

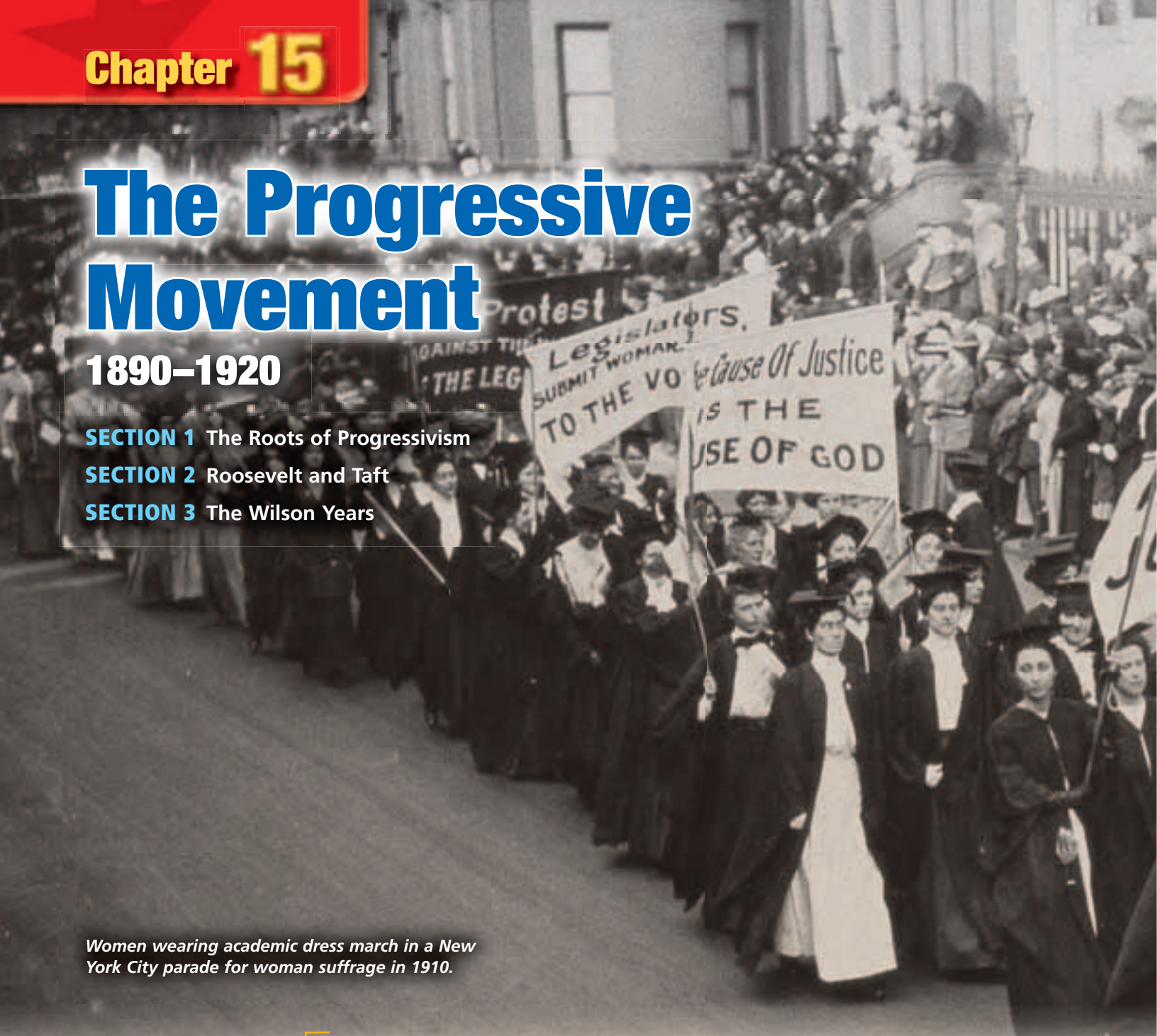
# The Progressive Movement

## 1890–1920

**SECTION 1** The Roots of Progressivism

**SECTION 2** Roosevelt and Taft

**SECTION 3** The Wilson Years



Women wearing academic dress march in a New York City parade for woman suffrage in 1910.

**1889**

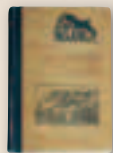
- Hull House opens in Chicago

B. Harrison  
1889–1893



**1890**

- Jacob Riis's *How the Other Half Lives* is published



Cleveland  
1893–1897



**1902**

- Maryland passes first U.S. workers' compensation laws

McKinley  
1897–1901



T. Roosevelt  
1901–1909



**1906**

- Pure Food and Drug Act passed

**U.S. PRESIDENTS**

**U.S. EVENTS**

**WORLD EVENTS**

1890

1900

**1884**

- Toynbee Hall, first settlement house, is established in London



**1903**

- Russian Bolshevik Party is established by Lenin

**1906**

- British pass worker's compensation law



**MAKING CONNECTIONS**

## Can Politics Fix Social Problems?

Industrialization changed American society. Cities were crowded, working conditions were often bad, and the old political system was breaking down. These conditions gave rise to the Progressive movement. Progressives campaigned for both political and social reforms.

- *What reforms do you think progressives wanted to achieve?*
- *Which of these reforms can you see in today's society?*

Taft  
1909–1913



1910

1910

- Mann-Elkins Act passed

Wilson  
1913–1921



1913

- Seventeenth Amendment requires states to elect senators

1920

- Nineteenth Amendment gives women voting rights

1920

1908

- Germany limits working hours for children and women

1911

- British create national health insurance program

1914

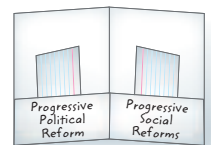
- World War I begins in Europe

1917

- Russian Revolution begins

### FOLDABLES

**Analyzing Reform Programs** Create a Pocket Book Foldable that divides the progressive agenda into political reforms and social reforms. Take notes on a wide range of reforms, placing each one in the proper column of the Foldable.



**History ONLINE Chapter Overview**  
Visit [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) to preview Chapter 15.

# Section 1

## The Roots of Progressivism

### Guide to Reading

#### Big Ideas

**Group Action** The progressives sought to improve life in the United States with social, economic, and political reforms.

#### Content Vocabulary

- muckraker (p. 521)
- direct primary (p. 522)
- initiative (p. 523)
- referendum (p. 523)
- recall (p. 523)
- suffrage (p. 524)
- prohibition (p. 527)

#### Academic Vocabulary

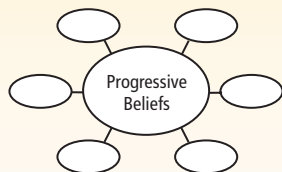
- legislation (p. 523)
- advocate (p. 527)

#### People and Events to Identify

- Jacob Riis (p. 521)
- Robert M. La Follette (p. 522)
- Carrie Chapman Catt (p. 525)

#### Reading Strategy

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



The Progressive Era was a time when many Americans tried to improve their society. They tried to make government honest, efficient, and more democratic. The movement for women’s suffrage gained more support, as did efforts to limit child labor and reduce alcohol abuse.

### The Rise of Progressivism

**MAIN Idea** Progressives tried to solve the social problems that arose as the United States became an urban, industrialized nation.

**HISTORY AND YOU** What areas of public life do you believe need to be reformed? Read on to learn about a movement that tried to fix many of society’s problems.

Progressivism was a collection of different ideas and activities. It was not a tightly organized political movement with a specific set of reforms. Rather, it was a series of responses to problems in American society that had emerged from the growth of industry. Progressives had many different ideas about how to fix the problems they saw in American society.

### Who Were the Progressives?

Progressivism was partly a reaction against laissez-faire economics and its emphasis on an unregulated market. Progressives generally believed that industrialization and urbanization had created many social problems. After seeing the poverty of the working class and the filth and crime of urban society, reformers began doubting the free market’s ability to address those problems.

Progressives belonged to both major political parties. Most were urban, educated, middle-class Americans. Among their leaders were journalists, social workers, educators, politicians, and members of the clergy. Most agreed that government should take a more active role in solving society’s problems. At the same time, they doubted that the government in its present form could fix those problems. They concluded that government had to be fixed before it could be used to fix other problems.

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

## The Photojournalism of Jacob Riis

Photography offered a new tool in combating injustice. One of the most famous early photojournalists was Jacob Riis, whose book, *How the Other Half Lives*, helped stir progressives to action:

### PRIMARY SOURCE

"Look into any of these houses, everywhere the same piles of rags, of malodorous bones and musty paper. . . . Here is a 'flat' or 'parlor' and two pitch-dark coops called bedrooms. Truly, the bed is all there is room for. The family teakettle is on the stove, doing duty for the time being as a wash-boiler. By night it will have returned to its proper use again, a practical illustration of how poverty in 'the Bend' makes both ends meet. One, two, three beds are there, if the old boxes and heaps of foul straw can be called by that name; a broken stove with crazy pipe from which the smoke leaks at every joint, a table of rough boards propped up on boxes, piles of rubbish in the corner. The closeness and smell are appalling. How many people sleep here? The woman with the red bandanna shakes her head sullenly, but the bare-legged girl with the bright face counts on her fingers—five, six!"

—from *How the Other Half Lives*

### DBQ Document-Based Questions

- Analyzing Visuals** What effect do Riis's photos convey?
- Making Inferences** Based on the quotation above, how could you summarize Riis's views on changing life in the slums?

