

3

Presidents Support Reforms

As
You
Read

Explore These Questions

- How did Theodore Roosevelt try to control trusts?
- What other reforms did Roosevelt support?
- What were Woodrow Wilson's goals as President?

Define

- trustbuster
- conservation
- national park

Identify

- Theodore Roosevelt
- Square Deal
- Pure Food and Drug Act
- William Howard Taft
- Bull Moose party
- Woodrow Wilson
- New Freedom
- Federal Reserve Act
- Federal Trade Commission

SETTING the Scene

In 1900, Republicans needed a reform-minded candidate to run with President William McKinley. They offered the job to **Theodore Roosevelt**, a New York politician. However, Roosevelt was not interested in serving as Vice President. "I will not accept under any circumstances," he replied.

As a loyal Republican, Roosevelt finally did accept the nomination. A year later, McKinley was shot and Roosevelt became President.

By 1901, Progressives were having success in many states. With Roosevelt in the White House, they hoped to push national reforms and turn the federal government into a protector of the people.

Teddy Roosevelt

Teddy Roosevelt—or "TR," as he was called—belonged to an old, wealthy New York family. As a child, he suffered from asthma and was often sick. To build his strength, he lifted weights, ran, and boxed.

Early career

The children of wealthy, old families were expected to live lives of ease and privilege. Instead, TR entered politics after college, determined to end corruption and protect the public interest.

Roosevelt's friends mocked his political ambitions. He later recalled:

“ They assured me that the men I met would be rough and brutal and unpleasant to deal with. I answered that I certainly would not quit until I . . . found out whether I was really too weak to hold my own in the rough and tumble. ”

By age 26, Roosevelt was serving in the New York state legislature. Then tragedy almost ended his political career. In 1884, his mother and his young wife died on the same day. Overcome by grief, Roosevelt quit the legislature. He went west to work on a cattle ranch in present-day North Dakota.

After two years, Roosevelt returned to the East and to politics. He served on the Civil Service Commission. Later on, he held posts as head of the New York City police department and as assistant secretary of the navy.

In 1898, when the United States went to war against Spain, Roosevelt fought in Cuba. He returned home to a hero's welcome. That same year, he was elected governor of New York.



Pitcher in the likeness of Theodore Roosevelt



▲
Teddy bear
of the early 1900s

Viewing HISTORY TR on the Campaign Trail

This photograph shows Theodore Roosevelt campaigning in Wyoming in 1903. TR put tremendous energy into his speeches, pounding his fists into the air as he spoke. Roosevelt's activities as an outdoorsman also helped his public image. After he refused to shoot a small captured bear, a toy company named a new product after the President: the Teddy bear. ★ **How did Roosevelt's actions as President support his image as an energetic fighter?**

A progressive governor

Since his days in the legislature, Roosevelt had pushed for reform. Other legislators called him a "goo goo," a mocking name for someone who wanted good government. As governor, Roosevelt worked for Progressive reforms.

New York Republican bosses were relieved when Roosevelt became Vice President. Then, in September 1901, an assassin shot President McKinley. At age 42, Roosevelt became the nation's youngest President.

TR and Big Business

Roosevelt promised to continue McKinley's pro-business policies. Still, many busi-

ness people worried about the new President's Progressive ideas.

Roosevelt believed that giant corporations were here to stay. He thought, however, that there were good trusts and bad trusts. Good trusts were efficient and fair and should be left alone, TR said. Bad trusts took advantage of their workers and cheated the public. The government should either control them or break them up.

Taking on the trusts

Roosevelt wanted to test the power of the government to break up bad trusts. In 1902, he ordered the Attorney General, the government's chief lawyer, to bring a lawsuit against the Northern Securities Company. Roosevelt argued that Northern Securities used unfair business practices in violation of the Sherman Act.

Stock prices on Wall Street, the New York center of business and finance, fell at news of the lawsuit. One newspaper editor noted:

“Wall Street is paralyzed at the thought that a President of the United States would sink so low as to try to enforce the law.”

