Chapter 20

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The Forging of Modern Government, 1900–1918

Chapter Outline

20.1 Prologue to Change

20.1a Enter Theodore Roosevelt

On a September afternoon in 1901, at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, a young anarchist named **Leon Czolgosz**—proclaiming that he was killing an "enemy of the people"—shot President William McKinley in a receiving line. Eight days later the president died of gangrene. Vice president Theodore Roosevelt took the

Leon Czolgosz
Assassinated William McKinley in 1901

Vice President Theodore Roosevelt was sworn into office after President William McKinley was assassinated. (Wikimedia Commons)

president's oath, and the old order began to give way to the Progressive Era. It was symbolized at first by Roosevelt—at 42, the youngest president—then by Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin and President **Woodrow Wilson**.

Republicans had not planned for it to be this way. Roosevelt had been elected governor of New York in 1898 following his heroism in the Spanish–American War. Republican Party leaders in New York viewed Roosevelt as a meddlesome loose cannon and desired to remove him from the office of the governor. However, his popularity—stemming from his status as a war hero—enabled him to remain governor of New York as long as he desired. As a consequence, New York Republican leaders urged McKinley to make Roosevelt his running mate in 1900 so as to remove him from New York and place him in a position from which he could do no harm.

The national leader of the Republican Party, **Mark Hanna**, differed from the New York Republicans and opposed Roosevelt's selection as vice president because he feared that Roosevelt could use the office as a stepping stone to the presidency. Upon McKinley's untimely death, Hanna reportedly exclaimed, "I told William McKinley that it was a mistake to nominate that wild man at Philadelphia. I asked him if he realized what would happen if he should die. Now look, that damned Cowboy is in the White House."

Roosevelt, however, was much more than a "cowboy." While it is true that Roosevelt had spent time in the Dakotas as a rancher in the 1880s, and it is also true that he fought in the Spanish–American War with the **Rough Riders** at San Juan Hill, Roosevelt was born into a wealthy New York family and is considered one of America's "scholar-presidents" as a reader of thousands of books and a writer of several of his own. Roosevelt dedicated himself to physical and academic pursuits with equal vigor. As a child, Roosevelt had been sickly, asthmatic, and weak, and had poor eyesight; as an adult, Roosevelt made up for lost time as an avid swimmer, cowpuncher, military man, and big game hunter. Roosevelt essentially glorified warfare and what he termed the "strenuous life" as a route to true "manhood." In an 1899 essay entitled "The Strenuous Life," Roosevelt urged Americans to extinguish "the soft spirit of the cloistered life" and "boldly face the life of strife." Roosevelt advocated enjoying the outdoors and exercising, but also advocated competitive athletics. Roosevelt's boisterous personality excited the American public, and he eventually became the only twentieth-century president to be immortalized on Mount Rushmore.

Woodrow Wilson
President of Princeton and governor of New Jersey who won the presidency for the Democrats in 1912

Mark Hanna
Republican Party strategist who opposed McKinley's selection of Theodore Roosevelt as his running mate

Rough Riders
Soldiers led by Theodore Roosevelt in the Spanish–American War

Northern Securities Company
Railroad trust of J. P. Morgan, E. H. Harriman, and James J. Hill that was broken up by Theodore Roosevelt

Roosevelt was viewed by conservative Republicans as an unpredictable radical; in reality, he was at heart a conservative and viewed reform less as a vehicle for remaking society and more as a means of protecting society against even more radical changes. Nevertheless, Roosevelt would bring about numerous reforms during his presidency and gain a reputation as a Progressive. Two-and-a-half months after being sworn in, President Roosevelt sounded the dominant note of twentieth-century American politics: The old system, he said in his first annual message to Congress, must be changed to meet new social and economic problems.

20.16 Presidential Initiative

Action soon followed Roosevelt's words. On February 14, 1902, Roosevelt invoked the Sherman Antitrust Act against the **Northern Securities Company**—a mammoth railroad holding corporation controlled by the bankers J. P. Morgan and Company and Kuhn, Loeb and Company, and the railroad magnates James J. Hill and Edward H. Harriman. Morgan was stunned. He exclaimed that Roosevelt had not acted like a "gentleman" and later tried to treat the president like a rival operator. Hill was even more embittered. "It really seems hard," he complained, "that we should be compelled to fight for our lives against the political adventurers who have never done anything but pose and draw a salary." Regardless, two years later the Supreme Court—in a five to four decision—ordered the Northern Securities Company to dissolve.

By the time the Northern Securities case was settled, Roosevelt had added another dimension to presidential leadership. In May 1902, John Mitchell (the moderate leader of the United Mine Workers, or UMW) had called the anthracite miners of northeastern

Pennsylvania out on strike. The strikers demanded an eight-hour day, wage increases, and recognition of their union. The eight mining companies that dominated the industry would neither recognize the United Mine Workers nor mitigate the workers' near subhuman working conditions. "[The miners] don't suffer," the operators' chief spokesman expostulated at one point. "Why, they can't even speak English." As the mine owners were accustomed to getting their way in labor disputes—often with government intervention on their side—management refused to budge; and the strike continued through the summer and into the fall.

"Square deal"
Theodore Roosevelt's campaign slogan and program in 1904

Alton B. Parker
Democratic candidate for president in 1904

Fearful of a coal shortage and infuriated by the operators' arrogance, Roosevelt considered filing an antitrust suit against the coal combine; but when the attorney general advised that it would fail for lack of evidence, he decided to invite the contesting parties to the White House. The operators deeply resented this implied recognition of the UMW and vehemently refused to make any concessions at the ensuing conference in October. In contrast, the UMW was much more open to Roosevelt's mediation because the union was accustomed to the federal government immediately assuming the side of the mine owners.

Roosevelt was so determined to end the strike in the interest of the American economy that he issued secret orders to the army to prepare to seize the mines. He then warned prominent business leaders on Wall Street of his intent. These measures sufficed, and the mine operators agreed to accept the recommendations of an independent arbitration committee appointed by the president. Their plan to crush the UMW had failed.

The political importance of both the Northern Securities Company suit and the president's intervention in the coal strike far transcended their immediate economic significance. By striking out boldly on his own, Roosevelt had asserted his independence from big business, revitalized the executive office, and helped prepare the way for the Progressive movement to reach the national level. He had also given meaning to the Sherman Antitrust Act and had created the impression that the Republican Party could become a viable instrument of Progressive reform.

20.2 The Revolt of the Middle Classes

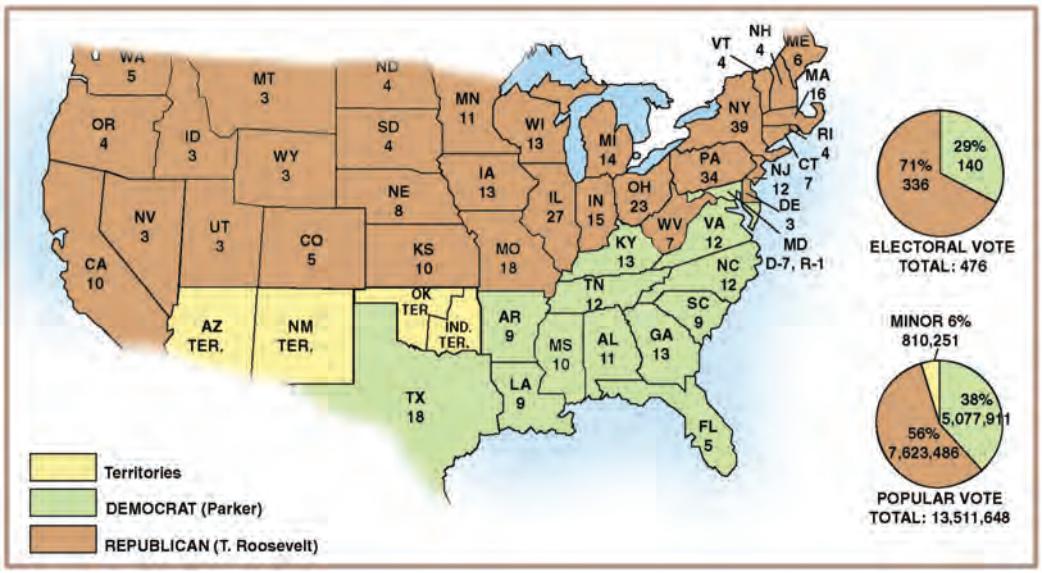
20.2a The New Consensus

Pictured is Theodore Roosevelt giving an election speech in Wyoming, 1903. (CORBIS, © Bettmann)

The program that Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson pressed on Congress and the nation from 1905 to 1916 was neither revolutionary nor original—since many reforms of the Progressive Era had been spelled out already in the Populist Party platform of 1892. Theodore Roosevelt did not bill himself as a champion of Progressivism and campaigned for re-election in 1904 offering every American only what he termed as a **"square deal."** The slogan and Roosevelt's personality resonated enough with voters that he won a record 57 percent of the vote in 1904 over Democratic candidate **Alton B. Parker**. What many Republican backers of Roosevelt did not realize was that they had just re-elected a Progressive reformer. Almost every major measure that Roosevelt and his successors would sign into law had been suggested earlier by Populist Democrat William Jennings Bryan. Even the attack on the Northern Securities Company was based on the Sherman Antitrust Act, a law favored by Populists and enacted twelve years before. Why, then, did Progressivism succeed when Populism and Bryanism had failed?

Many historians argue that the middle-class character of Progressivism's constituency and leadership made the crucial difference. Populism, despite its attempt to win labor support, had been essentially a movement of rural protest. Bryan's Populism had been broadly based, but Bryan's identification with prohibition and evangelical Protestantism had alienated many normally-Democratic Catholic and Jewish workers. In 1896 Bryan had generally failed to win middle-class support, even among well-to-do farmers.

Map 20.1 Presidential Election of 1904



Progressive Bull Moose Party
Independent party that formed around Theodore Roosevelt and ran him for the presidency after he was denied the Republican nomination at the 1912 Republican Convention

Middle-class voters had been frightened mainly by Bryan's allegedly "wild" financial ideas. Progressivism triumphed where Populism failed because tens of thousands of civic-minded Americans, who shared Bryan's virtues and prejudices, were drawn into the environment of change. Progressivism appealed more to educated, prosperous farmers than to uneducated, unsuccessful ones; and it also exerted a powerful pull on skilled laborers. Urban blue-collar workers of old stock or of northern European origins gave it disproportionate support, especially on economic issues. Even in the Midwest, Progressivism's voter strength lay mostly in urban areas.

