 for Buenker's full statement of the argument that there are many progressivisms, and that urban, Democratic liberalism grew gradually from 1904 up to the 1928 election and the New Deal.


35. William S. U'Ren to H.C., December 18, 1911, Houghton Library, Harvard University.


37. Ibid., 125, 128.

38. Ibid., 131.

39. Ibid., 132.

40. William S. U'Ren, "Remarks on Mr. Herbert Croly's Paper on 'State Political Reorganization,' " in ibid., 136–39; quotation at 139. See also U'Ren's progressive program on 137.

41. Chester H. Rowell, "Remarks on Mr. Herbert Croly's Paper on 'State Political Reorganization,' " ibid., 140–51; quotation at 143. The paper is a nice summary of progressive political achievements.


43. H.C. to Hand, February 24, 1911, Hand Papers.


45. Ibid., 326.

46. Ibid.

47. Levy, *Herbert Croly*, 146–50, argues that Croly seriously compromised his intellectual convictions in this biography. I think this judgment is harsh.

48. H.C. to Hand, January 12, 1912. See also Hand to H.C., November 24, 1911; H.C. to Hand, December 10, 1911, on meeting with Roosevelt, Hand Papers.
49. Levy, Herbert Croly, 154.
50. See Roosevelt to H.C., February 29, 1912, commenting on these issues, in Morison, ed., Letters of Theodore Roosevelt, 7: 512.
52. Ibid. recounts a meeting that was scheduled but not held. See also H.C. to Roosevelt, July 26, 1912, Roosevelt Papers, Library of Congress, in which Croly responds to their “conversation” by assuming that Roosevelt had suggested that Croly might someday write his biography: “I shall keep the possible assignment constantly in mind.” Roosevelt replied by gently evading any commitment. See Roosevelt to H.C., July 30, 1912, in Morison, Letters of Theodore Roosevelt 7: 582.
54. Ibid., 22.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid., 23. The phrasing “social democratic ideal” is new and points toward Croly’s argument in Progressive Democracy.
57. Ibid.
58. John A. Gable, The Bull Moose Years, 100. The Gable book is an excellent source on the Progressive campaign. The Croly draft apparently no longer exists, but it is referred to in platform committee minutes.
59. Ibid., 100–102.
60. Ibid., 117–18, 190.
62. Ibid., 112. Roosevelt cited the work of Charles Van Hise to support his economic analysis. See Charles Van Hise, Concentration and Control (New York: Macmillan, 1912). Roosevelt attempted to reconcile his emphases by saying that any corporation that did not accept regulation would be subject to the Sherman Act.
64. Link, Road to the White House, 493; Gable, Bull Moose Years, 121; Norman Hapgood, The Changing Years: Reminiscences of Norman Hapgood (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1930), 225. Hapgood was fired in mid-October by Robert Collier, who supported Roosevelt. Levy, Herbert Croly, 188.
65. Hand to Frankfurter, September 12, 1912, quoted in Levy, Herbert Croly, 156.
66. Quoted in Gable, Bull Moose Years, 123.
67. See Harbaugh, Writings of Theodore Roosevelt, 333–44.
69. Roosevelt did best in the Midwest. Alfred Chandler, “The Origins of Progressive Leadership,” in Morison, ed., The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt, 8: 1462–65, emphasizes that the Progressive party leaders were overwhelmingly professional, upper-middle-class, native-born Protestants. Most had previously
been Republicans. Wilson perhaps drew support from a newer and broader progressivism.

73. Ibid., 3–15. Note the comment that Mark Hanna had run on a “frankly and crassly conservative platform” (3).

74. Ibid., 208.
75. Ibid., 11.
76. Ibid., 335.
77. Ibid., 334–35.
78. Ibid., 335.
79. Ibid., 16.
80. Ibid., 337.
81. Ibid., 344.
82. Ibid., 338.
83. Ibid., 339.
86. Ibid., 100, for example.
87. Ibid., 176, 184, 278 as examples.
88. Ibid., 184. The analogy runs from 184 to 194.
89. Ibid., 190.
90. Ibid., 191.
91. Ibid., 192.
92. Ibid., 196. On Croly’s pragmatism, see below.