While business leaders worried, ordinary people supported the President.

In 1904, the Supreme Court ruled that Northern Securities had violated the Sherman Antitrust Act by limiting trade. It ordered the trust to be broken up. The decision showed the effects of Progressive reform. In the 1890s, the Sherman Antitrust Act had been used to break up unions, not trusts.

President Roosevelt hailed the case as a victory. He then ordered the Attorney General to file suit against other trusts, including Standard Oil and the American Tobacco Company. The courts later ordered both trusts to be broken up on the grounds that they blocked free trade.

Some business leaders called Roosevelt a **trustbuster** who wanted to destroy all trusts. “Certainly not,” replied Roosevelt, only those that “have done something we regard as wrong.” He preferred to control or regulate trusts, not “bust” them.

Support for labor

Roosevelt also clashed with the nation's mine owners. In 1902, Pennsylvania coal miners went on strike. They wanted better pay and a shorter workday. Mine owners refused to talk to the miners' union.

As winter approached, schools and hospitals around the country ran out of coal. Furious at the stubbornness of mine owners, Roosevelt threatened to send in troops to run the mines. In response, owners sat down with the union and reached an agreement.

Working men and women around the country cheered. Earlier Presidents had used federal troops to break strikes. Roosevelt was the first to side with labor.

The Square Deal

In 1904, Roosevelt ran for President in his own right. During the campaign, he promised Americans a **Square Deal**. By this, he meant that many different groups—farmers and consumers, workers and owners—should have an equal opportunity to succeed. The promise of a Square Deal helped Roosevelt win a landslide victory.

Railroads were a key target of the Square Deal. Roosevelt knew that the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 had done little to end rebates and other abuses. He urged Congress to pass the Elkins Act in 1903. It outlawed rebates. In 1906, Congress gave the ICC the power to set railroad rates.

Protecting consumers

Roosevelt had read Upton Sinclair's shocking novel, *The Jungle*. In response, he sent more government inspectors to meat-packing houses. The owners refused to let the inspectors in.

Roosevelt fought back. He gave the newspapers copies of a government report that supported Sinclair's picture of the meat-packing industry. As public rage mounted, Congress passed the Meat Inspection Act of 1906. It forced packers to open their doors to more inspectors.

Roosevelt supported other reforms to protect consumers. Muckrakers had revealed that the drug companies made false claims about their medicines. They also found that

Linking Past and Present

Past



Present



Before the Progressive Era, drug manufacturers were not controlled by the law. Advertisers often made wild, exotic claims for medicines that actually did nothing. Today, every medicine label must include a list of ingredients, exact directions for use, and warnings about possible side effects. ★ How is the advertisement at the top different from a medicine ad you might see in a magazine today?

the food industry added dangerous chemicals to canned foods. In 1906, Congress passed the **Pure Food and Drug Act**. It required food and drug makers to list ingredients on their packages. It also tried to end false advertising and the use of impure ingredients.

Protecting resources

Roosevelt grew alarmed about the destruction of the American wilderness. To fuel the nation's industrial growth, lumber companies were cutting down whole forests. Miners were taking iron and coal from the earth at a frantic pace and leaving gaping holes.

Roosevelt loved the outdoors and objected to this destruction of the land. He believed in **conservation**, the protection of natural resources. "The rights of the public to natural resources outweigh private rights," he said.

Roosevelt thought that natural resources could serve both the public interest and private companies. Some forest and mountain areas, he said, should be left as wilderness. Others could supply wood for lumber. He wanted lumber companies to replant trees in the forests they were clearing. Mining, too, should be controlled.

Under Roosevelt, the government created some 170,000 acres of national parkland. A **national park** is an area set aside and run by the federal government for people to visit.