## The Muckrakers

Among the first people to articulate progressive ideas was a group of crusading journalists who investigated social conditions and political corruption. President Theodore Roosevelt nicknamed these writers "**muckrakers**." The term referred to a character in John Bunyan's book *Pilgrim's Progress*, who single-mindedly scraped up the filth on the ground, ignoring everything else. These journalists, according to Roosevelt, were obsessed with scandal and corruption. Widely circulated, cheap newspapers and magazines helped to spread the muckrakers' ideas.

Muckrakers uncovered corruption in many areas. Some concentrated on exposing the unfair practices of large corporations. In *Everybody's Magazine*, Charles Edward Russell

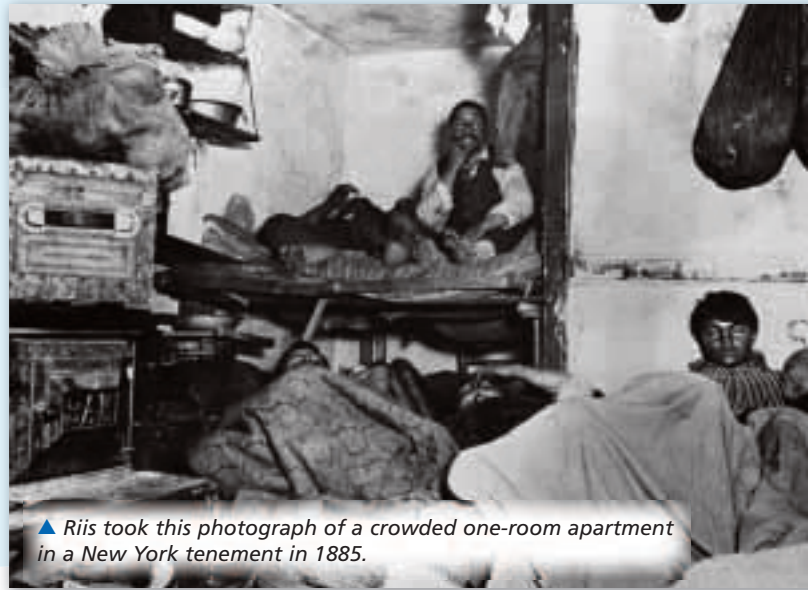
attacked the beef industry. In *McClure's*, Ida Tarbell published a series of articles critical of the Standard Oil Company. Other muckrakers targeted government and social problems. Lincoln Steffens reported on vote stealing and other corrupt practices of urban political machines. These articles were later collected into a book, *The Shame of the Cities*.

Still other muckrakers concentrated on social problems. In his influential book, *How the Other Half Lives* (1890), **Jacob Riis** published photographs and descriptions of the poverty, disease, and crime that afflicted many immigrant neighborhoods in New York City. By raising public awareness of these problems, the muckrakers stimulated calls for reform.

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



▲ New York slum dwellers in this Jacob Riis photograph, taken about 1890, lived in wooden shacks in a city alley.



▲ Riis took this photograph of a crowded one-room apartment in a New York tenement in 1885.



Read literature from the era on pages R72–R73 in the **American Literature Library**.

**History ONLINE**  
**Student Web**  
**Activity** Visit  
[glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com)  
and complete the  
activity on the  
Progressive  
movement.

# Reforming Government

**MAIN Idea** Progressives tried to make government more efficient and more responsive to citizens.

**HISTORY AND YOU** How do you use your time and resources wisely? Read on to learn how progressives tried to make the government more efficient.

Progressivism included a wide range of reform activities. Different issues led to different approaches, and progressives even took opposing positions on how to address some problems. They condemned corruption in government but did not always agree on the best way to fix the problem.

## Making Government Efficient

One group of progressives focused on making government more efficient by using ideas from business. Theories of business efficiency first became popular in the 1890s. Books such as Frederick W. Taylor's *The Principles of Scientific Management* (1911) described how a company could increase efficiency by managing time, breaking tasks down into small parts, and using standardized tools. In his book, Taylor argued that this "scientific method" of managing businesses optimized productivity and provided more job opportunities for unskilled workers. Many progressives argued that managing a modern city required the use of business management techniques.

Progressives saw corruption and inefficiency in municipal government where, in most cities, the mayor or city council chose the heads of city departments. Traditionally, they gave these jobs to political supporters and friends, who often knew little about managing city services.

Progressives supported two proposals to reform city government. The first, a commission plan, divided city government into several departments, each one under an expert commissioner's control. The second approach was a council-manager system. The city council would hire a city manager to run the city instead of the mayor. In both systems, experts play a major role in managing the city. Galveston, Texas, adopted the commission system in 1901. Other cities soon followed.

## Democratic Reforms

Another group of progressives focused on making the political system more democratic and more responsive to citizens. Many believed that the key to improving government was to make elected officials more responsive and accountable to the voters.

### La Follette's Laboratory of Democracy

Led by Republican governor **Robert M. La Follette**, Wisconsin became a model of progressive reform. La Follette attacked the way political parties ran their conventions. Party bosses controlled the selection of convention delegates, which meant they also controlled the nomination of candidates. La Follette pressured the state legislature to pass a law requiring parties to hold a **direct primary**, in which all party members could vote for a candidate to run in the general election. This and other successes earned Wisconsin a reputation as the "laboratory of democracy." La Follette later recalled:

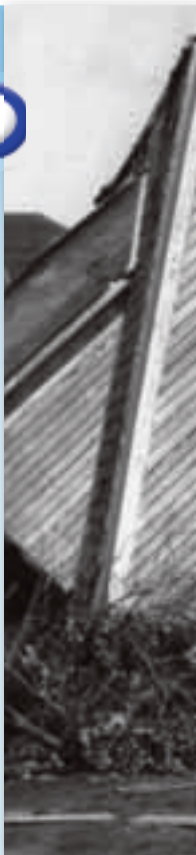
#### PRIMARY SOURCE

### New Types of Government

The most deadly hurricane in United States history slammed into Galveston, Texas, on September 8, 1900, killing about 6,000 people. Because the political machine running the city was incapable of responding to the disaster, local business leaders convinced the state to allow them to take control. The following April, Galveston introduced the commission system of local government, which replaced the mayor and city council with five commissioners. Sometimes referred to as the Galveston Plan, its constitutionality was confirmed and took effect.

Four of those commissioners were local business leaders. Reformers in other cities were impressed by the city's rapid recovery. Clearly, the city benefited from dividing the government into departments under the supervision of an expert commissioner. Soon, other cities adopted either the commission or council-manager systems of government.

► A house sits on its side after a hurricane ripped through Galveston, Texas, in September 1900.



## PRIMARY SOURCE

"It was clear to me that the only way to beat boss and ring rule was to keep the people thoroughly informed. Machine control is based upon misrepresentation and ignorance. Democracy is based upon knowledge. It is of first importance that the people shall know about their government and the work of their public servants."

—from La Follette's *Autobiography*

Wisconsin's use of the direct primary soon spread to other states, but to force legislators to listen to the voters, progressives also pushed for three additional reforms: the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. The **initiative** permitted a group of citizens to introduce **legislation** and required the legislature to vote on it. The **referendum** allowed citizens to vote on proposed laws directly without going to the legislature. The **recall** provided voters an option to demand a special election to remove an elected official from office before his or her term had expired.

**Direct Election of Senators** Progressives also targeted the Senate. As originally written, the federal constitution directed each state legislature to elect two senators. Political machines and business interests often influenced these elections. Some senators, once elected, repaid their supporters with federal contracts and jobs.

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

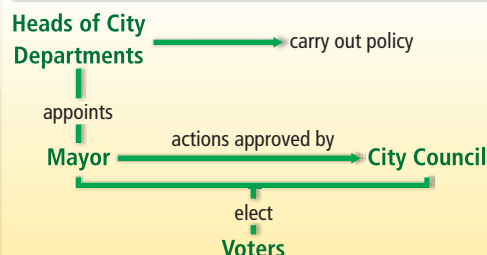
**Reading Check Evaluating** What was the impact of the Seventeenth Amendment? What problem was it intended to solve?



## Analyzing VISUALS

- Differentiating** In what form of government do voters elect the City Council?
- Analyzing** In a mayor-council form of government, who is responsible to carry out policy?

### Mayor-Council Form



Source: *The World Book Encyclopedia*.

### Commission Form



Source: *The World Book Encyclopedia*.

### Council-Manager Form



Source: *The World Book Encyclopedia*.



For an example of the early woman suffrage movement read “The Seneca Falls Declaration” on page R48 in **Documents in American History**.

## Suffrage

**MAIN Idea** Many progressives joined the movement to win voting rights for women.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you remember reading about the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848? Read about the momentum of the women’s rights movement in the 1910s.

At the first women’s rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, Elizabeth Cady Stanton convinced the delegates that their first priority should be the right to vote. Decades later, universal woman **suffrage**—the right to vote—still had not been granted. It became a major goal for women progressives.

### Early Problems

The woman suffrage movement got off to a slow start. Some people threatened women suffragists and said they were unfeminine and immoral. Many of its supporters were abolitionists, as well. In the years before the Civil War, abolishing slavery took priority.

After the Civil War, Congress introduced the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to grant citizenship to African Americans and voting rights to African American men. Leaders of the woman suffrage movement wanted these amendments to give women the right to vote, as well. They were disappointed when Republicans refused.

