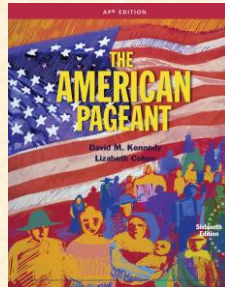


Chapter 28

*Progressivism and the
Republican Roosevelt,
1901–1912*Progressivism
and the
Republican
Roosevelt

IN 2020 WE WILL USHER IN A NEW
PROGRESSIVE ERA
BUILT UPON A FOUNDATION OF
SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ENVIRONMENTAL HARMONY
THAT WILL CREATE AN EQUAL AND SUSTAINABLE SOCIETY
BASED ON EMPATHY
AND RESPONSIBILITY FOR SELF AND OTHERS IN A TIME OF UNPRECEDENTED
FREEDOM AND PROSPERITY FOR ALL

PROGRESSIVES
1890 to 1917

“Progressives were reformers who attempted to solve problems caused by industry, growth of cities and laissez faire.”

Progressives were

- ❖ White Protestants
- ❖ Middle class and native born.
- ❖ College Educated Professionals
 - ❖ Social workers
 - ❖ Scholars
 - ❖ Politicians
 - ❖ Preachers
 - ❖ Teachers
 - ❖ Writers

PROGRESSIVES**Reform = Progress**

- Always possible and good
- Progress not inevitable but blocked by ignorance and corruption
- Everyone / everything can be improved
- Traditions = *automatically suspect*
- Experts can **ALWAYS** find one best way
- Education & Purity always = *progress*.
- Mission = *Progress for world*

PROGRESSIVES**When did the movement begin?**

- Farmers organize during the 1870's
 - The Grange—1867—local level
 - Farmer's Alliance—state level
 - Populist Party—national level
People's Party

PROGRESSIVES

Adopt Populist Ideas

- Move away from laissez faire with government regulating industry
- Make US government responsive to the people (**voting**)
- Limit power of the political bosses.
- Improve worker's rights, conditions for poor and immigrants
 - Clean up the cities
 - End segregation and Jim Crow

PROGRESSIVES

Populists vs Progressives

- Populists---rural
- Progressives---cities
- Populists were poor and uneducated
- Progressives were middle-class and educated.
- Populists were too radical
- Progressives stayed political mainstream.
 - Populists failed
 - Progressives succeeded

PROGRESSIVES

Areas to Reform

Social Justice
Political Democracy
Economic Equality
Conservation

PROGRESSIVES

Social Justice

Improve working conditions in industry, regulate unfair business practices, eliminate child labor, help immigrants and the poor

PROGRESSIVES

Political Democracy

Give the government back to the people, get more people voting and end corruption with political machines.

PROGRESSIVES

Economic Justice

- Fairness and opportunity in the work world, regulate unfair trusts and bring about changes in labor.
 - Demonstrate to the common people that U.S. Government is in charge and not the industrialists.

PROGRESSIVES

CONSERVATION

Preserve natural resources and the environment

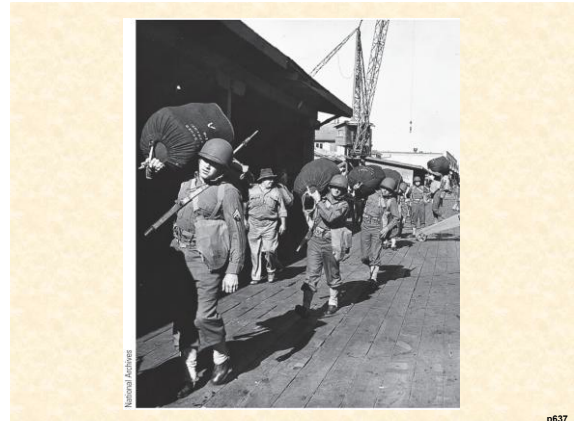
PROGRESSIVES

3 Progressive Presidents

- Theodore Roosevelt
1901 to 1909
- William Howard Taft
1909 to 1913
- **1912 Election**
- Woodrow Wilson
1913 to 1921



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I. Progressive Roots

- Progressive ideas and theories:
 - Old philosophy of hands-off individualism seemed out of place in modern machine age
 - Progressive theorists insisted society could no longer afford luxury of limitless “let-alone” (laissez-faire) policy
 - The people, through government, must substitute mastery for drift
- Politicians and writers began to pinpoint targets:
 - Bryan, Altgeld, and Populists branded “bloated trusts” with stigma of corruption and wrongdoing




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I. Progressive Roots (cont.)

- 1894: Henry Demarest Lloyd criticized Standard Oil Company in his book *Wealth Against Commonwealth*
- Thorstein Veblen assailed new rich in his *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899):
 - Attacked “predatory wealth” and “conspicuous consumption”
 - In his view, parasitic leisure class engaged in wasteful “business” rather than productive “industry”
 - Urged social leadership pass from superfluous titans to useful engineers
- Jacob A. Riis shocked middle-class Americans in 1890 with *How the Other Half Lives*

SOCIAL JUSTICE



John Spargo
The Bitter Cry of the Children

Jacob Riis
How the Other Half Lives



**LAD FELL TO DEATH
IN BIG COAL CHUTE**

Dennis McKee Dead and Arthur Allbecker Had Leg Burned In the Lee Mines.

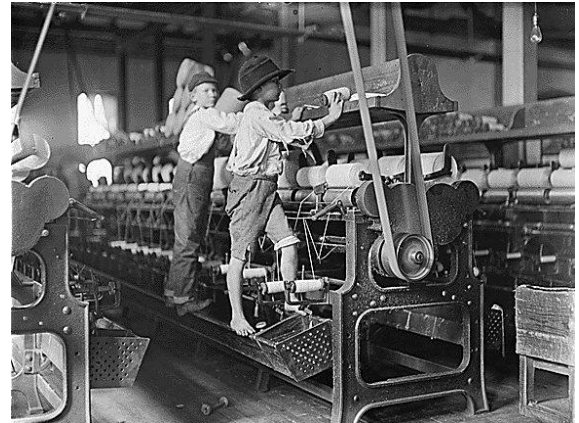
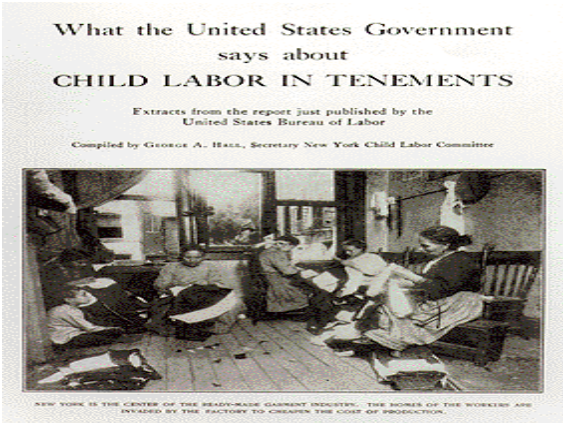
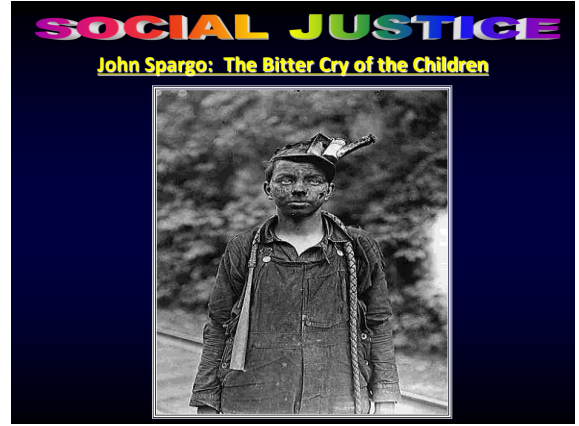
Wilkes-Barre News Jan 7-1911

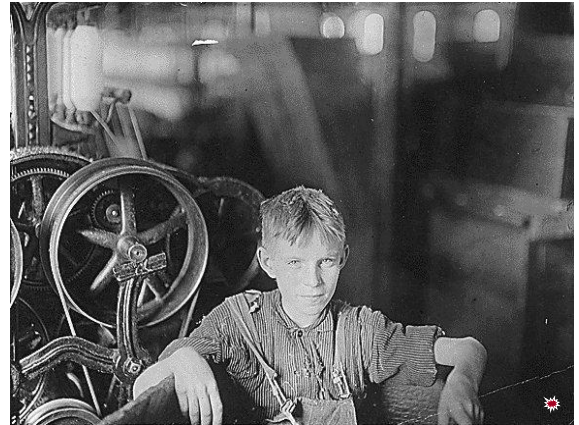
Falling into a chute at the Chauncey colliery of the George S. Lee Coal Company at Avondale, this afternoon, Dennis McKee, aged 15, of West Nanticoke, was smothered to death and Arthur Allbecker, aged 15, had both of his legs burned and injured. Dr. Biel, of Plymouth, was summoned and dressed the burns of the injured boy.

He was removed to his home at Avondale.

Both boys were employed as breaker boys, and going too close to the chutes fell in. Fellow workmen rushed to their assistance and soon had them out of the chutes. When taken out, McKee was found to be dead. His remains were removed to his home at West Nanticoke. Allbecker will recover.







I. Progressive Roots (cont.)

- Damning indictment of dirt, disease, vice, and misery in New York slums
- Book deeply influenced Theodore Roosevelt
- Novelist Theodore Dreiser:
 - Used his blunt prose to batter promoters and profiteers in *The Financier* (1912) and *The Titan* (1914)
- Socialists registered appreciable strength at ballot box (see Thinking Globally section)
- **Social gospel** movement:
 - Promoted a brand of progressivism based on Christianity
 - Used religious doctrine to demand better housing and living conditions for urban poor

The Charity Organization Movement

- Decided who was worthy of help
- Wanted immigrants to adopt American, middle-class standards.
- Offered charity and justice to society's problems.

The Social Gospel Movement

- Sought to apply the gospel teachings of Christ. Preached salvation through service to poor

The Settlement Movement

Social welfare reformers work to relieve urban poverty

- Moved into poor communities
- Their **settlement houses** served as community centers and social service agencies.
- **Hull House**, founded by Jane Addams a model settlement house in Chicago, offered cultural events, classes, childcare, employment assistance, and health-care clinics.

JANE ADDAMS

RUN BY COLLEGE EDUCATED WOMEN

- provide educational, cultural, social services
- send visiting nurses to the sick
- help with personal, job, financial problems

JANE ADDAMS SETTLEMENT HOUSE

In 1889, the settlement house movement spread rapidly.