Taft and the Reformers

In 1908, Roosevelt decided not to run for reelection. Instead, he threw his support behind **William Howard Taft**, his Secretary of War. With Roosevelt's backing, Taft won an easy victory. A confident Roosevelt said:

“Taft will carry on the work . . . as I have. His policies, principles, purposes, and ideals are the same as mine. The Roosevelt policies will not go out with Roosevelt.”

Roosevelt then set off for Africa to hunt big game for a year. He left behind an impressive record as a reformer. He also left the presidency more powerful than it had been at any time since the Civil War.

Taft was different from Roosevelt. Unlike the hard-driving, energetic Roosevelt, Taft was quiet and careful. Roosevelt loved power. Taft feared it.

Nevertheless, Taft supported many Progressive causes. He broke up even more trusts than TR. He supported the graduated income tax, approved new safety regulations for mines, and signed laws setting an eight-hour day for government employees. Under Taft, the Department of Labor set up a bureau to deal with the problems of working children.

Despite such successes, Taft lost Progressive support. In 1909, Taft signed a bill that raised most tariffs. Progressives opposed high tariffs because they felt tariffs raised prices for consumers. Also, Taft fired the chief of the United States Forest Service during a dispute over the sale of wilderness areas in Alaska. Progressives accused Taft of blocking conservation efforts.

Election of 1912

When Roosevelt returned from Africa, he found that reformers felt Taft had betrayed them. Roosevelt declared that Taft was “a flub-dub with a streak of the second-rate.” TR decided to run against Taft for the Republican nomination in 1912.

The Bull Moose party

Roosevelt won wide public support. He won almost every state primary he entered. Still, many Republican business leaders distrusted Roosevelt. Also, Taft still controlled the party leadership. At the Republican convention, the party nominated Taft.

Right in the middle of Taft's nomination, angry Progressive Republicans stormed out