The debate over the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments split the suffrage movement into two groups: the New York City-based National Woman Suffrage Association, which Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony founded in 1869, and the Boston-based American Woman Suffrage Association, which Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howe led.

The first group wanted to focus on passing a constitutional amendment. The second group believed that the best strategy was convincing state governments to give women voting rights before trying to amend the Constitution. This split weakened the movement, and by 1900 only Wyoming, Idaho, Utah, and Colorado had granted women full voting rights.

## THE Woman Suffrage Movement

**1848**

The first women’s rights convention is held in Seneca Falls, New York, and issues a “Declaration of Rights and Sentiments”

**1872**

Susan B. Anthony votes illegally in the presidential election in Rochester, New York, claiming the Fourteenth Amendment gives her that right; she is arrested and found guilty



▲ Susan B. Anthony

**1850**

**1870**

**1890**



▲ Women voting in Cheyenne, Wyoming, 1869

**1869**

Territory of Wyoming becomes the first state or territory to grant women the right to vote



▲ Elizabeth Cady Stanton

**1890**

Elizabeth Cady Stanton becomes president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association

## Building Support

In 1890 the two groups united to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) but still had trouble convincing women to become politically active. As the Progressive movement gained momentum, however, many middle-class women concluded that they needed the vote to promote the reforms they favored. Many working-class women also wanted the vote to pass labor laws protecting women.

As the movement grew, women began lobbying lawmakers, organizing marches, and delivering speeches on street corners. On March 3, 1913, the day before President Wilson's inauguration, suffragists marched on Washington, D.C.

Alice Paul, a Quaker social worker who headed NAWSA's congressional committee, had organized the march. Paul wanted to use protests to confront Wilson on suffrage. Other members of NAWSA who wanted to negotiate with Wilson were alarmed. Paul left NAWSA and formed the National Woman's Party. Her

supporters picketed the White House, blocked sidewalks, chained themselves to lampposts, and went on hunger strikes if arrested.

In 1915 **Carrie Chapman Catt** became NAWSA's leader and tried to mobilize the suffrage movement in one final nationwide push. She also threw NAWSA's support behind Wilson's reelection campaign.

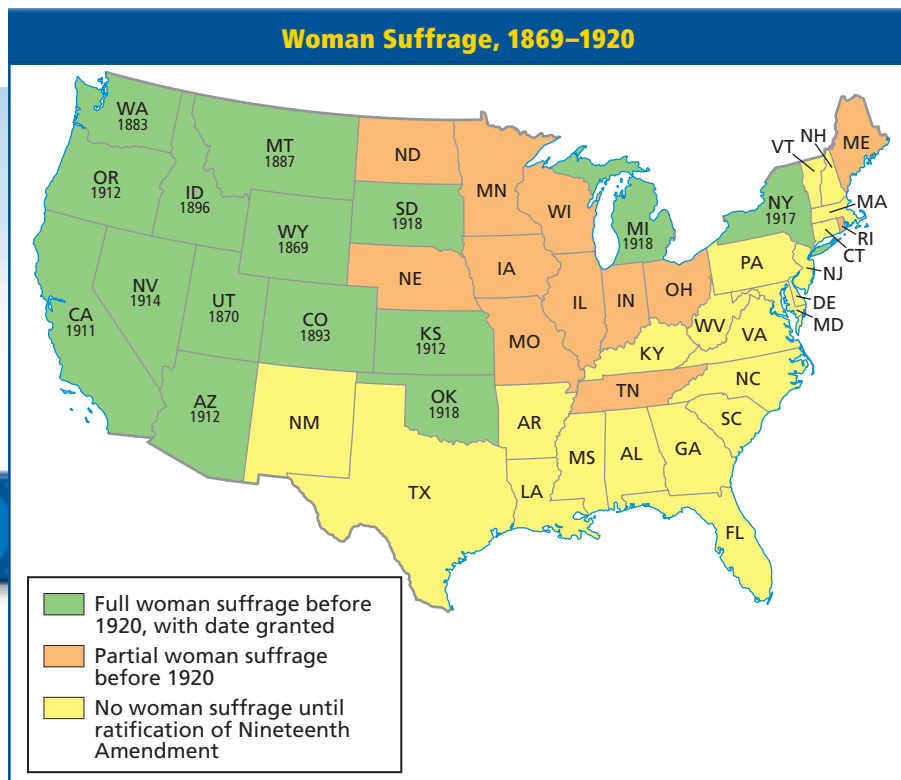
As more states granted women the right to vote, Congress began to favor a constitutional amendment. In 1918 the House of Representatives passed a women's suffrage amendment. The Senate voted on the amendment, but it failed by two votes.

During the midterm elections of 1918, Catt used NAWSA's resources to defeat two antisuffrage senators. In June 1919 the Senate passed the amendment by slightly more than the two-thirds vote needed. On August 26, 1920, after three-fourths of the states had ratified it, the Nineteenth Amendment, guaranteeing women the right to vote, went into effect.

**Reading Check Evaluating** How successful were women in lobbying for the Nineteenth Amendment?



▲ Women and children march in a 1912 suffrage parade in New York City.



1910

1920

**1913**

Alice Paul and Lucy Burns found the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage (later the National Woman's Party), which uses civil disobedience to promote women's suffrage

**1920**

Nineteenth Amendment, granting women the right to vote, is ratified

### Analyzing TIME LINES

- Identifying** In what state or territory were women first granted the right to vote?
- Analyzing** What region of the nation seemed most willing to grant woman suffrage without a national amendment?



# Reforming Society

**MAIN Idea** Many progressives focused on social welfare problems such as child labor, unsafe working conditions, and alcohol abuse.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Have you heard of companies using “sweatshop” labor in foreign countries? Read on to learn how progressives tried to ban child labor and make factories safer for workers.

While many progressives focused on reforming the political system, others focused on social problems. These social-welfare progressives created charities to help the poor and disadvantaged. They also pushed for new laws they hoped would fix social problems.

## Child Labor

Probably the most emotional progressive issue was the campaign against child labor. Children had always worked on family farms, but mines and factories presented more dangerous and unhealthy working conditions. Muckraker John Spargo’s 1906 book, *The Bitter Cry of the Children*, presented detailed evidence of child labor conditions. It told of coal mines that hired thousands of 9- or 10-year-old

“breaker boys” to pick slag out of coal, paying them 60 cents for a 10-hour day. It described the way that the work bent their backs permanently and often crippled their hands.

Reports like these convinced states to pass laws that set a minimum age for employment and established other limits on child labor, such as maximum hours children could work.

## Health and Safety Codes

Many adult workers also labored in difficult conditions. When workers were injured or killed on the job, they and their families received little or no compensation. Progressives joined union leaders to pressure states for workers’ compensation laws. These laws established insurance funds that employers financed. Workers injured in accidents received payments from the funds.

In two cases, *Lochner v. New York* (1905) and *Muller v. Oregon* (1908), the Supreme Court addressed government’s authority to regulate business to protect workers. In the *Lochner* case, the Court ruled that a New York law forbidding bakers to work more than 10 hours a day was unconstitutional. The state did not have the right to interfere with the liberty of

**History ONLINE**  
**Student Skill**  
**Activity** To learn how to create and modify a database, visit [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and complete the skill activity.

### PRIMARY SOURCE

## A Tragedy Brings Reform

Fire broke out on the top floors of the Triangle Shirtwaist Company on March 25, 1911. Young women struggled against locked doors to escape. A few women managed to get out using the fire escape before it collapsed. The single elevator stopped running. Some women jumped from windows on the ninth floor to their death, while others died in the fire. Nearly 150 of the 500 employees lost their lives in the blaze.

The Triangle factory was a nonunion shop. Health and safety issues were a major concern for unions. The disaster illustrated that fire precautions and inspections were inadequate. Exit doors were kept locked, supposedly to prevent theft. As a result of the fire and loss of life, New York created a Factory Investigating Commission. Between 1911 and 1914, the state passed 36 new laws reforming the labor code.



▲ Firemen fight Triangle Shirtwaist fire, March 25, 1911.



▲ Trade union members march in support of the women who died.

### Analyzing VISUALS

- Analyzing** What do you observe about the efforts at fighting the fire in the photo at left?
- Interpreting** What clues in the photo at right suggest that at least some of the women who died were immigrants?

# Section 1 REVIEW

employers and employees. In the case of women working in laundries in Oregon, however, the Court upheld the state's right to limit hours. The different judgments were based on gender differences. The Court stated that healthy mothers were the state's concern and, therefore, the limits on women's working hours did not violate their Fourteenth Amendment rights.

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

## The Prohibition Movement


Many progressives believed alcohol explained many of society's problems. Settlement house workers knew that hard-earned wages were often spent on alcohol and that drunkenness often led to physical abuse and sickness. Some employers believed drinking hurt workers' efficiency. The temperance movement—which **advocated** that people stop, or at least moderate, their alcohol consumption—emerged from these concerns.

For the most part, women led the temperance movement. In 1874 a group of women formed the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). By 1911 the WCTU had nearly 250,000 members. In 1893 another group, the Anti-Saloon League, formed. When the temperance movement began, it concentrated on reducing alcohol consumption. Later it pressed for **prohibition**—laws banning the manufacture, sale, and consumption of alcohol.

