

1890–1919

# The Progressive Movement

## *The Big Ideas*

### SECTION 1: The Roots of Progressivism

**Social and economic crises lead to new roles for government.** As Americans became more aware of the social problems affecting the United States, progressives began to look to the government to help solve these problems and regulate big business.

### SECTION 2: Roosevelt in Office

**Social and economic crises lead to new roles for government.** When Theodore Roosevelt, a progressive, won the presidency in 1901, progressivism entered national politics.

### SECTION 3: The Taft Administration

**Social and economic crises lead to new roles for government.** William Howard Taft was a more moderate progressive than Theodore Roosevelt, but he still continued several progressive reforms.

### SECTION 4: The Wilson Years

**Social and economic crises lead to new roles for government.** When the Progressive era ended, the role of the federal government had changed, and people expected the government to take action in regulating the economy and solving social issues.



**The American Vision: Modern Times Video** The Chapter 5 video, “The Stockyard Jungle,” portrays the horrors of the meatpacking industry first investigated by Upton Sinclair.

1889

- Hull House opens in Chicago

1890

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

1902

- Maryland workers’ compensation laws passed

1904

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

B. Harrison  
1889–1893

Cleveland  
1893–1897

McKinley  
1897–1901

T. Roosevelt  
1901–1909

1890

1900



World

1884

- Toynbee Hall, first settlement house, established in London

1900

- Freud’s *Interpretation of Dreams* published

1902

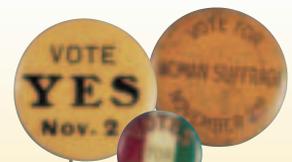
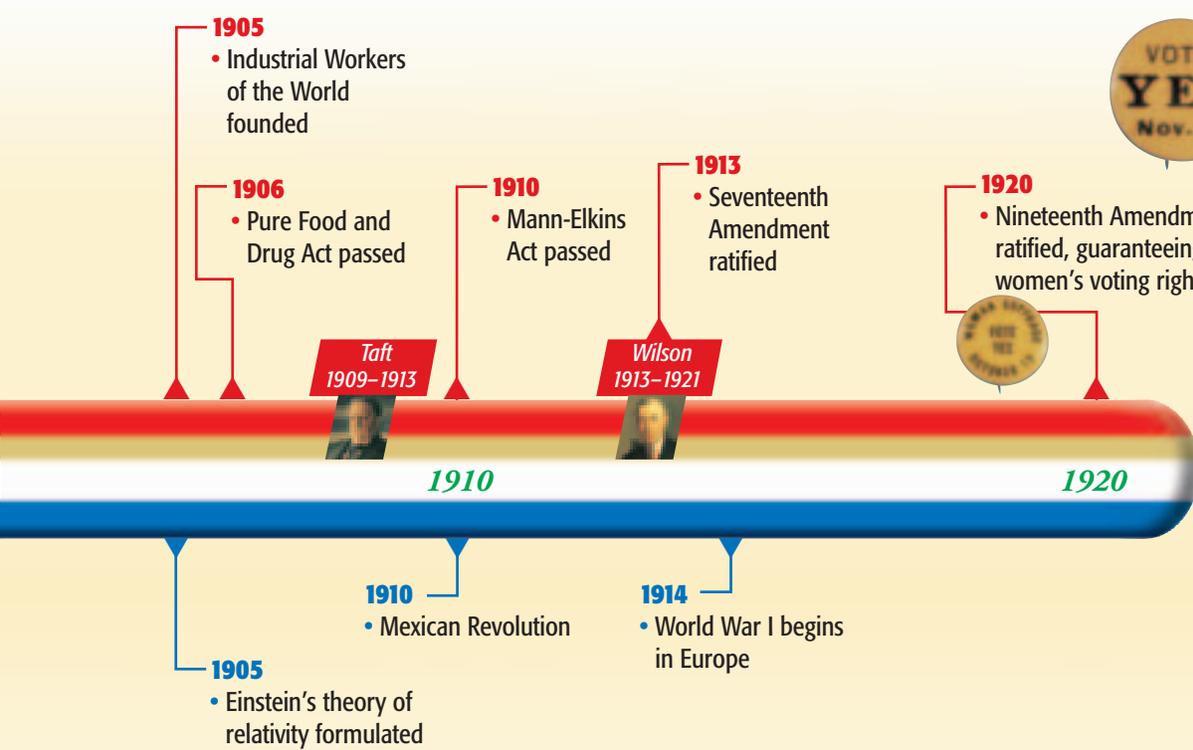
- Anglo-Japanese alliance formed

1903

- Russian Bolshevik Party established by Lenin



Women marching for the vote in New York City, 1912



**HISTORY**  
*Online*

**Chapter Overview**  
Visit the *American Vision: Modern Times* Web site at [tav.mt.glencoe.com](http://tav.mt.glencoe.com) and click on **Chapter Overviews—Chapter 5** to preview chapter information.

# Preparing to Read Chapter 5

## Reading Skill

## Making Inferences

When people read a text, they do not just read the text itself. They also use a skill called making inferences to understand the meaning of the text. This is sometimes called “reading between the lines.” It means that readers look for clues that might explain what is occurring in a passage even though it may not be openly stated. Readers think about what they already know and draw conclusions based on this knowledge. Authors rely on a reader’s ability to infer. They usually cannot include all the details in a text, because it would make passages needlessly long and repetitive.

As you read a text and make inferences, you must think about your own background knowledge. You will also use several reading strategies you learned earlier, including predicting and questioning. When you combine all of this information, you can understand the greater message the author is trying to convey.

*Read the following paragraph about President Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot, first head of the U.S. Forest Service, and make inferences about the political beliefs of progressives.*

As progressives, Roosevelt and Pinchot both believed trained experts in forestry and resource management should apply the same scientific standards to the landscape that others were applying to the management of cities and industry. They rejected the laissez-faire argument that the best way to preserve public land was to sell it to lumber companies, who would then carefully conserve it because it was a source of their profits. With President Roosevelt’s support, Pinchot’s department drew up regulations to control lumbering on federal lands. (pages 344–345)

As you read, you can identify which policies Roosevelt and Pinchot supported and which they opposed. Both believed in scientific standards of forestry management and regulation of the lumber industry. They opposed a laissez-faire approach to managing and selling public land. You also can infer that the president did not trust the lumber industry to operate in the public interest and therefore government regulations were necessary.

### MAKING INFERENCES

Use your background knowledge to understand the passage. What do you remember reading about Roosevelt taking on big businesses and trusts?

### Apply the Skill

Read the text under the heading “Beginnings of Progressivism” on pages 327–328. As you read, identify the information you gather from the text. Then think about the background knowledge from earlier chapters you have used to understand the passage.



**Historical Interpretation** When you learn to interpret events, it helps you understand their meaning, implication, and impact. One way to interpret is by recognizing and examining how events could have taken other directions.

**A**s you complete your high school education, you might be thinking about what you will do after graduation. Perhaps you will go to college, or you are considering a job in a specific industry. Consider how your life will be affected by your final decision. Will you stay close to your hometown, or will you move to another state? Will you work for a small company or a multinational corporation? Imagine the people that you won't meet and the experiences you may not have by choosing one direction over another, and the impact this choice could have on the direction of your life.

When historians interpret past events, they too consider how different choices might have affected the course of history. Using this skill helps them analyze past events. It also helps them understand the impact of decisions that were made based on the events of the time.

*Read this passage from your textbook about the suffrage movement at the end of the Civil War.*

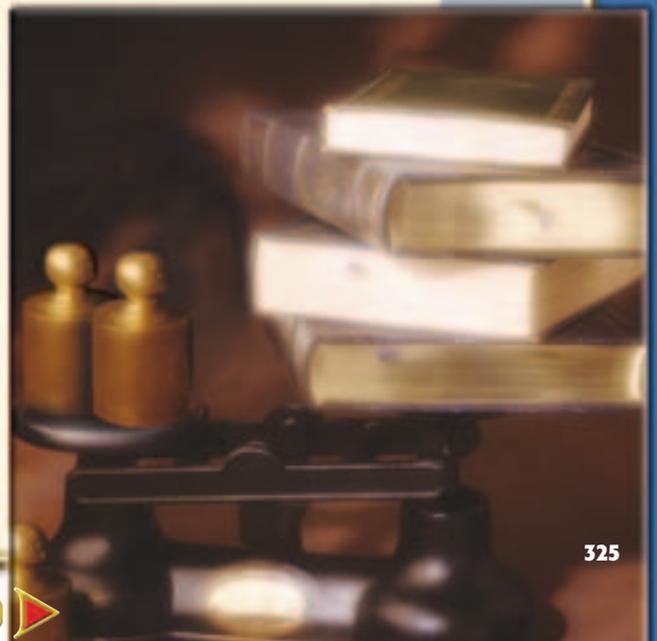
The debate over the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments split the suffrage movement into two groups: the National Woman Suffrage Association, . . . and the American Woman Suffrage Association. . . .

This split reduced the movement's effectiveness. In 1878 a constitutional amendment granting woman suffrage was introduced in Congress, but it failed to pass. Few state governments granted women the right to vote either. . . . By 1900 only Wyoming, Idaho, Utah, and Colorado had granted women full voting rights. (page 331)

Consider how long it took for women to gain the right to vote. Why would each group focus on their own strategy for gaining voting rights? How might the outcome have been different had the two groups agreed on a unified strategy? How do you think the split affected history?