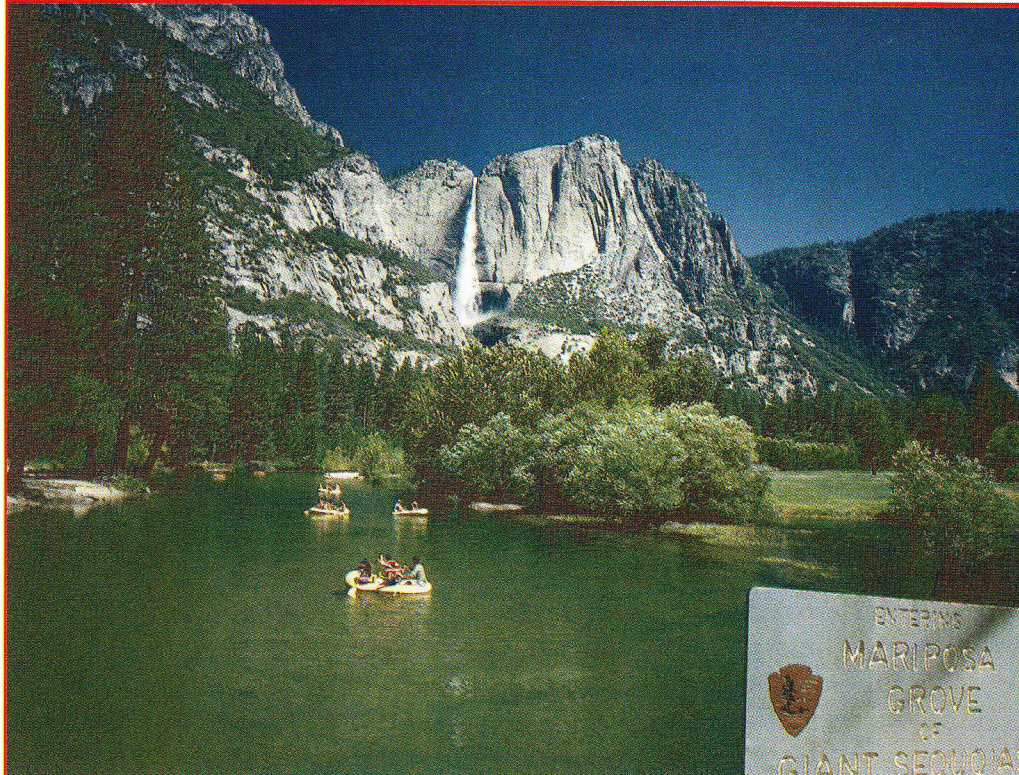
Connections With Geography

Theodore Roosevelt's conservation efforts encouraged Mexican immigration. In 1902, Congress passed the Newlands Act to finance construction of irrigation projects in arid states. The law created millions of acres of new farmland in California, Texas, and Arizona. As a result, many Mexicans entered the United States in search of work.

Yosemite National Park

Almost 100 years ago, President Theodore Roosevelt camped out in the Yosemite Valley in California. He viewed its majestic mountains and walked beneath its towering sequoia trees—the oldest living things on Earth. Today, thanks to the work of conservationists like Roosevelt, you can still enjoy Yosemite and other natural beauties. In fact, you can even see the very same redwoods Roosevelt saw!

★ To learn more about this historic site, write: Yosemite National Park, PO Box 577, Yosemite, CA 95389.



◀ This sign welcomes you to Yosemite's sequoia forest.

of the convention. They set up a new Progressive party and chose Roosevelt as their candidate. He eagerly accepted. "I feel as strong as a bull moose," he boasted. Roosevelt and his supporters became known as the **Bull Moose party**.

A Democratic victory

Democrats picked **Woodrow Wilson**, a Progressive, as their candidate. Born in Virginia, Wilson was the son of a Presbyterian minister. His father taught him that the world was strictly divided between good and evil. As a boy, Wilson made up his mind always to fight for what he thought was right. Wilson had served as president of Princeton University and as governor of New Jersey. He was known as a brilliant scholar and a cautious reformer.

Together, Taft and Roosevelt won more votes than Wilson. However, they split the Republican vote. Their quarrel helped Wilson win the election of 1912.

President Wilson

Wilson took the oath of office in March 1913. His inaugural address reflected his strong, unbending sense of morality:

“The nation has been deeply stirred, stirred by a solemn passion, stirred by the knowledge of wrong, of ideals lost, of government too often . . . made an instrument of evil. The feelings with which we face this new age of right and opportunity sweep across our heart-strings like some air out of God's own presence.”

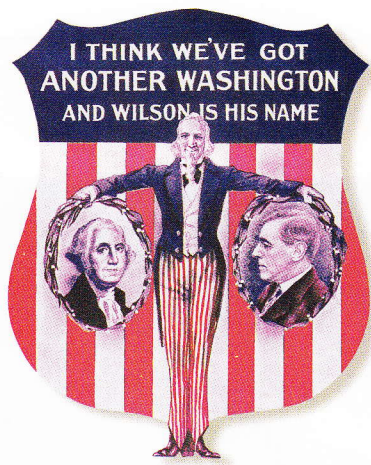
Wilson asked honest, forward-looking Americans to stand at his side. "God helping me," he pledged, "I will not fail them."

The New Freedom

At first, Wilson's goal was to break up trusts into smaller companies. By doing so, he hoped to restore the competition that had once existed in the American economy. "If America is not to have free enterprise, then she can have freedom of no sort whatever," he said. Wilson called his program the **New Freedom**.

Wilson worked with Congress for laws to spur competition. He pushed first for a lower tariff to create more competition from imports. After a struggle, Congress lowered the tariff. It also imposed a graduated income tax to make up for lost revenues.

To regulate banking, Congress passed the **Federal Reserve Act** in 1913. The act set up a nationwide system of federal banks. The system gave the government the power to raise or lower interest rates and control the money supply.



Campaign song for Woodrow Wilson

Regulating competition

To ensure fair competition, President Wilson persuaded Congress to create the **Federal Trade Commission** (FTC) in 1914. The FTC had power to investigate companies and order them to stop using business practices that destroyed all competitors.

