

CHAPTER

18

The Progressive Movement 1890–1919

Why It Matters

Industrialization changed American society. Cities were crowded with new immigrants, working conditions were often bad, and the old political system was breaking down. These conditions gave rise to the Progressive movement. Progressives campaigned for both political and social reforms for more than two decades and enjoyed significant successes at the local, state, and national levels.

The Impact Today

Many Progressive-era changes are still alive in the United States today.

- Political parties hold direct primaries to nominate candidates for office.
- The Seventeenth Amendment calls for the direct election of senators.
- Federal regulation of food and drugs began in this period.



The American Vision Video The Chapter 18 video, “The Stockyard Jungle,” portrays the horrors of the meatpacking industry first investigated by Upton Sinclair.

1889

- Hull House opens in Chicago

B. Harrison
1889–1893

1890

- Jacob Riis’s *How the Other Half Lives* published

Cleveland
1893–1897

1902

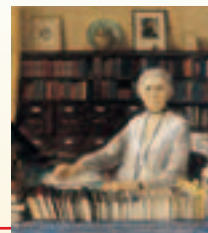
- Maryland workers’ compensation laws passed

McKinley
1897–1901

1904

- Ida Tarbell’s *History of the Standard Oil Company* published

T. Roosevelt
1901–1909



1890

1900



World

1884

- Toynbee Hall, first settlement house, established in London

1900

- Freud’s *Interpretation of Dreams* published

1902

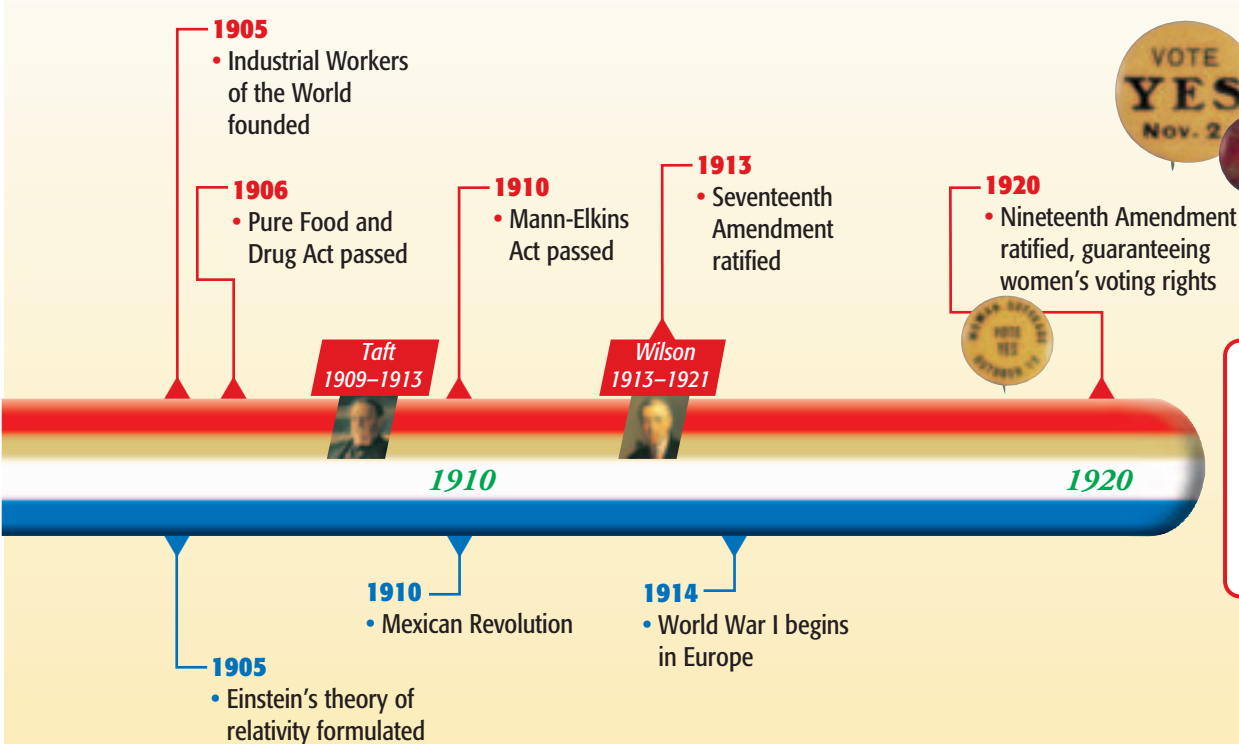
- Anglo-Japanese alliance formed

1903

- Russian Bolshevik Party established by Lenin



Women marching for the vote in New York City, 1912



HISTORY
Online

Chapter Overview

Visit the *American Vision* Web site at tav.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter Overviews—Chapter 18** to preview chapter information.

CLICK HERE

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Main Idea

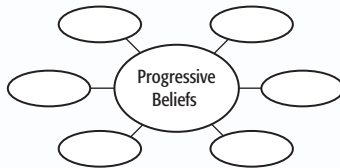
Progressivism was a diverse response to the problems posed by industrialism and modern life.

Key Terms and Names

progressivism, muckraker, Jacob Riis, commission plan, Robert La Follette, direct primary, initiative, referendum, recall, suffrage, Alice Paul, temperance, prohibition, socialism

Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read about the beginnings of progressivism, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by filling in the beliefs of progressives.



Reading Objectives

- **Discuss** the rise of the Progressive movement.
- **Evaluate** the impact of initiative, referendum, and recall, and of the Seventeenth Amendment.

Section Theme

Government and Democracy

Progressive reformers focused on political reforms to try to keep the nation true to its democratic ideals.

Preview of Events



★ An American Story ★



A police officer arresting two suffragists in Washington, D.C.

In 1917 suffragist Rose Winslow and several other women, including Alice Paul, founder of the National Woman's Party, were arrested for obstructing traffic and blocking sidewalks. The women had been picketing the White House to draw attention to the fact that women did not yet have the right to vote in federal elections. After being sentenced to seven months in jail, Paul, Winslow, and other women prisoners went on a hunger strike. Prison authorities forced the prisoners to eat. Winslow smuggled details of their plight out to the public:

“We have been in solitary for five weeks. . . . I have felt quite feeble the last few days—faint, so that I could hardly get my hair brushed, my arms ached so. But today I am well again. . . . [Alice Paul] dreaded forcible feeding frightfully, and I hate to think how she must be feeling. . . . I am really all right. If this continues very long I perhaps won't be. All the officers here know we are making this hunger strike [so] that women fighting for liberty may be considered political prisoners. . . . [W]e don't want women ever to have to do this over again.”

—quoted in *Jailed for Freedom*

The Rise of Progressivism

The struggle for the right of women to vote was only one of a series of reform efforts that transformed American society in the early 1900s. Historians refer to this era in American history—from about 1890 to 1920—as the Progressive Era.

Who Were the Progressives? **Progressivism** was not a tightly organized political movement with a specific set of reforms. Instead, it was a collection of different ideas and activities. Progressives had many different views about how to fix the problems they believed existed in American society.

Progressives generally believed that industrialism and urbanization had created many social problems. Most agreed that the government should take a more active role in solving society's problems. Progressives belonged to both major political parties and usually were urban, educated middle-class Americans. Many leaders of the Progressive movement worked as journalists, social workers, educators, politicians, and members of the clergy.

Beginnings of Progressivism Progressivism was partly a reaction against laissez-faire economics and its emphasis on an unregulated market. After seeing the poverty of the working class and the filth and crime of urban society, these reformers began to doubt the free market's ability to address those problems. At the same time, they doubted that government in its present form could fix those problems. They concluded that government had to be fixed first before it could be used to fix other problems.

One reason progressives believed people could improve society was because they had a strong faith in science and technology. The application of scientific knowledge had produced the lightbulb, the telephone, the automobile, and the airplane. It had built skyscrapers and railroads. Science and technology had benefited people; thus progressives believed using scientific principles could also produce solutions for society.

The Muckrakers Among the first people to articulate Progressive ideas was a group of crusading journalists who investigated social conditions and political corruption. These writers became known as **muckrakers** after a speech by President Theodore Roosevelt:

“Now, it is very necessary that we should not flinch from seeing what is vile and debasing. There is filth on the floor and it must be scraped up with the muck-rake; and there are times and places where this service is the most needed of all the services that can be performed. . . .”

—Washington, D.C., April 14, 1906

By the early 1900s, American publishers were competing to see who could expose the most corruption and scandal. A group of aggressive 10¢ and 15¢

magazines grew in popularity at this time, including *McClure's*, *Collier's*, and *Munsey's*.

Muckrakers uncovered corruption in many areas. Some concentrated on exposing what they considered to be the unfair practices of large American corporations. In *McClure's*, for example, **Ida Tarbell** published a series of articles critical of the Standard Oil Company. In *Everybody's Magazine*, Charles Edward Russell attacked the beef industry.

Other muckrakers targeted government. David Graham Philips described how money influenced the Senate, while **Lincoln Steffens**, another *McClure's* reporter, reported on vote stealing and other corrupt practices of urban political machines. These were later collected into a book, *The Shame of the Cities*.

Still other muckrakers concentrated on social problems. In his influential book *How the Other Half Lives*, published in 1890, **Jacob Riis** described the poverty, disease, and crime that afflicted many immigrant neighborhoods in New York City. The

Picturing History

Muckrakers *McClure's* published Ida Tarbell's exposé on Standard Oil. What issues particularly concerned the muckrakers?



muckrakers' articles led to a general public debate on social and economic problems and put pressure on politicians to introduce reforms.

✓ **Reading Check** **Describing** How did the muckrakers help spark the Progressive movement?

Making Government Efficient

There were many different types of progressivism. Different causes led to different approaches, and progressives even took opposing positions on how to solve some problems.

One group of progressives focused on making government more efficient. They believed that many problems in society could be solved if government worked properly. Efficiency progressives took their ideas from business. These progressives believed business had become more efficient by applying the principles of scientific management.

The ideas of scientific management had been developed in the late 1800s and were popularized by Frederick W. Taylor in his book *The Principles of Scientific Management*, published in 1911. Taylor

described how a company could become more efficient by managing time, breaking tasks down into small parts, and using standardized tools.

Efficiency progressives argued that managing a modern city required experts, not politicians. They did not want more democracy in government, for they believed that the democratic process led to compromise and corruption. In most American cities, the mayor or city council chose the heads of city departments. Traditionally, these jobs went to political supporters and friends, who often knew little about city services.