Assuredly, most first-echelon Progressive leaders came from the old-stock middle or upper-middle classes. Although the secondary leadership was of similar background, it contained some minor union officials, some old-line politicians, and a number of Jewish professionals. It was augmented, moreover, by the female social reformers—voteless (except in certain states) until 1920, but extraordinarily influential nonetheless.

On the average, the men who would "march to Armageddon" with Theodore Roosevelt in 1912 and form the **Progressive "Bull Moose" Party** were ten years younger than the conservatives who remained with the G.O.P. They had been college students or impressionable young men of affairs when the intellectual revolution of the Gilded Age challenged the economic and social values of their fathers. Although they might not have heard of Lester Ward and his *Dynamic Sociology*, they were thoroughly familiar with Henry George's indictment of poverty and Edward Bellamy's utopian vision of the potentialities of the new technology. They accepted the postulates of Reform Darwinism, and they believed with varying intensity that the environment could and should be shaped to bring out the best in humankind and its institutions.

Despite their broad identity of background, few Progressives thought alike on all issues. As we have already seen, the Progressive movement was at once positive and negative, liberal and conservative, democratic and elitist. It possessed both a soft side and a hard side, and both a social justice wing and a business wing; thus, many of the urban businessmen who joined early citizens' movements for local control, city manager government, and efficient administration had scant sympathy for much of the social justice Progressives' economic program. They had no desire to reform the tax structure or create a welfare polity through minimum wage laws, workmen's compensation, and health insurance systems. Neither did rural and small town Progressives evince much concern for social justice. In Connecticut, for example, small-town state legislators voted down workmen's compensation in the same session in which they enacted a strong measure to regulate public utilities. In Congress as well, rural Progressives gave considerably more support to measures regulating business than to those affecting workers.

Even the urban, middle-class professionals who comprised the heart of the Progressive movement had divided allegiances. The narrower moralists among them wanted mainly to clean up politics by destroying "bossism" and its attendant evils. They believed that the Australian (or secret) ballot, the direct primary, and numerous other procedural reforms would shift power from the boss-manipulated masses to themselves and people like themselves. They fumed over soaring tax rates and the gas, electric, and streetcar monopolies. They also mistakenly attributed the increasingly high cost of government to corruption rather than to the root cause—expanding services. And they blamed rising prices on the "trusts" rather than on market forces.

Even thought the moralists also feared the aggrandizement of power by organized labor, they sympathized with individual working men and women. Many felt that they were being squeezed between the upper and nether elements of society. A few of the aristocrats among them may even have been moved by desire to regain a status and prestige lost to the new business leaders, those *nouveaux riches* whom one critic described as being "without restraints of culture, experience, the pride, or even the inherited caution of class or rank."

Yet to view Progressivism through one or another of its constituent parts is to miss the thrust of the movement as a whole. All but the most opportunistic Progressives shared a vision of society that impelled them, within limits, to put what they saw as the public good above their private interest. Whatever their personal ambitions—even the purest idealists among them possessed normal drives for prestige and power—their breadth of outlook enabled them to transcend short-range economic and social considerations in pursuit of long-range civic goals.

As political activists, they forged a series of shifting political coalitions based on the mainly material concerns of labor, farmers, white-collar workers, and businessmen. As educated and highly-informed citizens, they based their program on the ostensibly objective findings of social scientists. As pragmatic idealists, they gave their designs unity and purpose by evoking the moral impulses roused by the Social Gospel and by the muckrakers' exposures of corruption and exploitation. In short, despite their differences and inconsistencies, they mobilized the new public interest philosophy in three areas of American life: social, economic, and governmental.

20.2b Social Problems

In the early 1900s, almost two million children were born into poverty and worked in the fields or in factories to help support their families. (Wikimedia Commons)

Everywhere that progressives looked they saw poverty, injustice, and political corruption in the midst of growing abundance and seemingly limitless opportunity. One percent of the nation's families owned seven-eighths of its wealth, and ten million Americans lived in abject circumstances. Many workers still toiled sixty hours a week and almost two million children worked in the fields or in factories, frequently on night shifts. Thousands of workers were killed each year; by one estimate, over seven thousand were killed annually on the railroads alone. As late as 1913, industrial accidents caused twenty-five thousand deaths a year. Nor did there seem to be much hope that employers would or could cope with these problems. Wages were fixed by supply and demand—and in the absence of a strong labor movement or minimum wage laws, even those manufacturers who wished to be humane were forced to keep wages at the subsistence level in order to remain competitive. Thus Massachusetts, which had pioneered in strong child labor laws, steadily lost textile mills to the South where child labor helped keep production costs low.

Labor's attempts to organize and strike for higher wages and shorter hours had been systematically weakened by injunctions and, more important, by management's use of immigrants as strike breakers. There was no pension system, no automatic compensation for injuries or death suffered on the job. In such an environment, the widow who received $250 from her late husband's employer could consider herself blessed. Relief, when available, came largely from private sources.

National Association of Manufacturers
An organization of small industrialists who opposed regulation of business and Progressive changes

20.2c The Power of Business

The consolidation of several firms into large industrial combines threatened to make conditions worse rather than better. By 1904 combinations of one form or another controlled two-fifths of all manufacturing in the U.S. Six great financial groups dominated 95 percent of the railroads, and 1,320 utilities companies were organized under a handful of giant holding companies. As early as 1902 the United States Industrial Commission reported, "In most cases the combination has exerted an appreciable power over prices, and in practically all cases it has increased the margin between raw materials and finished products." The Commission added that the cost of production had probably decreased and that profits had doubtlessly increased. A subsequent report revealed that the cost of living actually increased 35 percent between 1897 and 1913.

As we have seen, efficiency was the economic justification for these developments; yet the consolidation movement—like the protective tariff movement—was based primarily on fear of competition and its attendant instability. No one—not even J. Pierpont Morgan, whose very gaze "forced the complex of inferiority … upon all around him"—was immune. Fear of competition had driven him and his associates to buy out Andrew Carnegie and organize the United States Steel Corporation in 1901. The desire for stability and assured profits had also prompted him and James J. Hill to organize the Northern Securities Company in 1901.

The consolidation movement both tended to destroy competition and, more important, made it difficult for the nation to solve its festering social and political problems. Great corporations not only had the power to prevent labor from organizing basic industries but also used this power ruthlessly. In addition, they transformed economic power into political influence in various ways. If railroad, sugar, oil, and steel interests could not "buy" state legislatures as openly as they had twenty-five years earlier, and if they could no longer send as many hand-picked men to Congress as they once had done, they nevertheless exerted great influence over both elections and legislative decisions. They made huge contributions to the Republican Party, controlled countless newspaper editors and publishers, and kept lobbies in Washington and in state capitals.

Small industrialists, organized in 1895 as the **National Association of Manufacturers** (NAM), also fought social and economic change. They, and other comparatively small businessmen and real estate promoters, shared responsibility with big business for the already widespread pollution of America's cities and desecration of the countryside. Small industry fought minimum wage, child labor, and factory safety bills; and small businessmen lobbied most vigorously for low local and state taxes, which led to inadequate schools and social services.

20.2d Stranglehold on Government

The obstructionist role of small business should not obscure the major issue that Roosevelt and progressives faced. The inescapable fact was that big business in 1901 constituted the most potent threat to American democracy. The post-Civil War shift of power from Washington to Wall Street had accelerated under President McKinley. By Roosevelt's ascension, the presidency had become a kind of branch brokerage office, with the president himself little more than the Washington director of a nationwide financial operation. There was nothing particularly sinister or even secret about the system. Republican politicians, such as McKinley and Mark Hanna, believed that national welfare depended upon cooperation between business and government.

In such an environment, no national Progressive movement could gain political power until the reign of big business was effectively challenged. This was why Roosevelt's action against the Northern Securities Company had such great symbolic importance. Progressives continued to emphasize direct democracy—the primary, initiative, referendum, recall of judicial decisions, and, above all, direct election of senators (U.S. Senators were elected by state legislatures until the Seventeenth Amendment). These devices, they believed, would enable them to introduce bills in boss-dominated legislatures, undo the work of conservative legislatures and judges, and replace business-oriented senators with people more representative of the general citizenry.

20.3 Thunder in the Cities and States

20.3a Origins of Urban Reform

One of the catalysts behind the shifting coalitions that formed the Progressive movement was the prolonged depression of the 1890s. Appalled by the people's hardships and fearful of the social implications, the middle and upper-middle classes had begun to become politically active in large numbers for the first time. As we have seen, clergymen were trying earnestly to apply the Social Gospel, women's literary societies developed an interest in social and economic problems, and men's civic clubs turned their sights on public utility monopolies. Furthermore, untried reform politicians challenged conservative business leaders; and most important of all, farmers' organizations, labor unions, church clubs, and other civic groups formed common fronts. In so doing, they regularly crossed—though they rarely severed—the class, ethnic, and religious lines that had heretofore separated social units.

Between 1894 and 1897, municipal reform movements erupted across the nation. In city after city during the next decade, reform candidates—both Republican and Democratic—campaigned successfully for commission or city manager government, for local control, and for honest elections. Invariably, they found that the trail of privilege and corruption led from the city hall to the statehouse and thence to powerful business interests. Government gradually, and often reluctantly, concluded that it had to be transformed from a negative to a positive force. Only then could insurance and utility companies be brought under control, exploitation of men, women, and children be stopped, and the power of the bosses be destroyed.

20.3b State Reforms

As governor of New York in 1899, Theodore Roosevelt pushed through a corporation tax, strengthened factory and tenement inspection laws, and flouted business interests on so many other counts that the G.O.P machine eased him out of the state and into the vice-presidential nomination in 1900. In the same year, Robert M. La Follette in Wisconsin abandoned Republican orthodoxy and won the governorship of Wisconsin.