### Apply the Skill

Choose one of the major areas on which progressives focused, such as child labor, temperance, or trusts. Review the various events regarding the topic. Then consider how events might have unfolded differently if muckrakers and reformers had not turned their attention to your chosen issue.



# The Roots of Progressivism

## Guide to Reading

### Connection

In the previous chapter, you learned how the United States increased its power and influence around the world. In this section, you will discover the beginning of the Progressive movement and a focus on domestic reform.

### Main Idea

- The Progressive movement was an attempt to use scientific principles to improve society. (p. 327)
- One form of progressivism focused on ways to use business practices to make government more efficient. (p. 328)
- Progressive policies in Wisconsin became widespread, leading to election reforms. (p. 330)
- Many progressives joined the suffrage movement to gain women the right to vote in national elections. (p. 330)

- Many progressives focused on social welfare problems, such as child labor, public health, and prohibition. (p. 333)
- Another form of progressivism focused on federal regulation of big business. (p. 335)

### Content Vocabulary

progressivism, muckraker, commission plan, direct primary, initiative, referendum, recall, suffrage, temperance, prohibition, socialism

### Academic Vocabulary

legislation, strategy, funds, advocate

### People and Terms to Identify

Jacob Riis, Robert La Follette, Alice Paul

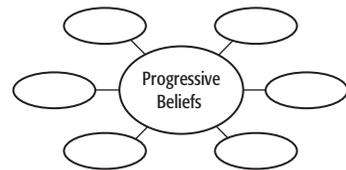
### Reading Objectives

- **Discuss** the rise of the Progressive movement.

- **Evaluate** the impact of initiative, referendum, and recall, and of the Seventeenth Amendment.

### 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.



### Preview of Events

1890

1890

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

1900

1901

Galveston, Texas, adopts commission system

1910

1913

Seventeenth Amendment provides for direct election of senators

1920

1920

Nineteenth Amendment gives women the right to vote

The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

**11.2.9** Understand the effect of political programs and activities of the Progressives (e.g., federal regulation of railroad transport, Children's Bureau, the Sixteenth Amendment, Theodore Roosevelt, Hiram Johnson).

**11.5.3** Examine the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution and the Volstead Act (Prohibition).

**11.5.4** Analyze the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment and the changing role of women in society.

## The Big Idea

**Social and economic crises lead to new roles for government.** During the late 1800s, Americans again became concerned with social problems in the United States. Progressives focused on a variety of issues and how to address them. Some believed that government should solve social problems, while others thought that science or business held the answers. Many progressives focused on improving government by making it either more efficient or more democratic. Others joined in the suffrage movement and worked to gain women the right to vote in national elections. Still other progressives focused on child labor, public welfare, prohibition, and regulation of big business.

## The Rise of Progressivism

**Main Idea** The Progressive movement was an attempt to use scientific principles to improve society.

**Reading Connection** What areas of public life do you believe still need to be reformed? Read on to learn about a movement in the late 1800s that tried to reform many of the ills of society at the time.

In the early 1900s, as the effects of industrialization and urbanization became apparent, a series of reform efforts transformed American society. These reforms ranged from government reform to social welfare and woman suffrage. Historians refer to this era in American history—from about 1890 to 1920—as the Progressive Era.

### ★ An American Story ★

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

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

—quoted in *Jailed for Freedom*

Progressive reform efforts were not limited to women's voting rights. Progressives came from different backgrounds, focused on a variety of issues, and did not always agree on solutions to solve the nation's problems.

## Who Were the Progressives? **Progressivism**

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

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

## Beginnings of Progressivism

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

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



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

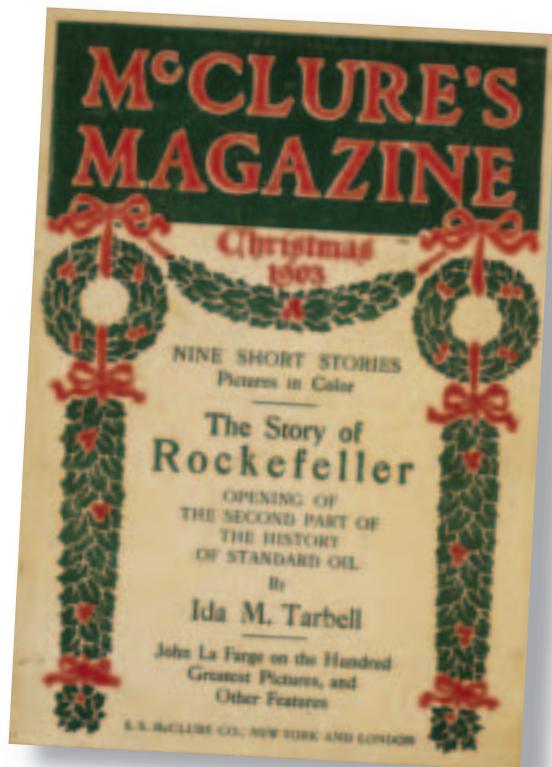
**The Muckrakers** Among the first people to articulate Progressive ideas was a group of crusading journalists who investigated social conditions and political corruption. These writers became known as **muckrakers** after a speech by President Theodore Roosevelt:

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

—Washington, D.C., April 14, 1906

### Picturing History

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



By the early 1900s, American publishers were competing to expose the most corruption and scandal. A group of aggressive 10¢ and 15¢ magazines grew in popularity at this time, including *McClure's*, *Collier's*, and *Munsey's*.

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

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

Still other muckrakers concentrated on social problems. In his influential book *How the Other Half Lives*, published in 1890, **Jacob Riis** described the poverty, disease, and crime that afflicted many immigrant neighborhoods in New York City. The muckrakers' articles led to a general public debate on social and economic problems and put pressure on politicians to introduce reforms.

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

## Making Government Efficient

**Main Idea** One form of progressivism focused on ways to use business practices to make government more efficient.

**Reading Connection** In what ways do you try to use your time and resources wisely and efficiently? Read on to find out about political programs the progressives designed to make the government more efficient.

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



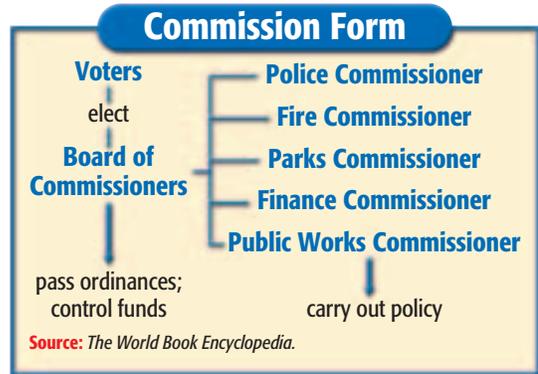
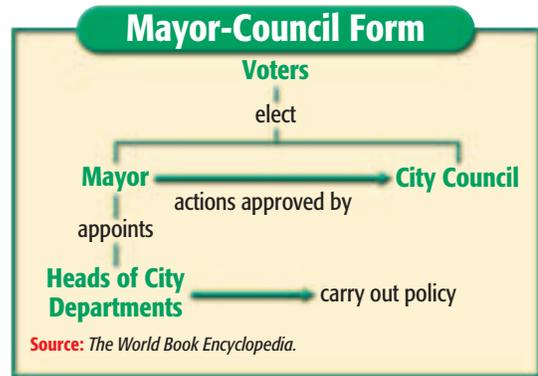
**Student Web Activity** Visit the *American Vision: Modern Times* Web site at [tav.mt.glencoe.com](http://tav.mt.glencoe.com) and click on **Student Web Activities—Chapter 5** for an activity on the Progressive movement.

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

The ideas of scientific management had been developed in the late 1800s and were popularized by Frederick W. Taylor in his book *The Principles of Scientific Management*, published in 1911. Taylor described how a company could become more efficient by managing time, breaking tasks down into small parts, and using standardized tools.

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

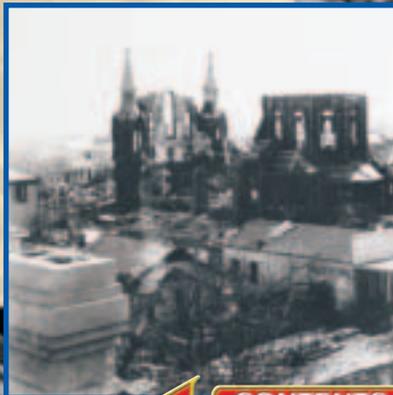
Efficiency progressives wanted either a commission plan or a council-manager system. Under the **commission plan**, a city's government would be divided into several departments, which would each be placed under the control of an expert



## A City and a Storm

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

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



commissioner. These progressives argued that a board of commissioners or a city manager with expertise in city services should hire the specialists to run city departments. Galveston, Texas, adopted the commission system in 1901. Other cities soon followed.

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

## Democracy and Progressivism

**Main Idea** Progressive policies in Wisconsin became widespread, leading to election reforms.

**Reading Connection** Do you remember how candidates were nominated for office during the early years of the nation? Read on to discover the progressives' new method for choosing candidates.

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

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

La Follette's great reform success gave Wisconsin a reputation as the "laboratory of democracy." La Follette claimed, "Democracy is based upon knowledge. . . . The only way to beat the boss . . . is to keep the people thoroughly informed."