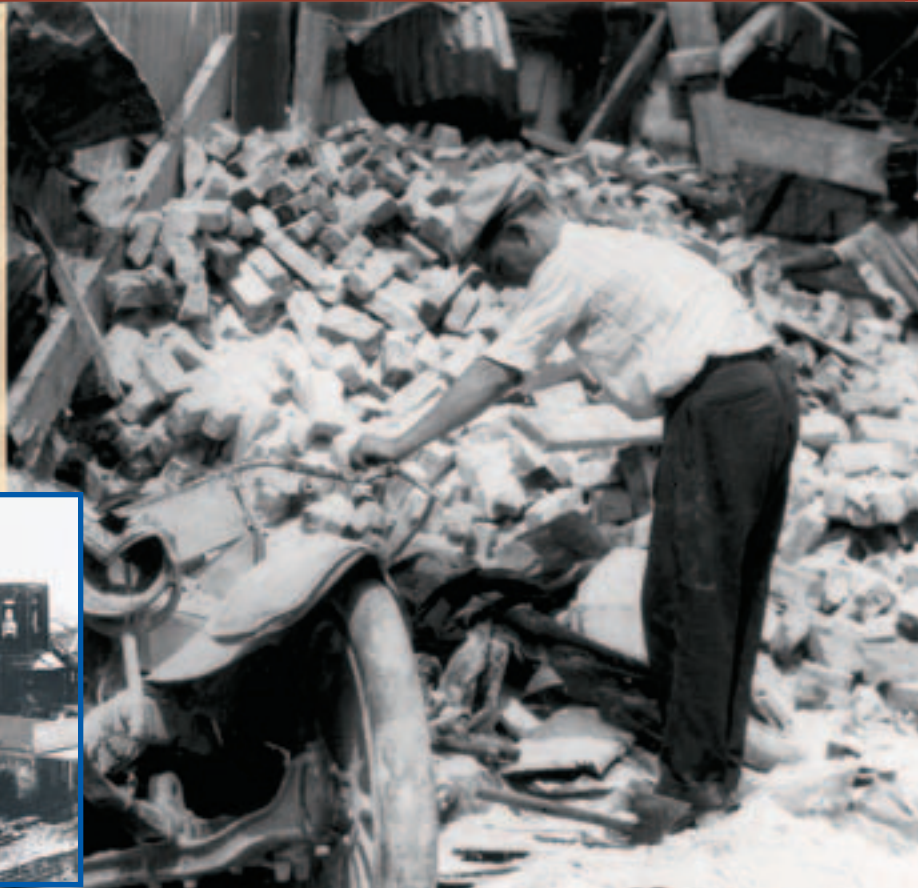
Efficiency progressives wanted either a commission plan or a council-manager system. Under the **commission plan**, a city's government would be divided into several departments, which would each be placed under the control of an expert commissioner. These progressives argued that a board of commissioners or a city manager with expertise in city services should hire the specialists to run city departments. Galveston, Texas, adopted the commission system in 1901. Other cities soon followed.

✓ **Reading Check** **Explaining** Why did progressives want to reorganize city government?

A City and a Storm

On September 8, 1900, a massive hurricane devastated the city of Galveston, Texas. About 6,000 people died. When the political machine that controlled the city government proved incapable of responding to the disaster, local business leaders convinced the state to let them take control. In April 1901, Galveston introduced the commission system of government. Under this system, Galveston chose five commissioners to replace the mayor and city council.

Four commissioners were local business leaders. When the city quickly recovered, reformers in other cities were impressed. Galveston's experience seemed to prove the benefits of running a city like a business by dividing its government into departments and placing each under an expert commissioner. Many other cities soon followed, adopting either the commission plan or the council-manager system.



Democracy and Progressivism

Not all progressives agreed with the efficiency progressives. Many believed that society needed more democracy, not less. They wanted to make elected officials more responsive to voters.

“Laboratory of Democracy” Political reform first came to the state level when Wisconsin voters elected Republican **Robert La Follette** to be governor. La Follette used his office to attack the way political parties ran their conventions. Because party bosses controlled the selection of convention delegates, they also controlled which candidates were chosen to run for office. La Follette pressured the state legislature to require each party to hold a **direct primary**, in which all party members could vote for a candidate to run in the general election.

La Follette’s great reform success gave Wisconsin a reputation as the “laboratory of democracy.” La

Follette claimed, “Democracy is based upon knowledge. . . . The only way to beat the boss . . . is to keep the people thoroughly informed.”

Inspired by La Follette, progressives in other states pushed for similar electoral changes. To force state legislators to respond to voters, three new reforms were introduced in many states. The **initiative** allowed a group of citizens to introduce legislation and required the legislature to vote on it. The **referendum** allowed proposed legislation to be submitted to the voters for approval. The **recall** allowed voters to demand a special election to remove an elected official from office before his or her term had expired.

GOVERNMENT

Direct Election of Senators Another reform the progressives favored affected the federal government—the direct election of senators. As originally written, the United States Constitution directed each state legislature to elect two senators from that state. Political machines or large trusts often influenced the election of senators, who then repaid their supporters with federal contracts and jobs. By the early 1900s, muckraker Charles Edward Russell charged that the Senate had become “only a chamber of butlers for industrialists and financiers.”

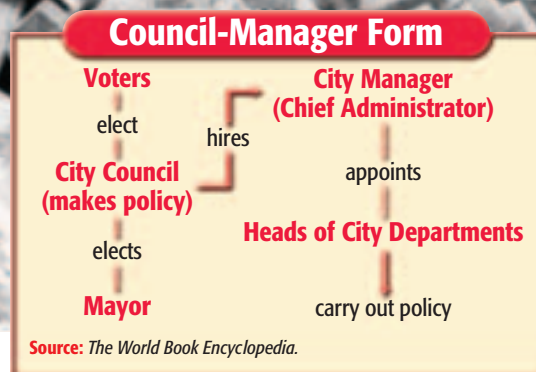
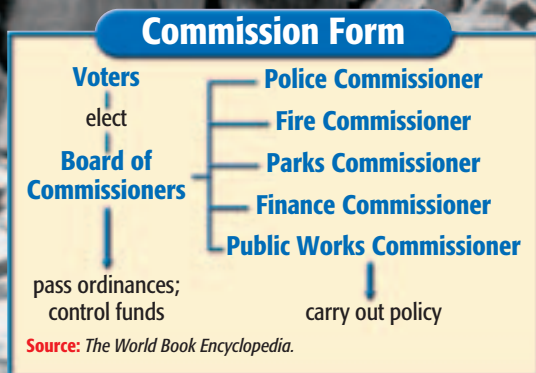
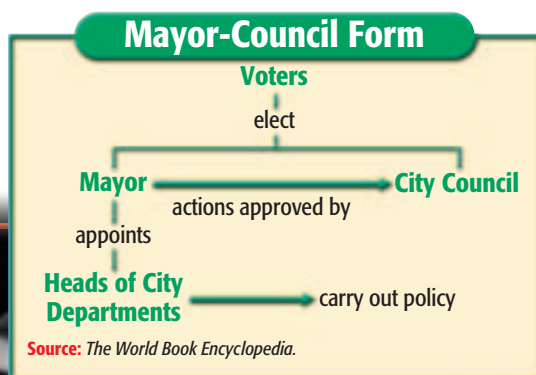
To counter Senate corruption, progressives called for the direct election of senators by all state voters. In 1912 Congress passed a direct-election amendment. Although the direct election of senators was intended to end corruption, it also removed one of the state legislatures’ checks on federal power. In 1913 the amendment was ratified, becoming the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution.

✓ Reading Check Evaluating What was the impact of the Seventeenth Amendment? What problem was it intended to solve?

The Suffrage Movement

In July 1848, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott organized the first women’s rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York. Stanton convinced the delegates that their first priority should be getting women the right to vote. The movement for women’s voting rights became known as the suffrage movement. **Suffrage** is the right to vote.

Woman suffrage was an important issue for progressives. Although the suffrage movement began well before progressivism emerged, many progressives joined the movement in the late 1800s and early 1900s.



Early Problems The suffrage movement got off to a slow start. Women suffragists were accused of being unfeminine and immoral. Several were physically attacked. The movement also remained weak because many of its supporters were abolitionists as well. In the years before the Civil War, they preferred to concentrate on abolishing slavery.

After the Civil War, the Republicans in Congress introduced the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution to protect the voting rights of African Americans. Several leaders of the woman suffrage movement had wanted these amendments worded to give women the right to vote as well. They were bitterly disappointed when Republicans refused.

The debate over the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments split the suffrage movement into two groups: the National Woman Suffrage Association, led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, and the American Woman Suffrage Association, led by Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howe. The first group

wanted to focus on passing a constitutional amendment allowing woman suffrage. The second group believed that the best strategy was to convince state governments to give women the right to vote before trying to amend the Constitution.

This split reduced the movement's effectiveness. In 1878 a constitutional amendment granting woman suffrage was introduced in Congress, but it failed to pass. Few state governments granted women the right to vote either. By 1900 only Wyoming, Idaho, Utah, and Colorado had granted women full voting rights.

The Movement Builds Support In 1890 the two groups united to form the **National American Woman Suffrage Association** (NAWSA). The movement still did not make significant gains, however, until about 1910. Part of the problem was convincing women to become politically active. As the Progressive movement began, however, many middle-class women concluded that they needed the vote to promote social reforms they favored. Many working-class women also wanted the vote to ensure passage of labor laws protecting women.

As the suffrage movement grew, members began lobbying lawmakers, organizing marches, and delivering speeches on street corners. By the end of 1912, Washington, Oregon, California, Arizona, and Kansas had granted women full voting rights. On March 3, 1913, the day before President Wilson's inauguration, suffragists marched in Washington, D.C., to draw attention to their cause.

Alice Paul, a Quaker social worker who headed NAWSA's congressional committee, had organized the Washington march. Paul wanted to use protests to force President Wilson to take action on suffrage. Her activities alarmed other members of NAWSA who wanted to negotiate with Wilson. Paul left NAWSA and formed the National Woman's Party. Her supporters picketed the White House, blocked sidewalks, chained themselves to lampposts, and went on hunger strikes if arrested.

