

Wilson's Triumph Greater Than Fully Realized

Extent of Total Shift Toward Wilson Was the Largest, with One Exception, Since 1876—Progressives Decided the Election

THE map of "Wilson and Hughes States" shows that Wilson's strength lies in the sparsely settled portions of the country. In square miles he held 2,330,000 as against 636,000 for Hughes! This is not simply an amusing circumstance. It will prove of great significance for the future if the Democratic Party retains its geographic hold. For the States now Democratic are sure to grow more rapidly in

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total vote, in 1912, being 45 per cent. (i. e., 6,290,000 out of the total Wilson-Roosevelt-Taft vote of 14,000,000) and, in 1916, 51 per cent. (i. e., 8,600,000 out of the total Wilson-Hughes vote of 16,500,000.)

The diagram shows that, in four years, Wilson gained a certain percentage in al-

A glance at the map depicting "The Gains of Wilson" shows where he exerted his greatest influence. This was in the great Northwest and the Central West, while his least gains were in the South—for the very evident reason that there was little left to be gained.

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son lost no votes in the States on the Mexican border. Arizona and New Mexico shifted markedly toward Wilson, while Texas and California voted substantially in the same proportions as four years ago.

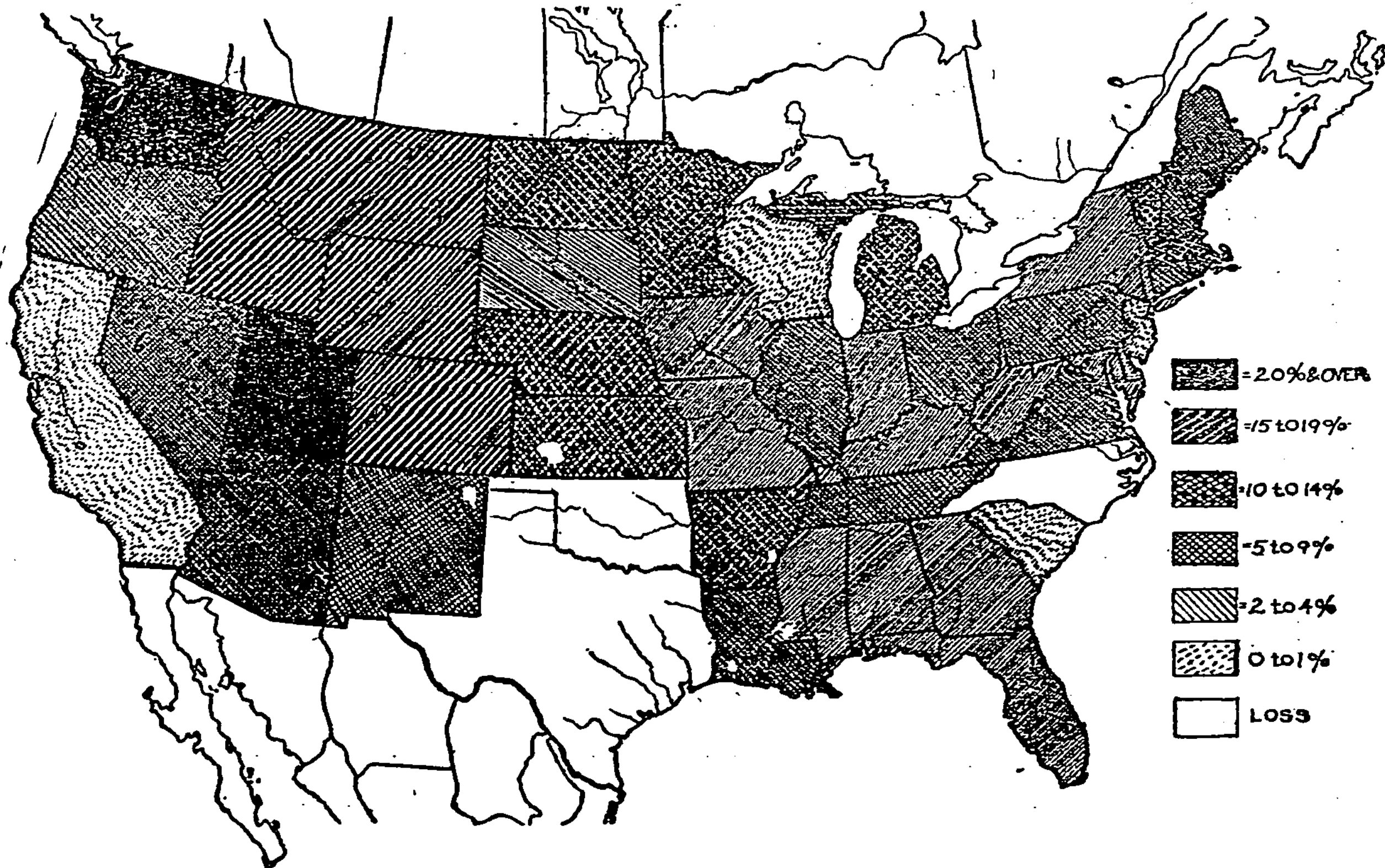
It is also interesting to note what were the gains of Wilson in the States in which Mr. Roosevelt was most active. These were: Michigan, 14 per cent.; Maine, 7 per cent.; Colorado, 16 per cent.; Kansas, 11 per cent.; Arizona, 10 per cent.; New Mexico, 7 per cent. In all of these the gain of Wilson was greater than the 6 per cent. average for the country as a whole.