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

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

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

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

## The Suffrage Movement

**Main Idea** Many progressives joined the suffrage movement to gain women the right to vote in national elections. 

**Reading Connection** How would you feel if you were unable to vote for your country's leaders because of your gender? Read on to find out how women defeated that bias in 1920.

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

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

**Early Problems** The suffrage movement got off to a slow start. Women suffragists were accused of being unfeminine and immoral. Several were physically attacked. The movement also remained weak because many of its supporters were abolitionists as



well. In the years before the Civil War, they preferred to concentrate on abolishing slavery and spent less time working for woman suffrage.

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

The debate over the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments split the suffrage movement into two groups: the National Woman Suffrage Association, led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, and the American Woman Suffrage Association, led by Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howe. The National Woman Suffrage Association wanted to focus on passing a constitutional amendment allowing woman suffrage. The American Woman Suffrage Association believed that the best **strategy** was to convince state governments to give women the right to vote before trying to amend the Constitution.

This split reduced the movement's effectiveness. In 1878 a constitutional amendment granting woman suffrage was introduced in Congress, but it

failed to pass. Few state governments granted women the right to vote either. With the woman suffrage movement divided between goals, it was difficult for the movement to be successful. By 1900 only Wyoming, Idaho, Utah, and Colorado had granted women full voting rights.

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

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

## Profiles IN HISTORY

### Susan B. Anthony

1820–1906

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

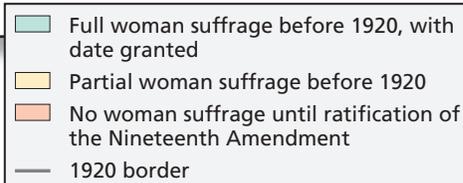
Her involvement in the drive for women's equality began in 1851 after she met Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Between 1854 and 1860, the duo

attempted to change discriminatory laws in New York. In 1869 Anthony and Stanton organized the National Woman Suffrage Association and began promoting an amendment to grant woman suffrage. Anthony and 12 other women illegally cast votes in the presidential election of 1872. They were arrested and convicted, but the judge feared that the jury would rule in Anthony's favor. He dismissed the jury and fined Anthony instead. She refused to pay the \$100 fine, but the judge decided to let her go, afraid that appealing the case might generate sympathy for the suffrage movement.

In 1883 Anthony traveled to Europe, and she helped form the International Council of Women in 1888. This organization represented the rights of women in 48 countries. She died in Rochester, New York, in 1906. Though Anthony did not live to see her dream of woman



suffrage become reality, the United States government honored her by placing her portrait on a new dollar coin in 1979.



Geography Skills

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

**Alice Paul**, a Quaker social worker who headed NAWSA’s congressional committee, had organized the Washington march. Paul, a graduate of Swarthmore College who also received a Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania, was jailed three times for demonstrating for woman suffrage. Paul wanted to use protests to force President Wilson to take action on suffrage. Her activities alarmed other members of NAWSA who wanted to negotiate with Wilson. Paul decided to leave 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, a graduate of Iowa State College (now Iowa State University) and a peace advocate, became NAWSA’s leader. Catt developed what she called her “Winning Plan” to mobilize the suffrage movement nationwide in one final push to gain voting rights. She also threw NAWSA’s support behind Wilson in the 1916 election. Although Wilson did not endorse a woman suffrage amendment, he supported the Democratic Party’s call for states to give women the vote.

**The Nineteenth Amendment** In 1869, long before NAWSA was formed, Wyoming became the first state or territory to grant women the right to vote within its borders. Other states soon began to follow Wyoming’s lead. As the suffrage movement gained momentum, more states granted women the right to vote, and Congress began to favor a constitutional amendment. In 1918 the House of Representatives passed a woman suffrage amendment. Wilson then addressed the Senate, asking it to vote for the amendment. Despite his efforts, the amendment failed to pass by two votes.

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

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

## Social Welfare Progressivism

**Main Idea** Many progressives focused on social welfare problems, such as child labor, public health, and prohibition.

**Reading Connection** In what ways could you try to make the world a better place for others? Read to learn how progressives worked to eliminate the problems caused by child labor, unsafe workplace conditions, and alcohol consumption.

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

**The Campaign Against Child Labor** Probably the most emotional Progressive issue was the campaign against child labor. Children had always

worked on family farms, but the factory work that many children performed was monotonous, and the conditions were often unhealthy. In 1900 over 1.7 million children under the age of 16 worked outside the home. Reformers established a National Child Labor Committee in 1904 to work to abolish child labor.

Muckraker John Spargo's 1906 book *The Bitter Cry of the Children* presented detailed evidence on child labor conditions. He told of coal mines where thousands of "breaker boys" were hired at age 9 or 10 to pick slag out of coal and were paid 60¢ for a 10-hour day. He described how the work bent their backs permanently and often crippled their hands. Reports like these convinced states to pass laws that set a minimum age for employment and established other limits on child labor, such as maximum hours children could work. At the same time, many states began passing compulsory education laws, requiring young children to be in school instead of at work.

By the early 1900s, the number of child laborers had begun to decline. For many families, the new wealth generated by industry enabled them to survive

 NATIONAL  
GEOGRAPHIC

### MOMENT in HISTORY

#### YOUTHFUL PROTEST

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



without having their children work. For others, the child labor and compulsory education laws meant that wives had to work instead.

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



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

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

**The Prohibition Movement** Many progressives believed alcohol was responsible for many problems in American life. Settlement house workers hated the effects of drinking on families. Scarce wages were spent on alcohol, and drinking sometimes led to physical abuse and sickness. Many Christians also opposed alcohol.

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

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

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

### **Picturing History**

**Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire** Children were not the only ones who faced difficult and even hazardous working conditions. This fire in New York City in 1911 killed nearly 150 women. **What safety measures and technology do people have today to help prevent deaths during a fire that people might not have had in 1911?**

## Progressives Versus Big Business

**Main Idea** Another form of progressivism focused on federal regulation of big business.

**Reading Connection** Do you remember how the federal government supported big business, such as the railroads, during the rise of industry after the Civil War? Read on to find out how the progressives now tried to limit the power of big business.

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

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

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

At its peak, socialism had some national support. Eugene Debs, the former American Railway Union



▲ Eugene Debs (right) with running mate Emil Seidel (left)

leader, won nearly a million votes as the American Socialist Party candidate for president in 1912. Most progressives and Americans, however, believed in the American system of free enterprise.

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

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

**HISTORY**  **Study Central**  
*Online*

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to [tav.mt.glencoe.com](http://tav.mt.glencoe.com) and click on **Study Central**.

### SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

#### Checking for Understanding

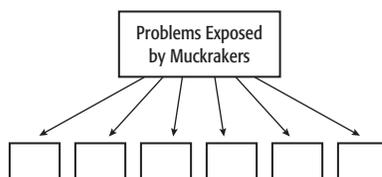
- Vocabulary** Define: progressivism, muckraker, commission plan, direct primary, initiative, legislation, referendum, recall, suffrage, strategy, funds, temperance, advocated, prohibition, socialism.
- People and Terms** Identify: Jacob Riis, Robert La Follette, Alice Paul.
- Identify** what was provided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

#### Reviewing Big Ideas

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

#### Critical Thinking

- Historical Analysis Evaluating** Identify the different issues associated with social welfare progressivism. How do these ideals influence society today?  
**CA CSI; HI1**
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the kinds of problems that muckrakers exposed.



#### Analyzing Visuals

- Examining Charts** Study the charts on page 329. Under which system do voters seem to have the most control over department heads? Why do you think so?

#### Writing About History

- Persuasive Writing** Some women in the early 1900s suggested that the Constitution needed an equal rights amendment. Imagine you are living then. Write a letter to the editor of your local paper supporting or opposing such an amendment. **CA 11WS1.1; 11WS1.2**

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

### Read to Discover

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

### Reader’s Dictionary

**killing-beds:** areas where cattle were slaughtered

**dismayed:** alarmed, disheartened

**universality:** the state of including all

**pitted:** set against each other

**caldron:** a large kettle or pot for boiling

**knave:** a tricky, deceitful person

**trice:** short period of time

## from *The Jungle*

by Upton Sinclair

This was the first time in his life that he had ever really worked, it seemed to Jurgis; it was the first time that he had ever had anything to do which took all he had in him. Jurgis had stood with the rest up in the gallery and watched the men on the killing-beds, marveling at their speed and power as if they had been wonderful machines; it somehow never occurred to one to think of the flesh-and-blood side of it—that is, not until he actually got down into the pit and took off his coat. Then he saw things in a different light, he got at the inside of them. The pace they set here, it was one that called for every faculty of a man—from the instant the first steer fell till the sounding of the noon whistle, and again from half-past twelve till heaven only knew what hour in the late afternoon or evening, there was never one instant’s rest for a man, for his hand or his eye or his brain. Jurgis saw how they managed it; there were portions of the work which deter-

mined the pace of the rest, and for these they had picked men whom they paid high wages, and whom they changed frequently. You might easily pick out these pace-makers, for they worked under the eye of the bosses, and they worked like men possessed. This was called “speeding up the gang,” and if any man could not keep up with the pace, there were hundreds outside begging to try.

Yet Jurgis did not mind it; he rather enjoyed it. It saved him the necessity of flinging his arms about and fidgeting as he did in most work. He would laugh to himself as he ran down the line, darting a glance now and then at the man

ahead of him. It was not the pleasantest work one could think of, but it was necessary work; and what more had a man the right to ask than a chance to do something useful, and to get good pay for doing it?