In 1915 **Carrie Chapman Catt** became NAWSA's leader. Catt developed what she called her "Winning Plan" to mobilize the suffrage

Profiles IN HISTORY

Susan B. Anthony

1820–1906

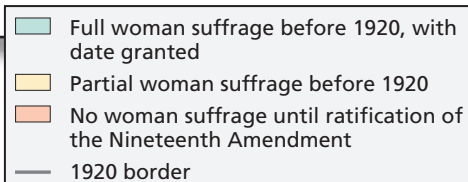
Susan B. Anthony was born in Adams, Massachusetts, to Quaker parents. Quakers were generally more supportive of women's rights than some other groups, and so Anthony was able to receive a good education. She finished her schooling at the age of 17. Anthony then worked as a teacher in New York, but she was fired after protesting that her pay was one-fifth the amount of her male colleagues. She found another job, however, as a principal at New York's Canajoharie Academy. Between 1848 and 1863, Anthony was involved in both the temperance and abolitionist movements.

Her involvement in the drive for women's equality began in 1851 after she met Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Between 1854 and 1860, the duo attempted to change discriminatory laws in New York. In 1869 Anthony and Stanton organized the National Woman Suffrage Association and began promoting an amendment to grant woman suffrage. Anthony and 12 other women illegally cast votes in the presidential election of 1872. They were arrested and convicted, but the judge feared that



the jury would rule in Anthony's favor. He dismissed the jury and fined Anthony instead. She refused to pay the \$100 fine, but the judge decided to let her go, afraid that appealing the case might generate sympathy for the suffrage movement.

In 1883 Anthony traveled to Europe, and she helped form the International Council of Women in 1888. This organization represented the rights of women in 48 countries. She died in Rochester, New York, in 1906. Though Anthony did not live to see her dream of woman suffrage become reality, the United States government honored her by placing her portrait on a new dollar coin in 1979.



Geography Skills

- 1. Interpreting Maps** Which region led the way in granting woman suffrage?
- 2. Applying Geography Skills** Based on the map, what region would you suggest had the least amount of campaigning for woman suffrage?

movement nation-wide in one final push to gain voting rights. She also threw NAWSA's support behind Wilson in the 1916 election. Although Wilson did not endorse a woman suffrage amendment, he supported the Democratic Party's call for states to give women the vote.

The Nineteenth Amendment As more states granted women the right to vote, Congress began to favor a constitutional amendment. In 1918 the House of Representatives passed a woman suffrage amendment. Wilson then addressed the Senate, asking it to vote for the amendment. Despite his efforts, the amendment failed to pass by two votes.

During the midterm elections of 1918, Catt used NAWSA's resources to defeat two anti-suffrage senators. The following year, in June 1919, the Senate finally passed the Nineteenth Amendment by just more than the two-thirds vote needed. On August 26, 1920, after three-fourths of the states had voted to ratify it, the Nineteenth Amendment guaranteeing women the right to vote went into effect.



Reading Check

Evaluating How successful were women in lobbying to achieve passage of the Nineteenth Amendment?

Social Welfare Progressivism

While many progressives focused on reforming the political system, others focused on social problems, such as crime, illiteracy, alcohol abuse, child labor, and the health and safety of Americans. These social welfare progressives created charities to help the poor and disadvantaged. They also pushed for new laws they hoped would fix social problems.

The Campaign Against Child Labor Probably the most emotional Progressive issue was the campaign against child labor. Children had always worked on family farms, but the factory work that many children performed was monotonous, and the conditions were often unhealthy. In 1900 over 1.7 million children under the age of 16 worked outside the home. Reformers established a National Child Labor Committee in 1904 to work to abolish child labor.

Muckraker John Spargo's 1906 book *The Bitter Cry of the Children* presented detailed evidence on child labor conditions. He told of coal mines where thousands of "breaker boys" were hired at age 9 or 10 to pick slag out of coal and were paid 60¢ for a 10-hour

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC **MOMENT in HISTORY**

YOUTHFUL PROTEST

Two young immigrants march in a New York City demonstration against child labor practices in 1907. Both young women wear banners proclaiming the same message—one in English, the other in Yiddish. Such protests helped publicize the exploitation of children in dingy, dangerous “sweatshops” in American cities. At the dawn of the twentieth century, more than a million children—some as young as eight—labored long hours in factories. The weight of popular opinion finally forced state governments to pass laws protecting young workers.



day. He described how the work bent their backs permanently and often crippled their hands. Reports like these convinced states to pass laws that set a minimum age for employment and established other limits on child labor, such as maximum hours children could work. At the same time, many states began passing compulsory education laws, requiring young children to be in school instead of at work.

By the early 1900s, the number of child laborers had begun to decline. For many families, the new wealth generated by industry enabled them to survive without having their children work. For others, the child labor and compulsory education laws meant that wives had to work instead.

Health and Safety Codes Many adult workers also labored in difficult conditions. Factories, coal mines, and railroads were particularly dangerous. For example, in 1911 a terrible fire swept through Triangle Shirtwaist Company in New York City. Nearly 150 women workers died, trapped by doors locked from the outside. Outrage at the deaths caused New York

City to pass strict building codes dealing with fire hazards and unsafe machinery and working conditions.

During the early 1900s, thousands of people died or were injured on the job, but they and their families received little compensation. Progressives joined union leaders to pressure states for workers' compensation laws. These laws established insurance funds financed by employers. Workers injured in industrial accidents received payments from the funds.

Some progressives also favored zoning laws as a method of protecting the public. These laws divided a town or city into zones for commercial, residential, or other development, thereby regulating how land and buildings could be used. Building codes set minimum standards for light, air, room size, and sanitation, and required buildings to have fire escapes. Health codes required restaurants and other facilities to maintain clean environments for their patrons.

The Prohibition Movement Many progressives believed alcohol was responsible for many problems in American life. Settlement house workers hated the

effects of drinking on families. Scarce wages were spent on alcohol, and drinking sometimes led to physical abuse and sickness. Many Christians also opposed alcohol.

Some employers believed drinking hurt workers' efficiency, while political reformers viewed the saloon as the informal headquarters of the machine politics they opposed. The **temperance** movement, which advocated the moderation or elimination of alcohol, emerged from these concerns.

For the most part, women led the temperance movement. In 1874 a group of women formed the **Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)**. By 1911 the WCTU had nearly 250,000 members. In 1893 another organization—the Anti-Saloon League—was formed. At first the temperance movement worked to reduce alcohol consumption. Later it pressed for **prohibition**—laws banning the manufacture, sale, and consumption of alcohol.

 **Reading Check** **Examining** What actions did progressives take to deal with the issue of child labor?

Progressives Versus Big Business

A fourth group of progressives focused their efforts on regulating big business. Many progressives believed that wealth was concentrated in the hands of too few people. In particular, many became concerned about trusts and holding companies—giant corporations that dominated many industries.

Progressives disagreed, however, over how to regulate big business. Some believed government should break up big companies to restore competition. This idea led to the Sherman Antitrust Act in 1890. Others argued that big business was the most efficient way to organize the economy. They pushed instead for the creation of government agencies to regulate big companies and prevent them from abusing their power. The Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), created in 1887, was an early example of this kind of Progressive thinking.

Some progressives went even further and advocated **socialism**—the idea that the government should own and operate industry for the community as a whole. They wanted the government to buy up large companies, especially industries that affected everyone, such as railroads and utilities.

At its peak, socialism had some national support. **Eugene Debs**, the former American Railway Union leader, won nearly a million votes as the American Socialist Party candidate for president in 1912. Most progressives and most Americans, however, believed in the superiority of the American system of free enterprise.

Efforts to regulate business were focused at the national level. Congress passed a number of proposals to regulate the economy under presidents Theodore Roosevelt, William Taft, and Woodrow Wilson.

 **Reading Check** **Evaluating** What was the impact of Eugene Debs and the Socialist Party on the 1912 election?

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

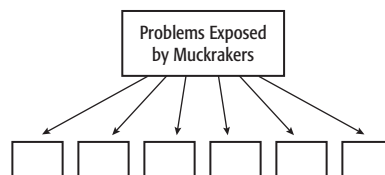
- Define:** **progressivism**, **muckraker**, **commission plan**, **direct primary**, **initiative**, **referendum**, **recall**, **suffrage**, **temperance**, **prohibition**, **socialism**.
- Identify:** Jacob Riis, Robert La Follette, Alice Paul.
- State** what was provided for by the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

Reviewing Themes

- Government and Democracy** How did initiative, referendum, and recall change democracy in the United States?

Critical Thinking

- Evaluating** What impact did Susan B. Anthony have on Progressive era reforms?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the kinds of problems that muckrakers exposed.



Analyzing Visuals

- Examining Charts** Study the charts on page 549. Under which system do voters seem to have the most control over department heads? Why do you think so?

Writing About History

- Persuasive Writing** Some women in the early 1900s suggested that the Constitution needed an equal rights amendment. Imagine you are living then. Write a letter to the editor of your local paper supporting or opposing such an amendment.

Study and Writing SKILLBUILDER

Taking Notes

Why Learn This Skill?

Taking notes is a way of recording the important parts of something you have read. Taking notes also helps you recall information. The guidelines below explain how to get the most out of your notes.

Learning the Skill

One of the best ways to remember something is to write it down. Taking notes involves writing down information in a brief and orderly form. This helps you remember information and makes it easier to study.

There are several styles of taking notes, but all clarify and put information in a logical order. Keep these guidelines in mind when you are taking notes:

- Identify the subject and write it at the top of the page. In your book, for example, look for chapter or section headings.
- Be selective in what information you include in your notes. For example, anything your teacher writes on the chalkboard or shows you from a transparency should be included. If your teacher emphasizes a point or spends a considerable amount of time on a given topic, this is also a clue to its importance. Similarly, if your textbook covers a single topic over several pages, take notes by seeking the topic sentences of paragraphs on the topic. Be certain to write down all words that are in bold or italicized type. Your goal is to listen or read carefully, paying attention to the main ideas or key points. Do not write down every word your teacher says. Your notes should consist of the main ideas and supporting details on the subject.
- Paraphrase the information. Put it in your own words rather than trying to take it down word for word. In order to save time, you might want to develop a personal form of shorthand. For example, eliminating vowels from words saves



Student success relies on good note-taking.

time: “develop” becomes “dvlp.” Use symbols, arrows, or sketches: “&” in place of “and.” Use your shorthand whenever you take notes.

- Make sure your notes are neat so you will be able to understand them when you study them later.

Practicing the Skill

After you have carefully read Section 4 of this chapter, follow the general guidelines to taking notes listed above and create notes for the subsection “The Limits of Progressivism.”

Skills Assessment

Complete the Practicing Skills questions on page 573 and the Chapter 18 Skill Reinforcement Activity to assess your mastery of this skill.

Applying the Skill

Taking Notes Have a classmate quiz you on the section on which you took notes. How did you do? Did your notes work well? What can be improved about them? What would you change?



Glencoe's **Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook CD-ROM, Level 2**, provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.