## Progressives Versus Big Business

Many progressives agreed that big business needed regulation. Some believed the government should break up big companies to restore competition. This led to the Sherman Antitrust Act in 1890. Others argued that big business was the most efficient way to organize the economy. They pushed for government to regulate big companies and prevent them from abusing their power. The Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), created in 1887, was an early example of this kind of thinking.

Some progressives went even further and advocated socialism—the idea that the government should own and operate industry for the community. They wanted the government to buy up large companies, especially industries that affected everyone, such as utilities. At its peak, socialism had some national support. Eugene V. Debs, the former American Railway Union leader, won nearly a million votes as the American Socialist Party candidate for president in 1912. Most progressives and most Americans, however, believed the American system of free enterprise was superior.

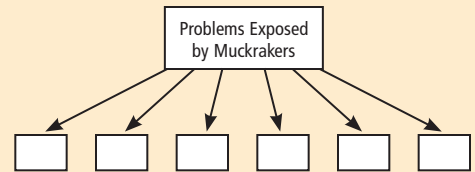
 **Reading Check** **Comparing** How well did women organize to fight for voting rights and against alcohol abuse?

### Vocabulary

1. **Explain** the significance of: muckraker, Jacob Riis, Robert M. La Follette, direct primary, initiative, referendum, recall, suffrage, Carrie Chapman Catt, prohibition.

### Main Ideas

2. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the kinds of problems that muckrakers exposed.



3. **Summarizing** How did initiative, referendum, and recall change democracy in the United States?

4. **Stating** What key provision did the Nineteenth Amendment make?

5. **Describing** Explain the various zoning laws and codes favored by progressives.

### Critical Thinking

6. **Big Ideas** Identify the different social issues associated with progressives. How do these ideals influence society today?

7. **Analyzing Visuals** Study the charts on page 523. Which system gives voters the most control over department heads? How?

### Writing About History

8. **Expository Writing** Create a database of progressive ideas of the period. Then write a one-page report using a word processor to summarize the progressive ideals.



**Study Central** To review this section, go to [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and click on Study Central.

## Section 2

# Roosevelt and Taft

### Guide to Reading

#### Big Ideas

**Individual Action** Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Taft worked to improve labor conditions, control big business, and support conservation.

#### Content Vocabulary

- Social Darwinism (p. 528)
- arbitration (p. 529)
- insubordination (p. 535)

#### Academic Vocabulary

- regulate (p. 530)
- environmental (p. 532)

#### People and Events to Identify

- Square Deal (p. 528)
- United Mine Workers (p. 529)
- Hepburn Act (p. 530)
- Upton Sinclair (p. 530)
- Meat Inspection Act (p. 530)
- Pure Food and Drug Act (p. 530)
- Gifford Pinchot (p. 532)
- Richard A. Ballinger (p. 534)
- Children's Bureau (p. 535)

#### Reading Strategy

**Notes** As you read about the Roosevelt and Taft administrations, use the headings of the section to create an outline similar to the one below.

Roosevelt and Taft  
I. Roosevelt Revives the Presidency  
A.  
B.  
C.  
D.  
II.

As president, Theodore Roosevelt extended the federal government's ability to curb the power of big business and to conserve natural resources. His successor, William Howard Taft, was less popular with progressives.

## Roosevelt Revives the Presidency

**MAIN Idea** Theodore Roosevelt, who believed in progressive ideals for the nation, took on big business.

**HISTORY AND YOU** How much do you think a president's personal beliefs should shape national policy? Read on to learn how Theodore Roosevelt used his ideas to change trusts and big business.

Theodore Roosevelt became president at age 42—the youngest person ever to take office. Roosevelt was intensely competitive, strong-willed, and extremely energetic. In international affairs, Roosevelt was a Social Darwinist. He believed the United States was in competition with the other nations of the world and that only the fittest would survive. Domestically, however, Roosevelt was a committed progressive, who believed that government should actively balance the needs of competing groups in American society.

"I shall see to it," Roosevelt declared in 1904, "that every man has a square deal, no less and no more." His reform programs soon became known as the **Square Deal**. To Roosevelt, it was not inconsistent to believe in **Social Darwinism** and progressivism at the same time.

## Roosevelt Takes on the Trusts

Roosevelt believed that trusts and other large business organizations were very efficient and part of the reason for America's prosperity. Yet Roosevelt remained concerned that the monopoly power of some trusts hurt the public interest. His goal was to ensure that trusts did not abuse their power. When the *New York Sun* declared that Roosevelt was "bringing wealth to its knees," the president disagreed. "We draw the line against misconduct," he declared, "not against wealth."

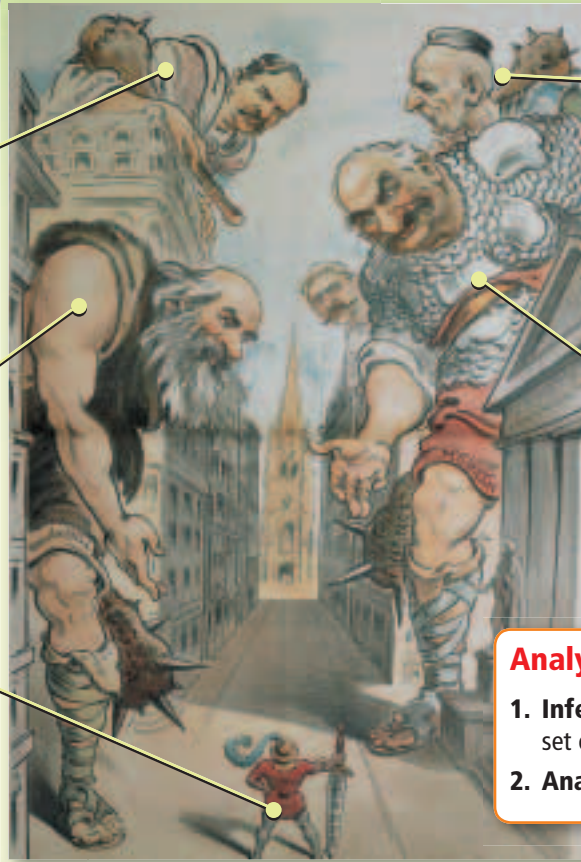
Roosevelt decided to make an example out of major trusts that he believed were abusing their power. His first target was J. P. Morgan's railroad holding company, Northern Securities. Established in 1901, the company proposed, through an exchange of stock, to merge existing railroad systems to create a monopoly on railroad traffic in the Northwest. As a monopoly, Northern Securities would have no competition. Farmers and business owners feared it would raise rates and hurt their profits. In 1902 the president ordered the attorney

## Roosevelt Versus the Trusts

Jay Gould was a well-known railroad speculator who had been involved in many scandals. At one point, he controlled the four largest western railroads, including the Union Pacific.

James J. Hill, founder of the Great Northern Railway Company and a partner with J. P. Morgan in Northern Securities

Theodore Roosevelt, shown standing in the middle of Wall Street carrying a sword labeled "Public Service"



John D. Rockefeller, founder of Standard Oil, which controlled most oil production in the United States

J. P. Morgan controlled a huge banking and financial empire. He also created the U.S. Steel Corporation and helped finance several railroads.

## Analyzing VISUALS

DBQ

- 1. Inferring** Why do you think the scene is set on Wall Street?
- 2. Analyzing** What do the giants represent?

general to file suit under the Sherman Antitrust Act, charging the company was a "combination in restraint of trade."

Roosevelt's action baffled J. P. Morgan. Expecting to resolve the suit without legal action, he inquired what could be done to "fix it up." Unmoved, Roosevelt proceeded with the case. In 1904, in *Northern Securities v. United States*, the Supreme Court ruled that Northern Securities had indeed violated the Sherman Antitrust Act. Roosevelt proclaimed, "The most powerful men in the country were held to accountability before the law." Newspapers hailed Roosevelt as a "trustbuster," and his popularity with the American public soared.

## The Coal Strike of 1902

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

The previous spring, the **United Mine Workers** (UMW) had launched a strike by the anthracite (hard coal) miners of eastern Pennsylvania. Nearly 150,000 workers walked out, demanding increased pay, reduced work hours, and union recognition. Coal prices began to rise. Roosevelt viewed it as another example of groups pursuing their private interests at the nation's expense. If the strike dragged on too long, the country would face a coal shortage that could shut down factories and leave many homes unheated.

Roosevelt urged the union and the owners to accept **arbitration**—a settlement negotiated by an outside party. The union agreed; the mine owners did not. The mine owners' stubbornness infuriated Roosevelt, as well as the public. Roosevelt threatened to order the army to run the mines. Fearful of this, the mine owners finally accepted arbitration. By intervening in the dispute, Roosevelt took the first step toward establishing the federal government as an honest broker between powerful groups in society.

## Regulating Big Business

Despite his lawsuit against Northern Securities and his role in the coal strike, Roosevelt believed most trusts benefited the economy and that breaking them up would do more harm than good. Instead, he proposed creating a new federal agency to investigate corporations and publicize the results. He believed the most effective way to keep big business from abusing its power was to keep the public informed.

In 1903 Roosevelt convinced Congress to create the Department of Commerce and Labor. The following year, this department began investigating U.S. Steel, a gigantic holding company that had been created in 1901. Worried about a possible antitrust lawsuit, the company's leaders met privately with Roosevelt and offered a deal. They would open their account books and records for examination. In exchange, if any problems were found, the company would be advised privately and allowed to correct them without having to go to court.