Map 20.2 Cities with at Least 25,000 People (1903)

Robert M. La Follette, former governor of Wisconsin, worked for state policy reforms; and Samuel Gompers helped form the National Civic Federation to promote settlement of labor disputes. (Wikimedia Commons)

Much of his program had developed piecemeal in the east, especially in Massachusetts and New York; nevertheless, La Follette, drawing on a general shift of progressive support from the countryside to urban centers, implemented his program so imaginatively that it became a model and gained renown as the **Wisconsin Idea**. There and elsewhere, Progressives won the direct primary, the short ballot, the initiative and referendum, and the recall of elected officials.

Progressives in state legislatures strengthened child labor laws, created commissions to regulate utilities and railroad rates, and began to impose inheritance, corporation, and graduated income taxes. They also made increasingly large appropriations for schools, state universities, mental and penal institutions, and welfare programs in general. Maryland enacted the first workmen's compensation law in 1902, protecting workers against on-the-job injuries. Oregon limited women workers to a ten-hour day in the next year, Illinois established a public assistance program for mothers with dependent children in 1911, and Massachusetts created a commission to fix wages for women and children in 1912. By the end of the Progressive Era, the number of students in high schools had almost doubled, most of the great industrial states had workmen's compensation laws, and the number of industrial accidents had been dramatically reduced by the forced or voluntary adoption of safety procedures.

20.4 Progressivism Moves to Washington

Wisconsin Idea
Robert La Follette's Progressive program that included the direct primary, the short ballot, the initiative and referendum, and the recall of elected officials

Old Guardsmen
Conservative Republicans who opposed Theodore Roosevelt's Progressivism and supported William Howard Taft for the Republican nomination in 1912

By 1904 President Roosevelt was girding for a mighty struggle with conservatives in his own party. He had come into office well aware that his party was a hostage to business and its spokesmen in Congress, and that this situation placed limits on his ability to act. As he explained to intimates, he could do something about either the tariff or the trusts, but not both. He had opted for trust reform as the more popular issue, the issue less offensive to Congress, and the issue more vulnerable to executive leverage.

On the legislative side, the record of his first administration had been modest. A Democrat-sponsored reclamation measure, the Newlands Act (which provided federal funds for the construction of dams and canals in the West and for the construction of hydroelectric power plants), had been passed in 1902 with the president's support. The Elkins Act to prohibit railroad rebates had gone through in 1903 because the railroads favored it; and a Department of Commerce and Labor, including a Bureau of Corporations with investigatory powers, had been created the same year. A handful of conservatives called **Old Guardsmen**—including Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island, William B. Allison of Iowa, Marcus A. Hanna of Ohio, Orville H. Platt of Connecticut, and John C. Spooner of New York—had otherwise kept legislative hatches closed.

Wealthy, able, and intelligent, these senators were also arrogant and dogmatic. Only Mark Hanna had sought to make peace with labor in 1900 by joining Samuel Gompers in forming the National Civic Federation to promote settlement of labor disputes. Other senators were insensitive to social and economic injustice. They supported governmental subsidies and other favors to business, even while invoking the principle of laissez faire to prevent even the mildest reforms; and they did not want Roosevelt to run for a full term in 1904. After Roosevelt captured the party machinery, however, they and the financial and business interests helped him win a rousing victory over the conservative Democratic candidate, Judge Alton B. Parker of New York—who believed that the trust problem should be left to the states. Significantly, not even Roosevelt's extraordinary popularity reversed the downward trend in voter turnout, which had started in 1900 and would continue until 1928. This decline was strong in the North as well as in the South, especially among workers and marginal farmers.

20.4a The Party Structure

Progressive Republican insurgency
The Progressive Republican challenge to Republican Party leadership, 1910–1912

Hepburn Act
Strengthened federal regulatory authority over railroads, including the authority to set rates and inspect books, and also ended free railroad passes for politicians

The key to the conservative domination of the Republican delegation in Congress was malapportionment in the states and the election of United States senators by their legislatures. In every state east of the Mississippi, the small towns and rural areas had become grossly overrepresented as the cities grew. Districts were not generally equal in population; rural districts with much smaller populations would have the same representation that urban districts with many more people had, especially in state legislatures. In almost every state, a handful of entrenched leaders with close ties to an intricate network of business lobbyists dictated the selection of senatorial candidates; and by gerrymandering congressional districts, they assured the election of conservative Republicans to the House. Only in the northwest central states and on the Pacific Coast did Progressive Republicans control the selection of senators and representatives with any consistency. At no time, therefore—not even during the height of **Progressive Republican insurgency** between 1910 and 1912—was as much as a fourth of the Republican delegation in Congress Progressive. Yet neither was this dominant conservatism truly representative of rank and file Republicanism.

Roosevelt could find little support for his legislative program by turning to the Democrats, however. Most Southern state legislatures were gerrymandered in favor of rural "Tories"—conservative ideologically, but members of the Democratic Party due to the sectionalism that followed the Civil War and continued into the mid-twentieth century. Thus, Progressive thought was far weaker in Congress than outside it; and though Southern Democrats willingly abandoned states' rights on issues that redounded to the South's advantage, they remained basically unsympathetic to Roosevelt's centralizing tendencies. Furthermore, the Democrats' strength in the Senate was too slight for Roosevelt to have forged a viable coalition with them and the small minority of Progressive Republicans. Roosevelt had no choice, therefore, but to work through those who controlled the party—the conservative Republican leaders.

Still, there were offsetting factors. The president controlled the patronage, and he could enforce acts of Congress vigorously or indifferently. He could also appoint fact-finding commissions; and he could use the vast moral force of his office to influence public opinion and thus, indirectly, Congress. Reinforced by his understanding of these powers and emboldened by his popular mandate and the angry excitement whipped up by the muckrakers, Roosevelt prepared to present a full program of reform to Congress in December 1904.

20.4b Railroad Regulation

Roosevelt's first major achievement was the **Hepburn Act** to strengthen the rate-making power of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Following publication in *McClure's* of a devastating account of railroad malpractices, a concerted demand for action arose in the Midwest and the South. It came not only from farmers but also from merchants, manufacturers, and civic leaders, whose national organizations protested less against high rates than against the discrepancies between charges for long and short hauls, the curtailment of services induced by the consolidation of lines, and similar abuses. These powerful pressures drove a number of conservative Republican senators part way to Roosevelt's side. Spurred by brilliant presidential maneuvering, a coalition then passed a compromise measure in 1906. Although La Follette cried "betrayal" because the bill failed to authorize evaluation of a railroad's worth in determining rates, the Hepburn Act had many progressive features, including extension of the Interstate Commerce Commission's jurisdiction to oil pipeline, sleeping-car, and express companies. The act also strengthened the regulatory authority of the ICC over railroads, enabling them to set rates and inspect the books. Additionally, the act ended free railroad passes to politicians.

(Wikimedia Commons)

Pure Food and Drug Act
Forbade the sale and manufacture of adulterated food products and patent medicines

Upton Sinclair
Author of the influential novel on the American meat packing industry, *The Jungle*

20.4c Public Health Controls

Shortly after the adoption of the Hepburn Act, the president signed two other significant measures—**the Pure Food and Drug Act** and the Meat Inspection Amendment to the Agricultural Appropriations Act. Each was necessitated by the callous disregard for the public's health by the industries concerned, and each reflected a growing conviction that only federal regulation could safeguard the people's health against avaricious business. The Pure Food and Drug Act was a testament both to the new scientism and to the single-minded dedication of the Department of Agriculture's chief chemist, Dr. Harvey W. Wiley. Wiley had long been pressing for a law to prevent the manufacture and sale of adulterated, misbranded, or poisonous foods and drugs. With powerful help from President Roosevelt, the American Medical Association, and muckraker Samuel Hopkins Adams, his bill finally came to the floor of the Senate in the spring of 1906. An imperfect but pioneering pure-food-and-drug measure became law on June 30, 1906.

Chicago meat inspectors in a meat-packing facility after the first Pure Food and Drugs Act became law in 1906. (Wikimedia Commons)

The fight for the Meat Inspection Amendment offered an even more penetrating insight into the business mind. In his muckraking novel, *The Jungle* (1906), **Upton Sinclair** graphically exposed unsanitary conditions in the meat-packing industry that included the sale of rotten meat and meat tainted with rodent excrement. After reading *The Jungle,* the president ordered an immediate investigation. Meanwhile, lobbyists for the meat-packing industry charged that the inspection measure drawn by Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana was "unconstitutional" and "socialistic." When European sales dropped precipitously, however, the meat packers abruptly reversed themselves. They demanded, in the words of Mark Sullivan, "an inspection law … strong enough to still public clamor, while not so drastic as to inconvenience them too greatly." The result was compromise in the Rooseveltian pattern.

20.4d For Generations Yet Unborn

By then the president was also deep in a bitter struggle for rational control and development of the nation's natural resources. On his side stood a great host of governmental scientists and experts headed by Gifford Pinchot, uncounted public-spirited citizens from all over the nation (but especially from the east), numerous homesteaders, and the great lumber corporations. Arrayed against him were small lumber companies; grazing, mining, and power interests of all types; most western state governments; and, in the end, a decisive majority in Congress.

The assumptions of Roosevelt and the Progressives were that the country's natural resources belong to the people as a whole; that "the fundamental idea of forestry is the perpetuation of forests by use"; that the federal government should reclaim arid lands; that "every stream is a unit from its source to its mouth, and all its uses are interdependent"; and that the electric monopoly is "the most threatening which has ever appeared."

Early in his administration, Roosevelt saved what would become the heart of the Tennessee Valley Authority in the 1930s by vetoing a bill that would have opened Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River to haphazard development by private interests. He then set aside governmental reserves in Nebraska for a tree-planting experiment that would serve as a model for a more comprehensive program under the New Deal. In 1905 he rehabilitated the Bureau of Forestry, renamed it the Forest Service, and appointed Gifford Pinchot as its chief.

A small revolution followed. Trained and dedicated foresters staffed the new agency. Enlightened controls directed the development of water-power sites by corporations, and the president vetoed numerous bills injurious to the public interest. More than 2,500 potential dam sites were temporarily withdrawn from entry in order to assure orderly and constructive development. In addition, 150 million acres were added to the national forests. Half as many acres with coal and mineral deposits were transferred to the public domain, and most large lumber corporations (though not the small ones) were persuaded to adopt selective-cutting techniques, which assured the perpetuation of timber resources.