SECTION 2

Roosevelt in Office

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

With Theodore Roosevelt's succession to the presidency in September 1901, progressivism entered national politics.

Key Terms and Names

Square Deal, Northern Securities, United Mine Workers, arbitration, Hepburn Act, Upton Sinclair

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes As you read about the administration of President Theodore Roosevelt, use the major headings of the section to create an outline similar to the one below.

Roosevelt in Office
I. Roosevelt Revives the Presidency
A.
B.
C.
D.
II.

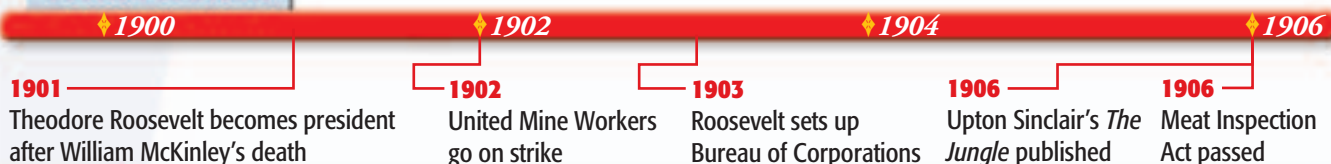
Reading Objectives

- **Describe** various efforts to regulate concentrated corporate power.
- **Discuss** Theodore Roosevelt's interest in environmental conservation.

Section Theme

Individual Action Progressive goals were carried to the national level when Theodore Roosevelt became president.

Preview of Events



★ An American Story ★



Theodore Roosevelt

William McKinley's assassination brought Teddy Roosevelt to the presidency. Despite the tragic circumstances, he took to the office with great joy. A man who loved the outdoors and physical activity, Roosevelt impressed many people as a new kind of president. One visitor wrote that after spending time with Roosevelt, "you go home and wring the personality out of your clothes."

The famous muckraker, Lincoln Steffens, already knew Roosevelt as a fellow reformer. Steffens went to Washington to see his friend, and this is what he saw:

“His offices were crowded with people, mostly reformers, all day long. . . . He strode triumphant around among us, talking and shaking hands, dictating and signing letters, and laughing. Washington, the whole country, was in mourning, and no doubt the President felt he should hold himself down; he didn't; he tried to but his joy showed in every word and movement. . . . With his feet, his fists, his face and his free words, he laughed at his luck. . . . And he laughed with glee at the power and place that had come to him.”

—quoted in *Theodore Roosevelt, A Life*

Roosevelt Revives the Presidency

Theodore Roosevelt, better known as “Teddy,” took office at age 42—the youngest person ever to serve as president. Roosevelt was intensely competitive, strong-willed, and extremely energetic. In international affairs, Roosevelt was a Social Darwinist. He believed the United States was in competition with the other nations of the world and that only the fittest would survive. Domestically, however, Roosevelt was a committed

progressive, who firmly believed that government should actively balance the needs of competing groups in American society.

"I shall see to it," Roosevelt declared in 1904, "that every man has a square deal, no less and no more." During his second term, his reform programs became known as the **Square Deal**. To Roosevelt, it was not inconsistent to believe in Social Darwinism and Progressivism at the same time. He believed the United States needed to adopt progressive reforms in order to maintain an efficient society that could compete successfully against other nations.

Roosevelt Takes on the Trusts Although he admired competition, Roosevelt was also concerned with efficiency. He believed that trusts and other large business organizations were very efficient and part of the reason for America's prosperity. Yet Roosevelt remained concerned that in the pursuit of

their private interests, some trusts were hurting the public interest. He wanted to find a way to supervise big business without destroying its economic efficiency. When the *New York Sun* declared that Roosevelt was "bringing wealth to its knees," the president disagreed. "We draw the line against misconduct," he declared, "not against wealth."

During Roosevelt's first year in office, a fight for control of the Burlington Railroad erupted on the New York Stock Exchange. On one side was E.H. Harriman of the Union Pacific Railroad. On the other side were James J. Hill and J.P. Morgan of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific Railroads. The stock battle almost triggered a financial panic that could have plunged the nation into a recession. The three men ultimately compromised by creating a giant new holding company called **Northern Securities**.

The formation of the Northern Securities Company alarmed many Americans, including Roosevelt. The stock battle that led to its creation seemed a classic example of private interests acting in a way that threatened the nation as a whole. Roosevelt decided that the company was in violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act. In early 1902, he ordered his attorney general to file a lawsuit against Northern Securities.

Roosevelt's action pleased many progressives but baffled J.P. Morgan. He immediately traveled to the White House with two supportive senators in tow to present his case. "If we have done anything wrong," he told the president, "send your man to my man and they can fix it up." Unmoved, Roosevelt proceeded with the case. In 1904 in *Northern Securities v. the United States*, the Supreme Court ruled that Northern Securities had indeed violated the Sherman Antitrust Act. Roosevelt declared it a great victory. "The most powerful men in the country," he proclaimed, "were held to accountability before the law." Newspapers hailed Roosevelt as a "trustbuster," and his popularity with the American public soared.  (See page 1082 for more information on *Northern Securities v. the United States*.)

The Coal Strike of 1902 As president, Roosevelt regarded himself as the nation's head manager. He believed it was his job to keep society operating efficiently by preventing conflict between the nation's different groups and their interests. In the fall of 1902, he put these beliefs into practice.

The previous spring, the **United Mine Workers (UMW)** union had called a strike of the miners who dug anthracite, or hard coal. Nearly 150,000 workers

Analyzing Political Cartoons

Corporate Giants This 1904 cartoon portrays Roosevelt as "Jack the Giant-Killer," but he actually restrained very few trusts. **Why do you think the scene is set on Wall Street?**



John D.
Rockefeller

J.P. Morgan

James J.
Hill

T. Roosevelt

walked out of eastern Pennsylvania's anthracite mines demanding a pay increase, a reduction in work hours, and recognition for their union.

As the months passed and the strike continued, coal prices began to rise. To Roosevelt it was another example of groups pursuing their private interests at the expense of the nation. If the strike dragged on too long, the country would face a coal shortage that could shut down factories and leave many people's homes cold with winter fast approaching.

Roosevelt urged the union and the owners to accept **arbitration**—a settlement imposed by an outside party. The union agreed. The mine owners, determined to destroy the UMW, did not. One owner, George Baer, declared, "The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given the control of the property interests of the country."

The mine owners' stubbornness infuriated Roosevelt, as it did much of the public. Roosevelt threatened to order the army to run the mines. Fearful of this, the mine owners finally accepted arbitration. By intervening in the dispute, Roosevelt had taken the first step toward establishing the federal government as an honest broker between powerful groups in society.

The Bureau of Corporations Despite his lawsuit against Northern Securities and his role in the coal strike, Roosevelt was not opposed to big business. He believed most trusts benefited the economy and that breaking them up would do more harm than good. Instead, Roosevelt proposed the creation of a new federal agency to investigate corporations and publicize the results. He believed the most effective way to keep big business from abusing its power was through knowledge and publicity of the facts.

In 1903 Roosevelt convinced Congress to create the Department of Commerce and Labor. Within this department would be a division called the **Bureau of Corporations**, with the authority to investigate corporations and issue reports on their activities.

The following year, the Bureau of Corporations began investigating U.S. Steel, a gigantic holding company that had been created in 1901. Worried about a possible antitrust lawsuit, the company's leaders met privately with Roosevelt and offered a deal. They would open their account books and records to the Bureau of Corporations. In exchange, if the Bureau found anything wrong, the company would be advised privately and allowed to correct the problem without having to go to court.



Picturing History

Miner's Lot In the early 1900s, miners worked under dangerous conditions for little pay. **How did Roosevelt respond when they went on strike?**

Roosevelt accepted this "gentlemen's agreement," as he called it. Shortly afterward he made similar deals with other companies. These arrangements gave Roosevelt the ability to regulate big business without having to sacrifice economic efficiency by breaking up the trusts.

Congress Follows In addition to creating the Department of Commerce and Labor, Congress passed the Expedition Act, which gave federal antitrust suits precedence on the dockets of circuit courts. Then, in 1906, Roosevelt pushed the **Hepburn Act** through Congress. This act was intended to strengthen the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC). An early effort to regulate the railroad industry, the ICC had been ineffective because it lacked sufficient authority.

The Hepburn Act tried to strengthen the ICC by giving it the power to set railroad rates. The agency originally was intended to regulate rates to ensure that companies did not compete unfairly. At first, railroad companies were suspicious of the ICC and tied up its decisions by challenging them in court. Eventually, the railroads realized that they could work with the ICC to set rates and regulations that limited competition and prevented new competitors from entering the industry. Over time the ICC

became a supporter of the railroads' interests, and by 1920 it had begun setting rates at levels intended to ensure the industry's profits.

✓ Reading Check **Comparing** What was the purpose of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and how successful was it?

Social Welfare Action

When Roosevelt took office, he was not greatly concerned about consumer issues, but by 1905 consumer protection had become a national issue. That year, a journalist named Samuel Hopkins Adams published a series of articles in *Collier's* magazine describing the patent medicine business.

Many companies were patenting and marketing potions they claimed would cure a variety of ills. Many patent medicines were little more than alcohol, colored water, and sugar. Others contained caffeine, opium, cocaine, and other dangerous compounds. Consumers had no way to know what they were taking, nor did they receive any assurance that the medicines worked as claimed.

Many Americans were equally concerned about the food they ate. Dr. W.H. Wiley, chief chemist at the United States Department of Agriculture, had issued reports documenting the dangerous preservatives being used in what he called "embalmed meat." Then, in 1906, **Upton Sinclair** published *The Jungle*. Based on Sinclair's close observations of the

slaughterhouses of Chicago, the powerful book featured appalling descriptions of conditions in the meatpacking industry:

“There would come all the way back from Europe old sausage that had been rejected, and that was moldy and white—it would be dosed with borax and glycerine, and dumped into the hoppers, and made over again for home consumption. . . . There would be meat stored in great piles in rooms; and the water from leaky roofs would drip over it, and thousands of rats would race about upon it.”

—from *The Jungle*

Sinclair's book was a best-seller. It made consumers ill—and angry. Roosevelt and Congress responded with the **Meat Inspection Act**. It required federal inspection of meat sold through interstate commerce and required the Agriculture Department to set standards of cleanliness in meatpacking plants. The **Pure Food and Drug Act**, passed on the same day in 1906, prohibited the manufacture, sale, or shipment of impure or falsely labeled food and drugs.