94. Ibid., 317; see also 320.
95. Ibid., 197. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., wrote to Croly praising *Progressive Democracy* but noting that he thought Croly had overestimated the importance of the nation. Holmes to H.C., November 22, 1914, Houghton Library, Harvard University. The bulk of the letter is a commentary on a brief discussion of Croly’s on the economic theory of rent.

96. Ibid., 32.
98. Ibid., 147.
101. Ibid., 308.
102. See Ibid., 276-78 for a veiled discussion of an elite, which is then rejected for a “progressive democratic society.”

103. James Kloppenberg has made this suggestion in a letter to the author. See Kloppenberg’s discussion of Dewey’s democracy in Uncertain Victory, 140-42, 383-84, 402-3.


105. H.C., “The Breach in Civilization” (unpublished book manuscript), Houghton Library, Harvard University, 24, 28, 44, and passim. This manuscript is discussed in chapter 8.

106. H.C., Progressive Democracy, 35.

107. Ibid.

108. Ibid., 37-38.

109. Ibid., 225. See also 271–72, 226–27, 217–18, and 120–21 for passages on the concept of rights.

110. Ibid., 78–79, 346.

111. Ibid., 112. We will consider Croly’s views on private property further in dealing with his economic policy recommendations.

112. See Ibid., 125, 404–5. See also 412–13 for an argument against the “morality of repression and restraint” that is close to an endorsement of negative freedom.

113. Ibid., 384.

114. Ibid., 418–19. See also 119, 380–81.

115. Ibid., 25, 171–72, 198. See also 192, 429.

116. Ibid., 199.

117. Ibid., 404–5. See 421 and 423 for very definite references to Dewey’s educational theory. A passage on 426–27 is a possible exception to the balance; Croly is very close to an organic theory here.

118. Ibid., 177–78.

119. Ibid., 217. See also 121, 183, 219, 240, 246, and 371 for passages showing Croly’s pragmatism.

120. Ibid., 427.

121. Ibid., 425.


123. Ibid., 217.

124. Ibid., 240. On 243 Croly suggests adopting a federal grants-in-aid program for the states.

125. Ibid., 271.

126. Ibid., 351.

127. Ibid., 369.

128. Ibid., 370. See also 360, 363–64, and 371 for additional descriptions of
the bureaucracy.

129. Ibid., 352.
130. Ibid., 353.


133. Ibid., 349. See also 99, 342.
134. Ibid., 304.
135. Ibid., 254, 306.
136. Ibid., 268.
137. Ibid., 272, 325.
138. Ibid., 264.
139. Ibid., 265.


142. Ibid., 295.
143. Ibid., 300.
144. Ibid., 301.
145. Ibid., 308.
146. Ibid., 292–93.
147. Ibid., 135, 142.
148. Ibid., 149; see also 234–35.
149. Ibid., 231; see also 245.
150. Ibid., 400.


153. Ibid., 402–3.
154. Ibid., 403.
155. Ibid., 391–93.
156. Ibid., 407.
157. Ibid., 113.

158. Ibid., 116. Croly adds another point: that his proposed policy would “seek to create a system of special discipline, coextensive with the system of special privilege, the object of which will be the assurance, as a result of its operation, of socially desirable fruits” (116). I take this to be an argument for regulation of business practices.

159. Ibid., 11.

160. In explaining why *Progressive Democracy* didn’t sell very well, Croly wrote to Willard Straight that “people are not seriously concerned with domestic social and political problems now. They are still so much preoccupied by the war . . . that they cannot concentrate upon a book which is confined entirely to the discussion of domestic policy.” H.C. to Willard Straight, December 17, 1914, Willard Straight Papers.
CHAPTER SIX. DOMESTIC LIBERALISM
IN A "NEW REPUBLIC"

