29

# Progressivism and the Republican Roosevelt, 1901–1912

# PART I: Reviewing the Chapter

#### A. Checklist of Learning Objectives

After mastering this chapter, you should be able to

- 1. discuss the origins and nature of the progressive movement.
- 2. describe how the early progressive movement developed its roots at the city and state level.
- 3. identify the critical role that women played in progressive social reform.
- 4. tell how President Roosevelt began applying progressive principles to the national economy.
- 5. explain why Taft's policies offended progressives, including Roosevelt.
- 6. describe how Roosevelt led a progressive revolt against Taft that openly divided the Republican party.

#### B. Glossary

To build your social science vocabulary, familiarize yourself with the following terms.

- 1. **progressive** In politics, one who believes in continuing social advancement, improvement, or reform. "The new crusaders, who called themselves 'progressives,' waged war on many evils..." (p. 664)
- 2. conspicuous consumption The theory, developed by economist Thorstein Veblen, that much spending by the affluent occurs primarily to display wealth and status to others rather than from enjoyment of the goods or services. "... a savage attack on 'predatory wealth' and 'conspicuous consumption." (p. 665)
- 3. direct primary In politics, the nomination of a party's candidates for office through a special election of that party's voters. "These ardent reformers pushed for direct primary elections..." (p. 667)
- 4. **initiative** In politics, the procedure whereby voters can, through petition, present proposed legislation directly to the electorate. "They favored the 'initiative' so that voters could directly propose legislation. . . ." (p. 667)
- 5. **referendum** The submission of a law, proposed or already in effect, to a direct vote of the electorate. "Progressives also agitated for the 'referendum.'" (p. 667)
- 6. recall In politics, a procedure for removing an official from office through popular election or other means. "The 'recall' would enable the voters to remove faithless elected officials. . . ." (p. 667)
- 7. **city manager** An administrator appointed by the city council or other elected body to manage affairs, supposedly in a nonpartisan or professional way. "Other communities adopted the citymanager system. . . ." (p. 669)

- red-light district A section of a city where prostitution is officially or unofficially tolerated. "... wide-open prostitution (vice-at-a-price) ... flourished in red-light districts. ..." (p. 669)
- 9. franchise In government, a special privilege or license granted to a company or group to perform a specific function. "Public-spirited city-dwellers also moved to halt the corrupt sale of franchises for streetcars. . . . " (p. 669)
- bureaucracy (bureaucrat) The management of government or business through departments and subdivisions manned by a system of officials (bureaucrats) following defined rules and processes. (The term is often though not necessarily disparaging.) "These wedges into the federal bureaucracy, however small, gave female reformers a national stage. . . . " (p. 670)
- workers' (workmen's) compensation Insurance, provided either by government or employers or both, providing benefits to employees suffering work-related injury or disability. " . . . by 1917 thirty states had put workers' compensation laws on the books. . . . " (p. 672)
- reclamation The process of bringing or restoring wasteland to productive use. "Settlers repaid the cost of reclamation. . . . " (p. 676)
- collectivism A political or social system in which individuals are subordinated to mass organization and direction. "He strenuously sought the middle road between unbridled individualism and paternalistic collectivism." (p. 683)
- insubordination Deliberate disobedience to proper authority. ". . . Taft dismissed Pinchot on the narrow grounds of insubordination..." (p. 685)

# **PART II: Checking Your Progress**

286

Tru	ie-False
Whe ately	ere the statement is true, mark T. Where it is false, mark F, and correct it in the space immedi-
	<ol> <li>The progressive movement believed that social and economic problems should be solved at the community level without involvement by the federal government.</li> </ol>
<del></del>	2. Muckraking journalists, social-gospel ministers, and women reformers all aroused Americans' concern about economic and social problems.
	3. The leading progressive reformers were primarily immigrants and urban industrial workers.
	4. Many female progressives saw the task of improving life in factories and slums as an extension of their traditional roles as wives and mothers.
<del></del>	5. President Theodore Roosevelt ended the anthracite coal strike by threatening to use federal troops to break the miners' union.
	6. Roosevelt promoted stronger federal legislation to regulate the railroads and other major industries.
	7. Roosevelt believed that all the monopolistic corporate trusts should be broken up and competition restored among smaller businesses.
	8. Upton Sinclair's novel <i>The Jungle</i> was intended to arouse consumers' concern about unsanitary practices in the meat industry.
	<ol> <li>Conservation policies like land reclamation and forest preservation were probably Theo- dore Roosevelt's most popular and enduring presidential achievement.</li> </ol>