✓ Reading Check **Summarizing** What two pieces of legislation were enacted due to the facts revealed in Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*?

Conservation

Roosevelt put his stamp on the presidency most clearly in the area of environmental conservation. Realizing that the nation's bountiful natural resources were being used up at an alarming rate, Roosevelt urged Americans to conserve these resources.

An enthusiastic outdoorsman, Roosevelt valued the country's minerals, animals, and rugged terrain. He cautioned against unregulated exploitation of public lands and believed in conservation to manage the nation's resources. As president, Roosevelt eagerly assumed the role of manager. He argued that the government must distinguish “between the man who skins the land and the man who develops the country. I am going to work with, and only with, the man who develops the country.”

GEOGRAPHY

Land Development in the West Roosevelt quickly applied his philosophy in the dry Western states, where farmers and city dwellers competed for scarce water. In 1902 Roosevelt supported passage of the **Newlands Reclamation Act**, authorizing the use of

FactFictionFolklore

The Teddy Bear The soft and cuddly teddy bear was named after the gruff and rugged Theodore (“Teddy”) Roosevelt. The idea for the toy stemmed from a hunting trip Roosevelt took to Mississippi in 1902. On the trip, the president refused to kill a defenseless bear cub. Cartoonist Clifford Berryman drew a whimsical reenactment of the scene for the *Washington Post*, which in turn inspired Morris Michtom, a toy shop owner in Brooklyn, to create the “teddy bear.” The toy became a runaway success in the United States and abroad.



federal funds from public land sales to pay for irrigation and land development projects. Thus it was the federal government that began the large-scale transformation of the West's landscape and economy.

Gifford Pinchot Roosevelt also backed efforts to save the nation's forests through careful management of the timber resources of the West. He appointed his close friend Gifford Pinchot to head the United States Forest Service. "The natural resources," Pinchot said, "must be developed and preserved for the benefit of the many and not merely for the profit of a few."

As progressives, Roosevelt and Pinchot both believed that trained experts in forestry and resource management should apply the same scientific standards to the landscape that others were applying to the management of cities and industry. They rejected the laissez-faire argument that the best way to preserve public land was to sell it to lumber companies, who would then carefully conserve it because it was the source of their profits. With the president's support, Pinchot's department drew up regulations controlling lumbering on federal lands.

Roosevelt took other steps as well to conserve the nation's resources. He added over 100 million acres to the protected national forests, quadrupling their area, and established 5 new national parks and 51 federal wildlife reservations.

Roosevelt's Legacy President Roosevelt changed the role of the federal government and the nature of the presidency. Increasingly, Americans began to look to the federal government to solve the nation's economic and social problems. Under Roosevelt, the



Picturing History

Crowd Pleaser Teddy Roosevelt's energetic speaking style captivated audiences across the nation. **What impact did he have on the office of the presidency?**

executive branch of government had dramatically increased its power. The ICC could set rates, the Agriculture Department could inspect food, the Bureau of Corporations could monitor business, and the attorney general could rapidly bring antitrust lawsuits under the Expedition Act.

 **Reading Check** **Examining** How did Roosevelt's policies help the conservation of natural resources?

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

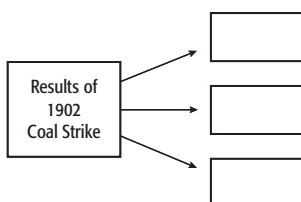
- Define:** **Square Deal**, **arbitration**.
- Identify:** Northern Securities, United Mine Workers, Hepburn Act, Upton Sinclair.
- Explain** what was provided for in the Hepburn Act.

Reviewing Themes

- Individual Action** How did Upton Sinclair contribute to involving the federal government in protecting consumers?

Critical Thinking

- Drawing Conclusions** What impact did Roosevelt's use of the Sherman Antitrust Act have on business?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the results of the Coal Strike of 1902.



Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Political Cartoons** Look at the cartoon on page 556. Why are the giants depicted as they are? What do they represent? Roosevelt is called Jack the Giant-Killer. What fairy tale is being referred to?

Writing About History

- Descriptive Writing** Imagine you are living in the early 1900s and have just read Sinclair's *The Jungle*. Write a letter to a friend explaining what the novel is about and how it characterizes the Progressive era.

CATHEDRAL RANGE

Clouds Rest
9,926 ft. (3,025 m)

Eagle
Peak

Yosemite
Point

Upper
Yosemite Falls
1,430 ft. (436 m)

El Capitan
7,569 ft. (2,307 m)

Yosemite Falls
total drop
2,425 ft. (739 m)

Royal Arches

Cathedral
Spires

Yosemite Valley
4,000 ft. (1,219 m)

Cathedral Rocks

Bridalveil Fall
620 ft. (189 m)

Merced River



OUR GROWING HERITAGE

This map of the United States shows 9 of the national parks that existed by the end of President Theodore Roosevelt's administration. Roosevelt established 5 national parks, 4 of which still exist today. He also established 51 wildlife preserves and 150 national forests.

The Story of Yosemite



Sightseers admire Yosemite Falls as they ride along Glacier Point Trail in 1901. Today some 3.5 million tourists visit the park each year.



The breathtaking beauty of the Yosemite Valley has always astounded visitors to California's High Sierra. In 1851 volunteer soldiers came upon the valley. One officer felt a "peculiar exalted sensation" as he marveled at his surroundings.

The officer's reaction was a natural one. Carved by glaciers and rivers, the seven-mile-long valley into which he and his men rode lies at an elevation of 4,000 feet (1219 m). Above them rose the near-vertical cliffs and great granite monoliths of El Capitan, Half Dome, and Cathedral Rocks. Down onto the valley floor poured the waters of Bridalveil Fall. A dozen other waterfalls spilled over sheer cliffs elsewhere in the valley, some of them— like Yosemite Falls at 2,425 feet (739 m)—among the highest on Earth. Within five years, horseback parties were coming to gaze at Bridalveil Fall and the face of El Capitan. The tourists had found Yosemite.

To guarantee that the public could continue to enjoy the beauty, in 1864 President Abraham Lincoln granted the valley to California as a wilderness preserve. In so doing, Lincoln laid the foundation for the national park system. (The first official national park, Yellowstone, was not created until eight years later.) By the late 1880s Yosemite was attracting about 5,000 visitors a year. John Muir and other conservationists were anxious to preserve the area. Muir had spent years tramping through the woods and up and down the



President Theodore Roosevelt and John Muir stand atop Glacier Point.

mountains and glaciers of the park. His compelling descriptions swayed many influential people. In 1890 Congress expanded the protected area and made Yosemite an official national park.

In many ways Yosemite established a pattern for our national park system. It started programs to teach visitors about native plants and wildlife and was the first park to build a museum to help visitors understand and enjoy the region.

In 1903 President Theodore Roosevelt visited the park with Muir. The natural beauty of the valley captivated the environmentalist president and stimulated his desire to protect vast areas of the country. "We are not building this country of ours for a day," declared Roosevelt. "It is to last through the ages." During his presidency Roosevelt enlarged Yosemite, established the U.S. Forest Service, and put millions of acres of land under federal protection. In 1916 the National Park Service was established, and today it manages more than 380 areas, including 57 national parks.

LEARNING FROM GEOGRAPHY

1. How was the Yosemite Valley formed?
2. How did the establishment of the national park system help to conserve natural resources?

SECTION 3 The Taft Administration

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

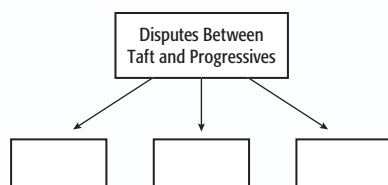
President Taft continued with Roosevelt's Progressive policies, but he did not live up to the expectations of many progressives.

Key Terms and Names

Joseph G. Cannon, Payne-Aldrich Tariff, Richard Ballinger, syndicate, insubordination

Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read about progressivism in this section, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below listing Taft's conflicts with the progressives.



Reading Objectives

- **Explain** how Theodore Roosevelt helped Taft get elected.
- **Discuss** why progressives were disappointed with Taft as president.

Section Theme

Continuity and Change Political differences with Roosevelt caused President Taft to lose Progressive support, even though he supported many Progressive policies.

Preview of Events



★ An American Story ★



William Howard Taft

One evening in January 1908, President Theodore Roosevelt sat chatting with Secretary of War William Howard Taft and his wife, Nellie, in the second-floor White House library. The mood was relaxed. Seated comfortably in his easy chair, Roosevelt was talking about a subject he had often discussed with his guests: the future role of Taft. Roosevelt toyed with a couple of options. "At one time it looks like the presidency," he mused, considering a future role for his trusted lieutenant, "then again it looks like the chief justiceship."

The Tafts knew that Roosevelt had the power to bring about either of these options. "Make it the presidency," interrupted Nellie Taft, always ambitious about her husband's career. Taft himself was less convinced that he would make a good chief executive. "Make it the chief justiceship," he uttered.

In the end, Taft bowed to the wishes of his wife and his boss. Following George Washington's example and honoring his own promise of 1904, Roosevelt decided not to seek reelection in 1908. Instead, he endorsed an experienced administrator and moderate progressive to run for president on the Republican ticket: William Howard Taft.

—adapted from *The American Heritage Pictorial History of the Presidents of the United States*

Taft Becomes President

Roosevelt loved "Smiling Bill" Taft like a brother and believed him to be the ideal person to continue his policies. He was, Roosevelt said, a leader who possessed "a scorn of all that is base and mean, a hearty sympathy with the oppressed [and a] kindly generosity of nature which makes him feel that all of his countrymen are in very truth his friends and

brothers.” Taft had been Roosevelt’s most trusted lieutenant. He had served as a judge, as governor of the Philippines, and as Roosevelt’s secretary of war. In fact, Taft seemed acceptable to almost everyone. Thanks to Roosevelt’s efforts, he easily received his party’s nomination. His victory in the general election in November 1908 was a foregone conclusion. The Democratic candidate, twice-defeated William Jennings Bryan, lost once more.

Taft’s Approach to Government “My dear Theodore,” Taft wrote to his old friend a couple of weeks after assuming office. “When I am addressed as ‘Mr. President,’ I turn to see whether you are at my elbow.” The comment was telling.

In that same letter, Taft admitted some of his early fears about his presidency:

“I have no doubt that when you return you will find me very much under suspicion. . . . I have not the prestige which you had. . . . I am not attempting quite as much as you did . . . and so I fear that a

large part of the public will feel as if I had fallen away from your ideals; but you know me better and will understand that I am still working away on the same old plan.”