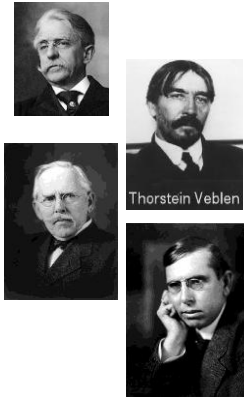
By 1900 more than 400 houses had been established in major cities across the country.

HULL-HOUSE COMMUNITY WORKSHOP
REGISTER NOW
FREE CLASSES
IN WRITING, SPEECH, MUSIC, GARDENING, AND MORE
TUESDAY 7-10
THURSDAY 8-10

I. Progressive Roots (cont.)

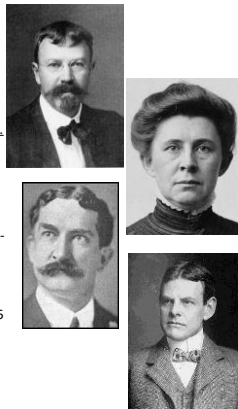
- Other reformers:
 - University-based economists urged new reforms modeled on European examples
 - Feminists added social justice to suffrage on list of needed reforms
 - Urban pioneers entered fight to improve lot of families living and working in festering cities

- Henry Demarest Lloyd** wrote *Wealth Against Commonwealth* (1894) which struck at the Standard Oil Company.
- Thorstein Veblen** wrote *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899) criticizing people who made money seemingly for money's sake. He spoke of "predatory wealth" and "conspicuous consumption."
- Jacob Riis** wrote *How the Other Half Lives* (1890) about the lives of the poor. He wanted to divert attention from America's infatuation with how the rich live and show the life of squalor in the New York slums. This book would influence Teddy Roosevelt, a future New York police commissioner.
- Theodore Dreiser** made his points through his realist fiction. In *The Financier* (1912) and *The Titan* (1914) he criticized promoters and profiteers.



The muckrakers were very active and prolific...

- Lincoln Steffens** wrote "The Shame of the Cities" (1902) which exposed city corruption in cahoots with big business.
- Ida Tarbell** wrote an exposé in *McClure's* that laid bare the ruthless business tactics of John D. Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Company. Some thought she was just out for revenge because her father's business had been ruined by Rockefeller. But, all of her facts checked out.
- Thomas Lawson** exposed the practices of stock market speculators in "Frenzied Finance" (1905-06), published in *Everybody's*. (He'd made \$50 million himself playing the market.)
- David Phillips** wrote "The Treason of the Senate" (1906) in *Cosmopolitan*. He said that 75 of the 90 U.S. senators represented big businesses rather than the people. He backed up his charges with enough evidence to also impress Teddy Roosevelt.



- John Spargo** wrote *The Bitter Cry of the Children* (1906) exposing, and critical of, child labor.
- Ray Stannard Baker** wrote *Following the Color Line* (1908) about the still-sorry state of life for Southern blacks.
- Dr. Harvey Wiley** (the "crusading chemist") criticized patent medicines which were largely unregulated, habit-forming, and normally did more bad than good. He and his "Poison Squad" used themselves as guinea pigs for experiments.



- Muckrakers were loud about the ills, but didn't offer cures. To the muckrakers, the cure for societal ills was democracy. They had no faith in politicians leading the charge, but wanted to get the story out to the public. Muckrakers believed that the public conscience would eventually remedy the problems.

SOCIAL JUSTICE MUCKRAKERS

• **Muckrakers were journalists and photographers who exposed the abuses of wealth and power.**

• **They felt it was their job to write and expose corruption in industry, cities and government.**

Progressives exposed corruption but offered no solutions.

Raking Muck with the Muckrakers

– Around 1902, a new group of social critics emerged—the **muckrakers**. They typically exposed what they saw as corruption or injustice in writings. Favorite outlets for the muckrakers were liberal, reform-minded magazines like *McClure's*, *Collier's*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *Everybody's*.

- They were called "muckrakers" first by Teddy Roosevelt. Though he considered their exposes important in enlightening the ills of society, it was actually a derogatory term - him being unimpressed with their tendency to focus on the negatives (raking through the muck) of society but without offering any practical solutions to these problems.



II. Raking Muck with the Muckrakers

- Popular magazines—*McClure's*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Collier's* and *Everybody's*:
 - Dug deep for dirt the public loved
 - Editors financed extensive research
 - President Theodore Roosevelt called them **muckrakers**
 - Reformer-writers Lincoln Steffens and Ida M. Tarbell targeted:
 - » Corrupt alliance between big business and municipal government.
 - » Exposé of Standard Oil Company
 - » Malpractices of life insurance companies, tariff lobbies, trusts, etc.
 - » Some of most effective fire by muckrakers directed at social evils:



Museum of the City of New York. The Joseph A. Riso Collection

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Reynolds Collection

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II. Raking Muck with the Muckrakers (cont.)

- » Immoral "white slave" traffic in women, rickety slums, appalling number of industrial accidents, subjugation of blacks, and abuse of child labor
- » Vendors of patent medicines also criticized
- Muckrakers signified much about nature of progressive reform movement:
 - Long on lamentation but stopped short of revolutionary remedies
 - Counted on publicity to right social wrongs
 - Sought not to overthrow capitalism, but to cleanse it
 - Cure for ills of American democracy was more democracy

Muck raker	Work	Subject	Results
Thomas Nast	Political Cartoons	Political corruption by NYC's political machine, Tammany Hall, led by Boss Tweed.	Tweed was convicted of embezzlement and died in prison. ✨
Jacob Riis	<i>How the Other Half Lives</i> (1890)	Living conditions of the urban poor; focused on tenements.	NYC passed building codes to promote safety and health.
John Spargo	<i>The Bitter Cry of the Children</i>	Child labor in the factories and education for children.	Ending child labor and increased enrollment in schooling. ✨
Upton Sinclair	<i>The Jungle</i> (1906)	Investigated dangerous working conditions and unsanitary procedures in the meat-packing industry.	In 1906 the Meat Inspection Act and Pure Food and Drug Act were passed ✨

Social Reformers	
Jane Addams	<p><u>SOCIAL GOSPEL</u></p> <p>Pioneer in the field of social work who founded the settlement house movement through the establishment of Hull House in Chicago, Illinois. ✨</p>
Margaret Sanger	<p>Educated urban poor about the benefits of family planning through birth control. She founded the organization that became Planned Parenthood.</p>

Muck raker	Work	Subject	Results
Frank Norris	<i>The Octopus</i> (1901)	This fictional book exposed monopolistic railroad practices in California.	In <i>Northern Securities v. U.S.</i> (1904), the holding company controlling railroads in the Northwest was broken up.
Ida Tarbell	"History of Standard Oil Company" in <i>McClure's Magazine</i> (1904)	Exposed the ruthless tactics of the Standard Oil Company through a series of articles published in <i>McClure's Magazine</i> .	In <i>Standard Oil v. U.S.</i> (1911), the company was declared a monopoly and broken up.

PROGRESSIVES

Political Democracy

Give the government back to the people, get more people voting and end corruption with political machines.

III. Political Progressivism (cont.)

- "Who were the progressives?"
 - Militarists—Theodore Roosevelt
 - Pacifists—Jane Addams
 - Female settlement workers, labor unionists, and enlightened businessmen
 - Sought to modernize American institutions to achieve two goals:
 - Use state to curb monopoly power
 - Improve common person's conditions of life and labor

POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

Goal: Reform local and state governments by introducing direct involvement of the people. At the national level, women's suffrage and direct election of the U.S. Senate

- Local Level ✨
- State Level ✨
- National Level ✨



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III. Political Progressivism (cont.)

- Emerged in both political parties, in all regions, and at all levels of government
- Regain power from corrupt “interests” by:
 - Direct primary elections to undercut party bosses
 - **Initiative** so voters could directly propose legislation
 - **Referendum** would place laws on ballot for final approval by people
 - **Recall** would enable voters to remove corrupt officials beholden to lobbyists

Political Progressivism

- The progressives generally came from the middle class. They felt somehow sandwiched between the big business trusts and tycoons on the top and the immigrant, working class on the bottom.
- Progressives pushed for a variety of political reforms to help their cause. They favored and generally got the following accomplished:
 - The **initiative** where voters could initiate laws, rather than waiting and hoping a legislator might do it.
 - The **referendum** where voters could vote proposed bills into law, circumventing unresponsive legislators altogether.
 - The **recall** where voters could remove elected officials rather than waiting for his term to expire. The thought was, “We voted them in, we can vote them out.”
 - The **secret ballot**, called the **Australian ballot**, to help get a true vote and avoid intimidation at the polls.
 - The **direct election of senators by the people**. At the time, U.S. senators were chosen by state *legislators*, not the people. This became reality in 1913, with the **17th Amendment**.
- And female suffrage? This would have to wait a bit longer (until 1920).



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III. Political Progressivism (cont.)

- Rooting out graft became a prime goal
- Introduced secret **Australian ballot** to counteract boss rule
- Direct election of senators a favorite goal achieved by constitutional amendment:
 - Seventeenth Amendment, approved in 1913, established direct election of U.S. senators
- Woman suffrage received growing support:
 - States like Washington, California, and Oregon gradually extended vote to women

THOMAS NAST



❖ Thomas Nast was the artist for *Harper's Weekly* in the late 1800's.

❖ "He has been called, the Father of American Caricature."

❖ Nast's campaign against New York City's political boss William Tweed is legendary

❖ Nast's cartoons depicted Tweed as a sleazy criminal

❖ Tweed was known to say, "Stop them damn pictures. I don't care what the papers write about me. My constituents can't read. But, damn it, they can see the pictures."

City Reforms	
City Commissioner Plan	Cities hired experts in different fields to run a single aspect of city government. For example, the sanitation commissioner would be in charge of garbage and sewage removal.
City Manager Plan	A professional city manager is hired to run each department of the city and report directly to the city council.

State Reforms	
Recall	Allows voters to petition to have an elected representative removed from office.
Initiative	Allows voters to petition state legislatures in order to consider a bill desired by citizens.
Referendum	Allows voters to decide if a bill or proposed amendment should be passed.
Secret Ballot	Privacy at the ballot box ensures that citizens can cast votes without party bosses knowing how they voted.
Direct Primary	Ensures that voters select candidates to run for office, rather than party bosses.