1. Diary of Dorothy Straight, courtesy of Karolyn Gould.
5. Gilbert Harrison memorandum of interview with Dorothy Straight Elmhirst, March 3, 1964, Dorothy Straight Elmhirst Papers, Cornell University.
6. Ibid. See also Croly's account in Willard Straight, 472-73.
7. The finances of the New Republic are detailed in the Dorothy Straight Elmhirst Papers, Cornell University.
9. As an illustration of the journal's independence, note that Willard Straight published his own endorsement of Charles Evans Hughes in 1916, after the editors had individually endorsed Wilson. But see also Herbert Croly to Walter Lippmann, "Saturday morning" [1916]: "I promised Willard before he went away that whatever else we did we would not nag Roosevelt. We have not done that but in his state of mind he will think we have," Series I, Box 7, Folder 303, Walter Lippmann Papers, Yale University. This comment is a very rare instance in which Straight's views may have affected editorial policy. There are many letters in which it is clear that Croly did not follow Straight's suggestions or use material Straight had submitted. See especially Willard Straight to H.C., March 1, 1915, Willard Straight Papers. On the relationship to the Straights, see also David Levy, Herbert Croly, 205-9. David Seideman, The New Republic: A Voice of Modern Liberalism (New York: Praeger, 1986), 10-45, is less sanguine about the paper's editorial purity.
10. Walter Weyl Diary, Weyl Papers, Rutgers University. The entry is dated September 28, 1912, but from chronological location it must be September 28, 1913. On Weyl, see Forcey, Crossroads of Liberalism, 52-87.
14. See David Levy, Herbert Croly, 203-4, on the editorial arrangements. There are many comments in Croly's letters attesting to his reluctance to be identified as chief; see, for example, H.C. to Eduard Lindeman, July 23, 1924, Lindeman Papers. See also H.C., Willard Straight, 473, regarding the editorial board.
15. Walter Lippmann to John Lothrop, November 23, 1914, Series I, Box 17, Folder 690, Lippmann Papers.
16. Ibid.

17. Untitled four-page typescript, noted "Croly" and "1914" in Series I, Box 22, Folder 875, Lippmann Papers. The similarity of the phrasing to the concluding pages of *Progressive Democracy* is clear. Croly goes on to say that the paper would afford a contributor the opportunity "of laboring in cooperation with right-minded associates for the benefit of an ultimate human ideal."


19. H.C. to Willard Straight, November 29, 1914, Willard Straight Papers. Of his new associates, Croly noted: "I am depending on my own influence over them gradually to make them see the problem and the work as I see it."


23. H.C., "The Future of the State," *NR* 12 (September 15, 1917): 182–83. See also "The Expert and American Society," *NR* 15 (May 4, 1918): 5–8, especially 7–8, for a discussion of subordinate social units. (This article is unsigned, as were all editorial "leaders" and most lead articles in the *NR*. Editorials had no titles and are therefore cited only by issue and page; articles were titled.)


28. See the following chapter.


35. See, for example, *NR* 15 (July 27, 1918): 356: "Liberal fighting spirit . . . made of England a combination of the freest and the best governed country in the world."


44. NR 2 (March 6, 1915): part 2.
49. There were several articles praising Booker T. Washington at his death. See especially “A Leader of Humanity,” NR 5 (November 20, 1915): 60-61.
52. Ibid., 122-24. McGraw points out that Rublee’s drafting was inexact and the FTC didn’t live up to its potential in the early years partly because of legal challenges. Ibid., 124-28.
54. Ibid., 199-240; quotation at 238.
56. Ibid., 9.
58. "Presidential Complacency," NR 1 (November 21, 1914): 7. Arthur Link writes: "It was Croly, not Wilson, who read correctly the further course of American political history. It was only the New Freedom phase of progressivism that had ended in the autumn of 1914. . . . Indeed, in the months to come it was Wilson himself who would lead the American people forward in their progress toward a more democratic economic and social order." Ibid., 471.
59. “An Unseen Reversal,” NR 1 (January 9, 1915): 7-8. This article was probably written by Learned Hand. See H.C. to Hand, January 15, Hand Papers, mentioning a check for "Unseen Reversal."
61. “Salvaging the Unemployed,” NR 4 (October 2, 1915): 221-23.
63. NR 2 (February 13, 1915): 30.
70. See Morison, ed., *Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 8: 826 and 1486, respectively.
71. *NR* 1 (December 12, 1914): 5.
77. See Walter Lippmann to Graham Wallas, December 18, 1915, Graham Wallas Papers, London School of Economics.
78. "The Newer Nationalism," *NR* 5 (January 29, 1916): 319–21. Roosevelt wrote a bitter letter to Willard Straight in reply, terming the editors "nice, well-meaning geese—early Victorian geese. . . . They are simply talking like nice, kindly old ladies over their knitting." Theodore Roosevelt to Willard Straight, February 8, 1916, in Morison, ed., *Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 8: 1019–21. See also Walter Lippmann to Willard Straight, April 6, 1916, replying to a Straight cable on Roosevelt: "If my conscience troubled me about our attitude towards him it would be that we have not been as candid about Roosevelt as we have been about Wilson," Willard Straight Papers.
86. Ibid., 290.
CHAPTER SEVEN. LIBERALISM AND WAR