So Jurgis thought, and so he spoke, in his bold, free way; very much to his surprise, he found that it had a



tendency to get him into trouble. For most of the men here took a fearfully different view of the thing. He was quite dismayed when he first began to find it out—that most of the men hated their work. It seemed strange, it was even terrible, when you came to find out the universality of the sentiment; but it was certainly the fact—they hated their work. They hated the bosses and they hated the owners; they hated the whole place, the whole neighborhood—even the whole city, with an all-inclusive hatred, bitter and fierce. Women and little children would fall to cursing about it; it was rotten, rotten as hell—everything was rotten. When Jurgis would ask them what they meant, they would begin to get suspicious, and content themselves with saying, “Never mind, you stay here and see for yourself.”

... Jurgis had made some friends by this time, and he sought one of them and asked what this meant. The friend, who was named Tamoszius Kuszleika, was a sharp little man who folded hides on the killing-beds, and he listened to what Jurgis had to say without seeming at all surprised. They were common enough, he said, such cases of petty graft. It was simply some boss who proposed to add a little to his income. After Jurgis had been there awhile he would know that the plants were simply honeycombed with rottenness of that sort—the bosses grafted off the men, and they grafted off each other; and some day the superintendent would find out about the boss,

and then he would graft off the boss. Warming to the subject, Tamoszius went on to explain the situation. Here was Durham’s, for instance, owned by a man who was trying to make as much money out of it as he could, and did not care in the least how he did

it; and underneath him, ranged in ranks and grades like an army, were managers and superintendents and foremen, each one driving the man next below him and trying to squeeze out of him as much work as possible. And all the men of the same rank were pitted against each other; the accounts of each were kept separately, and every man lived in terror of losing his job, if another made a better record than he. So from top to bottom the place was simply a seething caldron of jealousies and hatreds; there was no loyalty or decency anywhere about it, there was

no place in it where a man counted for anything against a dollar. And worse than there being no decency, there was not even any honesty. The reason for that? Who could say? It must have been old Durham in the beginning; it was a heritage which the self-made merchant had left to his son, along with his millions.

Jurgis would find out these things for himself, if he stayed there long enough; it was the men [like him] who had to do all the dirty jobs, and so there was no deceiving them; and they caught the spirit of the place, and did like all the rest. Jurgis had come there, and thought he was going to make himself



▲ *A supervisor watches as slaughterhouse workers push hogs through a scalding trough.*



▲ Workers in a meatpacking plant

useful, and rise and become a skilled man; but he would soon find out his error—for nobody rose in Packingtown by doing good work. You could lay that down for a rule—if you met a man who was rising in Packingtown, you met a knave. That man who had been sent to Jurgis’s father by the boss, *he* would rise; the man who told tales and spied upon his fellows would rise; but the man who minded his own business and did his work— why, they would “speed him up” till they had worn him out, and then they would throw him into the gutter.

... One curious thing he had noticed, the very first day, in his profession of shoveller of guts; which was the sharp trick of the floor-bosses whenever there chanced to come a “slunk” calf. Any man who knows anything about butchering knows that the flesh of a cow that is about to calve, or has just calved, is not fit for food. A good many of these came every day to the packing houses—and, of course, if they had chosen, it would have been an easy matter for the packers to keep them till they were fit for food. But for the saving of time and fodder, it was the law that cows of that sort came along with the others, and whoever noticed it would tell the boss, and the boss would start up a conversation with the government inspector, and the two would stroll away. So in a trice the carcass of the cow would be cleaned out, and entrails would have vanished; it was Jurgis’s task to slide them into the trap, calves and all, and on the floor below they took out these “slunk” calves, and butchered them for meat, and used even the skins of them.

One day a man slipped and hurt his leg; and that afternoon, when the last of the cattle had been disposed of, and the men were leaving, Jurgis was ordered to remain and do some special work which this injured man had usually done. It was late, almost dark, and the government inspectors had all gone, and there were only a dozen or two of men on the floor. That day they had killed about four thousand cattle, and these cattle had come in freight trains from far states, and some of them had got hurt. There were some with broken legs, and some with gored sides; there were some that had died, from what cause no one could say; and they were all to be disposed of, here in darkness and silence. “Downers,” the men called them; and the packing house had a special elevator upon which they were raised to the killing-beds, where the gang proceeded to handle them, with an air of businesslike nonchalance which said plainer than any words that it was a matter of everyday routine. It took a couple of hours to get them out of the way, and in the end Jurgis saw them go into the chilling rooms with the rest of the meat, being carefully scattered here and there so that they could not be identified. When he came home that night he was in a very somber mood, having begun to see at last how those might be right who had laughed at him for his faith in America.

## Analyzing Literature

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

CA 11RC2.5

### Interdisciplinary Activity

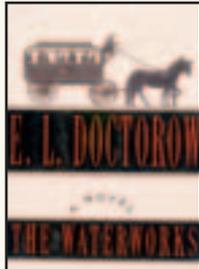
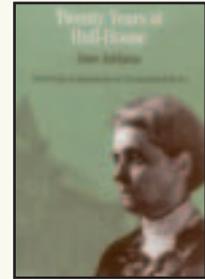
**Government** When it was published, *The Jungle* was so shocking that it launched a government investigation of the meatpacking industry. The investigation eventually led to the establishment of laws regulating the industry. Using the Internet, research these laws and read about how they are enforced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

# Reading on Your Own

For other literature selections that relate to social problems and reform movements, you might consider the following book suggestions.

***Twenty Years at Hull-House*** (Autobiography)  
by **Jane Addams**

Jane Addams was one of the reformers of the late 1800s and early 1900s who sought to help immigrants in crowded Chicago. She founded Hull House, a settlement house, where she lived until she died at age 75. Her autobiography describes her experiences during the first 20 years of Hull House.

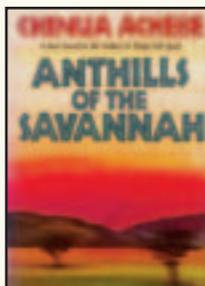
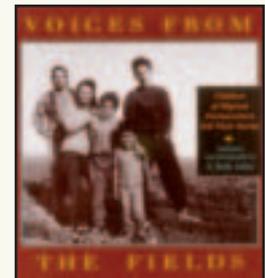


***The Waterworks*** (Fiction)  
by **E.L. Doctorov**

This book tells the story of newspaper editor McIlvaine who looks into the disappearance of one of his freelancers, Martin Pemberton. In the process, the city of New York becomes a central character in the novel as Doctorov describes the impact of industrialization, the political machine, corrupt police, and greedy tycoons.

***Voices from the Fields: Children of Migrant Farm Workers Tell Their Stories*** (Nonfiction)  
by **S. Beth Atkin**

S. Beth Atkin is a writer and photographer who focuses her work on children. This 1993 title relates in pictures and words the difficult lives of nine children of migrant workers in California today. In their stories, written in both English and Spanish, the children talk about long work hours, problems with gangs, and the difficulties that come with changing schools frequently.



***Anthills of the Savannah*** (Fiction)  
by **Chinua Achebe**

Nigerian-born Achebe set this novel in the fictional African country of Kangan, which has just received independence. The fictional lives of an elected official, a statesman, and a journalist show how governmental power and corruption soon erode society and end the great hopes of the new nation.

## Guide to Reading

## Connection

In the previous section, you learned about the Progressive movement. In this section, you will discover how progressive ideals became prominent in national politics.

## Main Idea

- Theodore Roosevelt, who believed in progressive ideals for the nation, took on big business. (p. 341)
- Theodore Roosevelt and Congress expanded the power of government by passing several acts regulating meat inspection, food and drugs, and conservation of the environment. (p. 344)

## Content Vocabulary

arbitration

## Academic Vocabulary

trigger, issue, environmental

## People and Terms to Identify

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

## Reading Objectives

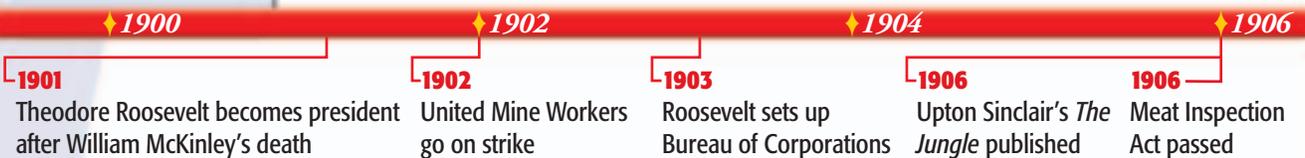
- **Describe** various efforts to regulate concentrated corporate power.
- **Discuss** Theodore Roosevelt's interest in environmental conservation.

## Reading Strategy

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

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

## Preview of Events



The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

**11.2** Students analyze the relationship among the rise of industrialization, large-scale rural-to-urban migration, and massive immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe.

**11.2.1** Know the effects of industrialization on living and working conditions, including the portrayal of working conditions and food safety in Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*.

**11.2.5** Discuss corporate mergers that produced trusts and cartels and the economic and political policies of industrial leaders.

**11.2.9** Understand the effect of political programs and activities of the Progressives (e.g., federal regulation of railroad transport, Children's Bureau, the Sixteenth Amendment, Theodore Roosevelt, Hiram Johnson).