AUSTRALIAN BALLOT

PARTY-COLUMN BALLOT

Party symbol and name at the top of the column that lists all of the party's candidates running for office

OFFICIAL BALLOT, GENERAL ELECTION

To vote for all the candidates of a party, voters mark an X in the circle

To vote for candidates of different parties, voters mark an X in the square next to the chosen candidate or candidates

- Given out only at the polls
- Vote in secret
- Printed at public expense
- Lists names of all candidates and their parties

POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

1790 to 1828

Caucus—small group of individuals who would choose a candidate

1828 to 1900

Convention—members from the political parties nominate a candidate

Current System Used

Direct Primary—allow registered voters to participate in choosing a candidate

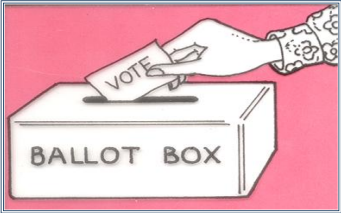
Which of these nominating processes would be the most democratic way to nominate candidates and narrow the field of candidates for the general election?

POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

NATIONAL LEVEL

17th Amendment: Direct Election of Senators (1913) Increased voters' power and reduced corruption in Senate


POLITICAL DEMOCRACY



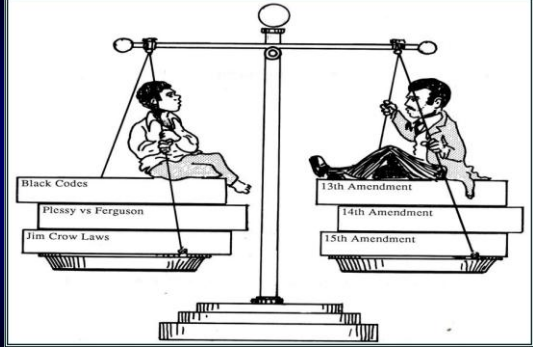
NATIONAL LEVEL

19th Amendment

- Women's Suffrage (1920)
- Women won the right to vote



SOCIAL REALITY



Which way will the scale tip?



SEGREGATION

After Reconstruction, there were several ways that Southern states kept Blacks from voting and **segregated**, or **separating people** by the color of their skin in public facilities.

Jim Crow laws, laws at the local and state level which segregated whites from blacks and kept African Americans as 2nd class citizens and from voting.

- ❖ poll taxes
- ❖ literacy tests
- ❖ grandfather clause

SOCIAL REALITY




Plessy vs. Ferguson, 1896

Supreme Court legalized segregation throughout the nation.

- **"Separate but Equal"** as long as public facilities were equal
- **Problem:** Black facilities never equal to White facilities

SOCIAL REALITY

Plessy vs. Ferguson, 1896



US would be segregated until the 1960's.



PHILOSOPHIES OF BLACK LEADERS

Booker T. Washington

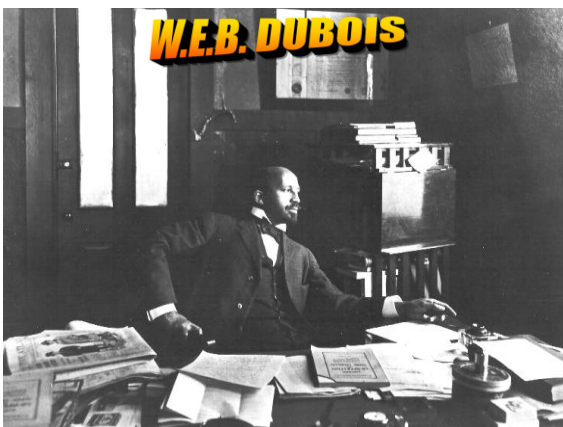
How do Black Americans overcome segregation?
Southern Perspective

- Former slave
- Wrote a book/ *Up From Slavery*
- Don't confront *segregation* head on
- Before you are considered *equal* in society-- must be self sufficient like most Americans
- Stressed *vocational education* for Black Americans
- *Gradualism* and economic *self-sufficiency*
- Founder of *Tuskegee Institute*

ATLANTA COMPROMISE

Speech given by Booker T. Washington in Atlanta, Sept. 18, 1895, at the Atlanta World Exposition.

- Booker T. Washington, founder of *Tuskegee Institute*, was a black leader in education in the South.
- Many of those who viewed this speech saw it as a willingness on the part of Washington to accept *social inequality* in return for economic equality and security for the southern blacks.



PHILOSOPHIES OF BLACK LEADERS

W.E.B. DuBois

How do Black Americans overcome segregation?
Northern Perspective

- Fought for immediate Black equality in society
- **Talented 10%:** Demanded the **top 10%** of the talented Black population be placed into the "**power positions**"
 - Gain equality by breaking into **power structure**
 - Founder of **NAACP**
- * **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People**

NIAGARA MOVEMENT

Begins in 1906 in a meeting at Niagara Falls, Canada in opposition to Booker T. Washington's philosophy of accepting segregation.

1. Encourage of **Black pride**
2. Uncompromising demand for full political and civil equality
3. No acceptance of segregation----opposed Booker T. Washington's "gradualism".
4. Gain acceptance of white reformers.
5. Formation of the **NAACP** in 1906 with Dubois as the editor of the NAACP's journal, *The Crisis*
6. Other Black groups formed to support Dubois, **National Urban League** in 1911

Marcus Garvey



- Born in Jamaica
- Pan-African philosophy to inspire a global mass movement focusing on Africa known as Garveyism
- Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA)



Improving Conditions for African Americans

Lynching – Ida Wells – The Red Record.

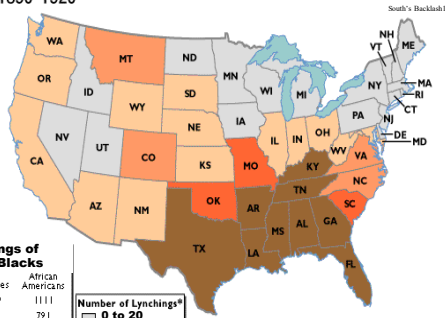


Photograph from Bettmann/Corbis



An early 20th-century NAACP map showing lynchings between 1909 and 1918. The maps were sent to politicians and newspapers in an effort to spur legislation protecting Black Americans. [Library of Congress](#)

Lynchings, 1890-1920



Lynchings of Whites/Blacks		
Period	Whites	African Americans
1890-1899	429	1111
1900-1909	94	791
1910-1920	61	621
TOTALS	645	2498

Number of Lynchings*	
0 to 20	(Lightest color)
20 to 60	(Light orange)
60 to 100	(Orange)
100 to 200	(Dark orange)
200 or more	(Darkest orange)

Source: Historical Statistics of the United States



IV. Progressivism in the Cities and States

- Progressives scored impressive gains in cities:
 - Galveston, Texas appointed expert-staffed commissions to manage urban affairs
 - Other communities adopted city-manager system
 - Urban reformers attacked "slumlords," juvenile delinquency, wide-open prostitution
 - Looked to German and English cities for examples of how to improve services:
 - Clean up water supplies

IV. Progressivism in the Cities and States (cont.)

- Light streets
- Run trolley cars
- Support for public ownership of utilities grew
- Reforms bubbled up to states, like Wisconsin:
 - Governor Robert ("Fighting Bob") La Follette a crusader and militant progressive Republican leader
 - Wrested considerable control from crooked railroad and lumber corporations and returned it to the people
 - Perfectd a scheme for regulating public utilities

Progressivism in the Cities and States

- Progressivism really got its start and took off on a more local level rather than national.
- Galveston, TX successfully used the **city-manager system**. The idea was to use professional people trained in their field of city management, rather than using "friends" of a corrupt mayor or city boss. The result was much greater efficiency and other cities took note of Galveston.
- Local Progressives cracked down on "slumlords," rampant prostitution, and juvenile delinquency.
- Wisconsin was the Progressive leader for states. Led by Gov. **Robert "Fighting Bob" LaFollette**, Wisconsin was able to grab power back from the big businesses and return it to the people.
 - Other states took note and attacked trusts, railroads. Examples included Oregon and California (led by Gov. Hiram Johnson). Gov. Charles Evan Hughes, of New York, took on the wrongs of gas and insurance companies.



IV. Progressivism in the Cities and States (cont.)

- Other states marched toward progressivism:
 - Undertook to regulate railroads and trusts by way of public utility commissions
 - Leaders:
 - Hiram W. Johnson of California
 - Charles Evans Hughes of New York

SOCIAL JUSTICE



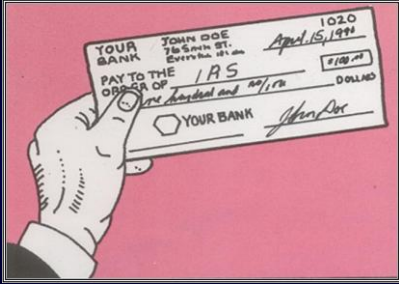

Hiram Johnson—Governor of Calif.

- Worker's compensation
- State insurance supported workers injured on the job.

Robert La Follette—Gov. of Wisconsin

- Wisconsin Idea = La Follette Plan
- Taxes on incomes and corporations

SOCIAL JUSTICE



16th Amendment: Income Tax (1913)
Progressive income tax assigned higher tax rates to people with higher incomes.

V. Progressive Women

- Women an indispensable part of progressive army
 - Critical focus was settlement house movement—which offered a side door to public life:
 - Exposed middle-class women to problems plaguing cities:
 - Poverty, political corruption, and intolerable working and living conditions
 - Gave them skill and confidence to attack those evils

V. Progressive Women (cont.)

- Women's club movement provided a broader civic entryway for middle-class women
- Women, whose place was seen in home, defended new activities as an extension—not a rejection—of traditional roles:
 - Thus driven to moral and “maternal” issues:
 - Child labor, unsafe food, etc.
 - Agitated through groups like National Consumers League (1899) and Women's Trade Union League (1903)
 - Campaigned for factory reform and temperance:

V. Progressive Women (cont.)

- Florence Kelley became State of Illinois's first chief factory inspector:
 - » One of nation's leading advocates for improved factory conditions
 - » Took control of new National Consumers League
- In landmark case **Muller v. Oregon** (1908):
 - Louis D. Brandeis persuaded Supreme Court to accept laws protecting women workers by presenting evidence of harmful effects of factory labor on women's weaker bodies
 - Progressives hailed Brandeis's achievement as triumph over existing legal doctrines
- American welfare state focused more on protecting women and children than on granting benefits to everyone

V. Progressive Women (cont.)

- Setbacks:
 - 1905, Supreme Court in **Lochner v. New York** voided New York law establishing ten-hour day for bakers
 - If laws regulating factories not enforced, they proved worthless—for example, lethal fire (1911) at Triangle Shirtwaist Company of New York
 - 146 women died
 - By 1917 thirty states had workers' compensation laws

Progressive Women

- Women were an indispensable catalyst in the Progressive army. They couldn't vote or hold political office, but were active none-the-less. Women focused their changes on family-oriented ills such as child labor.
- Court decisions impacted women.
 - The Supreme Court case of *Muller v. Oregon* (1908) said that laws protecting female workers were indeed constitutional. The case was successfully argued by attorney **Louis Brandeis** saying women's weaker bodies suffered harmful effects in factory work.
 - This victory, however, came with a cost to women. Brandeis' own argument of weaker female bodies would later be used to keep women out of certain "male" jobs.
 - A loss occurred in the case of *Lochner v. New York* (1905). In the case, the Supreme Court struck down a 10-hour workday for bakers.