—quoted in *The American Heritage Pictorial History of the Presidents of the United States*

Roosevelt and Taft were very different people. Roosevelt was a dynamic person who loved the spotlight and the rough-and-tumble world of politics. He had grand ideas and schemes but left the details of administering them to others. Taft was the opposite in many ways. He was a skillful administrator and judge. He disliked political maneuvering and preferred to avoid conflict with others. Unlike Roosevelt, who acted quickly and decisively on issues, Taft responded slowly, approaching problems from a legalistic point of view. “I don’t like politics,” he wrote, “I don’t like the limelight.” Although committed to many progressive ideas, Taft’s personality and approach to politics quickly brought him into conflict with progressives.

Picturing History

Presidential Ritual In 1910 President Taft threw out the first baseball of the season at Lincoln Park in Washington, D.C., as his wife Nellie looked on. [Why do you think presidents often continue this practice today?](#)





Political Up roar Taft's interior secretary, Richard Ballinger, pictured at left, ignited controversy when he made nearly one million acres of public land available for development. Progressive Gifford Pinchot, at right, leaked the story to the press. [How was the controversy resolved?](#)



The Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act Like many progressives, Taft believed high tariffs limited competition, hurt consumers, and protected trusts. Roosevelt had warned him to stay away from tariff reform because it would divide the Republican Party. Taft, however, went ahead and called Congress into special session to lower tariff rates.

To pass a new tariff, Taft needed the help of Speaker of the House **Joseph G. Cannon**. As Speaker, Cannon appointed all committees and decided which bills they handled. By exercising almost total control over debate, Cannon could push some bills through without discussion and see that others never came to a vote. Progressives, however, wanted to unseat Cannon because he often blocked their legislation.

Taft disagreed with the effort to unseat Cannon. He pressured progressive Republicans into stopping their campaign against Cannon. In exchange, Cannon quickly pushed the tariff bill through the House of Representatives. Taft's compromise angered many progressives. The following year, they defied the president by joining with House Democrats and removing Cannon from power.

Taft further alienated progressives when the tariff bill went to the Senate. The powerful head of the Senate Finance Committee, Republican Nelson Aldrich from Rhode Island, wanted to protect high tariffs, as did many other conservative senators. The result was the **Payne-Aldrich Tariff**, which cut tariffs hardly at all and actually raised them on some goods.

After discussions with Aldrich and other senators, however, Taft decided to accept the new tariff.

Progressives felt betrayed and outraged by Taft's decision: "I knew the fire had gone out of [the Progressive movement]," recalled chief forester Gifford Pinchot after Roosevelt left office. "Washington was a dead town. Its leader was gone, and in his place [was] a man whose fundamental desire was to keep out of trouble."

The Ballinger-Pinchot Controversy With Taft's standing among Republican progressives deteriorating, a sensational controversy broke out late in 1909 that helped destroy Taft's popularity with reformers for good. Many progressives had been unhappy when Taft replaced Roosevelt's secretary of the interior, James R. Garfield, an aggressive conservationist, with **Richard A. Ballinger**, a more conservative corporate lawyer. Suspicion of Ballinger grew when he tried to make nearly a million acres of public forests and mineral reserves available for private development.

In the midst of this mounting concern, Gifford Pinchot charged the new secretary with having once plotted to turn over valuable public lands in Alaska to a private **syndicate**, or business group, for personal profit. Pinchot took the charges to the president. Taft's attorney general investigated the charges and decided they were groundless.

Still not satisfied, Pinchot leaked the story to the press and asked Congress to investigate. Taft fired



Pinchot for **insubordination**, or disobedience. The congressional committee appointed to study the controversy cleared Ballinger.

By signing the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act, supporting Ballinger against Pinchot, and backing Cannon, Taft gave the impression that he had “sold the Square Deal down the river.” Popular indignation was so great that the congressional elections of 1910 resulted in a sweeping Democratic victory, with Democrats taking the majority in the House and Democrats and Progressive Republicans grabbing control of the Senate from the conservatives.

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** What problems did President Taft have with progressives on tariff issues?

Taft's Progressive Reforms

Despite his political problems, Taft also had several successes. Although Roosevelt was nicknamed the “trustbuster,” Taft was a strong supporter of competition and actually brought twice as many antitrust cases in four years as his predecessor had in seven.

In other areas, too, Taft was at least as strong a progressive as Roosevelt. Taft established the **Children's Bureau**, a federal agency similar to Roosevelt's Bureau of Corporations. The Children's Bureau investigated and publicized problems with child labor. Taft also supported the **Mann-Elkins Act** of 1910, which increased the regulatory powers of the ICC.

The Ballinger-Pinchot controversy aside, Taft was also a dedicated conservationist. His contributions in this area actually equaled or surpassed those of Roosevelt. He set up the Bureau of Mines to monitor

the activities of mining companies, expanded the national forests, and protected waterpower sites from private development.

After Taft took office in 1909, Roosevelt left for a big-game hunt in Africa followed by a tour of Europe. He did not return to the United States until June 1910. Although disturbed by stories of Taft's “betrayal” of progressivism, Roosevelt at first refused to criticize the president.

In October 1911, Taft announced an antitrust lawsuit against U.S. Steel, claiming that the company's decision to buy the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company in 1907 had violated the Sherman Antitrust Act. The lawsuit was the final straw for Roosevelt. As president, he had approved U.S. Steel's plan to buy the company.

Roosevelt believed Taft's focus on breaking up trusts was destroying the carefully crafted system of cooperation and regulation that Roosevelt had established with big business through the Bureau of Corporations. In November 1911, Roosevelt publicly criticized Taft's decision. Roosevelt argued that the best way to deal with the trusts was to allow them to exist while at the same time increasing government's ability to regulate them.

Having broken with Taft, it was only a matter of time before progressives convinced Roosevelt to reenter politics. In late February 1912, Roosevelt announced that he would enter the presidential campaign of 1912 and attempt to replace Taft as the Republican nominee for president.

 **Reading Check** **Evaluating** How did President Taft's accomplishments regarding conservation and trustbusting compare to President Roosevelt's?

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

1. **Define:** **syndicate**, **insubordination**.
2. **Identify:** Joseph G. Cannon, Payne-Aldrich Tariff, Richard Ballinger.
3. **Describe** how Taft helped conservation efforts, alleviated child labor problems, and strengthened the ICC.

Reviewing Themes

4. **Continuity and Change** How did replacing Roosevelt's secretary of the interior cause a dispute between Taft and the progressives?

Critical Thinking

5. **Comparing** What was the difference between Roosevelt and Taft regarding the relationship between the president and Congress?
6. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer like the one below to list Taft's Progressive reforms.

Taft's Progressive Reforms

Analyzing Visuals

7. **Examining Photographs** Study the photograph on page 563. Note the formal attire of the president and his wife. How would you compare the clothes the people in the photograph are wearing with today's style of dress for leisure activities?

Writing About History

8. **Descriptive Writing** Write a magazine article in which you defend or criticize President Taft's administration in terms of its support of progressivism.

SECTION 4 The Wilson Years

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

Woodrow Wilson pursued a Progressive agenda after his 1912 election victory.

Key Terms and Names

Progressive Party, New Nationalism, New Freedom, income tax, Federal Reserve Act, Federal Trade Commission, unfair trade practices, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Reading Strategy

Categorizing As you read about progressivism during the Wilson administration, complete a chart similar to the one below by listing Wilson's Progressive economic and social reforms.

Economic Reforms	Social Reforms

Reading Objectives

- **Describe** Wilson's economic and social reforms.
- **Evaluate** the legacy of the Progressive movement.

Section Theme

Government and Democracy Woodrow Wilson's reforms greatly increased the federal government's role in regulating the nation's economy.

Preview of Events

1912

1912

Woodrow Wilson elected president

1913

Federal Reserve Act passed

1914

1914

Federal Trade Commission Act passed

1916

1916

Keating-Owen Child Labor Act passed

★ An American Story ★



A Woodrow Wilson election poster

On September 15, 1910, in the Taylor Opera House in Trenton, New Jersey, a young progressive named Joseph Patrick Tumulty watched as a lean man with iron-gray hair made his way toward the stage. The man was Thomas Woodrow Wilson, the Democratic Party's nominee for governor.

Wilson was the choice of the party bosses. As Tumulty recalled, progressives were "feeling sullen, beaten, and hopelessly impotent." To Tumulty's astonishment, Wilson announced: "I shall enter upon the duties of the office of governor, if elected, with absolutely no pledge of any kind to prevent me from serving the people of the state with singleness of purpose."

Tumulty knew that Wilson was declaring his independence from the New Jersey political machine. It brought the progressives at the convention roaring to their feet. From one came the cry, "Thank God, at last, a leader has come!"

Two years later, Woodrow Wilson was the Democrats' nominee for the presidency, an office they had won only twice since the Civil War. This time they were confident of victory, for Wilson, a committed progressive, faced a Republican Party wracked by division.

—adapted from *Wilson: The Road to the White House*

The Election of 1912

The 1912 presidential campaign featured a current president, a former president, and an academic who had entered politics only two years earlier. The election's outcome determined the path of the Progressive movement and helped shape the nation's path in the 1900s.

The Republican Party Splits Believing that President Taft had failed to live up to Progressive ideals, Theodore Roosevelt informed seven state governors that he was willing to accept the Republican nomination. “My hat is in the ring!” he declared. “The fight is on.”

The struggle for control of the Republican Party reached its climax at the national convention in Chicago in June. Conservatives rallied behind Taft. Most of the progressives lined up for Roosevelt. When it became clear that Taft’s delegates controlled the nomination, Roosevelt decided to leave the party and campaign as an independent. “We stand at Armageddon,” he told his supporters, “and we battle for the Lord.”

Declaring himself “fit as a bull moose,” Roosevelt became the presidential candidate for the newly formed **Progressive Party**, nicknamed the Bull Moose Party. Because Taft had alienated so many groups, the election of 1912 became a contest between two progressives: the Bull Moose Roosevelt and the Democrat Wilson.

Wilson’s Character and Background Woodrow Wilson entered politics as a firm progressive. As governor of New Jersey, he pushed one Progressive reform after another through the statehouse. He revamped election laws, established utility regulatory boards, and allowed cities to change to the commissioner form of government. In less than two years, New Jersey became a model of Progressive reform.

“New Freedom” Versus “New Nationalism” The election of 1912 was a contest between two men who supported progressivism, although they had different approaches to reform. Roosevelt accepted the economic power of the trusts as a fact of life and proposed a more powerful federal government and a strong executive to regulate them. Roosevelt also outlined a complete program of reforms. He favored legislation to protect women and children in the labor force and supported workers’ compensation for those injured on the job. He also wanted a federal trade commission to regulate industry in a manner similar to the ICC’s authority over railroads. Roosevelt called his program the **New Nationalism**.