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

In keeping with his belief in regulation, Roosevelt pushed the **Hepburn Act** through Congress in 1906. This act was intended to strengthen the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) by giving it the power to set railroad rates. At first, railroad companies were suspicious of the ICC and tied up its decisions by challenging them in court. Eventually, the railroads realized that they could work with the ICC to set rates and regulations that limited competition and prevented new competitors from entering the industry. Over time, the ICC became a supporter of the railroads' interests, and by 1920 it had begun setting rates at levels intended to ensure the industry's profits.

## Consumer Protection

By 1905 consumer protection had become a national issue. That year, a journalist named Samuel Hopkins Adams published a series of

articles in *Collier's* magazine describing the patent medicine business.

Many companies patented and marketed potions they claimed would cure a variety of ills. Many of these medicines were little more than alcohol, colored water, and sugar. Others contained caffeine, opium, cocaine, and other dangerous compounds. Consumers had no way to know what they were taking, nor did they receive any assurance that the medicines worked as claimed. Adams's articles pointed out that these supposed cures could cause health problems. The articles in *Collier's* outraged many Americans.


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

### PRIMARY SOURCE

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

—from *The Jungle*

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

 **Identifying** What term was used to describe Roosevelt's policies and how accurate was it?



## Can Government Regulate Business Activity?

### ★ *Northern Securities v. United States*, 1904

#### Background to the Case

In 1901 three powerful businessmen, J. P. Morgan, James J. Hill, and Edward H. Harriman, created Northern Securities—a holding company that owned the majority of the stock in several major railroads. The government sued the company for violating the Sherman Antitrust Act, and a court ordered the company broken up.

#### How the Court Ruled

The Constitution gives the federal government the power to regulate interstate commerce—but did “commerce” mean all business activity, or just the movement of goods across state lines? The owners of Northern Securities argued that their company was a holding company set up to buy stock. It had been created legally under New Jersey law, and federal laws should not apply because the company itself did not engage in interstate commerce. In a 5-4 decision, the Court concluded that the commerce clause allows the federal government to regulate the ownership of companies.

#### PRIMARY SOURCE

##### The Court’s Opinion

“No state can, by merely creating a corporation . . . project its authority into other states, and across the continent, so as to prevent Congress from exerting the power it possesses under the Constitution over interstate and international commerce. . . .

. . . Every corporation created by a state is necessarily subject to the supreme law of the land. . . . In short, the court may make any order necessary to bring about the dissolution or suppression of an illegal combination that restrains interstate commerce. All this can be done without infringing in any degree upon the just authority of the states.

—Justice John Marshall Harlan, writing for the Court



▲ President Roosevelt once said “Speak softly and carry a big stick.” This cartoon shows Roosevelt swinging his stick and knocking down the trusts—and everything else, as well.

#### PRIMARY SOURCE

##### Dissenting Views

“Commerce depends upon population, but Congress could not, on that ground, undertake to regulate marriage and divorce. If the act before us is to be carried out according to what seems to me the logic of the argument . . . I can see no part of the conduct of life with which . . . Congress might not interfere.

. . . This act is construed by the Government to affect the purchasers of shares in two railroad companies because of the effect it may have . . . upon the competition of these roads. If such a remote result of the exercise of an ordinary incident of property and personal freedom is enough to make that exercise unlawful, there is hardly any transaction concerning commerce between the States that may not be made a crime by the finding of a jury or a court.”

—Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, dissenting

#### DBQ Document-Based Questions

- 1. Interpreting** How does Justice Harlan view the rights of states and the authority of Congress?
- 2. Defining** How does Justice Harlan refer to the Sherman Antitrust Act?
- 3. Analyzing** What does Justice Holmes fear in narrowly applying a law?

# Conservation

**MAIN Idea** New legislation gave the federal government the power to conserve natural resources.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Have you ever visited a national park or forest? Read on to find out how Roosevelt made some national parks and forests possible.

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

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

## Western Land Development

Roosevelt quickly applied his philosophy in the dry Western states, where farmers and city dwellers competed for scarce water. In 1902 Roosevelt supported passage of the Newlands Reclamation Act, authorizing the use of federal funds from public land sales to pay for irrigation and land development projects. The federal government thus began transforming the West's landscape and economy on a large scale.

## Gifford Pinchot

Roosevelt also backed efforts to save the nation's forests through careful management of the timber resources of the West. He appointed his close friend **Gifford Pinchot** to head the United States Forest Service established in 1905. "The natural resources," Pinchot said, "must be developed and preserved for the benefit of the many and not merely for the profit of a few."

As progressives, Roosevelt and Pinchot both believed that trained experts in forestry and resource management should apply the same

scientific standards to the landscape that others were applying to managing cities and industry. They rejected the laissez-faire argument that the best way to preserve public land was to sell it to lumber companies, who would then carefully conserve it because it was the source of their profits. With the president's support, Pinchot's department drew up regulations controlling lumbering on federal lands. Roosevelt also added over 100 million acres to the protected national forests and established five new national parks and 51 federal wildlife reservations.

## Roosevelt's Legacy

President Theodore Roosevelt changed the role of the federal government and the nature of the presidency. He used his power in the

# Debates IN HISTORY

## Should Resources Be Preserved?

The origins of the environmentalist movement can be traced back to the Progressive Era. Then, as now, people disagreed over the best approach to the environment. Their disagreements were represented in the differing views of John Muir, founder of the Sierra Club, who worked with Roosevelt to create Yosemite National Park, and Gifford Pinchot, head of the U.S. Forest Service under Theodore Roosevelt. Muir was a preservationist, hoping that wild places could be left as they were. Pinchot was a conservationist who believed in managing the use of land for the benefit of the nation's citizens.

White House to present his views, calling it his “bully pulpit.” Increasingly, Americans began looking to the federal government to solve the nation’s economic and social problems.

Under Roosevelt, the power of the executive branch of government had dramatically increased. The Hepburn Act gave the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to set rates, the Meat Inspection Act stated that the Agriculture Department could inspect food, the Department of Commerce and Labor could monitor business, the Bureau of Corporations could investigate corporations and issue reports, and the attorney general could rapidly bring antitrust lawsuits under the Expedition Act.

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

## Taft’s Reforms

**MAIN Idea** William Howard Taft broke with progressives on tariff and conservation issues.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Have you ever been judged in comparison with the accomplishments of a sibling or friend? Read on to learn how Taft had to deal with comparisons with Roosevelt.

Roosevelt believed Taft to be the ideal person to continue his policies. Taft had been Roosevelt’s most trusted lieutenant. He had served as a judge, as governor of the Philippines, and as Roosevelt’s secretary of war. Taft easily received his party’s nomination. His victory in the general election in November 1908 was a foregone conclusion. The Democratic candidate, William Jennings Bryan, lost for a third time.

**YES**

### John Muir

Sierra Club Founder

#### PRIMARY SOURCE

“The making of gardens and parks goes on with civilization all over the world, and they increase both in size and number as their value is recognized.

Everybody needs beauty as well as bread, places to play in and pray in, where Nature may heal and cheer and give strength to body and soul alike. . . . Nevertheless, like anything else worth while . . . they have always been subject to attack by despoiling gainseekers . . . eagerly trying to make everything immediately and selfishly commercial, with schemes disguised in smug-smiling philanthropy, industriously, shampiously crying, ‘Conservation, conservation, panutilization,’ that man and beast may be fed and the dear Nation made great.”

—from *The Yosemite*



**NO**

### Gifford Pinchot

Chief of U.S. Forest Service

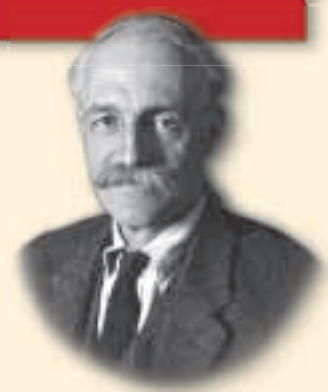
#### PRIMARY SOURCE

“The first principle of conservation is development, the use of the natural resources now existing on this continent for the benefit of the people who live here now. There may be just as much waste in neglecting the development and use of certain natural resources as there is in their destruction. . . .

Conservation stands emphatically for the development and use of water-power now, without delay. It stands for the immediate construction of navigable waterways . . . as assistants to the railroads. . . .

In addition . . . natural resources must be developed and preserved for the benefit of the many, and not merely for the profit of the few.”

—from *The Fight for Conservation*



### DBQ Document-Based Questions

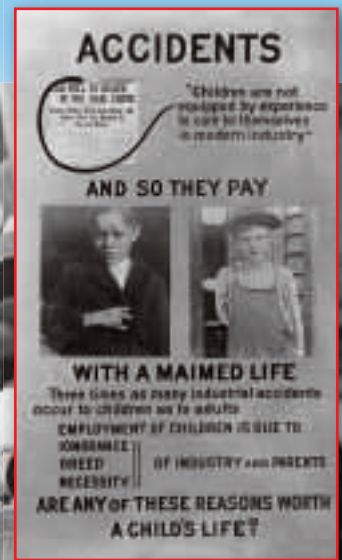
- Contrasting** How do the two men differ in their views about nature?
- Making Connections** Which view do you think is more common today? Why do you think so?
- Speculating** Which viewpoint do you think was more likely to be held by ranchers and farmers in California in the early twentieth century?