2. H.C. to Learned Hand, August 17, 1914, Hand Papers.
5. “Pacifism vs. Passivism,” NR 1 (December 12, 1914): 6-7. The article is probably by Croly.
6. NR 2 (February 27, 1915): 84.
8. H.C. to Walter Lippmann, June 18, 1915, Series I, Box 7, Folder 303, Lippmann Papers.
10. Ibid., 113.
13. See Forcey, Crossroads of Liberalism, 228-31, on the NR’s generally anglo­philic staff.
15. “Not Our War,” NR 3 (June 5, 1915): 108-10. Quotations at 109 and 110, respectively. Robert M. Lovett, an associate on the NR, attributed this article to Croly. See Box 11, Folder 20, Lovett Papers, University of Chicago Library. This material was brought to my attention by Fred Ragan. See also “The Next Step,” NR 3 (July 31, 1915): 322-23.
17. NR 4 (October 23, 1915): 293.
20. “Pro-German,” NR 5 (December 4, 1915): 107-8; see also [Lippmann], “Are We Pro-German?” NR 5 (December 18, 1915): 161-62.
22. “The Ultimate Controversy,” NR 7 (May 27, 1916): 77-78. The phrasing of this article almost certainly identifies it as Croly’s.
27. Ibid., 103.
28. The New Republicans were not unanimous in hoping for peace in the summer of 1916. Learned Hand wrote to Graham Wallas: "I cannot share with Croly and Lippmann the belief that peace would be best now," May 23, 1916, Wallas Papers.
34. Ibid., 287, 290. It is interesting to note that Kant makes a similar argument in his Perpetual Peace.
35. Ibid., 289.
36. Ibid., 290.
39. Ibid., 538. See also page 535 for a conditional endorsement of the league.
40. Ibid.
42. On House's influence on Wilson and his reliability as a source for historians, see Cooper, The Warrior and the Priest, 244–45, 293–95, and especially 398 n.
26. See also Robert Crunden, Ministers of Reform, 225, 229–31.
44. H.C. to Woodrow Wilson, January 23, 1917, Wilson Papers; reprinted in ibid., 559.
45. Ibid.
46. Woodrow Wilson to H.C., January 25, 1917, in ibid., 41: 13. Wilson also thanks Croly for his suggestion about the speeches. Arthur Link naturally believes that the editorial referred to is "Peace without Victory." However, the content of that editorial is quite different from Wilson's speech; a number of other NR editorials in the period were much more similar.
48. Levy, Herbert Croly, 255.
49. Walter Lippmann, "Notes for a Biography," NR 63 (July 16, 1930), part 2: 251. Compare Charles Forcey's analysis in Crossroads of Liberalism, in which he compares the NR intellectuals to moths around the flame of political power. While admitting that they were more consistent in changing their allegiance to Wilson than if they had continued to support the more militaristic T.R., Forcey still comments that "the moths had charred more than a wing or two in their new flight toward power" (262). I think Croly was fairly consistent in his views; "singe" might be a better verb.
53. NR 10 (March 17, 1917): 177; NR 10 (March 24, 1917): 210. See also the supplement to the issue of March 10, 1917, summarizing their stands on the war from 1914 on.
56. See Willard Straight to Walter Lippmann, April 19, 1917: "glad and proud Dorothy and I feel . . . to place you and Herbert in a position where you have made your influence and your genius talk . . . through affecting the action of the President . . . upon the future of the world," Series I, Box 31, Folder 1166, Lippmann Papers. The letter indicates that Straight sent a similar letter to Croly.
58. Steel, Walter Lippmann, 116-54. Croly was perhaps marginally involved in the Inquiry. See Walter Lippmann to Herbert Croly, November 22, 1917, Series I, Box 7, Folder 303, Lippmann Papers.
61. See Thompson, Reformers and War, 204-6, for other progressive publicists’ views of the Allies.
65. Walter Lippmann Diary, October 5, 1917, quoted in Steel, Walter Lippmann, 126.
67. Ibid. See also "The Defeatists," NR 16 (October 19, 1918): 327-29.
68. H.C. to Learned Hand, October 30, 1918, Hand Papers.
69. See Thompson, Reformers and War, 210-20 for an excellent discussion of progressive views of "the war at home."
75. Ibid.
76. "A War Program for Liberals," NR 10 (March 31, 1917): 250, point 2. For a comparison of Croly’s views to those of other progressives on this issue, see Thompson, Reformers and War, 220-33, 258-63.
80. Ibid. On Croly's contacts with the government, see also a letter to Colonel House, April 17, 1917, in *Link*, ed., *PWW*, 42: 89-90, and a petition that he and Dorothy Straight signed with Lillian Wald, Jane Addams, and others on free speech and "constitutional rights and liberties." See *Link*, ed., *PWW*, 42: 118-19.
82. On Wilson's position on censorship, see Cooper, *The Warrior and the Priest*, 320.
84. H.C. to Dorothy Straight, June 25, 1918, Dorothy Straight Elmhirst Papers. See also her stout defense of the *NR* to a friend who accused Croly of "disloyalty," Dorothy Straight to J. Schefflein, August 30, 1918, Dorothy Straight Elmhirst Papers. On the *Nation*, see *NR* 16 (September 21, 1918): 210.
85. H.C. to H. L. Mencken, August 1, 1919, Mencken Papers, New York Public Library.
90. Quoted in ibid., 539-40.
91. "The Call to Toleration," *NR* 20 (November 26, 1919): 360-62. The article is identified as Croly's by Harold J. Laski (who often wrote for the *NR*) in a letter to Holmes, November 27, 1919, in Howe, ed., *Holmes-Laski Letters*, 1: 222. Laski says: "I did read with pride Croly's admirable piece on your dissent." See also Holmes to Croly, May 12, 1919, praising an earlier *NR* article on Burleson, in ibid., 202-4.
92. H.C. to Leonard Elmhirst, June 23, 1927, Dorothy Straight Elmhirst Papers. Croly sought the Elmhirsts' support to catalogue the abuses "so that when the next war comes, there will be no excuse for repeating" these mistakes.
100. See “Intervention in Russia,” NR 15 (June 1, 1918): 130–32; NR 16 (August 31, 1918): 120; “The Rescue of Russia,” NR 16 (October 12, 1918): 301–2; “Revolution vs. Reaction in Russia,” NR 17 (January 4, 1919): 267–70.