	10	Defenders of nature became divided between fervent "preservationists" who wanted to stop all human intrusions and more moderate "conservationists."
	11	. Roosevelt effectively used the power of the presidency and the federal government to tame unrestricted capitalism while preserving the basic foundations of American business.
	12	. Taft's "dollar diplomacy" was a successful attempt to mobilize American business to support U.S. foreign policy in East Asia and Latin America.
	13	. Progressive Republicans became angry with President Taft because he began to form al liances with Democrats and Socialists.
	14	. The Ballinger-Pinchot conservation controversy pushed Taft into alliance with the Republi can "Old Guard" against the pro-Roosevelt progressives.
	15	. President Taft used his control of the Republican party machinery to deny Roosevelt the nomination in 1912.
В.	Multipl	e Choice
	Select th	e best answer and write the proper letter in the space provided.
	1	. The primary emphasis of the progressive movement was on
		<ul> <li>a. freeing individuals and business from federal control.</li> <li>b. protecting farmers and small business from corporate power.</li> <li>c. strengthening government as an instrument of social betterment.</li> <li>d. organizing workers into a unified and class-conscious political party.</li> </ul>
	2	. Prominent among those who aroused the progressive movement by stirring the public's sense of concern were
	• •	<ul> <li>a. socialists, social gospelers, women, and muckraking journalists.</li> <li>b. union leaders, machine politicians, immigrant spokespeople, and engineers.</li> <li>c. bankers, advertising people, congressmen, and scientists.</li> <li>d. athletes, entertainers, filmmakers, and musicians.</li> </ul>
	3	. Which of the following was <i>not</i> among the targets of muckraking journalistic exposés?
e -		<ul> <li>a. urban politics and government</li> <li>b. the oil, insurance, and railroad industries</li> <li>c. the U.S. Army and Navy</li> <li>d. child labor and the "white slave" traffic in women</li> </ul>
	4	. Most progressives were
	. <del></del>	<ul> <li>a. poor farmers.</li> <li>b. urban workers.</li> <li>c. urban middle-class people.</li> <li>d. wealthy people.</li> </ul>

Section

Name

5. Among the political reforms sought by the progressives were a. an end to political parties, political conventions, and the Supreme Court's right to judicial review of legislation. an Equal Rights Amendment, federal financing of elections, and restrictions on negative campaigning. civil-service reform, racial integration, and free silver. d. initiative and referendum, direct election of senators, and women's suffrage. 6. The states where progressivism first gained great influence were Massachusetts, Maine, and New Hampshire. Wisconsin, Oregon, and California. Michigan, Kansas, and Nevada. New York, Florida, and Texas. d. 7. The Supreme Court case of Muller v. Oregon was seen as a victory for both progressivism and women's rights because it upheld the constitutionality of laws granting special protection to women in the workplace. b. it held that women should receive "equal pay for equal work." it upheld workplace safety regulations to prevent disasters like the Triangle Shirtwaist fire. it opened almost all categories of the new industrial employment to women. 8. Roosevelt ended the Pennsylvania coal strike by urging labor and management to negotiate a settlement. b. passing federal legislation legalizing unions. forcing mediation by threatening to seize the coal mines and operate them with federal troops. declaring a national state of emergency and ordering the miners back to work. 9. The Roosevelt-backed Elkins Act and Hepburn Act were aimed at a. better protection for industrial workers. b. more effective regulation of the railroad industry. c. protection for consumers of beef and produce. d. breaking up the Standard Oil monopoly. 10. The controversy over the Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park revealed a philosophical disagreement between wilderness "preservationists" and more moderate "conservationists." b. President Roosevelt's hostility toward creating any more national parks. c. a political conflict between the lumber industry and conservationists. d. a split between urban California's need for water and environmentalists' concerns to preserve free-flowing streams.. 11. Two areas where Roosevelt's progressivism made its substantial headway were a. agricultural and mining legislation. b. stock-market and securities legislation. c. immigration and racial legislation.

d. consumer and conservation legislation.