## The Big Idea

**Social and economic crises lead to new roles for government.** Following the election of Theodore Roosevelt, progressive reforms and ideas became more prominent in national politics. Although Roosevelt recognized and appreciated the efficiency of large corporations, he also felt they had a responsibility to consider the public welfare. Therefore, he worked to supervise big business without destroying it. The Bureau of Corporations monitored big business, and the attorney general was able to bring antitrust lawsuits against companies if necessary. As public concern regarding medicine and food handling increased, President Roosevelt and Congress passed several acts to help protect the public. Perhaps the area in which President Roosevelt made the greatest impact, however, was environmental conservation.

## Roosevelt Revives the Presidency

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

**Reading Connection** How much do you think a president's personal beliefs should shape national policy? Read on to learn how Theodore Roosevelt, with the help of Congress, used his ideas to change trusts and big business.

Theodore Roosevelt, better known as “Teddy,” took office at age 42—the youngest person ever to serve as president. Roosevelt was intensely competitive, strong-willed, and extremely energetic.

### ★ *An American Story* ★

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

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

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

—quoted in *Theodore Roosevelt, A Life*

In international affairs, Roosevelt was a Social Darwinist. He believed the United States was in competition with the other nations of the world and that only the fittest would survive. Domestically, however, Roosevelt was a committed progressive, who firmly believed that government should actively balance the needs of competing groups in American society.

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

**Roosevelt Takes on the Trusts** Although he admired competition, Roosevelt was also concerned with efficiency. He believed that trusts and other large business organizations were very efficient and part of the reason for America's prosperity. Yet Roosevelt remained concerned that in the pursuit of their private interests, some trusts were hurting the public interest. He wanted to find a way to supervise big business without destroying its economic efficiency. When the *New York Sun* declared that Roosevelt was “bringing wealth to its knees,” the president disagreed. “We draw the line against misconduct,” he declared, “not against wealth.”

During Roosevelt's first year in office, a fight for control of the Burlington Railroad erupted on the New York Stock Exchange. On one side was E.H. Harriman of the Union Pacific Railroad. On the other side were James J. Hill and J.P. Morgan of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific Railroads. The stock battle almost **triggered** a financial panic that

▼ *Theodore Roosevelt*



could have plunged the nation into a recession. The three men ultimately compromised by creating a giant new holding company called **Northern Securities**.

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

In 1904 in *Northern Securities v. the United States*, the Supreme Court ruled five to four that Northern Securities had violated the Sherman Antitrust Act. The dissenting justices argued that the Sherman Antitrust Act did not ban companies from buying or selling stock to each other. They observed that Northern Securities had not hurt commerce. It had

not tried to keep other companies from competing, and it had not tried to raise railroad rates. In fact, rates had fallen on railroads owned by Northern Securities. Although the court was sharply divided, Roosevelt declared the decision a great victory. Newspapers hailed Roosevelt as a “trustbuster,” and his popularity soared.  (See page 1006 for more information on *Northern Securities v. the United States*.)

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

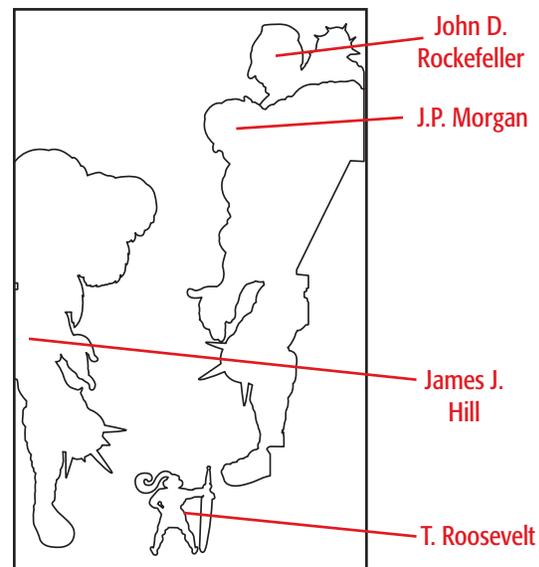
The previous spring, the **United Mine Workers** (UMW) union had called a strike of the miners who dug anthracite, or hard coal. Nearly 150,000 workers walked out of eastern Pennsylvania’s anthracite mines demanding a pay increase, a reduction in work hours, and recognition for their union.

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

Roosevelt urged the union and the owners to accept **arbitration**—a settlement imposed by an outside party. The union agreed. The mine owners, determined to destroy the UMW, did not. One owner, George Baer, declared, “The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men to

### Analyzing Political Cartoons

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



whom God in His infinite wisdom has given the control of the property interests of the country.”

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

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

In 1903 Roosevelt convinced Congress to create the Department of Commerce and Labor. G.B. Cortelyou was appointed the first secretary of the new department. Within this department would be a division called the Bureau of Corporations, with the authority to investigate corporations and issue reports on their activities.

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

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

**Congress Follows** In addition to creating the Department of Commerce and Labor, Congress passed the Expedition Act, which gave federal anti-trust suits precedence on the dockets of circuit courts. Then, in 1906, Roosevelt pushed the **Hepburn Act** through Congress. This act was intended to strengthen



### Picturing History

**Miner’s Lot** In the early 1900s, miners worked long hours under dangerous conditions for little pay. In an effort to obtain better compensation, reduction in work hours, and recognition of their union, many workers went on strike. **How did Roosevelt respond when they went on strike?**

the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC). An early effort to regulate the railroad industry, the ICC had been ineffective because it lacked sufficient authority.

The Hepburn Act tried to strengthen the ICC by giving it the power to set railroad rates. The agency originally was intended to regulate rates to ensure that companies did not compete unfairly. At first, railroad companies were suspicious of the ICC and tied up its decisions by challenging them in court. Eventually, the railroads realized that they could work with the ICC to set rates and regulations that limited competition and prevented new competitors from entering the industry. Over time the ICC became a supporter of the railroads’ interests, and by 1920 it had begun setting rates at levels intended to ensure the industry’s profits.

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

## Consumer Protection and Conservation

**Main Idea** Theodore Roosevelt and Congress expanded the power of government by passing several acts regulating meat inspection, food and drugs, and conservation of the environment. **TURNING POINT**

**Reading Connection** Have you ever visited a national park or forest and enjoyed the outdoors? Read on to discover how Theodore Roosevelt helped make some of these national parks and forests possible.

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

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

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

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

—from *The Jungle*

Sinclair’s book was a best-seller. It made consumers ill—and angry. Roosevelt and Congress responded with the Meat Inspection Act. It required

federal inspection of meat sold through interstate commerce and required the Agriculture Department to set standards of cleanliness in meatpacking plants. The Pure Food and Drug Act, passed on the same day in 1906, prohibited the manufacture, sale, or shipment of impure or falsely labeled food and drugs.

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

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

**Land Development in the West** Roosevelt quickly applied his philosophy in the dry Western states, where farmers and city dwellers competed for scarce water. In 1902 Roosevelt supported passage of the Newlands Reclamation Act, authorizing the use of Federal funds from public land sales to apply for irrigation and land development projects. Thus, it was the federal government that began the large-scale transformation of the West’s landscape and economy.

**Timber Resources** Roosevelt also backed efforts to save the nation’s forests through careful management of the timber resources of the West. He appointed his close friend Gifford Pinchot to head the United States Forest Service. “The natural resources,” Pinchot said, “must be developed and preserved for the benefit of the many and not merely for the profit of a few.” With the president’s support, Pinchot’s department drew up regulations controlling lumbering on federal lands.

As progressives, Roosevelt and Pinchot both believed that trained experts in forestry and resource management should apply the same scientific standards to the landscape that others were applying to the management of cities and industry. They rejected the laissez-faire argument that the best way to preserve public land was to sell it to lumber companies,



who would then carefully conserve it because it was the source of their profits. With President Roosevelt's support, Pinchot's department drew up regulations to control lumbering on federal lands.

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

**Roosevelt's Legacy** President Roosevelt changed the role of the federal government and the nature of the presidency. Increasingly, Americans began to look to the federal government to solve the nation's economic and social problems. Under Roosevelt, the executive branch of government had dramatically increased its power. The ICC could set rates and regulations for the railroad industry to support fair competition. The Agriculture Department could inspect food to help protect public health and safety. The Bureau of Corporations could monitor business, and the attorney general could rapidly bring antitrust lawsuits under the Expedition Act.

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



**Picturing History**

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

**HISTORY Online Study Central**

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to [tav.mt.glencoe.com](http://tav.mt.glencoe.com) and click on **Study Central**.

**SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT**

**Checking for Understanding**

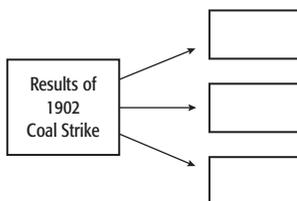
- Vocabulary** Define: trigger, arbitration, issue, environmental.
- People and Terms** Identify: Square Deal, Northern Securities, United Mine Workers, Hepburn Act, Upton Sinclair.
- Explain** the intent of the Hepburn Act.

**Reviewing Big Ideas**

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

**Critical Thinking**

- Evaluating** Do you agree with Roosevelt's use of the Sherman Antitrust Act against Northern Securities? Give specific reasons for your opinion.
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the results of the Coal Strike of 1902.