Rosa Schneiderman, Garment Worker



Child Labor



Average Shirtwaist Worker's Week

51 hours or less	4,554	5%
52-57 hours	65,033	79%
58-63 hours	12,211	15%
Over 63 hours	562	1%

Total employees, men and women 82,360

Womens' Trade Union League



Women Voting for a Strike!



The Uprising of the Twenty Thousands

(Dedicated to the Waistmakers of 1909)

In the black of the winter of nineteen nine,
When we froze and bled on the picket line,
We showed the world that women could fight
And we rose and won with women's might.

Chorus:

Hail the waistmakers of nineteen nine,
Making their stand on the picket line,
Breaking the power of those who reign,
Pointing the way, smashing the chain.
And we gave new courage to the men
Who carried on in nineteen ten
And shoulder to shoulder we'll win through,
Led by the I.L.G.W.U.

Local 25 with Socialist Paper, *The Call*



Social and Political Activists

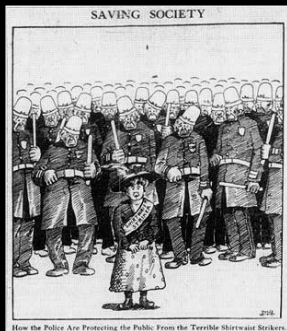


Clara Lemlich,
Labor Organizer



Carola Woerishoffer,
Bryn Mawr Graduate

Public Fear of Unions/Anarchists



How the Police Are Protecting the Public From the Terrible Shirtwaist Strikers

Arresting the Girl Strikers for Picketing



Scabs Hired

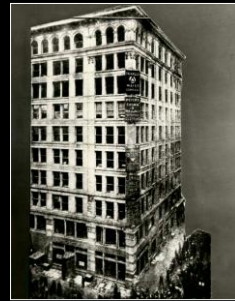


*The Triangle
Shirtwaist
Factory Fire,
March 25, 1911*

*"The Shirtwaist Kings"
Max Blanck and Isaac Harris*



*Triangle Shirtwaist Factory
Asch Building, 8th and 10th Floors*



Typical NYC Sweatshop, 1910



Typical NYC Sweatshop, 1910



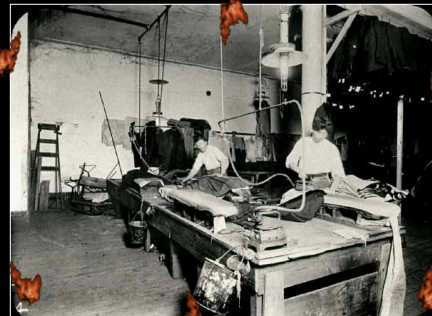
Typical NYC Sweatshop, 1910



Typical NYC Sweatshop, 1910



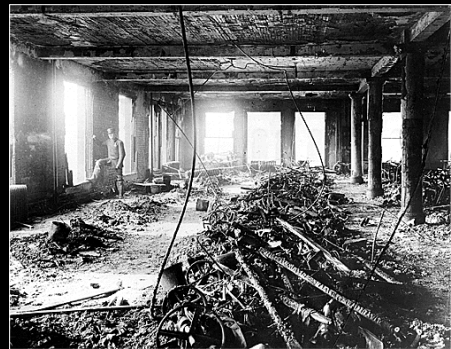
Typical NYC Sweatshop, 1910



Typical NYC Sweatshop, 1910



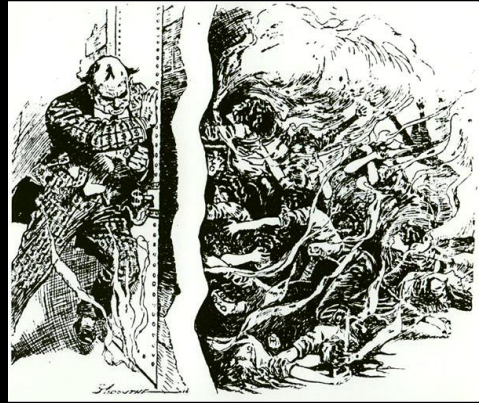
Inside the Building After the Fire



Most Doors Were Locked



24. Sarah Cammestine
Swore doors were all locked



Crumpled Fire Escape, 26 Died



One of the Heroes



25. Joseph Zito
Elevator Boy. Performed heroic work

10th Floor After the Fire



Dead Bodies on the Sidewalk



One of the "Lucky" Ones?



Rose Schneiderman



The Last Survivor



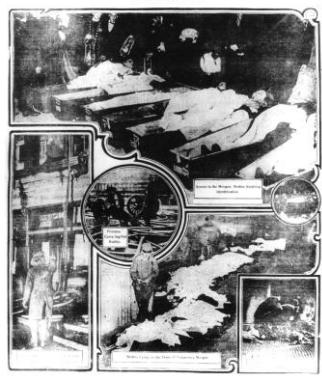
Scene at the Morgue



Relatives Review Bodies
145 Dead



SCENES OF DEATH AND SORROW AT THE GREAT NEW YORK FIRE DISASTER



Page
of the
New York
Journal

One of the Many Funerals



Protestors March to City Hall



Labor Unions March as Mourners



Women Workers March to City Hall



The Investigation



INSPECTOR OF BUILDINGS!



Francis Perkins Future Secretary Of Labor



Alfred E. Smith – Future NYC Mayor and Presidential Candidate



Future Senator Robert Wagner



Out of the Ashes

- ❑ ILGWU membership surged.
- ❑ NYC created a Bureau of Fire Prevention.
- ❑ New strict building codes were passed.
- ❑ Tougher fire inspection of sweatshops.
- ❑ Growing momentum of support for women's suffrage.

The Foundations Were Laid for the New Deal Here in 1911

- ❑ Al Smith ran unsuccessfully in 1928 on many of the reform programs that would be successful for another New Yorker 4 years later – FDR.
- ❑ In the 1930s, the federal government created OSHA [the Occupational Safety & Health Administration].
- ❑ The Wagner Act.
- ❑ Francis Perkins → first female Cabinet member [Secretary of Labor] in FDR's administration.

History of the Needlecraft Industry by Ernest Feeny, 1938



http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/films/triangle/player/?utm_medium=N/A&utm_campaign=N/A&linkId=34589621

Bibliography

- ❑ Davis, Hadley. "Reform and the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire." *Concord Review womenshistory.about.com/gi/dynamic/offsite.htm?site=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.tcr.org%2Ftriangle.html*
- ❑ "Famous Trials: The Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Trial - 1911." www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/triangle/trianglefire.html
- ❑ "The Triangle Fire." www.ilr.cornell.edu/trianglefire/

- Women reformers gained speed after the **Triangle Shirtwaist Company** burnt down in 1911, trapping and killing 146 mostly young, women workers. The tragedy gained much attention and gave the women momentum.
- The public outcry prompted many states to pass laws regulating hours and conditions in such "sweatshops" and to pass workers' compensation laws.



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V. Progressive Women (cont.)

- Corner saloons attracted ire of progressives:
 - **Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)** mobilized nearly one million women
 - Some states and counties passed "dry" laws to control, restrict, or abolish alcohol
 - Big cities generally "wet" because immigrants accustomed in Old Country to free flow of alcohol
 - By World War I (1914), nearly half of U.S. population lived in "dry" territory

Alcohol had long been under fire by women. During the Progressive era, temperance would reach its peak.

- **Francis Willard**, founder of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) got 1 million women to join the cause against alcohol. The WCTU was joined by the Anti-Saloon League. They were well-organized and well-financed.
- Many states and counties went "dry." In 1914, 1/2 of Americans lived in dry areas.
- The movement culminated in 1919 with the **18th Amendment (AKA Prohibition)** that banned alcohol's sale, consumption, and possession.



WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION

Founded in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1874, it used educational, social, and political means to promote legislation which dealt with issues ranging from health and hygiene, prison reform and world peace.

- protection of women and children at home and work
 - women's right to vote
 - shelters for abused women
- support from labor movements such as the Knights of Labor
 - the eight-hour work day
 - equal pay for equal work
 - founding of kindergartens
 - assistance in founding of the PTA
 - federal aid for education
- stiffer penalties for sexual crimes against girls and women
 - uniform marriage and divorce laws

WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION

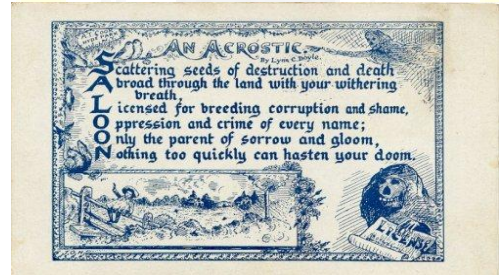
Founded in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1874, it used educational, social, and political means to promote legislation which dealt with issues ranging from health and hygiene, prison reform and world peace.

- *prison reform, police matrons and women police officers
- *homes and education for wayward girls
 - *pure food and drug act
 - *legal aid
 - *world peace
- ***Opposed and worked against**
 - *the drug traffic
 - *the use of alcohol and tobacco
 - *white slavery and child labor
 - *army brothels

WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION

Most successful work was in alerting the nation of the evils of alcohol and promoting legislation to outlaw it.

- *Passage of the **18th Amendment** in 1919 to outlaw alcohol.



WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION



► Most successful and well known WCTU reformer was Carrie Nation.

► She would march into a bar and sing and pray, while smashing bar fixtures and stock with a hatchet.