That same year, Wilson signed the Clayton Antitrust Act. The law was weaker than he wanted. However, it did ban some business practices that limited free enterprise. It also barred antitrust laws from being used against unions—a major victory for labor.

Despite Wilson's successes, the Progressive movement slowed after 1914. By then, the Progressives had achieved many of their goals. In addition, the outbreak of war in Europe seized public attention. Americans became concerned that the fighting in Europe might soon involve the United States.

★ Section 3 Review ★

Recall

1. **Identify** (a) Theodore Roosevelt, (b) Square Deal, (c) Pure Food and Drug Act, (d) William Howard Taft, (e) Bull Moose party, (f) Woodrow Wilson, (g) New Freedom, (h) Federal Reserve Act, (i) Federal Trade Commission.
2. **Define** (a) trustbuster, (b) conservation, (c) national park.

Comprehension

3. (a) How did Roosevelt feel about trusts? (b) What action did he take in the Northern Securities case?
4. Describe one action Roosevelt took to achieve each of the following goals: (a) consumer protection, (b) protection of natural resources.

5. Describe two actions Wilson took to ensure competition.

Critical Thinking and Writing

6. **Analyzing Ideas** Reread the comment of the newspaper editor on page 526. (a) Why were many business leaders surprised by Roosevelt's actions in the Northern Securities case? (b) What point was the editor making about the role of the President?
7. **Making Inferences** "I'm glad to be going," commented William Howard Taft as he left the White House in 1913. "This is the loneliest place in the world." Why do you think Taft might have felt this way?



Activity Expressing an Opinion You are the owner of a large area of wilderness. Theodore Roosevelt wants to use your land for a park. Write him a letter in which you explain your reaction to his proposal.

4

Progress for Women

As You Read

Explore These Questions

- How did women work for suffrage in the Progressive Era?
- What new opportunities did women earn?
- How did the temperance movement gain strength?

Define

- suffragist
- temperance movement

Identify

- Carrie Chapman Catt
- Alice Paul
- Nineteenth Amendment
- Florence Kelley
- Frances Willard
- Carry Nation
- Eighteenth Amendment

SETTING the Scene

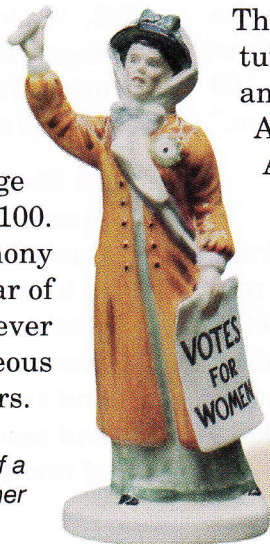
Susan B. Anthony had broken the law. Her crime was voting. Along with 15 other women, Anthony registered to vote in her home town of Rochester, New York, in 1872. When she cast her ballot, she was arrested.

At her trial, the judge directed that Anthony be found guilty. The judge then asked if she had anything to say. Anthony responded defiantly:

“Yes, your honor, I have many things to say; for in your ordered verdict of guilty, you have trampled underfoot every vital principle of our government. My natural rights, my civil rights, my political rights, are all alike ignored. Robbed of the fundamental privilege of citizenship, I am degraded from the status of a citizen to that of a subject; and not only myself individually, but all of my sex, are . . . doomed to political subjection.”

Anthony refused to quiet down or to ask for mercy. The judge then ordered her to pay a fine of \$100. “May it please your honor,” Anthony replied, “I shall never pay a dollar of your unjust penalty.” Anthony never did pay the fine. Her courageous stand won her many new followers.

Porcelain figure of a women’s suffrage campaigner



During the Progressive Era, women continued their long battle to win the right to vote. They also worked for many other reforms. Women spoke out against trusts, supported pure food laws, and called for an end to child labor. They also led a renewed effort to ban the sale of alcohol.