The gains in Wilson's strength were evidently mostly from the Progressive voters of 1912. For we may reasonably assume that, with inappreciable exceptions, those who voted for Taft in 1912 voted for Hughes in 1916; that those who voted for Wilson in 1912 voted for him again in 1916; and we may further assume that the new voters in 1916 were not sufficient in numbers as compared with the old, nor sufficiently different from the old in their Democratic and Republican proportions, greatly to disturb the final proportions.

Wilson's gains as percentages of Progressives.

Per Cent.	Per Cent.
Utah109	Florida28
Wyoming72	Arizona28
Idaho68	Nevada25
Montana69	Tennessee23
South Carolina58	Maine19
Colorado53	Illinois18
Mississippi52	Pennsylvania17
Arkansas51	Maryland16
Louisiana48	Alabama15
Washington47	West Virginia13
New Hampshire45	Kentucky13
Virginia45	Missouri12
North Dakota40	Georgia12
New Mexico39	New York12
Massachusetts37	Iowa11
Michigan25	Indiana8
Nebraska24	Delaware4
Ohio24	South Dakota3
Minnesota22	New Jersey3
Connecticut22	Wisconsin2
Vermont20	California1
Kansas20	North Carolina1
Rhode Island20	Texas2
Oregon20	

*Loss.



Wilson's Gains Since 1912.

The map showing "Wilson's Captures of Progressives" indicates the geographic distribution of his success in this respect. This seems to be almost independent of sectionalism.

The extent of the total shift toward Wilson and, therefore, the extent of Mr. Wilson's triumph, is far greater than is usually realized. In fact, many people, judging by the numbers of electoral votes cast in 1912 and 1916, are still laboring under the delusion that Mr. Wilson has lost ground in four years.

We must not forget that Mr. Wilson in his first term was a minority President, and became President at that time because of the bolt of Roosevelt. While an average gain of 6 per cent. of the votes of the American people may not

population than those now Republican.

In the diagram each horizontal strip represents the vote of a State and the States are arranged in increasing order of Wilson's strength according to the 1912 election. It therefore begins with rock-ribbed Republican Vermont at the top and ends with the most intensely Democratic South Carolina at the bottom. Wilson's part of each State's vote in 1912 is represented by the portion of each horizontal strip lying to the right of the (right) dotted line.

Thus Vermont, in 1912, gave 25 per cent. of its vote to Wilson and we note, accordingly, that 25 per cent. of the top strip is cut off at the right. Michigan, the next in order, gave a little over 29 per cent to Wilson, in 1912, and so on to the foot of the list. Consequently, the dotted line separating off Wilson's vote, in 1912, descends gradually from right to left.

As we are here dealing in percentages, the lengths of the horizontal lines or strips are all equal, representing 100 per cent. or the total vote (excepting that of the minor parties, Socialist, Prohibition, &c.) The numbers in this total vote of each State are shown by the areas of the strips, New York having the most and Nevada the least.