## Campaigning Against Child Labor

In 1900, 18 percent of children were employed. Maria Harris Jones, “Mother” Jones, as she was called, campaigned against child labor. After working with children in an Alabama cotton mill, she wrote, “Little girls and boys . . . reaching thin little hands into the machinery to repair snapped threads. They replaced spindles all day long; all night through . . . six-year-olds with faces of sixty did an eight-hour shift for ten cents a day . . .”

Using posters like the one shown at right to build public support, the campaign against child labor made steady progress. Between 1880 and 1910, 36 states passed laws on the minimum age for manufacturing workers.



### Analyzing VISUALS

- Analyzing** What in the photo indicates that the children could easily be injured?
- Hypothesizing** What effect do you think the images on the inset poster may have had on people in the early 1900s?

▲ At a Georgia cotton mill in 1909, two boys keep a spinning machine running by repairing broken thread and replacing bobbins as they are filled.

## The Payne-Aldrich Tariff

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

As Roosevelt predicted, the tariff debate divided progressives, who favored tariff reduction, and conservative Republicans who wanted to maintain high tariffs. In the prolonged negotiations on the bill, Taft's support for tariff reductions wavered, and then collapsed. In the end, Taft signed into law the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, which cut tariffs hardly at all and actually raised them on some goods.

Progressives felt outraged by Taft's decision: "I knew the fire had gone out of [the progressive movement]," recalled the head of the U.S. Forest Service, Gifford Pinchot, after Roosevelt left office. "Washington was a dead town. Its leader

was gone, and in his place [was] a man whose fundamental desire was to keep out of trouble."

## Ballinger Versus Pinchot

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

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

## Section 2 REVIEW

were groundless. Not satisfied, Pinchot leaked the story to the press and asked Congress to investigate. Taft fired Pinchot for **insubordination**, or disobedience to authority. The congressional investigation cleared Ballinger.

By the second half of his term of office, many Americans believed that Taft had “sold the Square Deal down the river.” Popular indignation was so great that the congressional elections of 1910 resulted in a sweeping Democratic victory, with Democrats taking the majority in the House, and Democrats and progressive Republicans grabbing control of the Senate from conservative Republicans.

### Taft's Achievements

Despite his political problems, Taft also had several successes. Although Roosevelt was nicknamed the “trustbuster,” Taft was a strong opponent of monopoly and actually brought twice as many antitrust cases in four years as his predecessor had in seven. In other areas, too, Taft pursued progressive policies. Taft established the **Children's Bureau** in 1912, an agency that investigated and publicized the problems of child labor. The agency exists today, and deals with issues such as child abuse prevention, adoption, and foster care.


The Ballinger-Pinchot controversy aside, Taft was also a dedicated conservationist. His contributions in this area actually equaled or surpassed those of Roosevelt. He set up the Bureau of Mines in 1910 to monitor the activities of mining companies, expand the national forests, and protect waterpower sites from private development. Most of the new and emerging technologies in the minerals field were partly made possible by the existence of the Bureau of Mines.

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

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

Roosevelt believed Taft's focus on breaking up trusts was destroying the carefully crafted system of cooperation and regulation that Roosevelt had established with big business. In November 1911 Roosevelt publicly criticized Taft's decision. Roosevelt argued that the best way to deal with the trusts was to allow them to exist while continuing to regulate them.

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

 **Reading Check** **Evaluating** How did Taft's accomplishments regarding conservation and trust-busting compare to Roosevelt's?

### Vocabulary

**1. Explain** the significance of: Square Deal, Social Darwinism, United Mine Workers, arbitration, Hepburn Act, Upton Sinclair, Meat Inspection Act, Pure Food and Drug Act, Gifford Pinchot, Richard A. Ballinger, insubordination, Children's Bureau.

### Main Ideas

- 2. Explaining** What was the intent of the Hepburn Act?
- 3. Describing** How did Roosevelt's policies change the Western landscape?
- 4. Discussing** How did Taft help conservation efforts and child labor problems?

### Critical Thinking

- 5. Big Ideas** How did Upton Sinclair contribute to involving the federal government in protecting consumers?
- 6. Organizing** Use a graphic organizer to list Taft's progressive reforms.

Taft's Progressive Reforms

**7. Analyzing Visuals** Study the photo on page 534. Could this photo be used to rally the cause against child labor? Explain the dangerous elements of the job.

### Writing About History

**8. Expository Writing** Suppose that you are living in the early 1900s and have just read Sinclair's *The Jungle*. Write a letter to a friend summarizing the plot and how it characterizes the Progressive Era.



**Study Central** To review this section, go to [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and click on Study Central.

## Section 3

# The Wilson Years

### Guide to Reading

#### Big Ideas

**Individual Action** Woodrow Wilson increased the control of the government over business.

#### Content Vocabulary

- income tax (p. 538)
- unfair trade practices (p. 539)

#### Academic Vocabulary

- academic (p. 536)
- unconstitutional (p. 540)

#### People and Events to Identify

- Progressive Party (p. 536)
- New Nationalism (p. 537)
- New Freedom (p. 537)
- Federal Reserve Act (p. 539)
- Federal Trade Commission (p. 539)
- Clayton Antitrust Act (p. 539)
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (p. 541)

#### Reading Strategy

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

Economic Reforms	Social Reforms

Woodrow Wilson, a progressive Democrat, won the election of 1912. While in office, he supported lower tariffs, more regulation of business, and creation of a federal reserve banking system.

## The Election of 1912

**MAIN Idea** Woodrow Wilson was elected after Republican voters split between Taft and Roosevelt.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you remember a catchy slogan from a political campaign? Read about the competing slogans and platforms in the 1912 election.

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

### Picking the Candidates

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

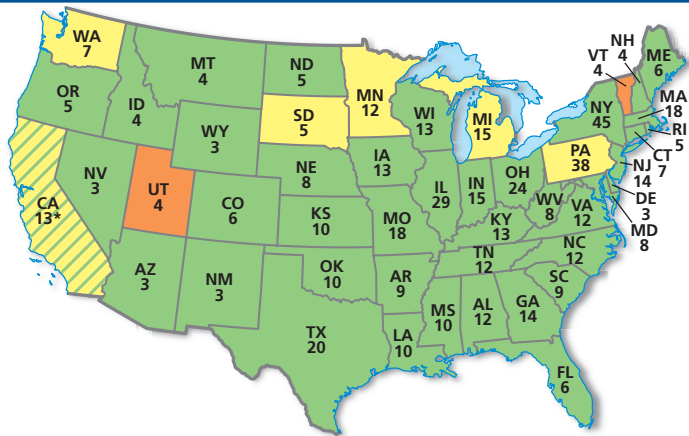
The struggle for control of the Republican Party reached its climax at the national convention in Chicago in June 1912. Conservatives rallied behind Taft. Most of the progressives supported Roosevelt. When it became clear that Taft's delegates controlled the nomination, Roosevelt decided to leave the party and campaign as an independent.

Declaring himself "fit as a bull moose," Roosevelt became the presidential candidate for the newly formed **Progressive Party**, which quickly became known as the Bull Moose Party. Because Taft had alienated so many groups, the election of 1912 became a contest between two progressives: Roosevelt and the Democratic candidate, Woodrow Wilson.

After a university teaching career that ended in his becoming the president of Princeton University, Woodrow Wilson entered politics as a firm progressive. As governor of New Jersey, he pushed through one progressive reform after another. He signed laws that introduced the direct primary, established utility regulatory boards, and allowed cities to adopt the commissioner form of government. In less than two years, New Jersey became a model of progressive reform.

## New Nationalism Versus New Freedom

### Presidential Election of 1912



Presidential Candidate	Popular Votes	% of Popular Vote	Electoral Votes
Wilson	6,293,454	41.86%	435
Roosevelt	4,119,207	27.40%	88
Taft	3,483,922	23.17%	8

\* Eleven voters in California voted for Roosevelt and two for Wilson.

### DBQ

### Document-Based Questions

- Analyzing Visuals** From which state did Roosevelt gain the most Electoral College votes?
- Analyzing Primary Sources** How do Wilson and Roosevelt differ on trusts?
- Making Generalizations** What can you generalize about the two men based solely on their appearance in giving a speech?

See *StudentWorks™ Plus* or [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com).

## Wilson Versus Roosevelt

The election of 1912 was a contest between two progressives with different approaches to reform. Roosevelt accepted the large trusts as a fact of life and set out proposals to increase regulation. Roosevelt also outlined a complete program of reforms. He favored legislation to protect women and children in the labor force and supported workers' compensation for those injured on the job. Roosevelt called his program the **New Nationalism**.

Wilson countered with what he called the **New Freedom**. He criticized Roosevelt's New Nationalism for supporting "regulated monopoly." Monopolies, he believed, should be destroyed, not regulated. Wilson argued that

## WILSON'S NEW FREEDOM

"I am perfectly willing that [a business] should beat any competitor by fair means . . . but there must be no squeezing out the beginner . . . no secret arrangements against him. All the fair competition you choose, but no unfair competition of any kind. . . . A trust is an arrangement to get rid of competition. . . . A trust does not bring efficiency . . . it buys efficiency out of business. I am for big business, and I am against the trusts . . . any man who can put others out of business by making a thing cheaper for the consumer . . . I take off my hat to . . ."

—from *The New Freedom*



## ROOSEVELT'S NEW NATIONALISM

"Combinations in industry [trusts] are the result of an imperative economic law which cannot be repealed by political legislation. . . . The way out lies, not in attempting to prevent such combinations, but in completely controlling them in the interest of the public welfare. . . . The absence of an effective State, and especially national, restraint upon unfair money-getting has tended to create a small class of enormously wealthy and powerful men. . . . The prime need is to change the conditions that enable these men to accumulate power."