Working for the Vote

The struggle to grant women the vote, or suffrage, went back many years. As you read in Chapter 13, the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848 was the start of an organized women’s rights movement in the United States. Delegates at the convention called for many reforms, including women’s suffrage.

After the Civil War, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony led a renewed drive to win the vote. In 1869, they formed the National Woman Suffrage Association. This group worked to amend the Constitution to give women the vote. Stanton and Anthony opposed the Fifteenth Amendment because it gave the vote to African American men but not to women.

Women vote in the West

Few politicians favored women’s suffrage. Still, in the late 1800s, women gained the right to vote in four western states: Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, and Idaho. Pioneer women had worked alongside men



Biography **Carrie Chapman Catt**

Carrie Chapman Catt was the only woman in Iowa State College's Class of 1880. She became a tireless lecturer and fighter for women's suffrage. In 1919, she visited 13 states in 8 weeks, urging listeners to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment. After ratification, she declared that women were finally "free and equal citizens." ★ **What strategy did Catt use to win the vote?**

to build the farms and cities of the West. By giving women the vote, these states recognized women's contributions.

When Wyoming applied for statehood in 1890, many members of Congress wanted the state to change its voting law. During the debate, Wyoming lawmakers wired Congress: "We may stay out of the Union for 100 years, but we will come in with our women." Wyoming barely won admission.

Suffragists

In the early 1900s, the women's suffrage movement gained strength. More than 5 million women were earning wages outside the home. Although women were paid less than men, wages gave women a sense of power. Many demanded a say in making the laws that governed them.

By 1906, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony had died. A new generation of leaders took up their cause. **Carrie Chapman Catt** spoke powerfully in favor of suffrage. Catt had worked as a school principal and a reporter. Later, she became head of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Catt was an inspired speaker and a brilliant organizer. She devised a detailed battle plan for fighting the war for suffrage, state by state. Around the country, **suffragists**, or people who campaigned for women's right to vote, followed her strategy.

Slowly, the efforts of Catt and other suffragists succeeded. Year by year, more states in the West and Midwest gave women the vote. For the most part, women in these states were allowed to vote only in state elections. In time, more and more women called for an amendment to the Constitution to give them a voice in national elections.

Amending the Constitution

Some suffragists took strong measures to achieve their goal. **Alice Paul** was one of them. In 1907, Paul had gone to England. There, she had marched with suffragists in London. She had been jailed and gone on hunger strikes—all to help British women win the vote. Later, Paul returned home to support the cause of suffrage for American women.

Protest at the White House

Paul and other suffragists met with President Wilson soon after he took office in 1913. Wilson was not opposed to women's suffrage. He did not, however, support a constitutional amendment. Paul told the President what suffragists wanted:

“We said we're going to try and get [a constitutional amendment] through Congress, that we would like to have his help and needed his support very much. And then we sent him another delegation and another and another and another and another and another—every type of women's group we could get.”

In January 1917, Paul and other women stopped sending delegations and began to picket at the White House. After several months of these silent demonstrations, police began arresting the protesters. Paul received a seven-month jail sentence for obstructing the sidewalk. To protest their arrest, Paul and others went on a hunger strike. Prison officials force fed the women in an attempt to end the strike. Upon release, Paul and the other women resumed their picketing.

Victory at last

By early 1918, the tide began to turn in favor of the suffrage cause. The tireless work of Catt, Paul, and others began to pay off. President Wilson agreed to support the suffrage amendment.

Finally, in 1919, Congress passed the **Nineteenth Amendment** guaranteeing women the right to vote. By August 1920, three fourths of the states had ratified the Nineteenth Amendment. The amendment doubled the number of eligible voters in the United States.

Women Win New Opportunities

For years, women struggled to open doors to jobs and education. Most states refused to grant women licenses to practice in professions such as law, medicine, or college teaching. Myra Bradwell taught herself law, just as Abraham Lincoln had done. Still, Illinois denied her a license in 1869 because she was a woman. In 1890, Illinois at last let Bradwell practice law.