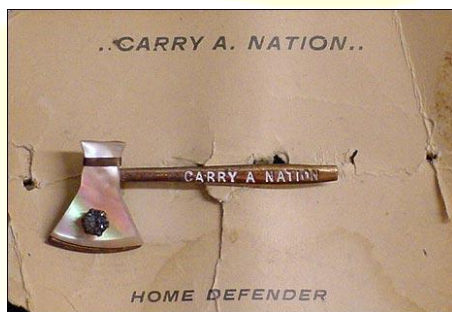
WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION



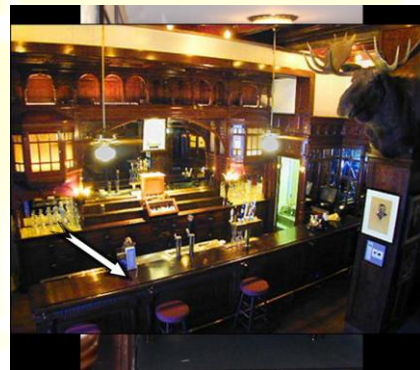
► Between 1900 and 1910 she was arrested some 30 times, and paid her jail fines from lecture-tour fees and sales of souvenir hatchets.

► Changed her name to Carry A. Nation and referred to herself as "A Home Defender".


WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION



WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION



WHICH NEEDS IT MOST?



For the Money Represented by

Three Ten Cent Drinks a Day For a Year

Any Grocer in Your Town Will Give You the Following Groceries:


10 Fifty-cent Sacks of Flour	10 Cans Tomatoes
20 Bushels Potatoes	10 Cans Apples
100 Pounds (100-lb) Sugar	10 Cans Beans
10 Pounds Salt	10 Cans Corn
10 Pounds Butter	10 Pounds Rice
10 Pounds Ore	100 Cans Soap
10 Pounds Salt Licks	10 Cans Peas
10 Pounds Coffee	10 Cans Raisins
10 Pounds Tea	10 Gallons Oil

And They Would Be **ENOUGH MONEY LEFT** To Buy a Good Present for Your Wife and Babies

From Progress, Commission on Saloon

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SOCIAL JUSTICE



18th Amendment: Prohibition (1919)
Banned manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages

- Movement begins at the local, state levels and eventually effects the national level....
- WCTU or Women's Christian Temperance Union founded in 1874 in Cleveland, Ohio
- Frances Willard
- Carrie Nation
- Anna Howard Shaw
- Anti-Saloon League

PROGRESSIVE PRESIDENTS

Square Deal



- TR believed in the *"capitalistic system"* but believed that the system must be regulated by US Govt.
- TR was a Hamiltonian but for the betterment of the *"common man"* as opposed to benefit the elite.

• TR believed the U.S. Government was running the country and not the rich and corrupt industrialists....

• U.S. Government involvement with *"regulatory agencies"*....Similar to *"checks and balances"*

PROGRESSIVE PRESIDENTS


Square Deal



- Reforms of the Progressives start with President Roosevelt....
- Areas which he wanted to reform and use the *"bully pulpit"* of the Presidency were the following:
 - Bad Trusts vs. Good Trusts
 - Take the side of labor
 - Railroads
 - Limiting corruption in the workplace
 - Conservation

ECONOMIC JUSTICE

TR, the "Trustbuster"



- Department of Labor
- Bureau of Corporations
- Filed more than 40 anti-trust suits using the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.
- Northern Securities
- Standard Oil
- Swift Beef

The Sherman Anti-Trust Law Returns from the Dead (Bartholomew in the Minneapolis Journal.)

VI. TR's Square Deal for Labor

- TR feared public interest being submerged at home:
 - As a progressive, he called for a "Square Deal" for capital, labor, and public at large
 - His program embraced three C's:
 - Control of corporations
 - Consumer protection
 - Conservation of natural resources
 - First test came in coal mines of Pennsylvania (1902)
 - Exploited workers struck for better pay and hours

ECONOMIC JUSTICE



Anthracite 1903 Coal Strike

- Union wanted shorter days and higher wages and owners would not negotiate.
- Winter, nation needed coal to heat homes.
- TR calls a White House Conference.

• TR threatens to send in troops to run mines

• Owners back down and TR becomes the “hero” of the common working man.

• **Importance:** First time US Govt. took the side of labor in a dispute.

VI. TR's Square Deal for Labor (cont.)

- Roosevelt finally threatened to seize mines if owners would not agree to arbitration with workers
 - First threat to use U.S. troops against owners, as opposed to against workers
- Roosevelt urged Congress to create new Department of Commerce and Labor (1903)
 - Ten years later it was separated in two
- New agency included a Bureau of Corporations authorized to investigate businesses engaged in interstate commerce:
 - Bureau helped break stranglehold of monopoly
 - Cleared road for era of “trust-busting”

VII. TR Corrals the Corporations

- First—railroads:
 - **Elkins Act (1903)** aimed at railroad rebates:
 - Heavy fines imposed on railroads that gave rebates and on shippers that accepted them
 - **Hepburn Act (1906):**
 - Free passes severely restricted
 - Interstate Commerce Commission expanded:
 - Included express companies, sleeping-car companies and pipelines
 - Commission could nullify existing rates and stipulate maximum rates

ECONOMIC JUSTICE



Railroad Reforms to boost the Interstate Commerce Commission.

- **Elkins Act**
- **Anti-Rebate Act or Anti-Kick Back Act**
- **Regulates common carriers of people and freight, UPS, Greyhound, Amtrak, etc.**
- **Hepburn Act**
- **Regulates rates for passengers and freight**
- **Air travel cost controls**
- **Air freight price controls**

VII. TR Corrals the Corporations (cont.)

- Trusts* a fighting word in progressive era
- Roosevelt believed trusts here to stay:
 - Some were “good” trusts with public consciences
 - Some were “bad” trusts that lusted greedily for power
 - First burst into headlines with legal attack on Northern Securities Company (1902):
 - Railroad holding company organized by financial titan J.P. Morgan and empire builder James J. Hill
 - They sought a virtual monopoly in Northwest
 - TR challenged potentates of industrial aristocracy

VII. TR Corrals the Corporations (cont.)

- Supreme Court upheld TR's antitrust suit and ordered Northern Securities Company to dissolve:
 - *Northern Securities* decision jolted Wall Street
 - Angered big business
 - Enhanced Roosevelt's reputation as trust smasher
- TR initiated over forty legal proceedings against giant monopolies:
 - Supreme Court (1905) declared beef trust illegal
 - Fist of justice fell upon monopolists controlling sugar, fertilizer, harvesters, and other key products
- TR's real purpose was symbolic: prove conclusively that government, not private business, ruled country



Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division LC-USZ62-10544

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VII. TR Corrals the Corporations (cont.)

- TR believed in regulating, not fragmenting, big business combines
- He hoped to make business leaders more amenable to federal regulation
- He never swung trust-crushing stick with maximum force
- Industrial behemoths more “tame” by end of TR’s reign
- His successor, William Howard Taft actually “busted” more trusts than TR
 - Taft launched suit against U.S. Steel (1911) but it caused a political reaction by TR

PROGRESSIVES

Economic Justice

- **Fairness and opportunity in the work world, regulate unfair trusts and bring about changes in labor.**
- **Demonstrate to the common people that U.S. Government is in charge and not the industrialists.**

Progressive Era Federal Legislation

National Reclamation Act (1902) Roosevelt	Encouraged conservation by allowing the building of dams and irrigations systems using money from the sale of public lands.
Elkins Act (1903) Roosevelt	Outlawed the use of rebates by railroad officials or shippers.
Pure Food and Drug Act (1906/1911) Roosevelt	Required that companies accurately label the ingredients contained in processed food items.
Meat Inspection Act (1906) Roosevelt	In direct response to Upton Sinclair's <i>The Jungle</i>, this law required that meat processing plants be inspected to ensure the use of good meat and health-minded procedures.

Progressive Era Federal Legislation

Hepburn Act (1906) Roosevelt	Strengthened the Interstate Commerce Commission, allowing it to set maximum railroad rates.
Federal Reserve Act (1913) Wilson	Created 12 district Federal Reserve Banks, each able to issue new currency and loan member banks funds at the prime interest rate, as established by the Federal Reserve Board.
Clayton Antitrust Act (1914) Wilson	Strengthened the Sherman Antitrust Act by outlawing the creation of a monopoly through any means, and stated that unions were not subject to antitrust legislation.
Federal Trade Act (1914) Wilson	Established the Federal Trade Commission, charged with investigating unfair business practices including monopolistic activity and inaccurate product labeling.

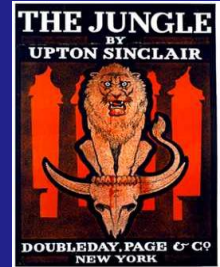
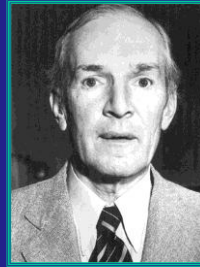
VIII. Caring for the Consumer

- Roosevelt backed a measure (1906) that benefited both corporations and consumers:
 - Even meat packing industry called for safer canned products
 - Uprouar from Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* (1906):
 - Intended to focus on plight of workers
 - Instead appalled public with description of disgustingly unsanitary preparation of food products
 - Described Chicago's slaughterhouses

VIII. Caring for the Consumer (cont.)

- Roosevelt induced Congress to pass:
 - **Meat Inspection Act (1906):**
 - Decreed that preparation of meat shipped over state lines subject to federal inspection from corral to can
 - **Pure Food and Drug Act (1906):**
 - Designed to prevent adulteration and mislabeling of foods and pharmaceuticals

SOCIAL JUSTICE



Upton Sinclair, *The Jungle*, exposed the filthy, unsanitary working conditions and corruption in a meatpacking company in Chicago

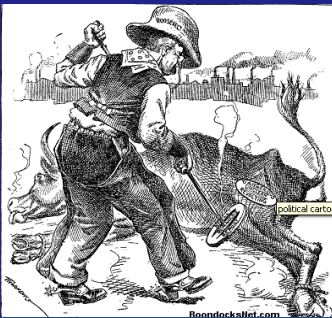
SOCIAL JUSTICE



SOCIAL JUSTICE



SOCIAL JUSTICE



President Roosevelt proposed legislation to clean up the meatpacking industry after reading *The Jungle*.

- Food and Drug Act
- Meat Inspection Act

SOCIAL JUSTICE



• Reading *The Jungle*, TR brought about reform in proposing and signing into law the **Meat Inspection Act, 1906**

- All meat sold must be inspected
- Must be marked by Federal inspectors and graded.
- Meat industry cleaned up.
- Fish is regulated.

A SATISFYING JOB, BUT IT MUST BE DONE
(President Roosevelt takes hold of the 'inspector's neck-tie' himself in the meatpacking scandal.)

SOCIAL JUSTICE

Collier's
THE NATIONAL WEEKLY

THE NATIONAL WEEKLY
PUBLISHED EVERY WEEK
FOR THE PEOPLE

•Pure Food and Drug Act, 1906

- Federal inspection to all packaged foods and drugs.
- Labels with medicine as well as food.
- Contents of food and drug packages must be listed
- All additives/chemicals must be listed on labels.