Western congressmen beholden to private interests responded with near-hysterical charges of "executive usurpation" and destruction of states' rights, but Roosevelt was undaunted. He skirmished for the preservation of the country's natural monuments even as Congress passed laws depriving him of authority to create new national forests. Before he left office in March 1909 the number of national parks had doubled, sixteen National Monuments had been created, and fifty-one wildlife refuges established. The president also appointed a commission to investigate and make recommendations for multipurpose river valley developments. Then in May 1908, he urged the first conference of governors to implement the conservation movement in their states.

William Howard Taft
Theodore Roosevelt's hand-picked successor, who won the presidency in 1908

Rule of reason
The Supreme Court's assertion that the "largeness" of big business itself was not a crime

20.4c Variations in Antitrust Policy

Pictured is William Howard Taft, the 27th president of the United States. (Wikimedia Commons)

The president had followed up action against the Northern Securities Company with a spate of antitrust suits. By the end of his second term, twenty-five indictments had been obtained, and eighteen proceedings in equity had been instituted. His successor, **William Howard Taft**, intensified the pace, bringing forty-three indictments in four years—far exceeding Roosevelt's "trust-busting." Unlike Roosevelt, who merely wanted to regulate the trusts for the purpose of staving off revolutionary reform, Taft was a legalist who viewed the trusts as in violation of the Sherman Act and therefore illegal. In 1911 the Supreme Court implicitly reversed the *Knight* decision of 1895, decreeing the dissolution of the Standard Oil Company and the American Tobacco Company. These decisions made it clear that manufacturing combinations were not exempt from the Sherman Antitrust Act, even though the Court qualified its position somewhat with the so-called **rule of reason**, which acknowledged that bigness *per se* was no crime.

The "trust-busting" of Roosevelt and Taft wrought few basic changes in the American economy, however. Price leadership continued as the producers in an industry followed the lead of a few dominant corporations. Moreover, control over credit remained highly concentrated on Wall Street. As his administration progressed, Roosevelt himself experienced a metamorphosis in his attitude toward the trusts. Because he appreciated the advantages of large-scale production and distribution, he sought to distinguish between "good" and "bad" trusts. Putting his faith primarily in regulation, he repeatedly called on Congress to strengthen and expand the regulatory Bureau of Corporations. Then, after he left office, he came out openly for government price-fixing in basic industries.

Otherwise, from this time on, Roosevelt maintained cordial relations with the Morgan–U.S. Steel axis. In order to prevent the spread of the severe financial panic that struck New York in 1907, he went to the aid of the banks and acquiesced to U.S. Steel's absorption of a Southern competitor, the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, financed by J. P. Morgan.

20.4f Trouble on the Labor Front

Labor continued to make modest advances during the Roosevelt and Taft administrations, mainly because of the Progressives' work in the states. The American Federation of Labor grew by fits and starts, and the standard of living of its highly skilled members rose appreciably. In manufacturing, wages increased while the average workweek declined from sixty to fifty hours.

The AFL failed, however, to organize basic industry—mainly because of the massive counteroffensive by employers, spearheaded by the National Association of Manufacturers. To prevent labor from organizing, the NAM resorted to weapons ranging from propaganda to violence. Its most effective tactic was maintenance of the open shop (a shop in which union membership is not a precondition of employment), and its most important ally was the middle class. The employers understood that in practice an open shop meant a nonunion shop, but middle-class Progressives often did not. Even when they

Industrial Workers of the World
Also known as the "Wobblies," a leftist labor union that sought to unite all the workers of the world to overthrow the ruling class

Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire
The fire at the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory in a tall building in New York City that led to the death of 146 people, most of whom were women, and 62 of whom leaped to their deaths from the ninth and tenth floors

saw the point, a lingering devotion to natural law and individual rights made it difficult for them to accept the idea of the closed shop. Roosevelt was unsure on the issue, and men like Woodrow Wilson (then president of Princeton) and Charles W. Eliot (president of Harvard) were adamant in their opposition to the closed shop. In consequence, labor received virtually no support during the Progressive Era for the one measure that would have assured it success—governmental support of the organizing process.

To compound labor's difficulties, the basic right to strike was often grossly impaired by management's private police forces, the actions of corporation-dominated state governments, and the indiscriminate issuance of injunctions by judges who cared more for property than for human rights. In speech after speech from 1905 to 1912, Roosevelt inveighed mightily against the abuse of the injunction; and yet the NAM was so influential in Republican councils that he failed even to get an anti-injunction plank in the party platform in 1908.

Union campaigns to organize the steel industry meanwhile suffered a series of setbacks and finally collapsed altogether. The United Mine Workers were successful in the east, but they failed in two bloody efforts in Colorado. The first, in 1903–1904, ended in a rout climaxed by the deportation of strikers to the desert. The second, in 1913–1914, ended in tragedy when National Guardsmen burned a striker's tent colony at Ludlow on April 20, 1914, accidentally killing eleven women and two children. Against this background, the formation in 1905 of the freewheeling and sometimes violent (especially in rhetoric) **Industrial Workers of the World** ("Wobblies") was almost predictable. Concentrated in the West, the IWW fought the battles of frontier miners, lumberjacks, and migrant workers with a leftist political bent.

Pictured are members of the Industrial Workers of the World union. (Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-30519)

20.4g The Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire

On March 25, 1911, one of the largest industrial disasters in the history of the United States occurred in New York City at the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory where 146 workers—almost all of them women—perished either in the fire or by leaping to their death from the ninth and tenth floors of the factory. One stairway was blocked by the fire, and the other stairway was locked because the factory managers would lock the doors to the stairwells and exits to keep the workers from taking cigarette breaks during their shifts. The exterior fire escape was in disrepair and collapsed as too many people climbed onto its rickety structures at once, sending those on the fire escape to their death on the concrete one hundred feet below. Several people escaped via the elevator, but a number of people also jumped to their death down the elevator shaft, landing on the top of the elevator car; the elevator could not make another attempt after that, due to the weight. New Yorkers in the street watched in horror as sixty-two people—some engulfed in flames and falling as human torches—jumped from windows on the south side of the building to their death. One man was seen kissing a young woman at the window before they both jumped, moments later to become bloody pulp on the street. Two people were discovered to still be alive an hour later after falling one hundred feet to the concrete.

The **Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire** led to legislation requiring improved factory safety standards and helped spur the growth of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which fought for better and safer working conditions for sweatshop workers in that industry. In October of that year, the American Society of Safety Engineers was founded in New York City.

20.4h Forecasts of the Welfare State

By 1907 the Republican majority in Congress had had their fill of Theodore Roosevelt. They approved no major domestic legislation during his last two years in office and repudiated him openly on several occasions. Nevertheless, executive power continued

to expand under Roosevelt. The president appointed numerous investigatory commissions, and he made further advances in conservation. Furthermore, he repeatedly lectured Congress and the people on the need to mitigate the harsh inequities of capitalism by welfare measures. He was outraged by the Supreme Court's ruling in ***Lochner v. New York*** (1905), which held a maximum-hours law for bakers to be unconstitutional on the grounds that it was an unreasonable interference with the right of free contract and an unreasonable use of the state's police power. After a New York tenement law was invalidated and a workmen's compensation law declared unconstitutional, Roosevelt wrote Justice William R. Day that, unless the judiciary's spirit changed, "we should not only have a revolution, but it would be absolutely necessary to have a revolution, because the condition of the worker would become intolerable."

Due to a fire escape that was in disrepair and a malfunctioning elevator, 146 workers perished in the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire. The tragedy led to legislation requiring improved factory safety standards and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which fought for better and safer working conditions. (Wikimedia Commons)

On January 31, 1908, Roosevelt sent Congress one of the most radical presidential messages ever delivered. He charged that businessmen had revived the doctrine of states' rights in order to avoid all meaningful regulation. Furthermore, he observed that there was "no moral difference between gambling at cards … and gambling in the stock market." He called for stringent regulation of securities, imprisonment of businessmen who flouted the law, and a comprehensive program of business regulation. In addition, he upbraided "decent citizens" for permitting "those rich men whose lives are evil and corrupt" to control the nation's destiny. He lashed the judiciary for "abusing" the writ of injunction in labor disputes, and he contemptuously dismissed editors and politicians who had been "purchased by the corporations" as "puppets who move as the strings are pulled." Moreover, he came out for workmen's compensation, compulsory arbitration of labor disputes, and acceptance of big unionism as a countervailing power to big business.

Lochner v. New York
The Court held a maximum-hours law for bakers to be unconstitutional on the grounds that it was an unreasonable interference with the right of free contract and an unreasonable use of the state's police power.

Panic of 1907
Economic panic precipitated by the rumored bankruptcy of Tennessee Iron and Coal, which led to a stock market crash

In doing so, Roosevelt lost the support of big business conservatives that was needed if he were to secure the Republican nomination in 1908. Laissez faire conservatives also erroneously believed that the **Panic of 1907** was a result of Roosevelt's meddling in the economy. Finally, Roosevelt was limited by his own words since he had promised in 1904 that he would only run for one term because he had served most of William McKinley's term as well as his own. Consequently, to run again in 1908 would mean going back on his word—which Roosevelt was loathe to do. Accordingly, at age 50, Roosevelt decided that he could not run again in 1908 and briefly retired from public life. Nevertheless, the crowd at the Republican National Convention in 1908 chanted "Four more years!" for forty-nine minutes until Henry Cabot Lodge finally came forward and announced that the president's decision was irrevocable.

20.5 The Disruption of the G.O.P.

20.5a Taft's Background

Unfortunately Roosevelt's chosen successor, William Howard Taft, lacked the energy, conviction, and political skill to carry on Roosevelt's policies. He seemed to be sympathetic to Roosevelt's Progressive views, but he had marked limitations. He believed implicitly in natural law, and he was a good but painfully conventional lawyer. Furthermore, he had no zest for the give-and-take of politics—and though he possessed a strain of courage, he lacked political boldness and energy. Big and small business heartily concurred in Taft's nomination in 1908, and he handily defeated William Jennings Bryan's third unsuccessful bid for the presidency (by 321 to 162 electoral votes) in what was billed as the "fattest election in history"—since each candidate was overweight at the time, giving America a solid "third of a ton" of presidential candidates. A story surfaced from when Taft had been governor of the Philippines in 1902 that he had sent a cable to Elihu Root from Manila, stating, "Took a long horseback ride—feeling fine," to which Root reportedly replied, "How is the horse?"