Wilson countered with what he called the **New Freedom**. He criticized Roosevelt’s program as one that supported “regulated monopoly.” Monopolies, he believed, were evils to be destroyed, not regulated. Wilson argued that Roosevelt’s approach gave the federal government too much power in the economy

and did nothing to restore competition. Freedom, in Wilson’s opinion, was more important than efficiency. “The history of liberty,” Wilson declared, “is the history of the limitation of governmental power. . . . If America is not to have free enterprise, then she can have freedom of no sort whatever.”

Wilson Is Elected As expected, Roosevelt and Taft split the Republican voters, enabling Wilson to win the Electoral College and the election with 435 votes, even though he received less than 42 percent of the popular vote—less than Roosevelt and Taft combined. For the first time since Grover Cleveland’s election in 1892, a Democrat became president of the United States.

 **Reading Check Summarizing** Who were the three major candidates in the presidential election of 1912?

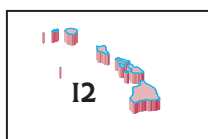
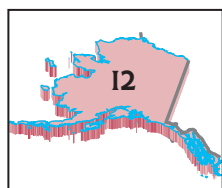
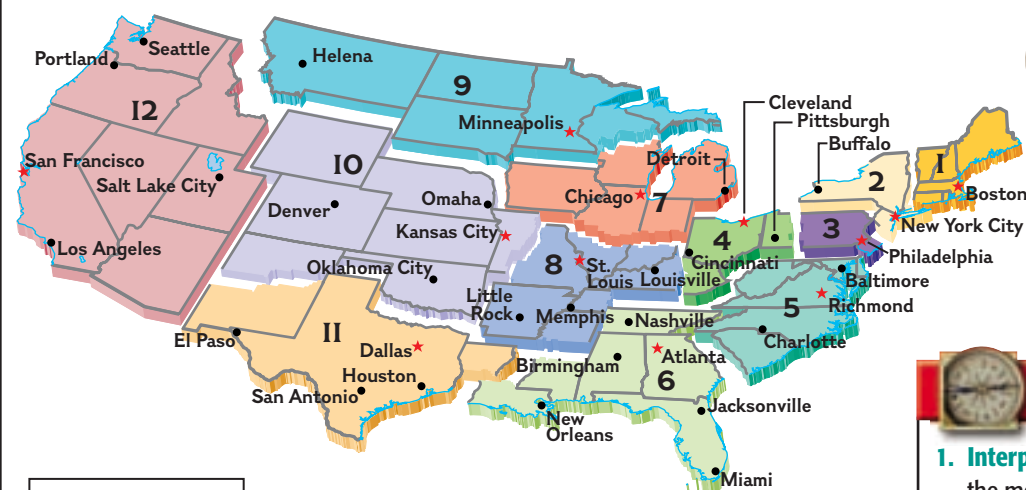
Regulating the Economy

The new chief executive lost no time in embarking on his program of reform. He immediately took charge of the government. “The president is at liberty, both in law and conscience, to be as big a man as he can,”



Picturing History

The New Freedom Woodrow Wilson initially believed that government should break up trusts. **Why did Wilson favor economic competition?**



- 5 Federal Reserve District
- ★ Federal Reserve Bank
- Federal Reserve Branch Bank



Geography Skills

- Interpreting Maps** Which state has the most branch banks?
- Applying Geography Skills** The federal reserve system tied banks closer to local communities. What criteria do you think were used to determine district sizes and boundaries?

Wilson had once written. "His capacity will set the limit." During his eight years as president, Wilson demonstrated his power as he crafted reforms affecting tariffs, the banking system, trusts, and workers' rights.

Reforming Tariffs Five weeks after taking office, Wilson appeared before Congress, the first president to do so since John Adams. He had come to present his bill to reduce tariffs.

He personally lobbied members of Congress to support the tariff reduction bill. Not even Roosevelt had taken such an active role in promoting special legislation. In Wilson's message to Congress, he declared that high tariffs had "built up a set of privileges and exemptions from competition behind which it was easy . . . to organize monopoly until . . . nothing is obliged to stand the tests of efficiency and economy."

Wilson believed that the pressure of foreign competition would lead American manufacturers to improve their products and lower their prices. Lower tariff rates, he claimed, would help businesses by putting them under the "constant necessity to be efficient, economical, and enterprising."

In 1913 the Democrat-controlled Congress passed the **Underwood Tariff** and Wilson signed it into law. This piece of legislation reduced the average tariff on imported goods to about 30 percent of the value of the goods, or about half the tariff rate of the 1890s.

An important section of the Underwood Tariff Act was the provision for levying an **income tax**, or a direct tax on the earnings of individuals and corporations. The Constitution originally prohibited direct taxes unless they were apportioned among the states on the basis of population. In other words, the states would be paying the income tax, not individuals, and states with more people would pay more tax. Passage of the Sixteenth Amendment in 1913, however, made it legal for the federal government to tax the income of individuals directly.

ECONOMY

Reforming the Banks The United States had not had a central bank since the 1830s. During the economic depressions that hit the country periodically after that time, hundreds of small banks collapsed, wiping out the life savings of many of their customers. The most recent of these crises had been in 1907.

To restore public confidence in the banking system, Wilson supported the establishment of a Federal Reserve system. Banks would have to keep a portion of their deposits in a regional reserve bank, which would provide a financial cushion against unanticipated losses.

At the center of the Federal Reserve system would be a Board of Governors, appointed by the president. The Board could set the interest rates the reserve

banks charged other banks, thereby indirectly controlling the interest rates of the entire nation and the amount of money in circulation. This gave the Board the ability to fight inflation by raising interest rates and to stimulate the economy during a recession by lowering interest rates. Congress approved the new system at the end of 1913. The **Federal Reserve Act** became one of the most significant pieces of legislation in American history.

Antitrust Action During his campaign, Wilson had promised to restore competition to the economy by breaking up big business monopolies. Roosevelt argued that Wilson's ideas were unrealistic because big business was more efficient and unlikely to be replaced by smaller, more competitive firms. Once in office, Wilson's opinion shifted, and he came to agree with Roosevelt—but progressives in Congress continued to demand action against big business.

In the summer of 1914, at Wilson's request, Congress created the **Federal Trade Commission** (FTC) to monitor American business. The FTC had the power to investigate companies and issue "cease and desist" orders against companies engaging in **unfair trade practices**, or those which hurt competition. The FTC could be taken to court if a business disagreed with its rulings.

Wilson did not want the FTC to break up big business. Instead, it was to work with business to limit activities that unfairly limited competition. He deliberately appointed conservative business leaders to serve as the FTC's first commissioners.

Wilson's approach did not satisfy progressives in Congress, who responded by passing the **Clayton Antitrust Act**. The act banned tying agreements, which required retailers who bought from one company to stop selling a competitor's products. It also banned price discrimination. Businesses could not charge different customers different prices. Manufacturers could no longer give discounts to chain stores and other retailers who bought a large volume of goods.

Before the act passed, labor unions lobbied Congress to exempt unions from the antitrust laws. The Clayton Antitrust Act specifically declared that unions were not unlawful combinations in restraint of trade. When the bill became law, Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor, called the Clayton Antitrust Act the worker's "Magna Carta," because it gave unions the right to exist.

 **Reading Check** **Evaluating** What was the impact of the passage of the Sixteenth Amendment?

Federal Aid and Social Welfare

By the fall of 1914, Wilson believed that his New Freedom program was essentially complete. As a result, he began to retreat from activism.

The congressional elections of 1914, however, shattered the president's complacency. Democrats suffered major losses in the House of Representatives, and voters who had supported the Bull Moose Party in 1912 began returning to the Republicans. Realizing that he would not be able to rely on a divided opposition when he ran for re-election in 1916, Wilson began to support further reforms.

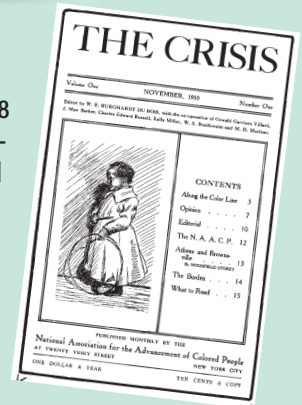
In 1916, for example, Wilson signed the first federal law regulating child labor. The Keating-Owen Child Labor Act prohibited the employment of children under the age of 14 in factories producing goods for interstate commerce. The Supreme Court



The NAACP

Past

Violent race riots broke out in 1908 in Springfield, Illinois, as immigrants and African Americans vied with other residents for scarce jobs. In one riot, a mob killed several African Americans and destroyed much property. Responding to the growing racial violence in the nation, an integrated group of citizens met in New York City to discuss remedies. Out of that meeting, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was born.



Present

Today the NAACP works for such causes as school desegregation, fair housing and employment, voter registration, and equal health care and income opportunity. It plays a role in establishing legal precedents to improve the quality of life for African Americans across the nation.



declared the law unconstitutional on the grounds that child labor was not interstate commerce and therefore only states could regulate it. Wilson's effort, however, helped his reputation with progressive voters. Wilson also supported the Adamson Act, which established the eight-hour workday for railroad workers, and the Federal Farm Loan Act, which created 12 Federal Land Banks to provide farmers with long-term loans at low interest rates.

 **Reading Check** **Examining** How did the Adamson Act improve labor conditions in the United States?

The Legacy of Progressivism

During his presidency, Wilson had built upon Roosevelt's foundation. He expanded the role of the federal government and of the president.

A New Kind of Government Progressivism made important changes in the political life of the United States. Before this era, most Americans did not expect the government to pass laws protecting workers or regulating big business. In fact, many courts had previously ruled that it was unconstitutional for the government to do so.

By the end of the Progressive era, however, both legal and public opinion had shifted. Increasingly, Americans expected the government, particularly the federal government, to play a more active role in regulating the economy and solving social problems.

The Limits of Progressivism The most conspicuous limit to progressivism was its failure to address African American reform issues. African Americans themselves, however, were absorbing the reform spirit, which fueled their longstanding desire for advancement.

In 1905 W.E.B. Du Bois and 28 other African American leaders met at Niagara Falls to demand full political rights and responsibilities for African Americans. They met on the Canadian side of the falls because no hotel on the American side would accept them. There they launched what became known as the Niagara Movement. This meeting was one of many steps leading to the founding of the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)** in 1909. Du Bois and other NAACP founders believed that the vote was essential to bring about an end to lynching and racial discrimination. "The power of the ballot we need in sheer self-defense," Du Bois said, "else what shall save us from a second slavery?"