•FDA today or Food and Drug Administration



PROGRESSIVES

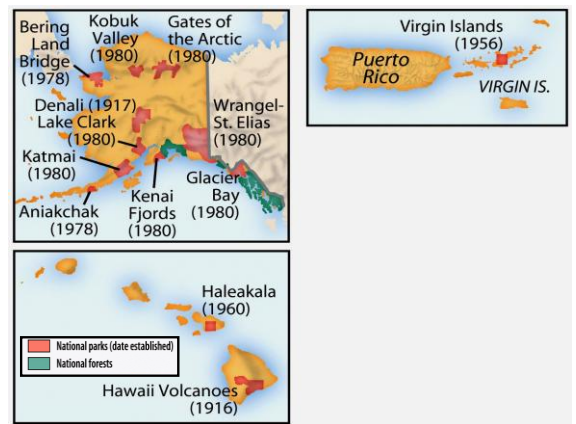
CONSERVATION

Preserve natural resources and the environment

CONSERVATION

TR's Conservation Policy

- 125,000 acres in reserve
- National Reclamation Act 1902
- 25 water projects
- Founding of the National Park System



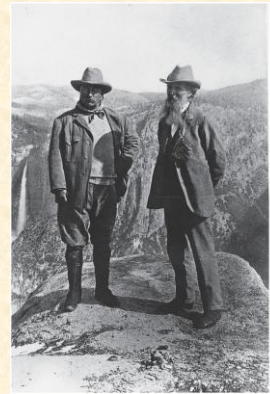


IX. Earth Control

- Steps to conserve U.S. natural resources:
 - Desert Land Act (1877):
 - Whereby federal government sold arid land cheaply on condition that purchaser irrigate soil within three years
 - Forest Reserve Act (1891):
 - Authorized president to set aside public forests as national parks and other reserves
 - Some 46 million acres rescued from logging in 1890s

IX. Earth Control (cont.)

- Carey Act (1894) distributed federal land to states on condition that it be irrigated and settled
- New day for conservation dawned with Roosevelt (see “Makers of America: The Environmentalists”)
 - TR seized banner of conservation leadership
 - Congress responded with landmark Newlands Act (1902):
 - Washington authorized to collect money from sale of public land in western states
 - Use funds for development of irrigation projects
 - Roosevelt Dam, constructed on Arizona’s Salt River, dedicated by Roosevelt in 1911



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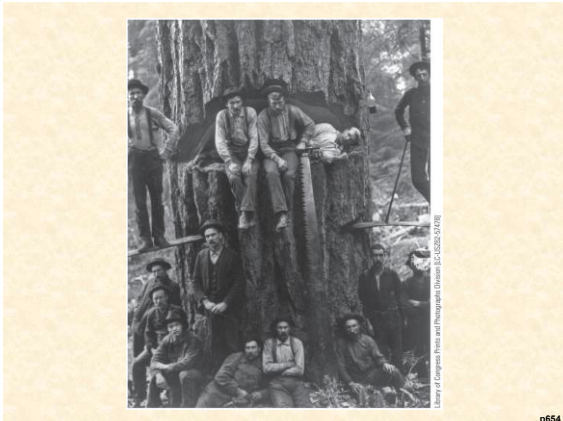
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IX. Earth Control (cont.)

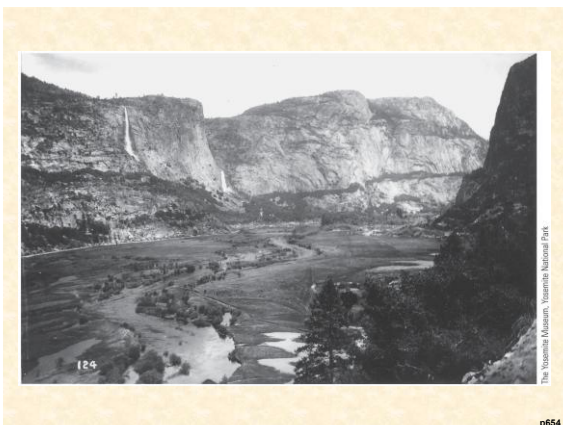
- TR worked to preserve nation's shrinking forests:
 - Set aside some 125 million acres in federal reserves
 - Earmarked millions of acres of coal deposits, and water resources useful for irrigation and power
- Conservation and reclamation were Roosevelt's most enduring tangible achievements
- Disappearance of frontier—believed to be source of national characteristics (individualism and democracy) encouraged popular support for conservation
- As did Jack London's *Call of the Wild* (1903)



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IX. Earth Control (cont.)

- Organizations:
 - Boy Scouts of America became largest youth group
 - Audubon Society tried to save wild native birds
 - Sierra Club (1892) dedicated to preserve wildness of western landscape
- Losses:
 - (1913) San Francisco built dam in **Hetch Hetchy Valley**
 - Caused deep division between preservationists (John Muir) and conservationists that persists to present day



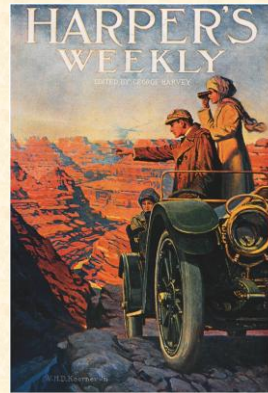
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IX. Earth Control (cont.)

- Roosevelt's chief forester, Gifford Pinchot, believed "wilderness was waste"
- Pinchot and TR wanted to use nation's natural endowment intelligently—thus two battles:
 - » One with greedy commercial interests that abused nature
 - » Other with romantic preservationists in thrall to simple "woodman-spare-that-tree" sentimentality
- National policy developed "multiple-use resource management"
 - » Try to combine recreation, sustained-yield logging, watershed protection, and summer stock grazing on same expanse of federal land

IX. Earth Control (cont.)

- Westerners learned how to work with federal management of natural resources:
 - New agencies, such as Forest Service and Bureau of Reclamation
 - Worked with federal programs devoted to rational, large-scale, and long-term use of natural resources
 - Single-person enterprises shouldered aside, in interest of efficiency, by combined bulk of big business and big government



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X. The “Roosevelt Panic” of 1907

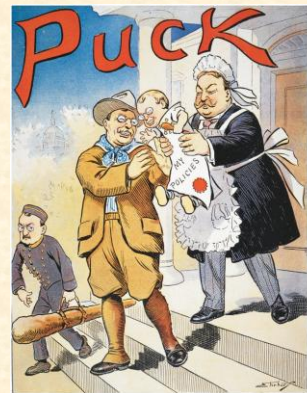
- Roosevelt's second term (1905-1909):
 - Called for regulating corporations, taxing incomes, and protecting workers
 - Declared (1904) under no circumstances would he be a candidate for a third term
 - Suffered sharp setback (1907) when short panic descended on Wall Street:
 - Frightened “runs” on banks
 - Financial world blamed Roosevelt
 - Conservatives called him “Theodore the Meddler”

X. The “Roosevelt Panic” of 1907 (cont.)

- Results of 1907 panic:
 - Paved way for long-overdue monetary reforms
 - Currency shortage showed need for more elastic medium of exchange
 - Congress (1908) responded with Aldrich-Vreeland Act:
 - Authorized national banks to issue emergency currency backed by various kinds of collateral
 - Path smoothed for momentous Federal Reserve Act of 1913 (see Chap. 29)

XI. The Rough Rider Thunders Out

- Roosevelt in 1908:
 - Could have won second presidential nomination and won election
 - However, he felt bound by promise of 1904
 - Sought successor who would carry out “my policies”:
 - Selected William Henry Taft, secretary of war and a mild progressive
 - He often served when Roosevelt away



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XI. The Rough Rider Thunders Out (cont.)

- In 1908 TR “steamrolled” convention to get Taft's nomination on first ballot
- Democrats nominated William Jennings Bryan again
- Campaign of 1908:
 - Taft and Bryan both tried to claim progressive TR's mantle
 - Majority chose stability with Roosevelt-endorsed Taft, who polled 321 electoral votes to 162 for Bryan
 - Socialists amassed 420,793 votes for Eugene V. Debs (see Chap. 26)

XI. The Rough Rider Thunders Out (cont.)

- Roosevelt branded by adversaries as wild-eyed radical
- Number of laws he inspired not in proportion to amount of noise he made
- Attacked by reigning business lords, but they knew they had a friend in White House
 - Should first and foremost be remembered as cowboy who tamed bronco of adolescent capitalism, thus ensuring it a long adult life

XI. The Rough Rider Thunders Out (cont.)

- Roosevelt's achievements and popularity:
 - His youthfulness appealed to young of all ages
 - Served as political lightning rod to protect capitalists against popular indignation and against socialism
 - Sought middle road between unbridled individualism and paternalist collectivism

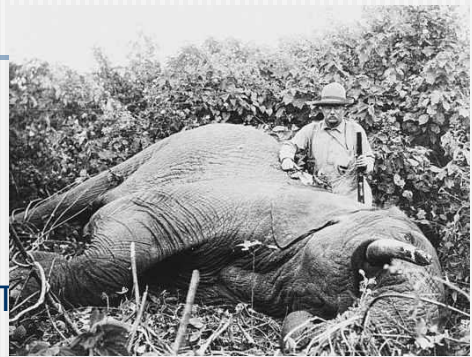
XI. The Rough Rider Thunders Out (cont.)

- In conservation crusade, he tried to mediate between:
 - Romantic preservationists and rapacious resource-predators
 - Probably his most typical and his most lasting achievement
- Other contributions of Roosevelt:
 - Greatly enlarged power/prestige of presidency
 - Helped shape progressive movement and later liberal reform
 - Opened eyes of Americans to fact that they shared world with other nations and needed to accept responsibilities of a great power

Teddy & His Elephant.....

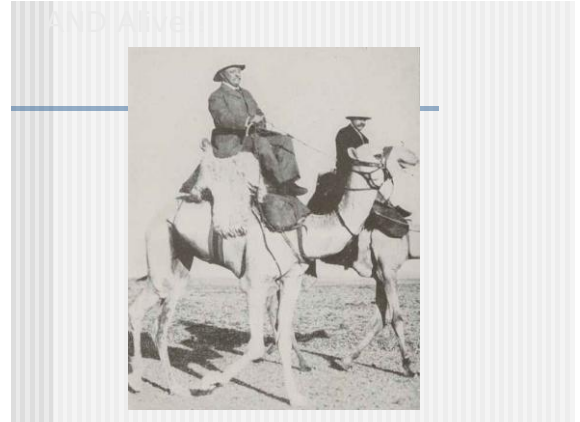


- Make that elephants plural.....