At any rate, no sooner were the election returns in than Taft's troubles began. Taft's personality was a great contrast with that of the energetic Roosevelt, whose popularity may have exceeded any president's since George Washington. Teddy bears, Teddy glasses, and Teddy stories permeated American life; any person following Roosevelt may have found the shoes difficult to fill. For Taft, however, the contrasts were even greater. While Roosevelt had been energetic and athletic, Taft was sedentary and obese, and received much bad press when a wall had to be knocked down in the White House to install a special oversized bathtub for his oversized body. Taft was also prone to falling asleep at inopportune times and dozed off in an open car while campaigning in New York, and on another occasion nodded off at a State funeral.

Politically, Taft conceived his mission to be to consolidate the Roosevelt reforms (giving them the "sanction of law," as he phrased it)—not to embark on new ventures. Actually, he was too steeped in legal traditionalism to accept Roosevelt's conception of the Constitution, and so he failed to seize the executive reins. Taft believed that the counsel of lawyers was superior to that of scientists and other experts, and he deplored Roosevelt's reliance on investigatory commissions. Taft also adhered strictly to the letter of the law and preferred not to see grey areas where Roosevelt had done so, including in the areas of antitrust and separation of powers.

20.5b The Tariff Fiasco

By 1908 so many Midwesterners were blaming rising prices on the high schedules of the Dingley Tariff (1897) that Taft implied during the campaign that his administration would revise the tariff downward. Faithfully, he called a special session of Congress for the spring of 1909—but instead of lowering the duties, Old Guardsmen in the Senate raised them. This forced the president to accept a compromise (the Payne-Aldrich Tariff) that left the old schedules more or less intact. Then, to the disgust of Progressive Republicans in the Midwest, he defended the measure as "the best bill that the Republican party ever passed." Two years later he negotiated a reciprocity agreement with Canada that the Canadians subsequently rejected because of loose talk that it presaged annexation of their country.

George W. Norris (Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-DIG-ggbain-12992)

20.5c The Rise of Insurgency

Meanwhile, Taft was besieged with troubles on other fronts. In 1910 a group of Progressive Republicans in the House—led by George W. Norris of Nebraska—stripped Speaker Joseph G. Cannon of his arbitrary and partisan control over legislation and committee appointments. Taft was secretly pleased, but both the insurgents and the public continued to link the president with the uncouth and reactionary Speaker.

Taft's rather curious stand on conservation led to even worse difficulties. He believed in conservation, but he abhorred the free-wheeling methods that Roosevelt had used to achieve his objective. Taft therefore replaced Roosevelt's secretary of the interior, James R. Garfield, with Richard A. Ballinger—an honest conservative who had earlier resigned from the Land Office because he disagreed with Roosevelt's view that the public's interest in natural resources should be given priority over that of entrepreneurs. Construing the law rigidly when government interests were at stake and loosely when private interests were at issue, Ballinger soon provoked Gifford Pinchot, chief of the U.S. Forest Service, to charge a "giveaway" of Alaskan mineral lands to the Guggenheims (the great mining industrialists). Ballinger had removed approximately one million acres of forests from public land reserves created by Theodore Roosevelt. Interior Department investigator Lewis Glavis

charged that Ballinger had engaged in a plan to turn over public coal reserves in Alaska to private investors for profit. Glavis took his evidence to Roosevelt ally Gifford Pinchot, who was still head of the Forest Service. Pinchot presented the evidence to Taft, who also heard Ballinger's rebuttal and announced that the charges were groundless. Pinchot then leaked the story to the press and to Congress, and an enraged Taft dismissed Pinchot for insubordination. In the end, with his handling of the **Ballinger-Pinchot fight**, Taft alienated Progressives and Roosevelt supporters who viewed Pinchot as a defender of the public interests against greedy industrialists.

Ballinger was eventually exonerated, but President Taft was fatally stamped as anticonservationist since he fired Roosevelt's man, Gifford Pinchot. The characterization was not wholly unfair. Although Taft withdrew more lands from public entry than Roosevelt and put millions of acres of forest lands into new reserves, he never did grasp the Roosevelt-Pinchot concepts of controlled development or of multipurpose river valley projects.

Ballinger-Pinchot fight
Pinchot believed that Interior Secretary Richard Ballinger had improperly released protected forests land for economic development; President Taft disagreed, and when Pinchot took his complaints to the press, Taft fired him for insubordination.

New Nationalism
Theodore Roosevelt's reference to his own Progressive platform in 1910

Robert La Follette
Progressive senator from Wisconsin

20.5d Roosevelt Challenges Taft

Roosevelt returned from abroad in 1910—after big-game hunting in Africa—in high indignation over Taft's ineptitude and the implied repudiation of his conservation policies. At Osawatomie, Kansas, on September 1, the former president developed further the social welfare program he had set forth in his memorable messages of 1908, calling it the **"New Nationalism"** because it put the national need "before sectional or personal advantage." Roosevelt quoted Lincoln's assertion that "Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital"; he asserted that the judiciary's primary obligation was to protect "human welfare rather than … property"; and he called for graduated income and inheritance taxes, workmen's compensation legislation, a federal child labor law, tariff revision, government health insurance, and more stringent regulation of corporations. Furthermore, Roosevelt turned against his hand-picked successor Taft for "completely twisting around the policies I have advocated and acted upon."

The congressional elections in the fall of 1910 produced the most sweeping changes since the great realignment of the mid-1890s. From east to west, stand-pat Republicans were turned out of office as the G.O.P. lost fifty-eight seats in the House, ten in the Senate, and a total of seven governorships. Furthermore, Progressive Republican candidates ousted conservatives in forty districts, creating a majority Progressive House. Most contemporary observers blamed the tariff and Taft's failure to project a dynamic progressive image. Yet recent scholarship suggests that resentment among normally Republican German Americans, against other Republicans' increasingly fervent support of prohibition, figured importantly and perhaps decisively.

Taft attempted to pacify Progressives with vigorous antitrust legislation and filed an antitrust suit against U.S. Steel in October 1911—alleging that the 1907 acquisition of Tennessee Iron and Coal facilitated by Theodore Roosevelt violated the Sherman Act. Roosevelt was incensed since the suit essentially implied that Roosevelt's approval of the purchase back in 1907 was improper. Roosevelt followed by announcing his candidacy for the presidency in February 1912.

20.5e The "Bull Moose" Party

Early in 1911, Republican Progressives began to call for the nomination of Wisconsin senator **Robert La Follette** or Roosevelt in 1912. La Follette made an early and earnest bid, then refused to bow out gracefully after his most devoted followers concluded that he could not win. Roosevelt's entry into the race in February 1912, precipitated one of the most bitter preconvention campaigns in Republican history between Roosevelt and Taft, as La Follette's support faded. The primary election system was relatively new and only thirteen states held Republican primaries. Roosevelt outpolled Taft two to one in the thirteen states that held primaries, winning nine of thirteen—but the Old Guard Republicans refused to let him have the nomination, awarding 90 percent of the unassigned delegates at the Republican Convention to Taft.

Eugene V. Debs
Union leader and head of the American Socialist Party

Faced with this situation, more than three hundred Roosevelt delegates stormed out of the convention hall in Chicago in a dispute over the seating of delegates. Six weeks later they returned to form the Progressive or "Bull Moose" Party (so named because Roosevelt proclaimed himself to be as fit as a bull moose), nominate their hero, and proclaim their program for a just society.

When the Democrats nominated a moderate Progressive, Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, however, Roosevelt and his party were doomed; Wilson would win all of the Democrats while the Republicans would be split between conservatives for Taft and Progressives for Roosevelt. Wilson's platform differed from Roosevelt's primarily in that Wilson opposed the "largeness" of big business, in and of itself, and favored complete destruction of the trusts rather than merely regulating them as Roosevelt proposed.

The election of 1912 has been described as a three-candidate election, but only a two-candidate campaign, as Taft quickly recognized that he had no chance of winning and essentially did not even make the effort. When asked why he was not campaigning like the other two candidates, Taft's response was, "There are so many people in the country that do not like me." In the election that autumn, Wilson won forty states and 42 percent of the popular vote, Roosevelt came in second with 27 percent, and Taft a poor third with 23 percent of the popular vote. It was the largest defeat of a sitting president in U.S. history, as Taft won only eight electoral votes.

Nevertheless, by the time Taft left office in March 1913, his administration had compiled an impressive legislative record. It included safety regulations for miners, an Employers' Liability Act for work done under government contract, and a measure to establish a Children's Bureau. The Interstate Commerce Commission's authority had been extended to telephone, telegraph, cable, and wireless companies; and a postal savings system had been established to serve farmers and others in remote rural areas. Congress had also adopted two of the Progressive movement's most cherished proposals; the Sixteenth Amendment (giving Congress the power to levy an income tax) and the Seventeenth Amendment (providing for direct election of senators). Taft himself had given warm support to some of these measures, perfunctory support to others, and little beyond his signature to one or two. All owed their passage more to a coalition of Democrats and Progressive Republicans than to the regular Republican majority.