**Analyzing Visuals**

- Analyzing Photographs** Look at the photograph on this page. What do you think President Roosevelt's speech is concerning? Choose an issue and create brief remarks for a speech by President Roosevelt.

**Writing About History**

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

CA 11WA2.2a

*CATHEDRAL RANGE*

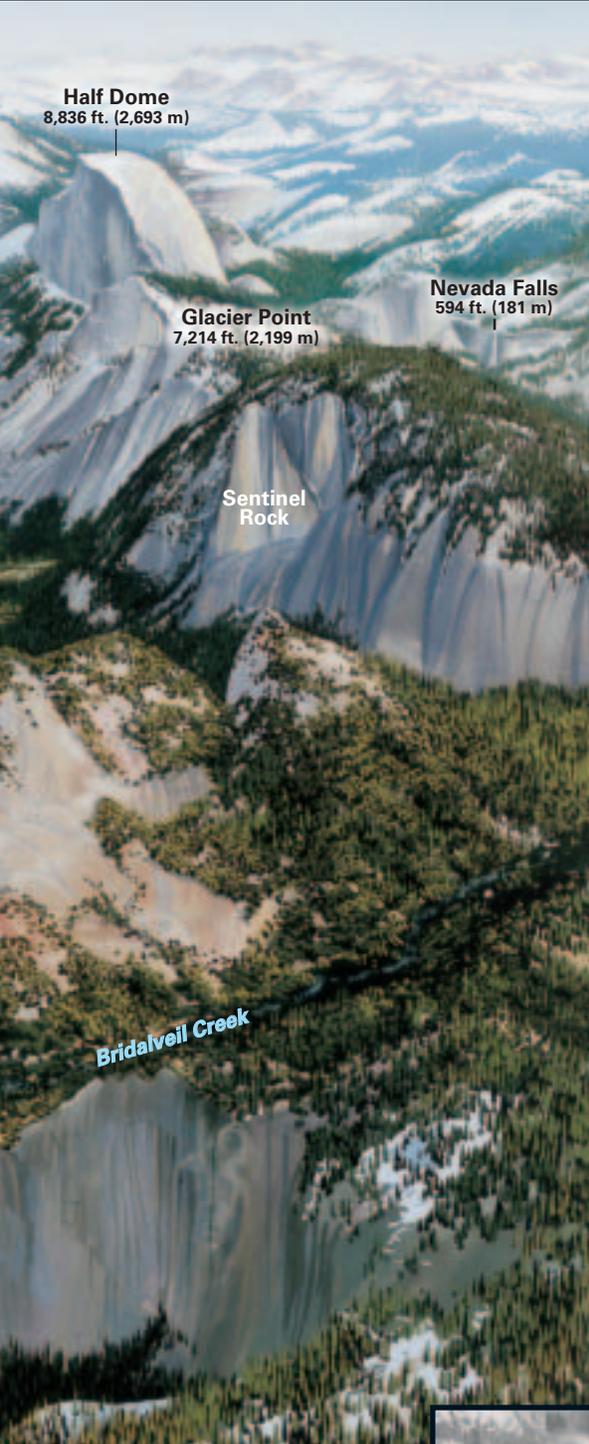
Clouds Rest  
9,926 ft. (3,025 m)



**OUR GROWING HERITAGE**

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

# The Story of Yosemite



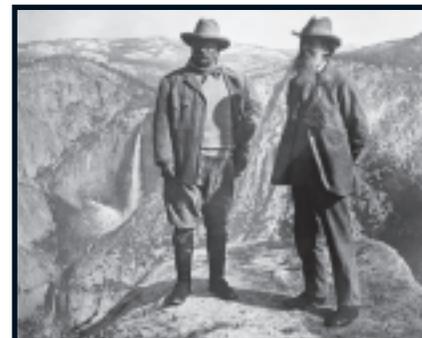
Sightseers admire Yosemite Falls as they ride along Glacier Point Trail in 1901. Today some 3.5 million tourists visit the park each year.



**T**he breathtaking beauty of the Yosemite Valley has always astounded visitors to California's High Sierra. In 1851 volunteer soldiers came upon the valley. One officer felt a "peculiar exalted sensation" as he marveled at his surroundings.

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

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



President Theodore Roosevelt and John Muir stand atop Glacier Point.

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

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

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

## LEARNING FROM GEOGRAPHY

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

## Guide to Reading

### Connection

In the previous section, you learned how President Roosevelt's progressive reforms affected the United States. In this section, you will discover how President Taft, a more moderate progressive, continued progressive reforms.

### Main Idea

- William Howard Taft, elected to continue Theodore Roosevelt's policies, had difficulties with tariff and conservation issues. (p. 349)
- Taft worked to pass progressive reforms. (p. 351)

### Content Vocabulary

syndicate, insubordination

### Academic Vocabulary

dynamic, scheme, establish

### People and Terms to Identify

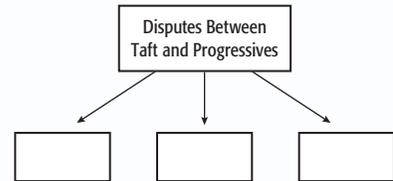
Joseph G. Cannon, Payne-Aldrich Tariff, Richard A. Ballinger

### Reading Objectives

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

### Reading Strategy

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



### Preview of Events



The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

**11.2** Students analyze the relationship among the rise of industrialization, large-scale rural-to-urban migration, and massive immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe.

**11.2.9** Understand the effect of political programs and activities of the Progressives (e.g., federal regulation of railroad transport, Children's Bureau, the Sixteenth Amendment, Theodore Roosevelt, Hiram Johnson).

## The Big Idea

**Social and economic crises lead to new roles for government.** President Taft worked to lower tariffs in order to help consumers and increase competition. His actions, however, angered many progressives. The Ballinger-Pinchot controversy that followed destroyed Taft's reputation with progressive reformers. Despite the controversies and division with reformers, Taft managed several successes while in office. He established the Children's Bureau to investigate child labor, increased the regulatory powers of the ICC, set up the Bureau of Mines, protected national forests, and brought an antitrust lawsuit against U.S. Steel.

## Taft Becomes President

**Main Idea** William Howard Taft, elected to continue Theodore Roosevelt's policies, had difficulties with tariff and conservation issues.

**Reading Connection** What national leaders have tried to carry on the policies of the person they succeeded in office? Read on to learn of such an attempt that appeared to fail in the early 1900s.

William Howard Taft had been Theodore Roosevelt's most trusted lieutenant. He had served as a judge, as governor of the Philippines, and as Roosevelt's secretary of war. In fact, he seemed an acceptable successor to almost everyone.

### ★ An American Story ★

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

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

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

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

Thanks to Roosevelt's efforts, Taft easily received his party's nomination for the 1908 election. The Democratic candidate, twice-defeated William Jennings Bryan, lost once more.

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

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

“I have no doubt that when you return you will find me very much under suspicion. . . . I have not the prestige which you had. . . . I am not attempting quite as much as you did . . . and so I fear that a large part of the public will feel as if I had fallen away from your ideals; but you know me better and will understand that I am still working away on the same old plan.”

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

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

William Howard Taft ▼





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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Still not satisfied, Pinchot leaked the story to the press and asked Congress to investigate. Taft fired Pinchot for **insubordination**, or disobedience. The congressional committee appointed to study the controversy cleared Ballinger.



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

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

## Taft's Progressive Reforms

**Main Idea** Taft worked to pass progressive reforms.

**Reading Connection** Do you know people who let others take credit and recognition for their work? Read on to learn about William Howard Taft's record as a progressive.

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

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

The Ballinger-Pinchot controversy aside, Taft was also a dedicated conservationist. His contributions in

this area actually equaled or surpassed those of Roosevelt. Taft set up the Bureau of Mines to monitor the activities of mining companies, expanded the national forests, and protected waterpower sites from private development.

Although disturbed by stories of Taft's “betrayal” of progressivism, Roosevelt at first refused to criticize the president. Then, 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. In November 1911, Roosevelt publicly criticized Taft's decision. Roosevelt argued that the best way to deal with the trusts was to allow them to exist while at the same time increasing government's ability to regulate them.

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

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

**HISTORY**  **Study Central**  
*Online*

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to [tav.mt.glencoe.com](http://tav.mt.glencoe.com) and click on **Study Central**.

## SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

- Vocabulary** Define: dynamic, schemes, syndicate, insubordination, established.
- People and Terms** Identify: Joseph G. Cannon, Payne-Aldrich Tariff, Richard Ballinger.
- Describe** how Taft helped conservation efforts, alleviated child labor problems, and strengthened the ICC.

### Reviewing Big Ideas

- Examining** How did replacing Roosevelt's secretary of the interior cause a dispute between Taft and the progressives?

### Critical Thinking

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

Taft's Progressive Reforms

### Analyzing Visuals

- Examining Photographs** Study the photograph on page 350. Note the structure of the newspaper. How would you compare the layout of the newspaper in the photograph with the style of today's newspapers?

### Writing About History

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

CA 11WS1.1

## Guide to Reading

### Connection

In the previous section, you learned about President Taft’s reforms and the growing conflict within the Progressive movement. In this section, you will discover how Woodrow Wilson won the presidency and learn about the reforms he continued.