103. They were worried about Allied revenge even early in the war. See “A Negligible Germany,” NR 5 (December 25, 1915): 184–86.

104. NR 17 (November 30, 1918): 113.


110. “Peace at any Price,” NR 19 (May 24, 1919): 100. The article is unsigned but is clearly by Croly.

111. Ibid., 101–2.


CHAPTER EIGHT. LIBERALISM
IN AN “AGE OF NORMALCY”


2. H.C. to Learned Hand, January 27, 1930. Felix Frankfurter also apparently advised Croly against publication. Years later, Frankfurter wrote: “I can only give you the central difficulty that I had with his manuscript, namely, that he used technical religious terms, not in the sense in which an avowed Christian would use them, but with a private content of his own, and I told him I thought that was not a permissible thing to do... I believe there are very few men who would have been so honest with himself”; Felix Frankfurter to Richard Rothstein, March 12, 1963, Frankfurter Papers. No doubt this was a factor in Croly’s decision, but as he published a part of The Breach in Civilization (New York: Macmillan, 1920) in the NR (chapter 7 was published as “Regeneration,” NR 23 [June 9, 1920]: 40–47), I wonder if it was the major reason. See also H.C. to Walter Lippmann, “Thursday” [1919]: “I have felt like a man who was rolling a heavy stone up a steep hill... Certainly this little book has cost me far more tugging and pulling than it should”;

3. Croly, The Breach. Page proofs of 1–137 and 144–52 are in Houghton Library, Harvard University. Corrected page proofs are available in the Frankfurter Papers (microfilm reel 135, frames 570–672), including 138–143. The Frankfurter Papers also contain other Croly manuscripts from the 1920s. They probably were sent to Frankfurter by Louise Croly because he agreed in the late 1930s to write
the introduction to a collection of Croly's articles. He apparently never did. See letters of Louise Croly to Dorothy Straight Elmhirst in the late 1930s, Dorothy Straight Elmhirst Papers.