The tortuous dotted line at the left separates the Taft and Roosevelt votes. Thus the central shaded portion between the two dotted lines represents the Progressive vote of 1912.

The dark line running (usually) between the two dotted ones shows how the 1916 vote was divided; Wilson's portion being on the right and Hughes's portion on the left. The position of this dark line (for 1916) relatively to the dotted line at the right (for 1912) shows at a glance Wilson's gain of strength in four years. Thus, Vermont gave Wilson only 25 per cent. of its vote in 1912, but gave him 36 per cent. in 1916, showing that 11 per cent. of Vermont's vote had shifted to Wilson in four years.

The average gain of Wilson throughout the country was 6 per cent., Wilson's

most every State, the biggest gains being usually in the States previously most Republican, i. e., those highest in the diagram.

Some States stand out in the diagram as exceptional. In Oklahoma, North Carolina, and Texas, Wilson's percentage was actually lower in 1916 than in 1912, although by an inappreciable amount (less than 1 per cent. in each instance.) Among those whose shift toward Wilson was extremely small were Wisconsin, New Jersey, Delaware, California, South Carolina, South Dakota, Indiana, Missouri and Georgia. All of these showed a shift of 2 per cent. or less. On the other hand, in some States Wilson gained far above his average of 6 per cent. Thus he won 26 per cent. of Utah's vote over what he started with; 20 per cent. of Washington's, 19 per cent. of Montana's, 19 per cent. of Idaho's, 17 per cent. of Wyoming's, 16 per cent. of Colorado's, 14 per cent. of Minnesota's, 14 per cent. of Michigan's, 13 per cent. of North Dakota's.

The following table gives the percentage gains for all States in the order of their magnitude:

Wilson's gains in 1916 over 1912, (as percentage, in each case, of the total State vote for the principal candidates):

Per Cent.	Per Cent.
Utah26	Pennsylvania7
Washington20	Louisiana6
Montana19	Connecticut6
Idaho19	Tennessee5
Wyoming17	Maryland4
Colorado16	West Virginia4
Minnesota14	Iowa4
Michigan14	Mississippi3
North Dakota13	Florida3
Kansas11	Alabama3
Massachusetts11	New York3
Vermont11	Kentucky3
Arkansas10	Georgia2
Arizona10	Missouri2
Nebraska10	Indiana2
New Hampshire9	South Dakota2
Oregon9	South Carolina1
Nevada8	California1
Ohio8	Delaware1
Virginia7	New Jersey1
New Mexico7	Wisconsin0.4
Maine7	Texas0.2
Rhode Island7	North Carolina0.6
Illinois7	Oklahoma0.7