### Main Idea

- Woodrow Wilson’s “New Freedom” campaign won him the White House after Republican voters split over Taft and Roosevelt. (p. 353)
- President Wilson reformed tariffs and banks and oversaw the creation of the Federal Trade Commission. (p. 354)

- Wilson continued to support progressive reforms as he faced reelection in 1916. (p. 356)
- Progressivism changed the view many people had about the government’s role in social issues. (p. 357)

### Content Vocabulary

income tax, unfair trade practices

### Academic Vocabulary

capacity, levying, labor, foundation

### People and Terms to Identify

Progressive Party, New Nationalism, New Freedom, Federal Trade Commission, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

### Reading Objectives

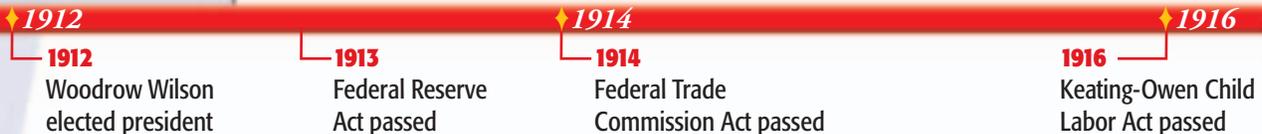
- **Describe** Wilson’s economic and social reforms.
- **Evaluate** the legacy of the Progressive movement.

### Reading Strategy

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

Economic Reforms	Social Reforms

### Preview of Events



The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

**11.2** Students analyze the relationship among the rise of industrialization, large-scale rural-to-urban migration, and massive immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe.

**11.2.1** Know the effects of industrialization on living and working conditions, including the portrayal of working conditions and food safety in Upton Sinclair’s *The Jungle*.

**11.2.9** Understand the effect of political programs and activities of the Progressives (e.g., federal regulation of railroad transport, Children’s Bureau, the Sixteenth Amendment, Theodore Roosevelt, Hiram Johnson).

## The Big Idea

**Social and economic crises lead to new roles for government.** President Wilson supported progressivism and successfully worked to lower tariffs, reform banks, establish the eight-hour workday, and pass the Federal Farm Loan Act. He was less successful, however, with child labor regulation. Progressives in Congress demanded antitrust action and established the Federal Trade Commission and the Clayton Antitrust Act. While the Progressive movement addressed many social problems, it did not focus on religious and racial issues. Still, those who were not native-born white males now had the hope and desire to take action. The public now expected the government to take an active role in regulating the economy and addressing social issues.

## The Election of 1912

**Main Idea** Woodrow Wilson’s “New Freedom” campaign won him the White House after Republican voters split over Taft and Roosevelt.

**Reading Connection** What political slogans have you heard during campaigns for office or school elections? Read on to learn about the “New Freedom” and “New Nationalism” of 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.

### ★ An American Story ★

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

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

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

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

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

The election’s outcome determined the path of the Progressive movement and helped shape the nation’s path in the 1900s.

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

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

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

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

A Woodrow Wilson election poster ▼



## “New Freedom” Versus “New Nationalism”

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

Wilson countered with what he called the **New Freedom**. He criticized Roosevelt’s program as one that supported “regulated monopoly.” Monopolies, he believed, were evils to be destroyed, not regulated. Wilson argued that Roosevelt’s approach gave the federal government too much power in the economy. “The history of liberty,” Wilson declared, “is the history of the limitation of governmental power. . . . If America is not to have free enterprise, then she can have freedom of no sort whatever.”

**Wilson Is Elected** As expected, Roosevelt and Taft split the Republican voters, enabling Wilson to win



### Picturing History

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

the Electoral College and the election with 435 votes, even though he received less than 42 percent of the popular vote—less than Roosevelt and Taft combined. For the first time since Grover Cleveland’s election in 1892, a Democrat became president of the United States.

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

## Regulating the Economy

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

**Reading Connection** Are you aware of recent economic concerns and presidential responses to them? Read on to learn the ways that Woodrow Wilson took economic action after his election.

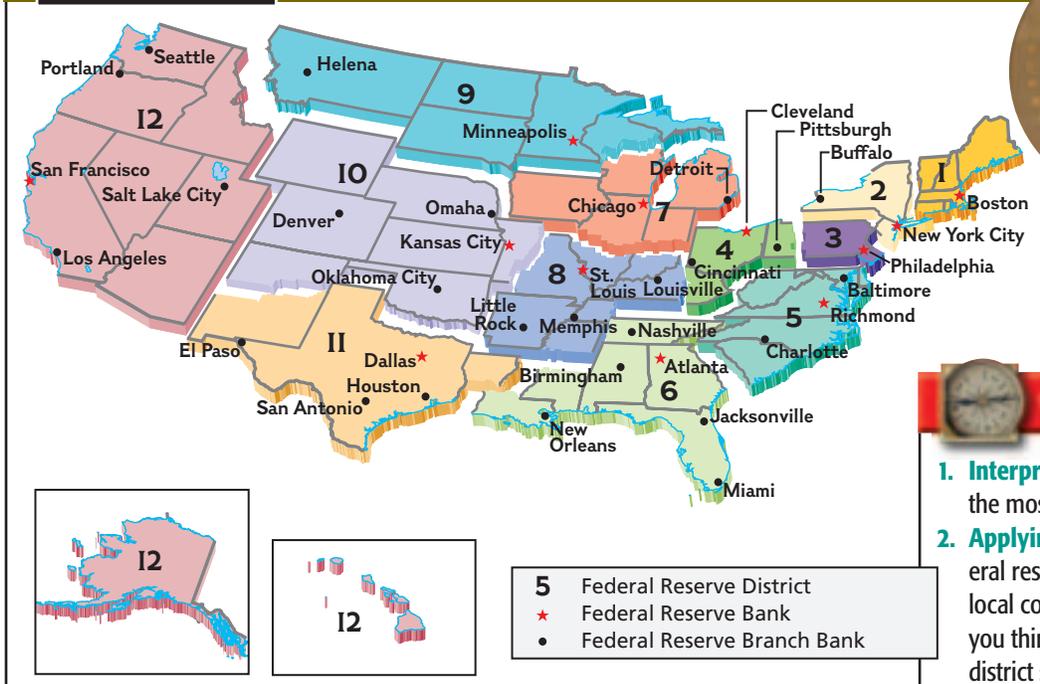
The new chief executive lost no time in embarking on his program of reform. He immediately took charge of the government. “The president is at liberty, both in law and conscience, to be as big a man as he can,” Wilson had once written. “His **capacity** will set the limit.” During his eight years as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

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

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

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

In 1913 the Democrat-controlled Congress passed the Underwood Tariff and Wilson signed it into law. This piece of legislation reduced the average tariff on



**Geography Skills**

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

imported goods to about 30 percent of the value of the goods, or about half the tariff rate of the 1890s.

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

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

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

At the center of the Federal Reserve system would be a Board of Governors, appointed by the president. The Board could set the interest rates the reserve banks charged other banks, thereby indirectly con-

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

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

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

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

Progressives in Congress responded by passing the Clayton Antitrust Act. The act banned tying agreements, which required retailers who bought from one company to stop selling a competitor's products. It also banned price discrimination, and manufacturers could no longer give wholesale discounts to chain stores and other retailers.

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

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

## Federal Aid and Social Welfare

**Main Idea** Wilson continued to support progressive reforms as he faced reelection in 1916.

**Reading Connection** What strategies did previous presidents use to secure their reelection? Read on to discover President Wilson's actions as he tried to win voters.

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

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

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

Two other acts Wilson supported were the Adamson Act and the Federal Farm Loan Act. The Adamson Act established the eight-hour workday for railroad workers and provided for additional compensation for any time worked over eight hours. The Federal Farm Loan Act created 12 Federal Land Banks to provide farmers with long-term loans at low interest rates. Farmers were able to borrow up to 50 percent of the value of their land. The act enabled small farmers to be more competitive with larger farms and businesses. Both acts were passed by Congress in 1916.

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



### Picturing History

#### Factory Girls

The young girls pictured in this photo are knitters in a hosiery factory. The young girl in front must stand on a stool to see what she is knitting. Factory jobs were often dangerous and required long, tiring hours. [Why did the Supreme Court find the Keating-Owens law unconstitutional?](#)

# The Legacy of Progressivism

**Main Idea** Progressivism changed the view many people had about the government's role in social issues.

**Reading Connection** Do you believe that groups of people have been left out of “the American dream”? Read on to find out about the failures and successes of progressivism.

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

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

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

**The Limits of Progressivism** The most conspicuous limit to progressivism was its failure to address African American and religious issues. African Americans themselves were absorbing the reform spirit, fueling their desire for advancement.

In 1905 W.E.B. Du Bois and 28 other African American leaders met at Niagara Falls to demand full

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

Progressivism also did not address anti-Semitism. Lawyer Sigmund Livingston founded the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) in 1913 to fight for civil liberties for Jews and to protect Jews against discrimination in housing, employment, education.

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

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

## HISTORY Online Study Central

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to [tav.mt.glencoe.com](http://tav.mt.glencoe.com) and click on **Study Central**.

## SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

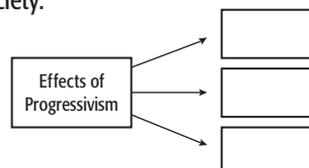
- Vocabulary** Define: capacity, levying, income tax, unfair trade practices, labor, foundation.
- People and Terms** Identify: Progressive Party, New Nationalism, New Freedom, Federal Trade Commission, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
- Explain** why President Wilson proposed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

### Reviewing Big Ideas

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

### Critical Thinking

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



### Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Photographs** Study the photograph on page 356. What details do you see in the image that might have contributed to the Keating-Owen Child Labor Act?