20.5f Ironies of American Socialism

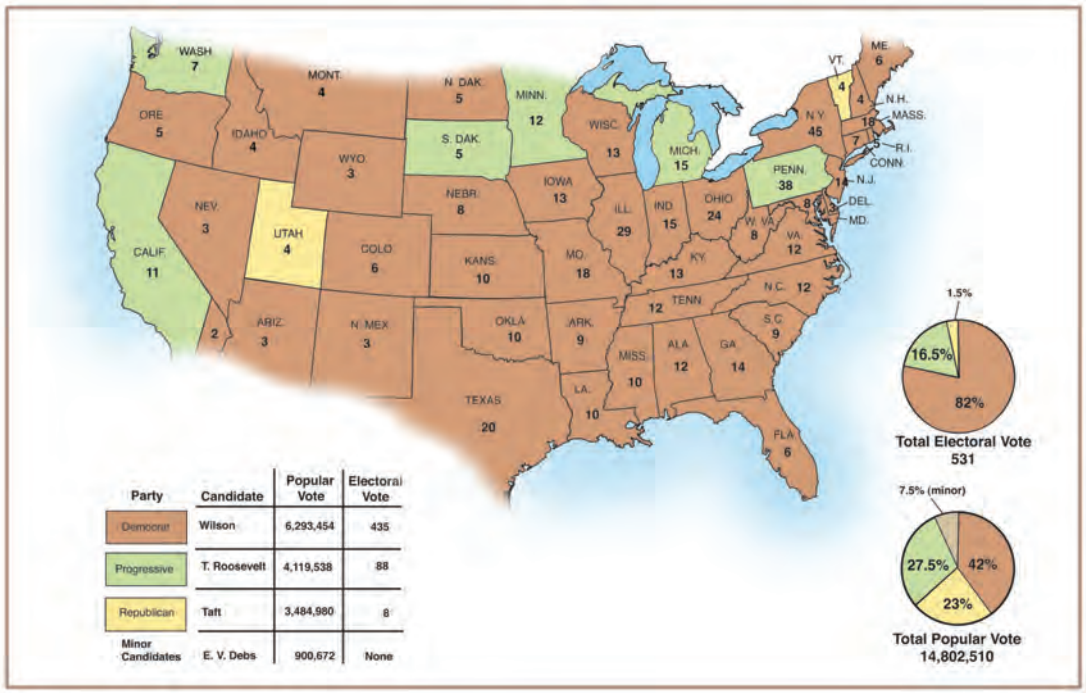
The election of 1912 drew the largest Socialist vote to that time, though not wholly for reasons of ideology. Probably half the nine hundred thousand voters who cast their ballots for the charismatic Socialist Party candidate, **Eugene V. Debs**, were disaffected by the middle-class character of the Bull Moose leadership and by the unofficial commitment of the three major parties to prohibition.

The Socialist Party itself was hardly more radical in practice than the Progressive Party was in theory. Socialist leaders believed firmly in evolution, not revolution; and most of the 1,200 party members who held office in railroad, mining, and industrial towns during the era pushed Progressive-type programs—including efficiency and economy. Furthermore, the conservative German contingent headed by Victor Berger of Milwaukee was avowedly racist. Not until after the northward trek of blacks, at the end of World War I, made it politically expedient to appeal to them did the party do so—though Debs and many others had long been sympathetic.

Socialists differed little from organized labor and major parties on immigration. Even Morris Hillquit, leader of the party's strongly Jewish eastern wing, favored selective restriction of immigration. More ironic still, tenant farmers of Oklahoma and Texas, who constituted the party's largest faction, stood strongly for individual rather than communal ownership of land.

Yet, for all its internal inconsistencies, socialism made a significant impress on American life. As the memoirs of numerous Progressives attest, socialist values influenced the social justice wings of the Republican, Democratic, and Progressive parties alike. They also served as a central inspiration to Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, and many of the other great reformers.

Map 20.3 Presidential Election of 1912



20.6 The Triumph of Progressivism

Edith Galt
Dated and married Woodrow Wilson during his presidency

20.6a Wilson's Background

Woodrow Wilson was born in a Presbyterian manse in Virginia in 1856 and reared in a South (Georgia) convulsed by Civil War and Reconstruction. Raised in a strict moralistic household, Wilson (like Roosevelt) would grow to be one of America's scholar-presidents as he graduated from Princeton in 1879 and went on to obtain a law degree and practice law in Atlanta. Wilson became dissatisfied with the legal profession and returned to school to earn a PhD in political science from Johns Hopkins University. As a PhD candidate at Johns Hopkins, he argued in a brilliant dissertation—*Congressional Government* (1885)—that the basic weakness in the American political system was its separation of executive from legislative leadership. Wilson obtained a spot on the faculty at Princeton; and following a distinguished tenure as a professor, he worked his way up to be president of Princeton University in 1902. Wilson gained a reputation for progressive academic reforms at Princeton and used that reputation to propel himself to the New Jersey governor's office in 1910. As governor, Wilson shifted from being an academic conservative to a practical Progressive. He boldly seized control of the Democratic state machine, pushed a comprehensive reform program through a divided legislature, and gave eloquent voice to high ideals and moderately Progressive aspirations.

Pictured is Woodrow Wilson on his daily ride in the outskirts of Washington, D.C. (Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-107575)

Wilson was the first Southerner elected to the White House since 1844 and the only Democrat elected to the White House since Reconstruction (other than Grover Cleveland). Wilson was a moralist and a teetotaler who called for a day of prayer after his inauguration. With a keen intellect and high education, but a strict religious upbringing, Wilson had strong moral and political convictions and was rarely open to compromise.

Wilson was also single for a portion of his presidency and courted his second wife, **Edith Galt**, while in office, creating a media circus. Love letters from the president to

New Freedom
Wilson's economic program in 1913 that included the creation of the Federal Reserve banking system and the Federal Trade Commission

Edith were eventually published, in which the President proclaimed, "You are my ideal companion, my perfect playmate, with whom everything is gay," and "how deep I have drunk of the sweet fountains that are in you." A Secret Service agent reported that after one date, the president skipped down the street singing, "Oh, you beautiful doll." It is perhaps little wonder, then, that the *Washington Post*—after the President spent an evening with his "perfect playmate"—printed the famous gaffe, "The President spent much of the evening *entering* Mrs. Galt."

After the two married, Edith remained at the president's side at all times, evidently viewing herself as a true partner in all things, even the presidency. When Wilson traveled to Europe to sign the Versailles Treaty after World War I, Edith Wilson was by his side. This brought out Wilson's critics in full force. In the early part of the twentieth century, it was not customary for the First Lady to take an active role in the president's official duties.

Edith Wilson believed that being with her husband at all times, to counsel him and give him support and advice, was her right as his wife; and President Wilson consulted with Edith on the issues of the day. She was his confidant, and he respected her opinion. (Wikimedia Commons)

In contrast, Edith Wilson believed that being with her husband at all times—to counsel him and give him support and advice—was her right and duty as his wife; and she therefore ignored the critics. Similarly, it appears that President Wilson felt comfortable consulting with his wife on the issues of the day, and it appears that she was his confidant and that he respected her opinion as much as he did those of most of his other advisors.

20.6b The New Freedom Program

The program Wilson called **New Freedom** was grounded in the theory that no group should receive special privileges. It differed from Roosevelt's New Nationalism in two essential ways. First, it advocated regulated competition rather than regulated monopoly; and second, it turned most of the social programs of Progressivism back over to the states and municipalities. Specifically, the first goal was to be achieved by downward revision of the tariff, strengthening and relentlessly enforcing the antitrust laws, and freeing the banks from dependence on Wall Street.

20.6c Tariff and Banking Reform

Wilson hoped to destroy the Republican system of special privilege for industry and for the producers of raw materials by reducing tariff protection and thereby increasing competition. He used patronage to hold wavering Democrats in line; and he marshaled opinion against the G.O.P. Old Guard by charging publicly that Washington had seldom seen "so numerous, so industrious or so insidious a lobby" as had invaded the Capitol. This masterful exertion of leadership resulted in the first substantial reduction of the tariff since before the Civil War.

Wilson began, auspiciously, by calling a special session of Congress the day of his inauguration and then addressing a joint meeting of the Senate and House in person. In doing so, Wilson became the first president since Thomas Jefferson to make an appearance before Congress in a situation that was neither mandated by the Constitution nor an emergency—but simply to argue for the passage of particular policies. Being an admirer of the British parliamentary system, Wilson desired to approach Congress, much as a prime minister would in England, and take the lead in legislation. Therefore, Wilson's first action as president was to appear before Congress and argue for a reduction of the tariff. Congress—now with a Democratic majority—passed the lower tariff.

After the ratification of the Sixteenth Amendment, Congress under Wilson also passed a modest income tax (1 percent on income over $4,000 and 6 percent on income over $500,000) along with the lower tariff. In October 1913, however, Wilson was embroiled in conflict over banking legislation. Conservative Republicans wanted a single central bank controlled by private bankers whereas conservative Democrats insisted on a

decentralized reserve system under private control. Bryan Democrats and Progressive Republicans called for a reserve system and currency supply owned and controlled by the government. Finally, after consultations with Louis D. Brandeis—his most influential adviser on domestic matters—Wilson worked out a series of constructive compromises that were adopted as the **Federal Reserve Act** in December 1913.

The measure created twelve Federal Reserve banks each to be owned and controlled by the individual private banks in its district, but responsible to a seven-member central Federal Reserve Board appointed by the president. The Federal Reserve banks would hold a percentage of the assets of their member banks in reserve and use those reserves to support loans to banks at a discount rate. Federal Reserve banks could also issue Federal Reserve notes and shift them to imperiled banks to provide them with the funds necessary to meet loan demands in times of currency shortages. Provision was also made to meet the seasonal needs of agriculture. The Federal Reserve System was not intended to destroy private ownership and initiative in banking, but it did create new centers of financial power to offset the overweening influence of New York bankers.

Wilson planned to round out his program by revising the antitrust laws. There were to be no special benefits to labor, no aid to agriculture, and no such conservation program as Roosevelt had envisaged. Child labor, woman suffrage, workmen's compensation, and all the rest would have to come, if they came at all, by haphazard state action. Indeed, when a bill sponsored by the National Child Labor Committee passed the House in 1914 over the protests of states' rights Southerners, Wilson refused to push it in the Senate.

Federal Reserve Act
Created the Federal Reserve System

Clayton Antitrust Act
Specified particular conduct that would be prohibited as in violation of fair trade practices

Federal Trade Commission (FTC)
Federal regulatory agency that was given the authority to prosecute business for unfair trade practices and the investigative authority necessary to carry out such prosecution

20.6δ Moving Toward the New Nationalism

By 1914 the Progressive movement had gathered too much momentum to be long halted by presidential indifference. While the child labor forces were regrouping for a second assault, new pressures were bearing so heavily on the White House that Wilson had either to accommodate them or risk loss of his office in 1916. These pressures were first felt when the administration introduced its program in 1914. Wilson's original measures included legislation to outlaw specific unfair trade practices and to create a federal trade commission with only fact-finding powers. Progressives in both parties thought little of the former and refused to support the latter because it did not grant the commission power to act on its findings.