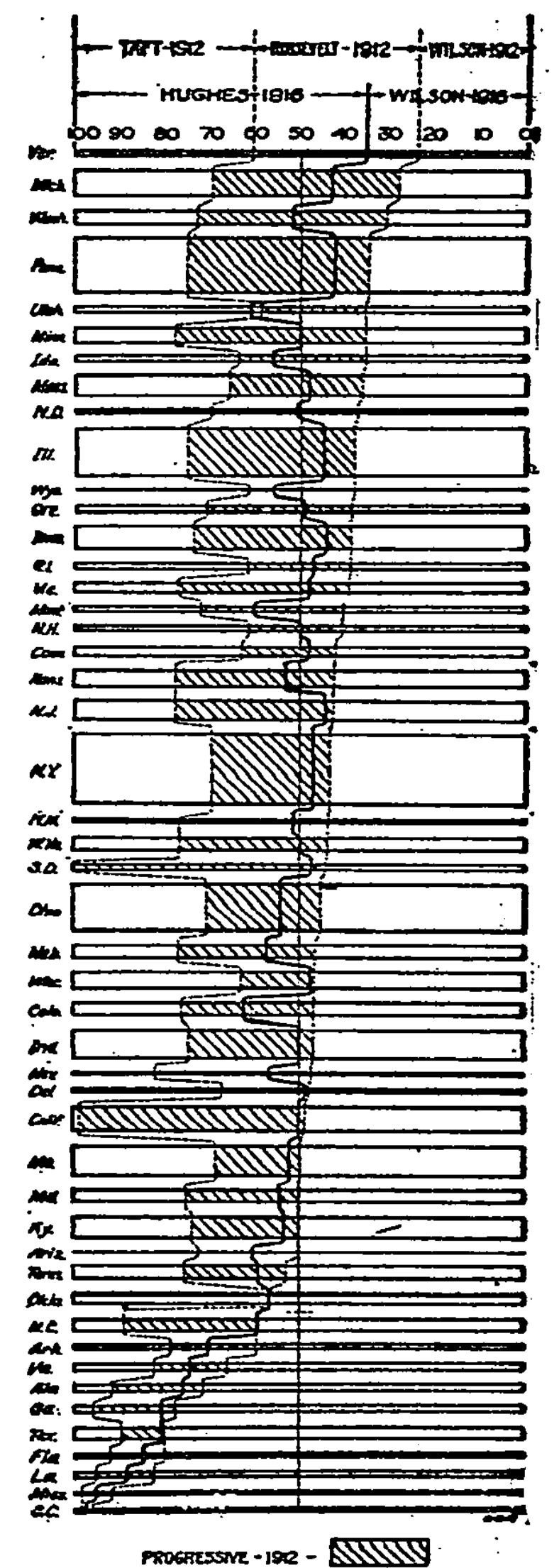
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The gains in Wilson's strength were evidently mostly from the Progressive voters of 1912. For we may reasonably assume that, with inappreciable exceptions, those who voted for Taft in 1912 voted for Hughes in 1916; that those who voted for Wilson in 1912 voted for him again in 1916; and we may further assume that the new voters in 1916 were not sufficient in numbers as compared with the old, nor sufficiently different from the old in their Democratic and Republican proportions, greatly to disturb the final proportions.

Therefore, we may feel sure that the dark line divides the shaded area approximately in the proportion in which the Progressive Party disintegrated as between Hughes and Wilson. In general, 80 per cent. of the Progressives went back to the Republican fold, the remaining 20 per cent. going to Mr. Wilson and deciding the election.

But the shift toward Wilson through the winning of Progressive votes was, as the diagram shows, by no means a uniform 20 per cent. in all the States. In the case of Utah, Wilson's gain was equal to 109 per cent. of the Progressive vote. That is, in this State he seemed to have secured all of the Progressive following and to have taken some also from the Republicans who followed Mr. Taft in 1912. On the other hand, in California only a very small part of the enormous Progressive vote of 1912 was captured



Wilson's 1916 Vote Shown on Right of Dark Line; Hughes's Vote on Left, Showing Wilson's Gain in Four Years.