### Writing About History

- Expository Writing** Imagine that you are a newspaper editor during the Wilson administration. Write an article on the shortcomings of the Progressive movement in terms of racial issues. Provide ideas about how the movement might have addressed discrimination and segregation. **CA 11WS1.1**

# Primary Sources

## Eyewitness to History

*For most of the history of the United States, women did not have the right to vote. A man served as the head of his household, and he voted as the representative of his family. As women became more involved outside the home, they started to demand a voice in their government. The battle became increasingly heated until women finally won the vote in 1920.*

### Source 1:

*Abigail Scott Duniway became the sole supporter of her six children after her husband was disabled in an accident. She earned a living as a writer and led the fight for woman suffrage in Oregon. In 1899 she gave a speech promoting women's right to vote before the annual meeting of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Michigan.*



▲ *Abigail Scott Duniway*

The first fact to be considered, when working to win the ballot, is that there is but one way by which we may hope to obtain it, and that is by and through the affirmative votes of men. We may theorize, organize, appeal, argue, coax, **cajole**<sup>1</sup> and threaten men till doomsday; we may secure their pettings, praises, flattery, and every appearance of **acquiescence**<sup>2</sup> in our demands; we may believe with all our hearts in the sincerity of their promises to vote as we dictate, but all of this will avail us nothing unless they deposit their affirmative votes in the ballot box.

Every man who stops to argue the case, as an opponent, tells us that he "loves women," and, while wondering much that he should consider such a declaration necessary, I have always admired the loyal spirit that prompts his utterance. But, gentlemen, . . . there is another side to this expression of loyalty. Not only is our movement not instigated in a spirit of warfare between the sexes, but it is engendered, altogether in the spirit of harmony, and interdependence between men and women. . . . In order

to gain the votes of men, so we can win the ballot, we must show them that we are inspired by the same patriotic motives that induce them to prize it. A home without a man in it, is only half a home. A government without women in it, is only half a government. . . .

. . . Your next step must be to impress upon all men the fact that we are not intending to interfere, in any way, with their rights; and all we ask is to be allowed to decide, for ourselves, also as to what our rights should be.

### Source 2:

*Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, a widow and the mother of six sons, led the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. She believed that allowing women to vote would threaten the family. In 1913 she explained her views to a reporter for the New York Times.*

That is a sad state of things, isn't it? Home has been the woman's business and her love and life for centuries. It is the foundation of society, the basis of all morals. Without the home we should become unmoral and without morals society, in turn, must perish. . . .

To offset the suspicion in the public mind that suffrage means destruction to the home, the leaders of the movement are now bending every effort to prove otherwise. Watch the newspapers and periodicals of recent days and those of days immediately to come and you will find a flood of pictures showing suffrage leaders with their progressive cheeks pressed tight against the velvet faces of their babies. They doubtless have decided that this variation of the plan of their

<sup>1</sup>**cajole:** persuade

<sup>2</sup>**acquiescence:** passive acceptance

publicity is necessary as a means of proving to the public that a suffragist can be a mother. . . .

I don't want to seem discourteous toward my sisters in the suffrage movement. I believe the greater portion of them are not really aware of what they do. I am certain the majority of them do not desire to bring about destruction of the home, with all that must imply—of loose or no domestic life; . . .

I am no advocate of **retrogression**<sup>3</sup> among women. I believe in education, culture, full development. In these days woman, to do the best which in her lies for her own home, must get much for it from outside. My point is that she must get these outside things for the benefit of her home and not neglect her home so that she may go adventuring for them for her benefit, amusement, and dissipation.

### Source 3:

*After women's contributions helped the United States gain victory in World War I, President Woodrow Wilson became a supporter of woman suffrage. On September 30, 1918, he presented his views to the U.S. Senate.*

I regard the concurrence of the Senate in the constitutional amendment proposing the extension of the suffrage to women as vitally essential to the successful **prosecution**<sup>4</sup> of the great war of humanity in which we are engaged. . . .

. . . If we be indeed democrats and wish to lead the world to democracy, we can ask other peoples to accept in proof of our sincerity and our ability to lead them whither they wish to be led, nothing less persuasive and convincing than our actions. . . .

If we reject measures like this, in ignorant defiance of what a new age has brought forth, of what they have seen but we have not, they will cease to believe in us; they will cease to follow or to trust us. They have seen their own governments . . . like that of Great Britain, which did not profess to be democratic, promise readily and as of course this justice to women, though they had before refused it; the strange revelations of this war having made many things new and plain to governments as well as to peoples.

Are we alone to refuse to learn the lesson? Are we alone to ask and take the utmost that our women can give—service and sacrifice of every kind—and still say we do not see what title that gives them to stand by our

<sup>3</sup>**retrogression:** regression, returning to a less complex level of development

<sup>4</sup>**prosecution:** pursuit



▲ *President Wilson addresses Congress*

side in the guidance of the affairs of their nation and ours? We have made partners of the women in this war. Shall we admit them only to a partnership of suffering and sacrifice and toil and not to a partnership of privilege and right? This war could not have been fought, either by the other nations engaged or by America, if it had not been for the services of the women—services rendered in every sphere—not merely in the fields of effort in which we have been accustomed to see them work, but wherever men have worked and upon the very skirts and edges of the battle itself. . . .

. . . The tasks of the women lie at the very heart of the war and I know how much stronger that heart will beat if you do this just thing and show our women that you trust them as much as you in fact and of necessity depend upon them. . . .

## DBQ Document-Based Questions

### Historical Analysis

CA HR4; HIT; HI3

**Source 1:** Why does Duniway believe that women should be allowed to vote?

**Source 2:** What does Dodge believe will happen if women are allowed to vote?

**Source 3:** Why does Wilson believe that it is important for the United States to extend the right to vote to women?

### Comparing and Contrasting Sources

How do Duniway, Dodge, and Wilson differ in their beliefs about the place of women in government?

**Reviewing Content Vocabulary**

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

- |                    |                            |
|--------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. progressivism   | 7. temperance              |
| 2. commission plan | 8. prohibition             |
| 3. direct primary  | 9. socialism               |
| 4. initiative      | 10. arbitration            |
| 5. referendum      | 11. syndicate              |
| 6. suffrage        | 12. unfair trade practices |

**Reviewing Academic Vocabulary**

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence that reflects the term's meaning in the chapter.

- |                 |                   |                |
|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 13. legislation | 18. issues        | 23. capacity   |
| 14. strategy    | 19. environmental | 24. levying    |
| 15. funds       | 20. dynamic       | 25. labor      |
| 16. advocate    | 21. schemes       | 26. foundation |
| 17. trigger     | 22. establish     |                |

**Reviewing the Main Ideas**

**Section 1**

27. What were the characteristics of the Progressive era?

**Section 2**

28. What was the goal of the Hepburn Act? Do you think the act was successful?

**Standards 11.2, 11.2.1, 11.2.5, 11.2.9, 11.5.3, 11.5.4**

**Section 3**

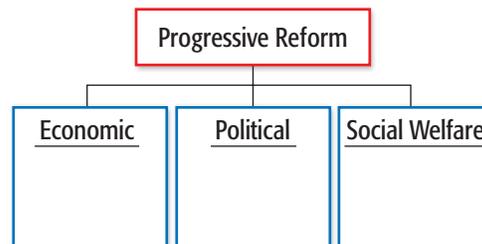
29. List three ways President Taft alienated progressives.

**Section 4**

30. How did President Wilson attempt to reform the banking industry?

**Critical Thinking**

31. **Reading Skill** **Making Inferences** Review the text under the heading "Taft's Approach to Government" on page 349. What inference can you make concerning the political relationship between Presidents Taft and Roosevelt?
32. **Civics** How did Wisconsin governor Robert La Follette help to expand democracy in the United States?
33. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the economic, political, and social welfare reforms brought about during the Progressive era.



**Chapter Summary**

**Basic Beliefs of Progressives**

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

**Government Reforms**

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

**Business Regulation**

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

**Social Reforms**

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

### Self-Check Quiz

Visit the *American Vision: Modern Times* Web site at [tav.mt.glencoe.com](http://tav.mt.glencoe.com) and click on **Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 5** to assess your knowledge of chapter content.

## Writing About History

34. **Historical Analysis Interpreting Events** Reread the text under the heading “The Election of 1912” on pages 353–354. How was this contest different from previous presidential elections? Explain how the outcome might have been different if Roosevelt had not participated in the election. **CA HI4**
35. **Big Idea** Worker safety was an important issue for progressives. Research three worker safety laws in your state, and describe how they benefit workers.

### DBQ Document-Based Questions

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

“The moment we accept the theory that women must enter wage-earning occupations only when compelled to do so by poverty, that moment we degrade labor and lower the status of all women who are engaged in it. . . .

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

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

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

—quoted in *The Independent*, 1901

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



## Geography and History

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

## Standards Practice



**Directions:** Choose the best answer to the following question.

38. In 1920 women won an important victory when the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified. What did this amendment accomplish?
- It required colleges to accept women.
  - It guaranteed child care for workers’ children.
  - It granted women the right to vote.
  - It guaranteed equal wages for equal work.

**Standard 11.5.4** Analyze the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment and the changing role of women in society.