Finally, Brandeis and others persuaded Wilson that it was impossible to outlaw every conceivable unfair trade practice and that something like Roosevelt's proposal for continuous regulation was the only workable alternative. Wilson, therefore, signed the **Clayton Antitrust Act** despite its ambiguities and qualifications—though he still put his energy and influence into Brandeis' measure to create a federal regulatory agency empowered, in effect, to define unfair trade practices on its own terms and to suppress them on its own findings, subject to broad court review. As a consequence, the final component of Wilson's New Freedom was the passage of the Federal Trade Commission Act, which created the **Federal Trade Commission (FTC)**—a new federal regulatory agency that was given the authority to prosecute business for unfair trade practices and the investigative authority necessary to carry out such prosecution. After the creation of the Federal Reserve System and the FTC, Wilson considered his New Freedom complete.

Samuel Gompers fought for provisions to exempt labor unions from prosecution for the secondary boycott, the blacklist, and other weapons that had been declared in violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act. All in all, the workforce wanted special privileges to offset management's power. (Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-B2-3361-1)

Meanwhile Wilson engaged in a bitter quarrel with organized labor over the Clayton Antitrust Act. Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor (AFL) hierarchy demanded provisions to exempt labor unions from prosecution for the secondary boycott, the blacklist, and other weapons the Supreme Court had declared in violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act. In effect, labor wanted special privileges to offset management's power.

Louis Brandeis
A Kentucky-born Jew known as the "people's lawyer," who broke legal tradition in 1908 by presenting a mass of sociological data to the Court in his defense of an Oregon bill establishing maximum working hours for women, Brandeis became Woodrow Wilson's most trusted advisor on domestic matters and was appointed to the Supreme Court by Wilson.

Hammer v. Dagenhart
1918 Supreme Court ruling that struck down Wilson's child labor regulations that had prohibited the interstate shipment of goods made with the use of child labor

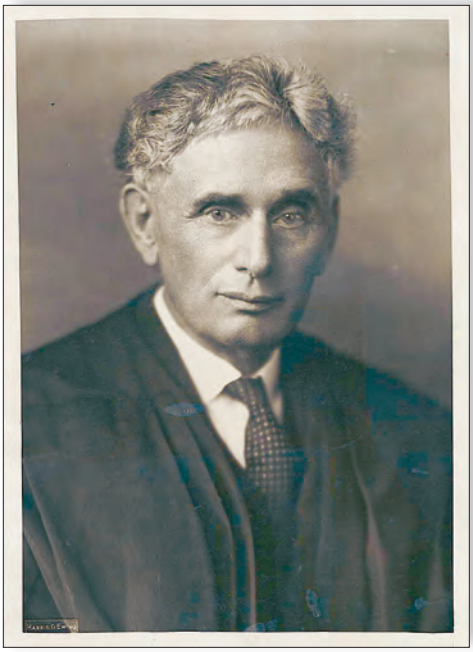
Adamson Bill
Established an eight-hour day for railroad workers

Wilson held rigidly to the New Freedom line against special privilege for any group; yet he did accept an affirmation of rights that labor already possessed in law, if not always in fact, and a few other moderate provisions. His adherence to the New Freedom program on this one point did not signify that he was ordinarily unsympathetic to labor. On the contrary, the AFL lobby spoke with greater effect in Washington during Wilson's administration than did the National Association of Manufacturers.

20.6e "We Are Also Progressives"

As Wilson's tenure lengthened, it became evident that the New Freedom's opposition to special privilege and commitment to states' rights made it too confining to permit fulfillment of the president's own expanding concept of social justice. For example, Wilson opposed an amendment to impose women's suffrage on the states because of states' rights. It also became clear that the Democrats would have to attract a substantial portion of Roosevelt's disintegrating Bull Moose Party if they were to retain the presidency in 1916. Against this background, Wilson again became more progressive. He began by signing the La Follette Seaman's Act of 1915, which freed sailors from bondage to labor contracts. Then, early in 1916, he nominated **Louis Brandeis** to the Supreme Court over bitter opposition by Old Guard Republicans and leaders of the legal profession. Brandeis, a Kentucky-born Jew known as the "people's lawyer," had broken legal tradition in 1908 by presenting a mass of sociological data to the Court in his defense of an Oregon bill establishing maximum working hours for women—with help from Florence Kelley and her colleagues.

Next, the president came out in support of a languishing rural-credits bill that he had condemned as class legislation two years before. Wilson also won approval of a model federal workmen's compensation bill. In addition, he successfully urged creation of a tariff commission because he feared that surplus European goods would be dumped in America at the end of World War I, and he threw strong support behind a child labor bill and won its adoption. Enacted in the summer of 1916, the bill made it illegal to transport goods manufactured by child labor across state lines. Two years later, however, the act was declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in ***Hammer v. Dagenhart***. The Court ruled that though child labor may be an evil, the goods produced by that labor were not; therefore, Congress had no power to restrict their shipment across state lines, even under its powers to regulate interstate commerce.



Louis Brandeis, often called the "people's lawyer," broke legal tradition, in 1908, by collaborating with Florence Kelley and her colleagues in establishing a bill stating the maximum working hours for women. (Wikimedia Commons)

The flow of legislation continued until the very eve of the election. A measure to extend federal assistance to the states for highway construction rolled through Congress, and the Revenue Act adopted in the late summer of 1916 increased income taxes sharply and imposed a new estate tax. In September, the president personally drove through Congress the **Adamson Bill** to establish the eight-hour day for railroad workers; and finally, during his second administration, Wilson signed both the prohibition and women's suffrage Amendments—though his heart was in neither.

Altogether, Wilson's first administration embodied an imposing and important program of reform legislation. Wilson could truthfully claim, as he did during the presidential campaign of 1916, that he and his party had put a large part of the Progressive Party's platform of 1912 onto the federal statute books.

20.6f Politics and Blacks

For the vast majority of African Americans, Progressivism proved more an illusion than a reality, regardless of who occupied the White House. Violence or the threat of violence continued to be the ultimate means of race control. Although the total number of lynchings decreased nationwide (because of a sharp decline in lynchings in the North)

it simultaneously increased in the South. Moreover, the burnings and hangings were for imaginary or concocted offenses. In 1906, twelve persons were slaughtered in a race riot in Atlanta. Similarly two years later, an antiblack riot occurred a half-mile from Abraham Lincoln's home in Springfield, Illinois. Meanwhile, Southern orators like South Carolina's "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman carried the message of white supremacy to receptive Northern audiences. The production in 1915 of *The Birth of a Nation*, which was based on Thomas Dixon's blatantly racist book, *The Clansman*, brought more violence.

Roosevelt had been moderately sympathetic to blacks. His original objective had been a biracial Southern Republican Party led by patrician whites and educated blacks—his immediate end being to secure his own nomination in 1904 through control of the Southern delegations. He had maintained close relations with Booker T. Washington, head of the Tuskegee Institute; and unlike McKinley, Roosevelt appointed eminently qualified blacks to federal offices in the South. He had also denounced lynching and ordered legal action against peonage (in which a worker, usually black, was forced to pay off a debt through the court-rigged assignment of that debt to a private employer).

By 1904 these actions by Roosevelt had produced a vicious reaction in the South. With the tacit acquiescence of Bryan, Southern editors and politicians inflamed the region over "Roosevelt Republicanism," and thereby forced enlightened white Southerners on the defensive. After Roosevelt entertained Booker T. Washington at the White House, disparaging Southern newspaper headlines included, "Roosevelt Dines a Darky" and "Our Coon Flavored President." Nor was the situation much better in the North where "scientific" racial theories that taught the innate inferiority of blacks had penetrated even the universities.

Against this background, Roosevelt equivocated. He appointed a few more African Americans to medium-level offices and continued to denounce lynching; however, during the race riot in Atlanta in 1906, he provided no moral leadership. Then in the aftermath of an **affray at Brownsville**, Texas—erroneously thought to involve blacks—he arbitrarily discharged three companies of black soldiers from the U.S. Army. By the end of his presidency he had concluded that the hope of a viable biracial Republican Party in the South was an idle dream. Unfortunately, Roosevelt found that attitudes toward blacks in the North were no better. As he sadly reflected, "the North and the South act in just the same way toward the Negro."

His successor, William Howard Taft, had no interest whatsoever in solving the race problem or in helping black people. "I will not be swerved one iota from my policy to the South …" Taft snapped. "I shall not appoint Negroes to office in the South … I shall not relinquish my hope to build up a decent white man's party there."

In 1912 many Northern blacks went over to Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic Party, but they were soon disillusioned. Under Wilson, blacks were segregated in some federal departments—and virtually no blacks were appointed to any but the lowest-level offices in either the South or the North. Wilson also reversed Roosevelt's integrationist policies in the U.S. armed forces and favored the continued segregation of railroad cars. Never in his memory, wrote Booker T. Washington, had he seen his people so "discouraged and bitter." During World War I, discrimination became so extreme in the military service that the Federal Council of Churches of Christ established a commission to investigate.

A few small advances—most of them of greater long-range than short-run significance—punctuated this otherwise dreary record. A handful of Northern philanthropists expanded their support of black colleges; and a small number of Northern Progressives, many descendants of abolitionists, also formed a common front with blacks. On Lincoln's birthday in 1909, a group of white educators, clergymen, editors, and social workers joined a group of black intellectuals in forming the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)**. They dedicated the organization to the abolition of all forced segregation and to the promotion of equal justice and enlarged educational opportunities for blacks—but for tactical reasons, only one black person (**W. E. B. DuBois**) served as an official during the NAACP's early years. Two years after the founding of the NAACP, another group of black intellectuals founded the National Urban League. Neither organization made much headway at first, but they were gathering expertise and resources that would permit a frontal assault on Jim Crow after World War II.

Affray at Brownsville
Theodore Roosevelt ordered the dishonorable discharge of 160 black soldiers after they were accused of shooting and killing a white man in Brownsville, Texas.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
Founded in 1909 to lobby for the rights of African Americans

W. E. B. DuBois
First African American to earn a PhD from Harvard and an activist for the rights of African Americans

On the legal front, the Supreme Court struck down peonage in separate decisions during the Taft and Wilson administrations even though the system actually continued with modifications into the late 1920s. It also overturned an amendment to the Oklahoma Constitution—the so-called grandfather clause—that allowed certain illiterate whites, but not illiterate blacks, to avoid the literacy test as a prerequisite for voting.

20.6g The Progressive Era in Retrospect

Neither the impressive achievements of the Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson administrations nor the remarkable flow of legislation in the states fulfilled the best hopes of the social justice Progressives. In 1920 the distribution of wealth was roughly the same as it had been in 1900; and the social and economic status of African Americans was only marginally better—as was that of women.