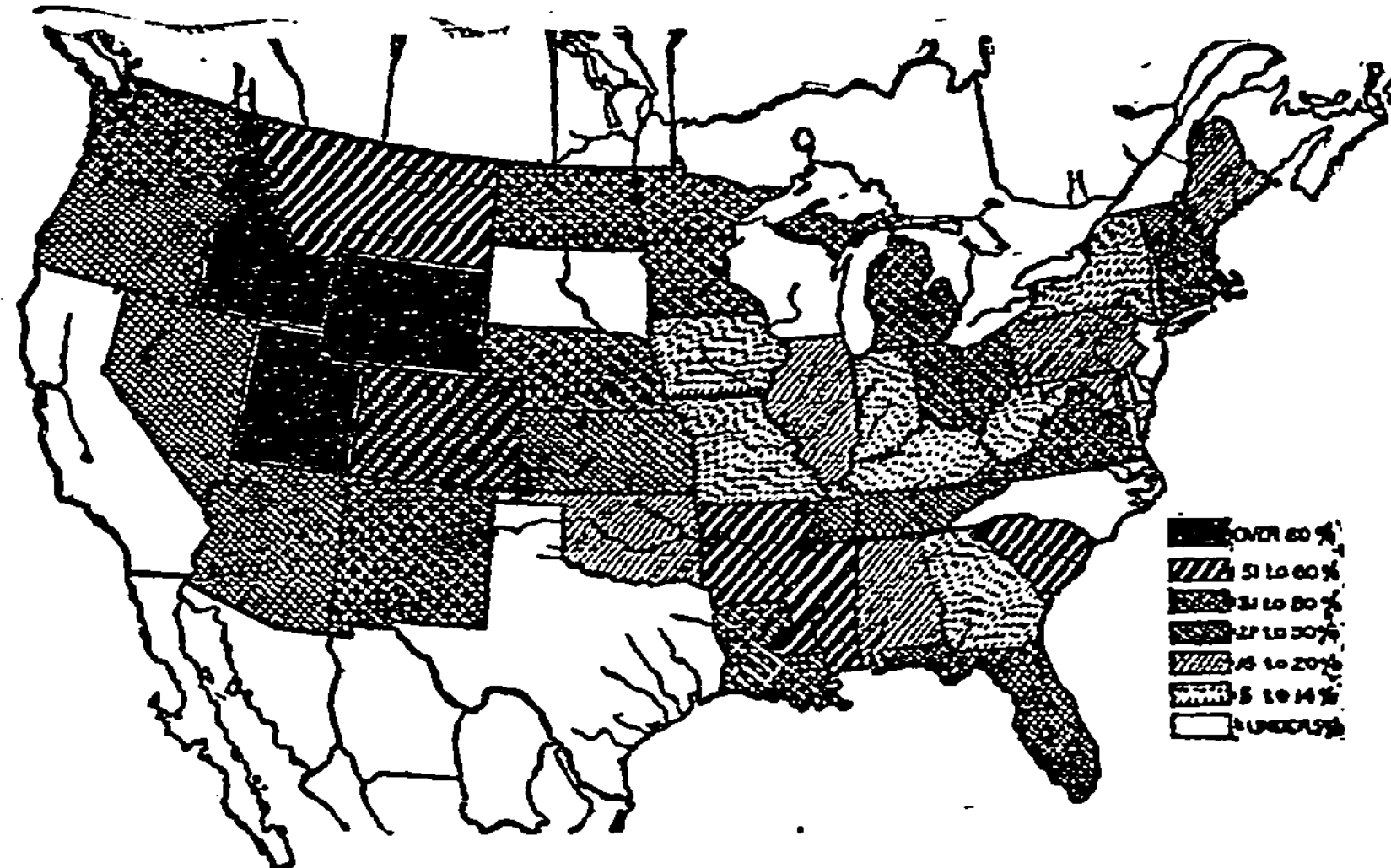
seem great, it is by far the greatest, with one exception, that has been witnessed since 1876. The exception was the landslide to Roosevelt, in 1904. Parker then lost 7 per cent. of the total, relatively, to Bryan four years before.

The following table shows the per cent. which the Democratic vote formed of the total (of the main parties) beginning in 1864:

The Democratic vote as a percentage of the total vote.

	Per Cent.
1864.. Lincoln-McClellan	45
1868.. Grant-Seymour	47
1872.. Grant-Greeley	44
1876.. Hayes-Tilden	52
1880.. Garfield-Hancock	50
1884.. Cleveland-Blaine	50
1888.. Harrison-Cleveland	50
1892.. Cleveland-Harrison	52
1896.. McKinley-Bryan	48
1900.. McKinley-Bryan	47
1904.. Roosevelt-Parker	40
1908.. Taft-Bryan	45
1912.. Wilson-Taft-Roosevelt	45
1916.. Wilson-Hughes	51

After the elections of 1912 and 1914 I published in THE NEW YORK TIMES di-



Wilson's Gains Among the Progressives.

agrams similar to the present one; in each the vote of 1908 was included. The

results show that the Democratic vote remained almost uniformly the same,

election after election, not only for the country as a whole, but for individual States.

In other words, before 1916, States remained Republican or Democratic in substantially the same degree. The two parties seemed stereotyped. Mr. Roosevelt sought to break up the stereotype. But the diagrams referred to show clearly that he attracted substantially no Democratic votes and that his would-be new party was only a faction of the old party from which he bolted.

Mr. Wilson has now succeeded in breaking up the Roosevelt faction of the Republican Party and winning a fragment of it over to the Democratic side. It remains to be seen whether this migratory fragment, which has stepped over from the Republican side through the Progressive vestibule into the Democratic ranks, will remain there in 1920. Of one thing we may be reasonably sure, that "rubber-stamp voting" has received a serious, if not a permanent, setback. Party leaders cannot rely on party loyalty as much as formerly, and must now make their bid for votes on real issues.

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