	<ul> <li>12. Roosevelt was blamed for the "Panic of 1907" because</li> <li>a. his "boat-rocking tactics" had allegedly unsettled industry.</li> <li>b. his policies of regulating and protecting industrial workers had caused a depression.</li> <li>c. his inability to establish a stable monetary policy led to a wall street crash.</li> <li>d. the public wanted him to run again for president in 1908.</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>13. As a result of his successful campaign in 1908, William Howard Taft was expected to</li> <li>a. continue and extend Roosevelt's progressive policies.</li> <li>b. forge a coalition with William Jennings Bryan and the Democrats.</li> <li>c. emphasize foreign policy instead of Roosevelt's domestic reforms.</li> <li>d. turn away from Roosevelt and toward the conservative wing of the Republican party.</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>14. Progressive Republicans grew disillusioned with Taft primarily over the issues of</li> <li>a. dollar diplomacy and military intervention in the Caribbean and Central America.</li> <li>b. labor union rights and women's concerns.</li> <li>c. trust-busting, tariffs, and conservation.</li> <li>d. regulation of the banking and railroad industries.</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>a. he had always regarded the Republican party as too conservative.</li> <li>b. he could no longer stand to be in the same party with Taft.</li> <li>c. Taft used his control of the Republican convention to deny Roosevelt the nomination d. Roosevelt believed that he would have a better chance of winning the presidency as a third-party candidate.</li> </ul>
C.	Identification
	Supply the correct identification for each numbered description.
	1. A largely middle-class movement that aimed to use the power of government to correct the economic and social problems of industrialism
	2. Popular journalists who used publicity to expose corruption and attack abuses of power in business and government
	3. Progressive proposal to allow voters to bypass state legislatures and propose legislation themselves
	4. Progressive device that would enable voters to remove corrupt or ineffective of ficials from office
	5. Roosevelt's policy of having the federal government promote the public interes by dealing evenhandedly with both labor and business
	6. Effective railroad-regulation law of 1906 that greatly strengthened the Interstate Commerce Commission
	7. Disastrous industrial fire of 1911 that spurred workmen's compensation laws and some state regulation of wages and hours in New York
	8. Upton Sinclair's novel that inspired proconsumer federal laws regulating meat food, and drugs
	9. Powerful women's reform organization led by Frances Willard

Section\_

Date

	<ul> <li>Brief but sharp economic downturn of 1907, blamed by conservatives on the supposedly dangerous president</li> <li>Generally unsuccessful Taft foreign policy in which government attempted to encourage overseas business ventures</li> </ul>								
	12. Powerful corporation	12. Powerful corporation broken up by a Taft-initiated antitrust suit in 1911							
D.	Matching People, Places, and Events								
	Match the person, place, or event in the left column with the proper description in the right column by inserting the correct letter on the blank line.								
	1. Jacob Riis	A. Politically inept inheritor of the Roosevelt legacy who ended up allied to the reactionary Republican "Old							
	<ul><li>2. Lincoln Steffens</li><li>3. Ida Tarbell</li></ul>	Guard"  B. Case that upheld protective legislation on the grounds of women's supposed physical great and a second physical great gre							
	4. Seventeenth Amendment	of women's supposed physical weakness  C. New York City disaster that underscored urban workers' need for government protection							
	5. Robert La Follette	<b>D.</b> The most influential of the state-level progressive governors and a presidential aspirant in 1912							
	6. Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire	<ul><li>E. Author of How the Other Half Lives, a shocking description of the New York slums</li><li>F. Leading muckraking journalist whose articles docu-</li></ul>							
	7. Anthracite coal strike	mented the Standard Oil Company's abuse of power G. Proconservation federal official whose dismissal by							
	8. Meat Inspection Act of 1906	Taft angered Roosevelt progressives  H. Dangerous labor conflict resolved by Rooseveltian negotiation and threats against business people							
	9. Muller v. Oregon	I. Early muckraker who exposed the political corruption in many American cities							
	10. William Howard Taft	J. Progressive law aimed at curbing practices like those exposed in Upton Sinclair's <i>The Jungle</i>							
	11. Lochner v. New York	K. Progressive measure that required U.S. senators to be elected directly by the people rather than by state legislatures.							
	12. Gifford Pinchot	islatures  L. Supreme court ruling that overturned a progressive law mandating a ten-hour workday							
E.	Putting Things in Order	-							
	Put the following events in correct order by numbering them from 1 to 5.								
	A former president opposes his handpicked successor for the Republican presidential nomination.								
	Sensational journalistic accounts of corruption and abuse of power in politics and business spur the progressive movement.								
	A progressive forestry official sion within the Republican par	feuds with Taft's secretary of the interior, deepening the divirty.							
	A novelistic account of Chicago's meat-packing industry sparks new federal laws to protect								