Progressivism did, however, greatly stimulate rising expectations and a dependence on government for solutions to social and economic problems; and these years—in which modern governance was being invented—were also transformative years in American foreign policy. As we shall demonstrate, both Roosevelt and Wilson left their mark in this arena in ways that few other presidents have had the opportunity to do.

Timeline

1898	Theodore Roosevelt is elected governor of New York after the Spanish–American War.
1900	Mark Hanna joins with Samuel Gompers in forming the National Civic Federation to promote the settlement of labor disputes.
	William McKinley is reelected president with Theodore Roosevelt as his vice presidential running mate.
	Robert La Follette is elected governor of Wisconsin on a Progressive platform.
1901	William McKinley is assassinated by Leon Czolgosz, and Theodore Roosevelt assumes the presidency.
1902	The Newlands Act provides federal funds for the construction of dams, canals, and hydroelectric power plants in the West.
	Roosevelt invokes the Sherman Antitrust Act against the Northern Securities Company.
	Roosevelt offers arbitration, then threatens a federal takeover of the coal mines to end the United Mine Workers' strike.
	Maryland enacts the first workers' compensation law.
1903	Department of Commerce and Labor is created, including a Bureau of Corporations with investigatory powers.
	The Elkins Act prohibits railroad rebates.
1904	United Mine Workers' strike in Colorado ends in a rout climaxed by the deportation of strikers to the desert.
	Theodore Roosevelt defeats Alton Parker for his second term in the White House.
1905	Theodore Roosevelt creates the Forest Service, headed by Gifford Pinchot.
	Lochner v. New York holds a maximum-hours law for bakers to be unconstitutional.
	Industrial Workers of the World is founded.
1906	A race riot in Atlanta leads to twelve deaths.
	The Hepburn Act strengthens the regulatory authority of the ICC over railroads, enabling them to set rates and inspect the books.
	The Pure Food and Drug Act forbids the sale and manufacture of adulterated food products and poisonous patent medicines.
	The Meat Inspection Amendment provides for federal inspection of meat.

Timeline Continued

1907	The Panic of 1907 is thwarted when Roosevelt acquiesced to the purchase of Tennessee Iron and Coal by U.S. Steel, financed by J. P. Morgan.
1908	William Howard Taft defeats William Jennings Bryan in the presidential election.
1909	The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is formed.
1910	A group of Progressive Republicans in the House, led by George W. Norris of Nebraska, strips Speaker Joseph G. Cannon of his arbitrary and partisan control over legislation and committee appointments.
	Theodore Roosevelt returns to politics.
1911	Illinois establishes a public assistance program for mothers with dependent children.
	The Supreme Court reverses the decision in *U.S. v. E. C. Knight* and breaks up the Standard Oil and American Tobacco monopolies.
	The Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire in New York City leads to the death of 146 people, mostly women, 62 of whom leaped to their deaths from the ninth and tenth floors.
	Taft files an antitrust suit against U.S. Steel, alleging that the 1907 acquisition of Tennessee Iron and Coal facilitated by Theodore Roosevelt violated the Sherman Act.
1912	Massachusetts creates a commission to fix wages for women and children.
	Republicans nominate William Howard Taft for president; Theodore Roosevelt and his supporters form the Bull Moose Party.
	Democrat Woodrow Wilson defeats both Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft in a three-way presidential race.
1913	The Sixteenth Amendment allows for the restoration of the federal income tax.
	The Federal Reserve Act creates the Federal Reserve System.
1914	The Federal Trade Commission is established.
	At the end of a United Mine Workers' strike, National Guardsmen burn a strikers' tent colony at Ludlow, Colorado, killing eleven women and two children.
1915	Seaman's Act releases commercial sailors from bondage to labor contracts.
1916	Woodrow Wilson is reelected.
1918	*Hammer v. Dagenhart* strikes down the child labor law that prohibited interstate shipment of goods produced using child labor.

Chapter Summary

The assassination of William McKinley in 1901 brought to the presidency Theodore Roosevelt—a man with the popularity, energy, drive, intellect, and will to bring about progressive change in America, much to the chagrin of conservative Republicans. Roosevelt began his reforms with an antitrust suit against the Northern Securities Company of J. P. Morgan, E. H. Harriman, and James J. Hill; then, later that year, he broke with thirty years of federal precedent when he took the middle road instead of backing mine owners in a United Mine Workers' strike. Middle class voters supported Roosevelt's Progressivism in a manner that they had not supported the Populism of William Jennings Bryan in the previous decade—though most of the ideas of the Progressives in the early twentieth century were first proposed by the Populists in the century previous.

Progressives were united by the idea that the public good should take precedent over individual interests. The concerns of the Progressives were directed primarily at the excesses of capitalism, and included child labor and worker exploitation, environmental degradation, and corruption. Progressives believed that big business had grown too powerful and influential in government; consequently, the power of business had to be curbed in order to correct the other social injustices. Another catalyst for the Progressive movement was the Panic of 1893 and the suffering that followed through the 1890s. Progressives viewed government as a tool that could be used to help alleviate such suffering. Progressive reforms began on the municipal and state level before Theodore Roosevelt arrived in the White House to usher them in on a federal level.

Reforms under Roosevelt included not only trust-busting but also greater federal regulation of railroads, federal regulation of food and drugs, federal meat inspection, and conservation of federal lands and natural resources. Trust-busting would be continued and expanded under Roosevelt's successor, William Howard Taft. Tragedy also played a role in bringing about reforms when the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire led to new factory safety standards.

In spite of his trust-busting, William Howard Taft's presidency lost the support of Progressives when he fired Theodore Roosevelt's head of the Forest Service, Gifford Pinchot, for insubordination. Conservatives, however, still supported Taft and viewed Roosevelt as a dangerous loose cannon. When conservatives at the Republican Convention in 1912 nominated Taft, Roosevelt and his supporters withdrew from the party and nominated Theodore Roosevelt for president as the candidate of the "Bull Moose" Party. Roosevelt, however—along with Taft—would lose the three-candidate election to Democratic governor of New Jersey, Woodrow Wilson.

Wilson, with a PhD from Princeton and a Christian moralist, courted his second wife, Edith Galt, while in office. Aside from that spectacle, Americans were treated to more Progressivism under his leadership with the passage of the Sixteenth Amendment that provided for a federal income tax, the creation of the Federal Reserve System, the creation of the Federal Trade Commission to enforce fair trade practices, and the institution of child labor laws.

For African Americans, however, progressivism brought little progress outside of Theodore Roosevelt's symbolic dinner with Booker T. Washington. President Taft essentially ignored the concerns of blacks, and President Wilson even reversed the integrationist policies Roosevelt had prescribed for the U.S. military. The NAACP was formed; and W. E. B. DuBois and others clamored for black rights, but they would not be forthcoming.

In spite of all the changes by the end of the Progressive Era, big business remained dominant, blacks remained repressed, income inequality remained approximately what it had been before the Progressive Era. And although women achieved suffrage, the rest of the societal limitations on women were primarily unchanged. Nevertheless, Progressivism did at least stimulate intellectual discussion and permanently establish the idea that government can be used as a tool for solving societal problems.

Key Terms

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Pop Quiz

1. Which of the following is true of Theodore Roosevelt?
   a. He was a great athlete in his youth.
   b. He was sickly and sedentary as an adult.
   c. He glorified warfare.
   d. He warned against physical over-exertion.

2. The supporters of Theodore Roosevelt and the Bull Moose Party in 1912 were typically _____.
   a. ten years younger than conservatives in the Republican Party
   b. ten years older than conservatives in the Republican Party
   c. ten times more educated that conservatives in the Republican Party
   d. ten points smarter than average on the available IQ tests in 1912

3. The catalyst behind the shifting coalitions that formed the Progressive movement was _____.
   a. Bolshevism
   b. Feminism
   c. Patriotism
   d. the prolonged economic depression of the 1890s

4. Who were the rural Tories in the Southern states?
   a. persons still loyal to England
   b. conservatives ideologically, but members of the Democratic Party due to sectionalism
   c. liberal supporters of Progressivism in the South
   d. Southern feminists who supported Progressivism

5. Which of the following is true of William Howard Taft and the trusts?
   a. Taft viewed the trusts as illegal.
   b. Taft's trust-busting exceeded that of Roosevelt.
   c. Taft did not break up any trusts.
   d. Both a and b

6. What happened in the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire of 1911?
   a. Ladder trucks saved 146 people.
   b. Dozens of women jumped to their death from the ninth floor.
   c. Firemen saved 146 people with hand-held landing pads.
   d. By using the fire escape, 146 people were saved.

7. In a scandal involving Interior Secretary Richard Ballinger, investigator Lewis Glavis charged that Ballinger _____.
   a. engaged in a plan to turn over public coal reserves in Alaska to private investors for profit
   b. engaged in sexual relations with a young female intern
   c. leaked the name of a CIA agent to the press
   d. engaged in a plan to drill for oil in the Arctic National Wildlife Reserve

8. Theodore Roosevelt ran for president in 1912 as the nominee of the _____ Party.
   a. Republican
   b. Democratic
   c. Bull Moose
   d. Progressive

9. All of the following reforms were accomplished during Wilson's first term ***except*** _____.
   a. reduction in tariffs
   b. the Federal Reserve System
   c. minimum wage for workers
   d. strengthened antitrust law

10. In *Hammer v. Dagenhart,* the Supreme Court _____.
    a. upheld restrictions on child labor
    b. struck down new restrictions on child labor
    c. ruled that children under ten were too small to work with hammers
    d. ruled that child labor should be left to the discretion of the child

11. Woodrow Wilson discharged three companies of black soldiers as a result of the affray at Brownsville. T F

12. In 1902, the United States Industrial Commission reported that monopoly capitalism was keeping prices low. T F

13. _____ Americans lived in absolute poverty in the Progressive Era.

14. Theodore Roosevelt distinguished between _____ trusts and _____ trusts.

15. Taft's record on reform was _____.

Answer Key: 1. c 2. a 3. d 4. b 5. d 6. b 7. a 8. c 9. c 10. b 11. F 12. F 13. Ten million 14. good; bad 15. impressive