5. Ibid.

6. H.C., autobiographical fragment, titled "Introduction" and noted "HC" in Frankfurter Papers, 1 (microfilm reel 136, frames 60-84 at frame 60).


9. Ibid., 211, 212.

10. Ibid., 212.

11. Ibid., 213.

12. Ibid., 214.

13. Ibid., 215.


18. Ibid.

19. Ibid., 35.

20. Ibid., 38.

21. Croly's judgment in *The Breach* is most severe: "It was utterly tragic, because never before in human history was so much goodwill and loyalty, so much disinterested self-dedication, so much potential enthusiasm for human welfare, such a huge volume of technical skill, applied science and co-operative organization,—so many of those impulses and attainments which are particularly capable of contributing to the enhancement of human life—lavished upon its frustration" (5).


23. Ibid., 35. See also 32, 38, 39, 59.

24. Ibid., 62.

25. Ibid., 62-63. The phrase "reformist liberalism" as a conscious description of his own theory is used repeatedly in a manuscript, "Why Liberalism Fails," which was either a draft of a chapter of *The Breach* or, more likely, a later manuscript from the 1925-1927 period. See Frankfurter Papers (microfilm reel 136, frames 2-18).


27. Ibid., 54.

28. Ibid., 53-54.


30. "America as the Promised Land," *NR* 32 (October 4, 1922): 136. The article is unsigned but is almost certainly Croly's.

31. "Obstreperous Liberalism," *NR* 45 (December 23, 1925): 124. See also
32. "Sick of Politics," NR 31 (June 7, 1922): 34. The article is unsigned but clearly by Croly.
33. See particularly H.C., "The Outlook for Progressivism in Politics," NR 41 (December 10, 1924): 60-64. This article is one of the very few in which Croly seems to question the "middle way" of liberalism. See also "The Progressive Direction," NR 43 (July 15, 1925): 192-94.
36. These articles were unsigned. However, Bruce Bliven, his associate and successor as editor in chief, has identified them as "very likely" Croly's. Bruce Bliven to the author, June 18, 1965.
41. See the many letters to Dorothy Straight Elmhirst in the 1920s, Dorothy Straight Elmhirst Papers, especially December 4, 1926, where Croly notes he is writing sections of such a work. Some of the manuscripts in the Frankfurter Papers were probably drafts of sections of this book.
42. Croly to Dorothy Straight, September 11, 1920, Dorothy Straight Elmhirst Papers. Croly notes, of The Breach: "The last chapter of my unfortunate book is the first crude expression of a renewed faith." See also Louise Croly to Dorothy Straight: "Herbert has had a conversion in these last two years. He has literally become religious... I think it's the war." Louise Croly to Dorothy Straight, "Sunday," n.d. [August, 1923?], Dorothy Straight Elmhirst Papers.
43. Leonard Elmhirst to Daniel Mebane [treasurer of the NR], May 6, 1955, Leonard Elmhirst Papers, Library of Dartington Hall, Totnes, Devon.
44. Learned Hand to Graham Wallas, August 24, 1921, Wallas Papers.
46. Ibid., 2:836, 1050 (letters of 1926 and 1928, respectively).
48. See Croly to Dr. Carter, chairman of the commission, January 10, 1924, Dorothy Straight Elmhirst Papers. See also H.C. to Eduard Lindeman, April 20, 1923, for a draft questionnaire for the group, Eduard Lindeman Papers.
50. Ibid., 30, 35.
53. See H.C. to Learned Hand, February 3, 1926, Hand Papers. See also a humorous description of a session with Orage in Louise Croly to Dorothy Straight Elmhirst, "Sunday," January 24, [1926?], Dorothy Straight Elmhirst Papers.
55. H.C. to Felix Frankfurter, October 18, 1927, Frankfurter Papers.
58. See Dorothy Straight to Walter Lippmann, November 21, 1922, asking him to join. Series I, Box 31, Folder 1166, Lippmann Papers.
63. See Frankfurter to Walter Lippmann, June 11, 1926, Series I, Box 10, Folder 427, Lippmann Papers. Frankfurter also supplied Lippmann with extensive materials for Lippmann's editorials in the New York World.
67. H.C. to Leonard K. Elmhirst, June 23, 1927, Dorothy Straight Elmhirst Papers; also in Leonard Elmhirst Papers, Dartington Hall.
68. H.C., The Breach, 104. See chapter 6, "Bolshevism," for Croly's most extended discussion of communism in these years.
70. NR 49 (January 12, 1927): 212-13.
72. Ibid.
73. NR 50 (March 2, 1927): 47.
75. Ibid., 35.
76. Croly wrote: "In Italy the fascist dictatorship treats the liberal opposition almost as roughly and contemptuously as do the Communist dictators in Russia." H.C., unpublished manuscript, "Christianity and Modern Life," Frankfurter Papers (microfilm reel 135, frames 715–53, at frame 726).
79. H.C. to Dorothy Straight, "Saturday" [July 1924], Dorothy Straight Elmhirst Papers.
82. See "Governor Smith and the Progressives," NR 53 (February 1, 1928): 284–86.
84. H.C. to Leonard Elmhirst, July 27, 1928, Dorothy Straight Elmhirst Papers; also in Leonard Elmhirst Papers, Dartington Hall.
85. Ibid.
88. H.C. to Dorothy Elmhirst, August 23, 1928, Dorothy Straight Elmhirst Papers.
92. Ibid., 10.
94. Rutkoff and Scott, New School, 11.
96. Alvin Johnson, Pioneer's Progress, 276
98. H.C., Willard Straight.
99. H.C. to Dorothy Straight, September 27, 1922, Dorothy Straight Elmhirst Papers.
100. See H.C. to Dorothy Elmhirst, December 4, 1926, and another letter, n.d. [1926?] to Dorothy Elmhirst, Dorothy Straight Elmhirst Papers.