Higher education

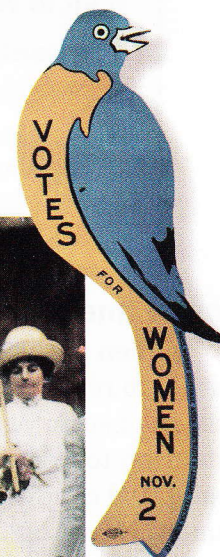
Despite obstacles, a few women managed to get the higher education needed to enter the professions. In 1877, Boston University granted the first Ph.D. to a woman. In the next decades, women made important advances. By 1900, about 1,000 women lawyers and 7,000 women doctors were in practice.

Women entered the sciences, too. Mary Engle Pennington earned a degree in chemistry. She became the nation's top expert on preserving foods.



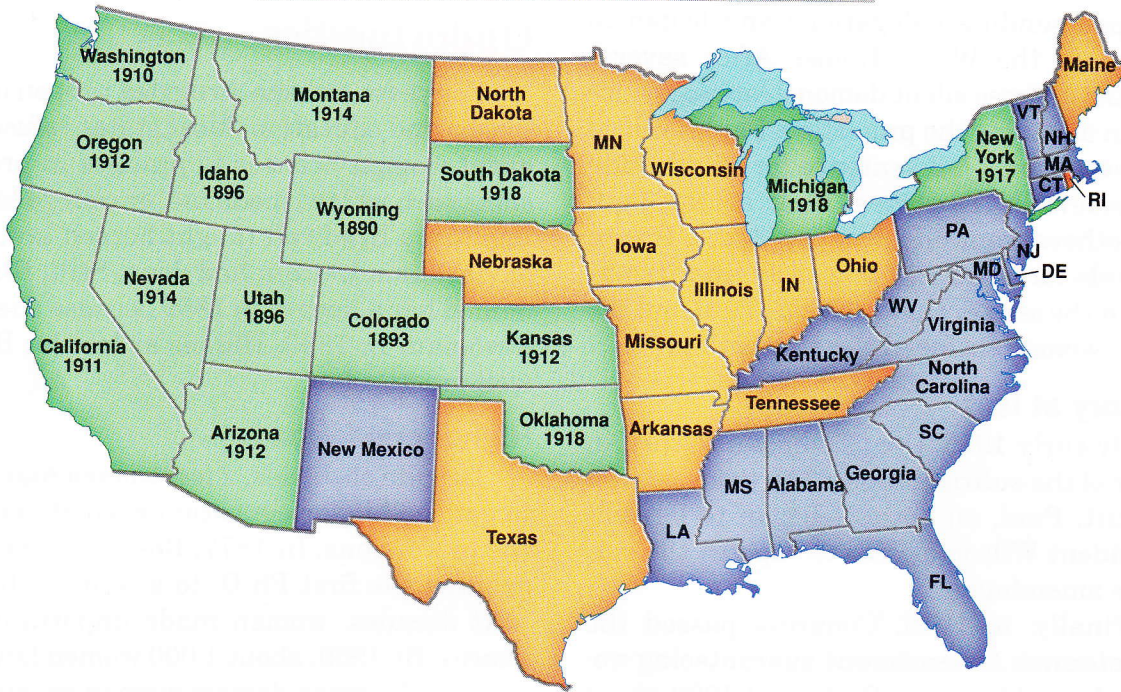
Suffragists on the March

Suffragists parading for the right to vote were a common sight in many cities and towns. These women, along with their children, are marching down a New York City street in 1912. ★ Why do you think these suffragists carried American flags as they marched?



▲ Window banner from 1915

The Vote for Women by 1919



Key

1918 Equal suffrage for women (date effective)	 Partial suffrage for women	 No statewide suffrage for women
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Geography Skills

By 1919, women in most states had won the right to vote in state and local elections.