And other
dead
pals!



Taft: A Round Peg in a Square Hole

- At first, Taft seemed just fine. He was likable, seemed capable, had a solid background in experience.
- Tricky problems soon bogged him down. TR had been able to work through problems due to his force-of-personality and political instincts.
 - Taft took a hands-off approach toward Congress which did not serve him well.
- He was a mild progressive only, more inclined toward the status quo than reform.



XII. Taft: A Round Peg in a Square Hole

- William Howard Taft:
 - En enviable reputation as lawyer and judge
 - Trusted administrator under Roosevelt
 - Suffered from lethal political handicaps:
 - Not a dashing political leader like TR
 - Recoiling from controversy, Taft generally adopted attitude of passivity toward Congress
 - Taft a poor judge of public opinion

XII. Taft: A Round Peg in a Square Hole (cont.)

- His candor made him chronic victim of "foot-in-mouth" disease
- A mild progressive, but at heart wedded to status quo rather than change
- His cabinet did not contain a single representative of party's "insurgent" wing



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XIII. The Dollar Goes Abroad as a Diplomat

- Taft's foreign policy:
 - Use investments to boost American political interests abroad—**dollar diplomacy**:
 - Encouraged Wall Street to invest in foreign areas of strategic concern to U.S.A.
 - Especially Far East and Panama Canal
 - Thus bankers would strengthen American defenses and foreign policies—bring prosperity to homeland
 - Almighty dollar supplanted TR's big stick
 - Railroad investments in Manchuria were Taft's most spectacular effort, but Russia and Japan blocked effort

The Dollar Goes Abroad as Diplomat

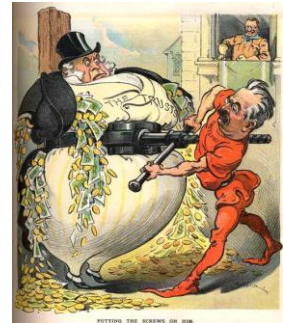
- President Taft encouraged a policy called "**Dollar Diplomacy**" where Americans invested in foreign countries to gain power.
 - Wall Street was urged to invest in strategic areas, especially the Far East and Latin America.
 - The Dollar Diplomacy policy would thus strengthen the U.S. and make money at the same time. Whereas TR had used the in-your-face Big Stick policy, Taft used the sneakier Dollar Diplomacy policy.
- A Dollar Diplomacy mishap occurred in China's Manchuria region.
 - Taft wanted to buy Manchuria's railroads from Russia and Japan, then turn them over to the Chinese. This would keep the Open Door policy open, and strengthen the U.S.'s position in China.
 - Russian and Japan blocked Sec. of State **Philander Knox's** deal and Taft suffered a Dollar Diplomacy black eye.
- Latin America was a busy spot for the Dollar Diplomacy policy. The Monroe Doctrine forbade Europe from intervening, so the U.S. did.
 - The U.S. invested heavily in Honduras and Haiti, thinking they may become trouble spots.
 - Ordering Europe to stay away from Latin America, and investing heavily there, meant the U.S. now had a vested interest and shouldered responsibility there.
 - Several flare-ups required the U.S. to intervene militarily including Cuba, Honduras, the Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua (for 13 years).

XIII. The Dollar Goes Abroad as a Diplomat (cont.)

- New trouble spot in revolution-riddled Caribbean:
 - Wall Street encouraged to pump dollars into financial vacuums in Honduras and Haiti to keep foreign funds out
 - Sporadic disorders in Cuba, Honduras, and Dominican Republic brought American forces to restore order and protect American investments
 - 2,500 marines (1912) landed in Nicaragua
 - Remained in Nicaragua for 13 years (see Map 29.1)

Taft the Trustbuster

- Taft was even more of a trust buster than Roosevelt; Taft brought 90 lawsuits against trusts during his 4 years in office
- Perhaps his most noteworthy bust was the Standard Oil Company. The Supreme Court ordered it broken into smaller companies in 1911.
- The U.S. Steel Company was under fire from Taft, even though Roosevelt had agreed to let the company survive as one of his "good trusts." When Taft sought to break it up, Roosevelt was furious at his successor's actions.



XIV. Taft the Trustbuster

- Taft gained some fame as smasher of monopolies:
 - Brought 90 suits against trusts during his four years compared to 44 for Roosevelt in 7½ years
 - Biggest action came in 1911 when Supreme Court ordered dissolution of Standard Oil Company:
 - Judged to be a combination in restraint of trade in violation of Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890

XIV. Taft the Trustbuster (cont.)

- Supreme Court also handed down its famous "rule of reason":
 - Doctrine—only those combinations that "unreasonably" restrained trade were illegal
 - Doctrine tore big hole in government's antitrust net
- 1911: antitrust suit against U.S. Steel Corporation:
 - Infuriated Roosevelt who had encouraged merger
 - Once Roosevelt's protégé, President Taft increasingly took on role of his antagonist

XV. Taft Splits the Republican Party

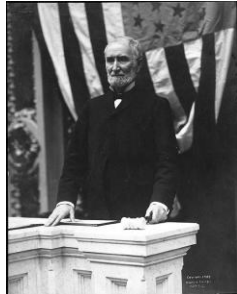
- Progressives in Republican Party wanted lower tariffs:
 - Thought they had a friend in Taft
 - House passed moderately reductive bill
 - Senate added numerous upward tariff revisions
 - Much to dismay of supporters, Taft signed **Payne-Aldrich Bill** and called it “best bill that the Republican Party ever passed”

XV. Taft Splits the Republican Party (cont.)

- Taft proved to be dedicated conservationist:
 - Established Bureau of Mines to control mineral resources
 - His accomplishments overshadowed by Ballinger-Pinchot quarrel (1910):
 - Secretary of Interior Richard Ballinger opened public lands in Wyoming, Montana, Alaska to corporate use
 - Ballinger sharply criticized by Gifford Pinchot, chief of Agriculture Department's Division of Forestry and a stalwart Rooseveltian

Taft Splits the Republican Party

- The Republican Party had two wings: the progressives who wanted to change, and the conservatives, who wanted to maintain the status quo (meaning NOT to make changes).
- Taft could not hold the two parties together.
- The two groups disagreed over Taft's support of conservative political boss Joseph Cannon, the Speaker of the House of Representatives.
- The party began to split over how to handle Cannon.



- Two other main issues split the Republican party: (1) the tariff and (2) conservation of lands.
- On the tariff, old-school Republicans were high-tariff; New/Progressive Republicans were low tariff.
 - Taft, as the mild Progressive, had promised to lower the tariff. As president, he sought to do just that, if only a small reduction.
 - **Sen. Nelson Aldrich** added many *increases* to the bill while it was in the Senate. When passed and signed by Taft, the **Payne-Aldrich Bill** actually broke his campaign promise and angered many.
 - Pres. Taft even unwisely named it “the best bill that the Republican party ever passed.”
- Thus, the Payne-Aldrich Bill greatly attributed to the split of the Republican party.

XV. Taft Splits the Republican Party (cont.)

- Taft dismissed Pinchot on charges of insubordination
 - Widened rift between Roosevelt and Taft
- Reformist wing of Republican party up in arms:
 - Taft being pushed into arms of Old Guard
 - By 1910 Grand Old Party split wide-open, largely due to clumsiness of Taft
 - Roosevelt returned in 1910 and stirred up tempest by giving flaming speech at Osawatimie, Kansas
 - Announced doctrine of “New Nationalism:”
 - Urged national government to increase its power to remedy economic and social abuses

XV. Taft Splits the Republican Party (cont.)

- Results of divisions within Republican Party:
 - Lost badly in congressional elections of 1910
 - Democrats emerged with 228 seats, leaving once-dominant Republicans with only 161
 - A socialist representative, Victor L. Berger, elected from Milwaukee
 - Republicans, by virtue of holdovers, retained Senate, 51 to 41:
 - but even there reformers challenged Old Guard

XVI. The Taft-Roosevelt Rupture

- Now a full-fledged revolt:
 - 1911: National Progressive Republican League formed
 - Fiery Senator La Follette (Wisconsin) became leading presidential candidate for group
 - February 1912, Roosevelt wrote to seven governors that he was willing to accept Republican nomination
 - His reasoning—third-term tradition applied to three consecutive elective terms
 - Roosevelt entered primaries, pushing La Follette aside

XVI. The Taft-Roosevelt Rupture (cont.)

- Taft-Roosevelt explosion near in June 1912, at Republican convention in Chicago
 - Rooseveltites about 100 delegates short of winning nomination
 - Challenged right of some 250 Taft delegates to be seated
 - Most of the contests settled for Taft
 - Roosevelt refused to quit game:
 - Having tasted for first time bitter cup of defeat, TR led a third-party crusade

The 1912 Election

Key Issues

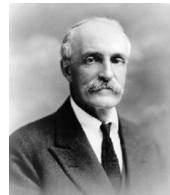
1912 ELECTION



- TR runs against Taft for the Republican nomination.
- TR is not nominated for the Republican nomination because the Conservatives supported Taft.
- Ballinger-Pinchoet quarrel,
- Sec. of the Interior Ballinger opened public lands in Wyoming, Montana, and Alaska to development
- Angered TR's pro-conservation stand.



The Ballinger-Pinchoet Controversy



- On conservation, old-school Republicans favored using or developing the lands for business; new/Progressive Republicans favored conservation of lands.
- The portly president was a dedicated conservationist, and his contributions actually equalled or surpassed those of Roosevelt.
- However, Taft's involvement in the **Ballinger-Pinchoet quarrel** (1910) largely erased those praiseworthy accomplishments in the public eye.
 - Sec. of Interior **Richard Ballinger** (top) said that public lands in Wyoming, Montana, and Alaska would be open for development.
 - Chief of Forestry **Gifford Pinchot** (bottom) was critical of the decision. Apparently siding with Ballinger, Taft fired Pinchot—an unpopular move.

1912 ELECTION



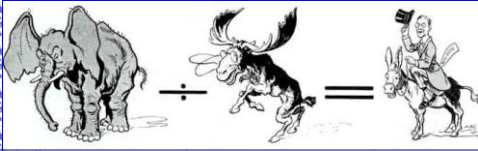
•TR forms his own party called the Progressive *"Bull Moose Party"*.....

•As a result, TR splits the Republican Party and Woodrow Wilson (Democrat) will be elected.

The Progressive Party & Theodore Roosevelt



GOP Divided by Bull Moose Equals Democratic Victory!