Nam	e			Sec	ctionDate
		A p	brief but sharp financial crisis lea	ads to	conservative criticism of Roosevelt's progressive
F.	Mat	chin	g Cause and Effect		
			e historical cause in the left column of letter on the blank line.	ın wit	h the proper effect in the right column by writing
			Cause		Effect
		1.	Old-time Populists, muckraking journalists, social-gospel ministers, and European socialist immigrants	A. B.	Ended the era of uncontrolled exploitation of nature and involved the federal government in preserving natural resources Led to reforms like the initiative, referendum,
		2.	Progressive concern about political corruption	<b>C.</b>	and direct election of senators Forced a compromise settlement of a strike that threatened the national well-being
		3.	Governors like Robert La Follette	D. E.	Outraged consumers and led to the Meat Inspection Act and the Pure Food and Drug Act Laid the basis for a third-party crusade in the
	<del></del>	4.	Roosevelt's threat to seize the anthracite coal mines	F.	election of 1912 Incensed pro-Roosevelt progressives and increased their attacks on the Republican "Old Guard"
		5.	Settlement Houses and women's clubs	G.	Led the way in using universities and regulatory agencies to pursue progressive goals
		6.	Upton Sinclair's The Jungle	H. I.	Made Taft's dollar-diplomacy policy a failure Provided the pioneering forces who laid the foundations for the Progressive movement.
	<del></del>	7.	Roosevelt's personal interest in conservation	J.	Served as the launching pads for widespread female involvement in progressive reforms
	<del></del>	8.	Taft's political mishandling of tariff and conservation policies		
	<del></del>	9.	Russia's and Japan's hostility to an American role in China		
		10.	Roosevelt's feeling that he was cheated out of the Republican nomination by the Taft machine		

#### G. Developing Historical Skills

#### **Classifying Historical Information**

Often a broad historical movement, such as progressivism, can best be understood by breaking it down into various component parts. Among the varieties of progressive reform discussed in this chapter are (A) political progressivism, (B) economic or industrial progressivism, (C) consumer progressivism, and (D) environmental progressivism.

Put each of the following progressive acts, policies, or court cases into one of those categories by writing in the correct letter.

 1.	The Newlands Act of 1902
 2.	The ten-hour law for bakers
 3.	The movement for women's suffrage
 4.	The anthracite coal strike of 1902
 5.	Direct election of senators
 6.	The Meat Inspection Act of 1906
 7.	The Pure Food and Drug Act
 8.	Initiative, referendum, and recall
 9.	Muller v. Oregon
 10.	The Hepburn Act of 1906
 11.	Yosemite and Grand Canyon National Parks
12.	Workmen's compensation laws

Name	,	Section	Date	
1 1001110				

# PART III: Applying What You Have Learned

- 1. What caused the progressive movement, and how did it get under way?
- 2. What did the progressive movement accomplish at the local, state, and national levels?
- 3. What made women such central forces in the progressive crusade? What specific backgrounds and ideologies did they bring to the public arena? What were the strengths and limitations of the progressive emphasis on providing special protection to children and women?
- 4. Discuss Roosevelt's support for conservation and consumer protection. Why were these among the most successful progressive achievements?
- 5. What caused the Taft-Roosevelt split, and how did it reflect the growing division between "Old Guard" and "progressive" Republicans?
- 6. How was progressivism a response to the development of the new urban and industrial order in American? (See Chapters 24 and 25.)