- 1. Location** On the map, locate: (a) Wyoming, (b) Colorado, (c) Idaho, (d) Utah.
- 2. Region** In what region of the country did women gain equal suffrage first?
- 3. Critical Thinking** (a) What was unusual about the state of New Mexico?
(b) What was unusual about New York and Michigan?

Commitment to reform

Women in the Progressive Era were committed to reform. Some entered the new profession of social work. Others worked to call attention to social ills. **Florence Kelley** investigated conditions in sweatshops. She became the first chief factory inspector for the state of Illinois.

Kelley's chief concern was child labor. As secretary of the National Consumer's League (NCL), she organized a boycott of products made with child labor. The NCL published a list of manufacturers whose factories met their approval. By 1907, many businesses vied to get the NCL "white label" of approval on their products.

Many women joined the women's clubs that had sprung up in the late 1800s. At first, clubwomen read books, went to plays, and sought other ways to improve their minds. By the early 1900s, they were caught up in the reform spirit. Clubwomen raised money for libraries, schools, and parks. They fought for laws to protect women and children, for pure food and drug laws, and for the right to vote.

Faced with racial barriers, African American women formed their own clubs, such as the National Association of Colored Women. These members crusaded against lynching and racial separation, as well as for suffrage and other causes.

The Temperance Crusade

The **temperance movement** against the use of alcoholic beverages began in the early 1800s. By the end of the century, the temperance movement was gaining strength.

Women reformers were the major force in the crusade against alcohol. Many wives and mothers recognized alcohol as a threat to their families. Drinking was a frequent cause of violence and economic hardship in the home. Other women campaigned against the saloon for political reasons. In saloons, male political bosses often decided matters of politics far from the reach of women. Most saloons refused entry to women.

Willard and Nation

In 1874, a group of women founded the Women's Christian Temperance Union, or WCTU. **Frances Willard** became a leader of the WCTU. Willard recalled joining temperance leaders as they entered a saloon in Pittsburgh:

“The tall, stately lady who led us placed her Bible on the bar and read a psalm. . . . Then we sang “Rock of Ages” as I thought I had never sung it before. . . . This was my Crusade baptism. The next day I went on to the West.”

In 1880, Willard became president of the WCTU. She worked to educate people about the evils of alcohol. She urged states to pass laws banning the sale of liquor. She also worked to outlaw saloons as a step toward strengthening democracy. Later, Willard joined the suffrage movement, bringing many WCTU members along with her.

A more radical temperance crusader was **Carry Nation**. After her husband died from heavy drinking, Nation dedicated her life to fighting “demon rum.” Swinging a hatchet, she stormed into saloons where she smashed beer kegs and liquor bottles. Nation won publicity, but her actions embarrassed many WCTU members.

The Eighteenth Amendment

Temperance crusaders wanted to amend the Constitution to prohibit the sale of liquor. After 1917, support for such an amendment grew. In that year the United States entered World War I. Temperance forces argued that grain used to make liquor should go to feed American soldiers instead.

Temperance leaders finally persuaded Congress to pass the **Eighteenth Amendment** in 1917. By 1919, three fourths of the states had ratified the amendment. The amendment made it illegal to sell alcoholic drinks anywhere in the United States.

★ Section 4 Review ★

Recall

1. **Identify** (a) Carrie Chapman Catt, (b) Alice Paul, (c) Nineteenth Amendment, (d) Florence Kelley, (e) Frances Willard, (f) Carry Nation, (g) Eighteenth Amendment.
2. **Define** (a) suffragist, (b) temperance movement.

Comprehension

3. Describe two methods suffragists used to achieve their goal.

4. Describe two opportunities women gained during the Progressive Era.
5. Why did many women support temperance?

Critical Thinking and Writing

6. **Defending a Position** Do you think Alice Paul's tactics to win suffrage for women were necessary? Explain your position.
7. **Linking Past and Present** Frances Willard considered alcohol a threat to society. What threats does alcohol abuse pose today?



Activity Writing a Song You have worked for passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, and finally it has become law. Using a tune you know, write a song celebrating your success.