—quoted in *History of U.S. Political Parties*



Roosevelt's approach gave the federal government too much power in the economy and did nothing to restore competition. Freedom, in Wilson's opinion, was more important than efficiency. "The history of liberty," Wilson declared, "is the history of the limitation of governmental power. . . . If America is not to have free enterprise, then she can have freedom of no sort whatever."

As expected, Roosevelt and Taft split the Republican voters, enabling Wilson to win the Electoral College with 435 votes and the election, even though he received less than 42 percent of the popular vote.

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

# Wilson's Reforms

**MAIN Idea** President Wilson reformed tariffs and banks and oversaw the creation of the Federal Trade Commission.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Are you aware of recent economic concerns and presidential responses to them? Read to learn of Wilson's economic actions after his election.

The new chief executive lost no time in embarking on his program of reform. "The president is at liberty, both in law and conscience, to be as big a man as he can," Wilson had once written. "His capacity will set the limit." During his eight years as president, Wilson demonstrated his executive power as he crafted reforms affecting tariffs, the banking system, trusts, and workers' rights.

## Reforming Tariffs

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

sonally lobbied members of Congress to support the tariff reduction bill. Not even Roosevelt had taken such an active role in promoting legislation.

Wilson believed that lowering tariffs would benefit both American consumers and manufacturers. If tariff rates were lowered, he reasoned, the pressure of foreign competition would lead American manufacturers to improve their products and lower their prices. In the long term, businesses would benefit from the "constant necessity to be efficient, economical, and enterprising."

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

An important section of the Underwood Tariff Act provided for levying an **income tax**, or a direct tax on the earnings of individuals. The Constitution originally prohibited direct taxes on individuals. Ratification of the Sixteenth Amendment in 1913, however, gave the federal government the power to tax the income of individuals directly.

### INFOGRAPHIC

## Progressives Reform the Economic System

During Wilson's presidency, Congress passed several major reforms affecting the nation's economy. The Federal Reserve and the Federal Trade Commission were created, federal income tax was introduced, and unions were legalized.

### The Federal Reserve

#### Why Was the Federal Reserve Created?

- to create national supervision of the banking industry
- to decentralize banking institutions and access to credit
- to prevent recurring "panics," such as the Panic of 1907
- to allow the demands of business to control the expanding and contracting of currency

#### What Does the Federal Reserve Do?

- controls the money supply and credit policies
- raises interest rates to member banks in times of plenty so that people won't borrow or spend too much money
- lowers interest rates to member banks during recessions so that people can more easily obtain needed credit
- supervises and supports Federal Reserve banks in twelve regions
- buys and sells government bonds and other securities



## Reforming the Banks

The United States had not had a central bank since the 1830s. During the economic depressions that hit the country periodically after that time, hundreds of small banks collapsed, wiping out the life savings of many of their customers.

To restore public confidence in the banking system, President Wilson supported the establishment of a federal reserve system. Banks would have to keep a portion of their deposits in a regional reserve bank, which would provide a financial cushion against unanticipated losses. The **Federal Reserve Act** of 1913 created 12 regional banks to be supervised by a Board of Governors, appointed by the president. This allowed national supervision of the banking system. The Board could set the interest rates the reserve banks charged other banks, thereby indirectly controlling the interest rates of the entire nation and the amount of money in circulation. The Federal Reserve Act became one of the most significant pieces of legislation in American history.

### Other Reforms

#### Why Was the Federal Trade Commission Created?

- to advise business people on the legality of their actions
- to protect consumers from false advertising
- to investigate unfair trade practices

#### What Was the Clayton Antitrust Act?

- outlawed unfair trade practices
- made it illegal for a company to hold stock in another, if by doing so, it reduced competition
- made owners and directors of businesses guilty of violating antitrust laws criminally liable
- allowed private parties who had been injured by trusts to collect any damages in legal suits
- banned use of injunctions against strikes
- farm and labor organizations could no longer be considered illegal combinations in restraint of trade

### Analyzing VISUALS

1. **Analyzing** What do the Federal Trade Commission, and the Clayton Antitrust Act have in common?
2. **Identifying** What do you notice about the Western states and the locations of the Federal Reserve Banks? Why do you think this pattern exists?

## Antitrust Action

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

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

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


Unsatisfied by Wilson's approach, progressives in Congress responded by passing the **Clayton Antitrust Act** in 1914. The act outlawed certain practices that restricted competition. For example, it forbade agreements that required retailers who bought from one company to stop selling a competitor's products. It also banned price discrimination. Businesses could not charge different customers different prices. Manufacturers could no longer give discounts to some retailers who bought a large volume of goods, but not to others. Farm and labor organizations could no longer be considered illegal combinations in restraint of trade. The passing of the Clayton Antitrust Act corrected deficiencies in the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890, which was the first federal antitrust law.

Before the Clayton act passed, labor unions lobbied Congress to exempt unions from anti-trust legislation. The Clayton Antitrust Act specifically declared that its provisions did not apply to labor organizations or agricultural organizations. When the bill became law, Samuel Gompers, the head of the American Federation of Labor, called the act the worker's "Magna Carta" because it gave unions the right to exist.

## Regulating Business

Despite his accomplishments, Wilson was not guaranteed reelection. In the congressional elections of 1914, Democrats suffered major losses. The Republican Party was also not likely to be divided as it had been in the election of 1912.

In 1916 Wilson signed the first federal law regulating child labor. The Keating-Owen Child Labor Act prohibited the employment of children under the age of 14 in factories producing goods for interstate commerce. In 1918 the Supreme Court declared the law **unconstitutional** on the grounds that child labor was not interstate commerce and therefore only states could regulate it. Wilson's effort, however, helped his reputation with progressive voters. Wilson also supported the Adamson Act, which established the eight-hour workday for railroad workers, and the Federal Farm Loan Act, which helped provide farmers with loans at low interest rates.

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

## Progressivism's Legacy and Limits

**MAIN Idea** Progressivism changed many people's ideas about the government's role in social issues.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you believe that groups of people have been left out of "the American dream"? Read on to find out about progressivism's failures and successes.

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

## A New Kind of Government

Progressivism made important changes in the political life of the United States. Before this era, most Americans did not expect the government to pass laws protecting workers or regulating big business. In fact, many courts had previously ruled the passage of such laws unconstitutional.

### PRIMARY SOURCE

## Founding of the NAACP

W.E.B. Du Bois was one of six founders of the NAACP. In *The Crisis*, the journal of the NAACP, Du Bois wrote:

### PRIMARY SOURCE

"The object of this publication is to set forth those facts and arguments which show the danger of race prejudice. . . . It takes its name from the fact that the editors believe that this is a critical time in the history. . . . Catholicity and tolerance, reason and forbearance can today make the world-old dream of human brotherhood approach realization: while bigotry and prejudice, emphasized race consciousness and force can repeat the awful history of the contact of nations and groups in the past. We strive for this higher and broader vision of Peace and Good Will."

—from *The Crisis*, January 1910



▲ *The first issue of The Crisis, November 1910*



▲ *W.E.B. Du Bois works with his staff in the office of The Crisis.*

### DBQ Document-Based Questions

- Analyzing** According to Du Bois, why was the magazine given its name?
- Analyzing Primary Sources** What "vision" does Du Bois recommend to his readers?

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

## The Limits of Progressivism

The most conspicuous limit to progressivism was its failure to address racial and religious discrimination. African Americans themselves, however, were absorbing the reform spirit, which fueled their longstanding desire for advancement.

In 1905 W.E.B. Du Bois and 28 other African American leaders met at Niagara Falls to demand full rights for African Americans. They met on the Canadian side of the falls because no hotel on the American side would accept them. There, they launched what became known as the Niagara Movement. This meeting was one of many steps leading to the founding of the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP) in 1909. Du Bois and other NAACP founders believed that voting rights were essential to end lynching and racial discrimination. “The power of the ballot we need in sheer self-defense,” Du Bois said, “else what shall save us from a second slavery? Freedom too, the long-sought we still seek,—the freedom of life and limb, the freedom to work and think, the freedom to love and aspire. Work, culture, liberty,—all these we need, not singly, but together.”

In 1908 race riots in Springfield, Illinois, shocked many people, including Mary White Ovington, a settlement house worker. She had been studying African Americans in New York, determined to do something to improve their situation. Other progressives, including Jane Addams of Hull House, and muckrakers Ida Wells-Barnett and Lincoln Steffens, joined Ovington in calling for change. Capitalizing on Springfield as Lincoln’s hometown and his centennial birthday on February 12, 1909, they organized a national conference to take stock of the progress in emancipation. At a second conference the following year, the NAACP was born. Through Du Bois, the members learned of the Niagara Movement, and the two groups eventually merged.

African Americans were not the only minority group facing discrimination. Jewish people also lived in fear of mob violence. In 1913 Leo Frank, a Jew being tried in Atlanta for a murder he did not commit, was sentenced to death. Although his sentence was changed to life imprisonment, a mob lynched him two years later.

In this context, lawyer Sigmund Livingston started the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) to combat stereotypes and discrimination. The ADL worked to remove negative portrayals of Jews in movies, in print, and on stage. For example, the League protested an army manual published during World War I that targeted Jews as likely to pretend to be sick to escape work or battle. When the ADL complained, President Wilson had the manual recalled.