101. Walter Lippmann to Felix Frankfurter, June 24, 1921, Frankfurter Papers. Lippmann goes on to say that the paper is no longer "the paper I would want to make it." See also a four-page memo in Lippmann's papers in which he suggests changes in the NR, Series I, Box 22, Lippmann Papers.

102. H.C. to Dorothy Straight, November 18, 1924, Dorothy Straight Elmhirst Papers.

103. See David Levy, Herbert Croly, 271–74, 278–81 for a full discussion of the staffing of the NR in the 1920s.

104. The Croly-Dorothy Straight Elmhirst correspondence is full of detailed commentary from Croly on the workings of the paper—on the finances, staffing, space requirement, and many other details involved in its production. See the Dorothy Straight Elmhirst Papers.

CHAPTER NINE. CONCLUSIONS


4. Edmund Wilson to Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., 1964, in Wilson, Letters on Literature and Politics, 198. Wilson noted that Croly dominated discussions on politics while they were colleagues on New Republic and complained that "everything had had to be kept within the frame of the philosophy of The Promise" (198).

5. One attempt by a commentator to summarize "liberal ideology" is Morton White, Social Thought in America: The Revolt against Formalism (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957). White writes that liberal theory "was anti-formalistic, evolutionary, historically-oriented; it was deeply concerned with the economic aspects of society" (107). Croly's theory fits many of these criteria, though his religious convictions (treated below) might set him apart in some respects.

6. See his comment that "although liberals have no reason to relinquish their traditional suspicion of the state and they have every reason to cherish their deep concern for human liberty, they cannot afford to fall back on unreconstructed liberalism." H.C., "Why Liberalism Fails," Frankfurter Papers (microfilm reel 136, frame 14).


9. Otis L. Graham, Jr., An Encore for Reform: The Old Progressives and the New Deal (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967). Graham mentions the "obvious debt of NRA to the ideas of the 'Concentration School' going back to Van Hise and Croly" (8), but his research also establishes that many progressives who lived into the 1930s in fact opposed the New Deal. Bruce Bliven later claimed of the NR that "almost all the ideas of the New Deal had been threshed out in our
pages . . . years before Roosevelt became President." Bruce Bliven, Five Million Words Later, 168.


15. N. H. Brailsford to Louise Croly, June 25, 1930, Dorothy Straight Elmhirst Papers.