1912 ELECTION




Roosevelt's Campaign Slogan

New Nationalism: Favored an active government role in economic and social affairs.

- **Good vs. bad trusts** which were regulated by the U.S. Govt.
- Continuation of his **Square Deal** policies.

- **Direct Election of Senators**
- **Tariff reduction**
- **Presidential primaries**
- **Regulation of monopolies**
- **End child labor**
- **Women's suffrage**



**No
Third-Term
Principle**

1912 ELECTION

New Freedom	New Nationalism
<p>Goal:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Favored an active role in economic and social affairs. • Favored small businesses and the free functioning and unregulated and unmonopolized markets. • Tackle the triple wall of privilege: the tariff, the banks, and the trusts. • Similar to Roosevelt's New Nationalism 	<p>Goal:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continuation of his Square Deal which were reforms to help the common man. • Favored a more active govt role in economic and social affairs. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Good trusts vs. bad trusts 2. Direct election of senators 3. Tariff reduction 4. Presidential primaries 5. Regulation of monopolies 6. End child labor 7. Initiative and referendum 8. Women's suffrage

1912 ELECTION

Instructions to Voters

Vote for TAFT AND SHERMAN ○ AND GET	Vote for Wilson and Marshall ○ AND GET	Vote for DEBS AND SEIDEL ⊗ AND GET	Vote for Roosevelt and Johnson ○ AND GET
<p>Lower wages and fuel. Trust prices.</p> <p>Produce.</p> <p>Yearly meeting (legislature).</p> <p>Disfranchisement of Negroes and Chinese.</p> <p>Disfranchise.</p> <p>Child labor particularly in Pennsylvania.</p> <p>Prohibit labor for patented industries.</p> <p>Tariff lowering (upwards).</p> <p>Child labor particularly in Pennsylvania.</p>	<p>Pro-trade wages and high-trust prices.</p> <p>Disfranchise.</p> <p>Yearly meeting (legislature).</p> <p>Disfranchisement of Negroes and Chinese.</p> <p>Disfranchise.</p> <p>Child labor particularly in Pennsylvania.</p> <p>Prohibit labor for patented industries.</p> <p>Tariff lowering (downwards).</p> <p>Child labor particularly in Pennsylvania.</p>	<p>The full social value of your product.</p> <p>Disfranchise.</p> <p>Yearly meeting (legislature).</p> <p>Disfranchisement of Negroes and Chinese.</p> <p>Disfranchise.</p> <p>Child labor particularly in Pennsylvania.</p> <p>Prohibit labor for patented industries.</p> <p>Tariff lowering (downwards).</p> <p>Child labor particularly in Pennsylvania.</p>	<p>Obama (that will wages and fuel. Trust prices.</p> <p>Merry and another "Ohio Head."</p> <p>Trust operations multiple rates.</p> <p>Disfranchise of Perkins and Morgan.</p> <p>Disfranchise.</p> <p>Child labor particularly in Pennsylvania.</p> <p>Prohibit labor for patented industries.</p> <p>Tariff lowering (downwards).</p> <p>Child labor particularly in Pennsylvania.</p>

COMRADES, SEND US IMMEDIATE ELECTION RETURNS FROM THE COUNTY, STATE AND NATION.

1912 ELECTION

Candidate	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Percent of Popular Vote
Woodrow Wilson (Democrat)	435	6,296,547	41.9
Theodore Roosevelt (Progressive)	88	4,118,571	27.4
William H. Taft (Republican)	8	3,486,720	23.2
Eugene V. Debs (Socialist)	0	900,672	6.0
Other minor parties	—	—	1.5

Woodrow Wilson

William H. Taft

Theodore Roosevelt

1912 ELECTION

Wilson's Slogan

- **New Freedom**: restore the free competition and equal opportunity but not through big government....
- Tackle the **"triple wall of privilege"**: the tariff, the banks, and the trusts.

• Wilson passes quite a bit of legislation which was similar to Roosevelt's **New Nationalism**....

Progressive Movement ends in 1917 with US entrance into **WWI**

Wilson's time is devoted to the **WWI** instead of the Progressive Reforms.

- Federal Trade Commission
- 16th Amendment
- Underwood Tariff Bill
- Federal Reserve Act
- Clayton Anti-Trust Act
- Keating-Owen Act

The GOP: An Extinct Animal?

XVII. The "Bull Moose" Campaign of 1912

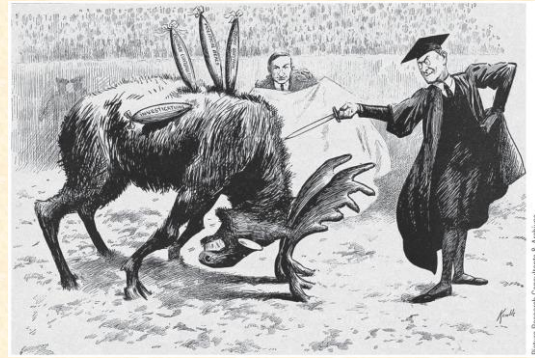
- Democrats jubilant over Republican divisions
 - Assumed could win in 1912 with a strong reformer
- Governor Woodrow Wilson seemed good fit:
 - Scholar of government who became reformist president of Princeton University in 1902
 - Elected governor of New Jersey in 1910, Wilson campaigned against "predatory" trusts
 - Once elected, Wilson drove through legislature a number of progressive reforms

XVII. The "Bull Moose" Campaign of 1912 (cont.)

- Democrats met at Baltimore (1912):
 - Nominated Wilson, aided by William Jennings Bryan's switch to his side
 - His progressive reform platform dubbed **New Freedom**
- Progressive Republican ticket:
 - Third-party with Roosevelt as its candidate for president
 - Pro-Roosevelt supporters held convention in Chicago in August 1912

XVII. The “Bull Moose” Campaign 1912 (cont.)

- Settlement-house pioneer Jane Addams placed Roosevelt's name in nomination for presidency:
 - Symbolized rising political status of women as well as Progressive support for social justice
- TR received thunderous applause when he declared “We stand at Armageddon, and we battle for the Lord!”
- Roosevelt said he felt “as strong as a bull moose” thus bull moose symbol



Picture Research Consultants & Archives

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XVII. The “Bull Moose” Campaign 1912 (cont.)

- Big issue of campaign was two versions of reform:
 - TR and Wilson agreed on more active government, but disagreed on specific strategies
- Roosevelt's **New Nationalism**:
 - Based on ideas of progressive thinker Herbert Cody in his book *The Promise of American Life*
 - Favored continued consolidation of trusts and labor unions
 - Paralleled by growth of powerful regulatory agencies
 - Campaigned for woman suffrage

XVII. The “Bull Moose” Campaign 1919 (cont.)

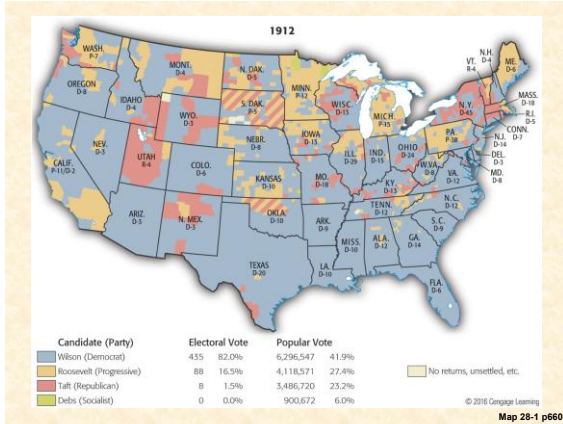
- Broad program of social welfare, including minimum wage laws and publicly supported health care
- TR's Progressives looked forward to comprehensive welfare state of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal
- Wilson's **New Freedom**:
 - Favored small enterprise, entrepreneurship
 - Free functioning of unregulated, unmonopolized markets
 - Shunned social welfare proposals
 - Pinned economic faith on competition—the “man on the make,” as Wilson put it

XVII. The “Bull Moose” Campaign 1919 (cont.)

- Banking reform and tariff reduction
- Keynote of Wilson's campaign not regulation but fragmentation of big industrial combines
 - Chiefly by vigorous enforcement of antitrust laws
- Election of 1912 offered voters a choice not merely of policies but of political and economic philosophies--a rarity in U.S. History

XVII. The “Bull Moose” Campaign 1919 (cont.)

- Election's returns:
 - Wilson won with 435 electoral votes and 6,296,547 popular votes (41% of total)
 - Roosevelt finished second with 88 electoral votes and 4,118,571 popular votes
 - Taft won only eight electoral votes and 3,484,720 popular votes (see Map 28.1)
 - Socialist candidate, Eugene V. Debs, rolled up 900,672 popular votes, 6% of total cast



XVII. The “Bull Mouse” Campaign 1919 (cont.)

- Taft himself had a fruitful old age:
 - Taught law for eight years at Yale University
 - In 1921 became chief justice of Supreme Court—a job for which he was far better suited than presidency

CHRONOLOGY

<p>1892 Sierra Club founded</p> <p>1899 National Consumers League founded</p> <p>1901 Commission system established in Galveston, Texas Progressive Robert La Follette elected governor of Wisconsin American Socialist Party of America formed</p> <p>1902 Lincoln Steffens and Ida Tarbell publish muckraking exposés Anthracite coal strike Newlands Act</p> <p>1903 Department of Commerce and Labor established Elkins Act Women's Trade Union League founded</p> <p>1904 <i>Northern Securities</i> case Roosevelt wins election to first full term as president</p> <p>1905 <i>Lochner v. New York</i></p> <p>1906 Hepburn Act Upton Sinclair publishes <i>The Jungle</i> Meat Inspection Act Pure Food and Drug Act</p> <p>1907 “Roosevelt panic”</p>	<p>1908 <i>Muller v. Oregon</i> Taft defeats Bryan for presidency Aldrich-Vreeland Act</p> <p>1909 Payne-Aldrich tariff</p> <p>1910 Ballinger-Pinchot affair Washington State grants woman suffrage</p> <p>1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire Standard Oil antitrust case U.S. Steel Corporation antitrust suit California grants woman suffrage</p> <p>1912 Taft wins Republican nomination over Roosevelt Wilson defeats Taft and Roosevelt for presidency Arizona, Kansas, and Oregon grant woman suffrage Children's Bureau established in Department of Labor</p> <p>1913 Seventeenth Amendment passed (direct election of U.S. senators) Federal Reserve Act San Francisco decides to build Hetch/Hetchy Reservoir</p> <p>1920 Women's Bureau established in Department of Labor</p>
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