Despite the failure of most progressives to focus on racial issues, Progressive reform helped change American society in many ways. Although they excluded many groups from their efforts, the progressives expanded democracy and improved the quality of life for millions of men, women, and children. As the country entered World War I, however, Americans soon turned from reforming their own society to a crusade to "make the world safe for democracy."

 **Reading Check** **Evaluating** How did progressivism change American beliefs about the federal government?

SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

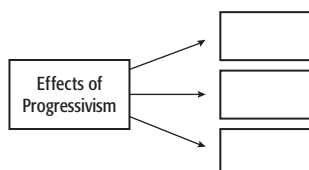
- Define:** *income tax, unfair trade practices.*
- Identify:** Progressive Party, New Nationalism, New Freedom, Federal Reserve Act, Federal Trade Commission, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
- Explain** why President Wilson proposed the establishment of the Federal Reserve System.

Reviewing Themes

- Government and Democracy** What new federal agencies increased the government's power to regulate the economy?

Critical Thinking

- Forming an Opinion** Which of Wilson's reforms do you consider most important? Why?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the effects progressivism had on American society.



Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Photographs** Study the photograph on page 571. What details do you see in the image that might have contributed to tainted meat? When do you think the stamp above the photo began to be used?

Writing About History

- Expository Writing** Imagine that you are a newspaper editor during President Wilson's administration. Write an article on the shortcomings of the Progressive movement in terms of its attitudes about race. Provide ideas about how the movement might have addressed discrimination and segregation.

American LITERATURE



Born in Maryland in 1878, **Upton Sinclair** spent his life writing about and trying to change what he saw as wrong in the United States. One of his most famous novels, *The Jungle*, deals with working conditions and the rights of immigrants. The novel tells the story of Jurgis Rudkus, a Lithuanian immigrant who comes to the United States with his family in the early 1900s, dreaming of wealth and freedom. What he finds is "Packingtown," the bustling, filthy stockyards of Chicago. In the following excerpt, Sinclair describes the system Jurgis comes to know after gaining his first job in a meatpacking plant.

Read to Discover

What qualities did Sinclair believe a person must have to succeed in Packingtown?

Reader's Dictionary

pitted: set against each other

caldron: a large kettle or pot for boiling

knave: a tricky, deceitful person

from *The Jungle*

by Upton Sinclair

After Jurgis had been there awhile he would know that the plants were simply honeycombed with rottenness . . . —the bosses grafted off the men, and they grafted off each other; and some day the superintendent would find out about the boss, and then he would graft off the boss. . . . Here was Durham's, for instance, owned by a man who was trying to make as much money out of it as he could, and did not care in the least how he did it; and underneath him . . . were managers and superintendents and foremen, each one driving the man next below him and trying to squeeze out of him as much work as possible. And all the men of the same rank were pitted against each other. . . . So from top to bottom the place was simply a seething caldron of jealousies and hatreds; there was no loyalty or decency anywhere about it, there was no place in it where a man counted for anything against a dollar. . . .

Jurgis would find these things out for himself, if he stayed there long enough; it was the men [like him] who had to do all the dirty jobs. . . . Jurgis had come there, and thought he was going to make himself useful, and rise and become a skilled man; but he would soon find out his error—for nobody rose in Packingtown by doing good work. [I]f you met a man who was



rising in Packingtown, you met a knave. . . . [T]he man who minded his own business and did his work—why, they would (wear) him out, and then . . . throw him into the gutter.

Analyzing Literature

1. According to the passage, what is the plant owner's main goal?
2. What does Sinclair mean when he says, ". . . there was no place in it where a man counted for anything against a dollar. . . .?"

Interdisciplinary Activity

Government When it was published, *The Jungle* was so shocking that it launched a government investigation of the meatpacking industry. The investigation eventually led to the establishment of laws regulating the industry. Using the Internet, research these laws and read about how they are enforced today. Write a short report on your findings.

CHAPTER 18

ASSESSMENT and ACTIVITIES

Reviewing Key Terms

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence.

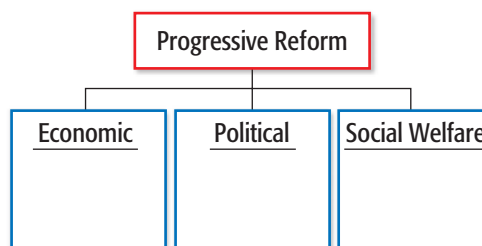
1. **progressivism**
2. **muckraker**
3. **commission plan**
4. **direct primary**
5. **initiative**
6. **referendum**
7. **recall**
8. **suffrage**
9. **temperance**
10. **prohibition**
11. **socialism**
12. **Square Deal**
13. **arbitration**
14. **syndicate**
15. **insubordination**
16. **income tax**
17. **unfair trade practices**

Reviewing Key Facts

18. **Identify:** Robert La Follette, Alice Paul, Hepburn Act, Upton Sinclair, Payne-Aldrich Tariff, Federal Reserve Act, Federal Trade Commission.
19. What were the characteristics of the Progressive era?
20. How did President Roosevelt influence the outcome of the 1902 coal strike?
21. How did President Wilson attempt to reform the banking industry?

Critical Thinking

22. **Analyzing Themes: Government and Democracy** How did Wisconsin governor Robert La Follette help to expand democracy in the United States?
23. **Analyzing** How did Progressive reforms strengthen the cause of woman suffrage?
24. **Evaluating** What was the impact of reform leaders such as W.E.B. Du Bois and Robert La Follette on American society?
25. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the economic, political, and social welfare reforms brought about during the Progressive era.



26. **Interpreting Primary Sources** Ida Husted Harper was a social reformer, a newspaper reporter, and a strong supporter of suffrage for women. In the following excerpt, she examines the attitudes of the time toward the kinds of work women should do.

Chapter Summary

Basic Beliefs of Progressives

- People could improve society by relying on science and knowledge.
- Industrialism and urbanization caused problems.
- Government should fix problems.
- To achieve reform, government itself had to be reformed.

Government Reforms

- Commission and city-manager forms of government were adopted.
- Direct primary system let citizens choose office candidates.
- Initiative, referendum, and recall were adopted.
- Seventeenth Amendment gave voters right to elect senators directly.
- Nineteenth Amendment gave women the right to vote.

Business Regulation

- Interstate Commerce Commission was strengthened.
- Consumer protection laws were passed.
- Federal Trade Commission was set up to regulate business.
- Federal Reserve System was set up to control money supply.

Social Reforms

- Zoning laws and building codes improved urban housing.
- Child labor laws were passed.
- Workers' compensation laws were passed.
- Temperance movement worked to ban alcohol.

Self-Check Quiz

Visit the *American Vision* Web site at tav.glencoe.com and click on **Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 18** to assess your knowledge of chapter content.

“The moment we accept the theory that women must enter wage-earning occupations only when compelled to do so by poverty, that moment we degrade labor and lower the status of all women who are engaged in it. This theory prevailed throughout past ages, and it placed a stigma upon working women which is only beginning to be removed by the present generation. . . .

There is not, there never has been, an effort ‘to create a sentiment that home is no place for a girl.’ A good home is the one place above all others for a girl, as it is for a boy. It is her rest, her haven, her protection, but this does not necessarily imply that she must not engage in any work outside its limits. . . .

It is wholly impracticable to draw a dividing line between the employments which are suitable and those which are unsuitable for women. They have just as much right as men to decide this question for themselves. . . .

It is not intended to argue that every woman should leave the home and go into business, but only that those who wish to do so shall have the opportunity, and that men shall no longer monopolize the gainful occupations.”

—quoted in *The Independent*, 1901

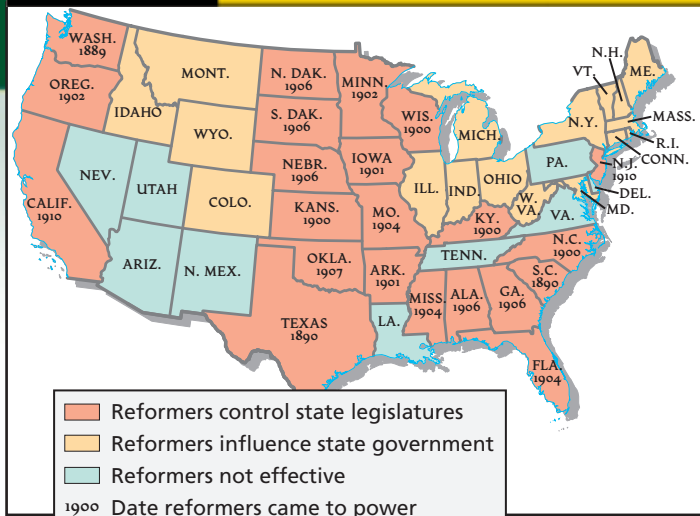
- What views does Ida Harper have on the kinds of work women should do?
- What kinds of work-related issues do women face today?

Practicing Skills

- Taking Notes** Reread the subsection titled “The Coal Strike of 1902” on pages 556 and 557. Then use the steps you learned about taking notes on page 554 to take notes on the subsection.

Chapter Activities

- Technology** Search the Internet for an article written by a muckraker mentioned in the chapter. Using a word processor, prepare a two-page summary of the article and indicate how its contents may have sparked the demand for reform.
- Research Project** Worker safety was an important issue for progressives. Research three worker safety laws in your state, and describe how they benefit workers. Present your findings in a written report.



Writing Activity

- Informative Writing** Imagine you are a reporter in 1906, assigned to interview Upton Sinclair. Reread pages 558 and 571, then prepare a list of questions to ask him during the interview.

Geography and History

- The map above shows the relationship between the Progressive movement and state governments. Study the map and answer the questions below.
 - Interpreting Maps** Which three states came under the control of reformers before Wisconsin did?
 - Applying Geography Skills** What generalization can you make about progressives in state governments?



Standardized Test Practice

Directions: Choose the best answer to the following question.

In 1920 women won an important victory when the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified. What did this amendment accomplish?

- It required colleges to accept women.
- It guaranteed child care for workers' children.
- It granted women the right to vote.
- It guaranteed equal wages for equal work.

Test-Taking Tip: Some answers can be eliminated by using your own knowledge. For example, you probably know that child care is still an issue for parents today, so it cannot be guaranteed in the Nineteenth Amendment. Therefore, you can eliminate answer B.