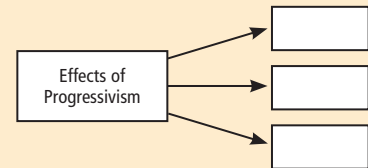
**Reading Check** **Evaluating** How did progressivism change American beliefs about the federal government?

### Vocabulary

- 1. Explain** the significance of: Progressive Party, New Nationalism, New Freedom, income tax, Federal Reserve Act, Federal Trade Commission, unfair trade practices, Clayton Antitrust Act, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

### Main Ideas

- 2. Discussing** Explain how Wilson won the presidency without winning the popular vote.
- 3. Identifying** Why did Wilson propose the Federal Reserve system?
- 4. Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the effects progressivism had on American society.



### Critical Thinking

- 5. Big Ideas** What new federal agencies increased the government’s power to regulate the economy?
- 6. Forming an Opinion** Which of Wilson’s reforms do you consider to be most important? Why?
- 7. Analyzing Visuals** Study the chart on page 538. What was the purpose of the Federal Reserve?

### Writing About History

- 8. Expository Writing** Suppose that you are a newspaper editor during Wilson’s administration. Write an article about the failure of Progressives to address African American reform issues.



**Study Central** To review this section, go to [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and click on Study Central.





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## Causes of the Progressive Movement

- People thought progress in science and knowledge could improve society.
- People thought immigration, urbanization, and industrialization had created social problems.
- People thought laissez-faire economics and an unregulated market led to social problems and that government could fix them.
- Political corruption prevented the government from helping its citizens.

► In 1910 a young boy works in a glass factory, an example of the type of child labor progressive reformers wanted to end.



▲ Trade unions begin their march honoring victims of the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire.

## Effects on Business and Society

- Interstate Commerce Commission is strengthened.
- Consumer protection laws are passed.
- Federal Trade Commission is created.
- Federal Reserve System is created to regulate the money supply.
- Clayton Antitrust Act grants labor unions more rights.
- Zoning laws and building codes improve urban housing.
- Child labor laws are passed, regulating time and conditions for minors to work.
- Workers' compensation laws are passed.
- Temperance movement begins seeking limitations on the production and consumption of alcohol.

## Effects on Politics

- Cities begin adopting commission and city-manager forms of government.
- States begin to adopt the direct primary system, allowing voters to choose candidates for office.
- States begin to allow initiatives, referendums, and recall votes.
- Seventeenth Amendment is ratified, requiring direct election of senators.
- Nineteenth Amendment is ratified, guaranteeing women the right to vote.

► Women march in 1916 in support of Woodrow Wilson's efforts to grant women the right to vote in 1916.



## STANDARDIZED TEST PRACTICE

### TEST-TAKING TIP

You can eliminate some answers by using your own knowledge and common sense. Read through each option and decide if it fits with what you know; if it does not, discard it.

### Reviewing Vocabulary

Directions: Choose the word or words that best complete each sentence.

- The term "muckraker" was used in the early 1900s to describe
  - street sweepers.
  - journalists.
  - farmers.
  - garden designers.
- Women spent more than 70 years actively seeking \_\_\_\_\_, or the right to vote.
  - initiative
  - petition
  - recall
  - suffrage
- The temperance movement was linked to the \_\_\_\_\_ of alcohol.
  - prohibition
  - production
  - reduction
  - requisition
- When Gifford Pinchot leaked a story to the press against William Taft's will, the president fired him for
  - arbitration.
  - prohibition.
  - insubordination.
  - initiation.

### Reviewing Main Ideas

Directions: Choose the best answers to the following questions.

#### Section 1 (pp. 520–527)

- Progressivism used the principles of science to solve problems resulting from
  - industrialization and urbanization.
  - global warming and fossil fuel use.
  - the outbreak of war and proliferation of weapons.
  - epidemic diseases and plagues.
- Which of the following allowed proposed legislation to be placed on the ballot for voter approval?
  - direct primary
  - referendum
  - initiative
  - veto
- What did the Nineteenth Amendment accomplish?
  - It required colleges to accept women.
  - It guaranteed child care for workers' children.
  - It granted women the right to vote.
  - It guaranteed equal pay for equal work.

#### Section 2 (pp. 528–535)

- Theodore Roosevelt was known as a trustbuster for his actions against
  - railroads.
  - coal mining.
  - the automobile industry.
  - stockyards and meatpackers.

#### Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
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**GO ON** 

# Chapter 15

9. Upton Sinclair's novel *The Jungle* was instrumental in exposing which industry?
- A steel
  - B meatpacking
  - C oil
  - D alcohol
10. President Taft broke with Roosevelt and progressives over
- A unions.
  - B child labor.
  - C trust-busting.
  - D tariffs.

## Section 3 (pp. 536–541)

11. How did President Wilson attempt to reform the banking industry?
- A He created the Federal Reserve System.
  - B He vetoed the Underwood Tariff Act.
  - C He opposed the Sixteenth Amendment.
  - D He refused to break up monopolies.
12. What did Du Bois and other NAACP founders believe was essential to end racial violence?
- A establishment of African American colleges
  - B higher-paying jobs for low-income citizens
  - C voting rights for African Americans
  - D private schools for African American children

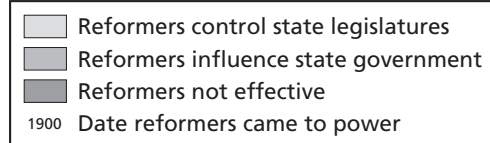
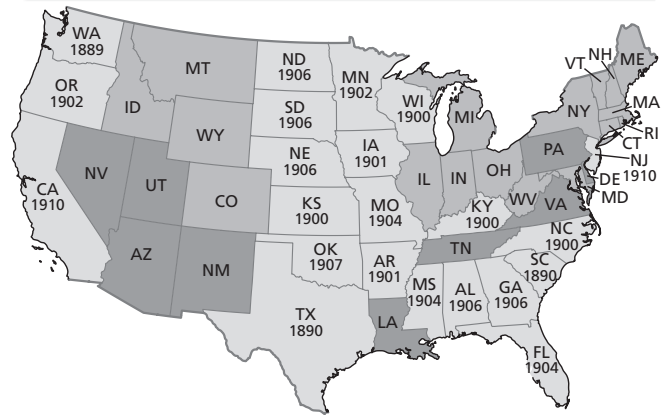
## Critical Thinking

Directions: Choose the best answers to the following questions.

13. How did Wisconsin governor Robert M. La Follette help to expand democracy in the United States?
- A by favoring women's suffrage
  - B by requiring political parties to hold a direct primary
  - C by allowing recall elections to remove elected officials from office before the end of his or her term
  - D by providing for absentee ballots to voters

Base your answers to questions 14 and 15 on the map below and on your knowledge of Chapter 15.

### Progressives and State Governments, 1889–1912



14. Which state came under the control of reformers before Wisconsin?
- A Florida
  - B Oregon
  - C Washington
  - D Nebraska
15. According to the map, what generalization can you make about progressives in state governments?
- A Progressives were most active in the Pacific Northwest, the Great Plains, and the South.
  - B They had no influence in the New England states.
  - C Reformers controlled few state legislatures by 1910.
  - D Reformers had little success in the Deep South.

### Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
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16. Progressive reforms strengthened the cause of women's suffrage by
- A campaigning against child labor in the mines and factories.
  - B petitioning Congress and the president.
  - C allowing women to work jobs that had been reserved for men.
  - D giving women a greater desire to vote for reforms and labor laws.

Analyze the cartoon and answer the question that follows. Base your answer on the cartoon and on your knowledge of Chapter 15.



Source: S.D. Ehrhart, *Puck*, February 24, 1909

17. How does the cartoon portray William Howard Taft?
- A as eager to see Roosevelt leave the White House
  - B as Roosevelt's equal in every way
  - C as a servant walking off with Roosevelt's big stick
  - D as a nursemaid to the baby, Roosevelt's policies

## Document-Based Questions

Directions: Analyze the document and answer the short-answer questions that follow the document.

Lucy Haessler writes of her childhood memories surrounding the woman suffrage movement:

*"The suffragettes had a big headquarters in downtown Washington. My mother would take me up there on Saturdays when she volunteered to help out with mailings. The backbone of the suffrage movement was composed of well-to-do, middle-class women, both Republicans and Democrats. There weren't many working-class women in the movement. . . ."*

*The suffragettes organized pickets and marches and rallies. I was only ten years old the first time I went to a march with my mother. She told me, 'Oh, you're too young, you can't go.' But I said, 'I am going, because you're going to win the right to vote and I'm going to vote when I'm grown-up.' So she let me march. . . . The more marches that were held, the more you could feel the movement just building and building. . . ."*

—quoted in *The Century for Young People*

18. Who does Haessler say were the backbone of the movement? Why do you think working-class women were not involved?
19. Why did Haessler want to march when she was only ten years old?

## Extended Response

20. Upton Sinclair and other muckrakers took on the social ills of their day, forcing passage of legislation such as the Pure Food and Drug Act. Select one social problem of modern life and write a persuasive essay that suggests legislation to address the issue. The essay should include an introduction, several paragraphs, and a conclusion that supports your position.

**STOP**

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For additional test practice, use Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 15 at [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com).

### Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	16	17	18	19	20
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