CHAPTER 21
THE AGE OF REFORM

The American Nation:
A History of the United States, 13th edition
Carnes/Garraty
ROOTS OF PROGRESSIVISM

Progressives were never a single group with a single goal but sprang from many sources

1. Fight against government corruption and inefficiency
   - Liberal Republicans of Grant Era
   - Mugwumps of 1880s

LOOKING DOWN CONGRESS ST. from CONGRESS SQUARE, Portland, Me, 1904

Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Collection
ROOTS OF PROGRESSIVISM

2. Efforts to regulate and control big business
   - Granger and Populist agitation of 1870s and 1890s
   - Encouraged by return to prosperity at end of 1890s
   - Between 1897 and 1904 tendency toward concentration in industry increased
     - 1899: more than 1,200 firms absorbed in mergers with the resulting combinations capitalized at $2.2 billion
     - By 1904: 318 industrial combinations with an aggregate capital of $7.5 billion
     - People who considered bigness an inherent evil insisted they be broken up

CARNEGIE STEEL PLANT, HOMESTEAD, PA, 1905
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Collection
3. Settlement house workers and reformers concerned with the welfare of the poor

- Women big contributors
- In 1900 about 1.7 million children under the age of 16 were working full time
- Laws regulating the hours and conditions of women in industry were inadequate
- Little done to enforce safety rules or provide compensation for workers hurt on the job
- Movement for social welfare legislation spurred by growing number of social workers
ROOTS OF PROGRESSIVISM

- U.S. was becoming more urban, more industrial, more mechanized, more centralized, more complex
  - Premium on efficiency and cooperation
- Return of prosperity after 1896 encouraged growth of progressive movement
  - Good times made people more tolerant and generous
  - As long as profits were on the rise, the average employer did not object if labor improved its position
  - Middle class Americans increasingly found their conscience bothered by conditions of immigrants and others less well off than they
ROOTS OF PROGRESSIVISM

- Giant industrial and commercial corporations undermined the ambitions and sense of importance of the middle class.
- Growth of labor organizations also worried them.
- Character and moral values seemed to matter less.
- Cold, impersonal organizations were coming to dominate business, politics, and other aspects of life.
ROOTS OF PROGRESSIVISM

- Protestant pastors found their moral authority challenged by materialistic congregations.
- College professors worried that universities were falling under control of businessmen with little respect for learning.
- Lawyers were no longer “aristocrats” but industrial “cogs.”
- The middle class could support reform because they were not being radical but were, in fact, resisting change, and the intellectual currents of the time harmonized with ideas of social improvement and the welfare state.
THE MUCKRAKERS

- Fall 1902: *McClure’s* published two hard hitting articles that provoked comment and helped bring the progressive movement into focus
  - Attack on Standard Oil by Ida Tarbell
  - Attack on big-city political machines by Lincoln Steffens
- January 1903: further installments were accompanied by an article attacking labor gangsterism in the coal fields
  - McClure included an editorial in which he commented that these articles showed that Americans had lost their moral compass
THE MUCKRAKERS

- Other editors adopted the McClure formula
- A small army of journalists flooded the market with attacks on dozens of subjects
- They became known as muckrakers

GIRL READING, 1900-1912, Charles Edmund Tarbell
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Collection
THE PROGRESSIVE MIND

- Progressives believed human beings were, by nature, decent, well intentioned, and kind.
- Believed the source of society’s problems lay in the structure of institutions; not, as previous reformers believed, in the weaknesses or sinfulness of individuals.
  - Local, state, and national government must be made more responsive to the will of its virtuous citizens.
  - Unfortunately, in the South it meant “reformers” often supported methods used to disenfranchise blacks since they considered them unthinking and shiftless.
Progressivism was paternalistic, moderate and often soft-headed
- Over simplified issues
- Treated personal values as absolute standards of truth and morality

Progressives often worked at cross purposes

Progressives never challenged the basic principles of capitalism nor did they try to reorganize society

Most Progressives were anti-immigrant and had little interest in the welfare of blacks
ASHCAN SCHOOL

- Tried to develop a distinctly American style by turning to city streets and slums for their models and depended on inspiration and inner conviction more than careful craftsmanship
- Were individualists but supported political and social reform
- Most saw themselves as rebels but were really not very advanced as painters
  - Idols were long dead European painters
  - Uninfluenced by postimpressionists
“RADICAL” PROGRESSIVES: The Wave of the Future

- Hard times of 1890s and callous reaction of conservatives pushed many in the direction of Marxian socialism
  - Eugene V. Debs ran for President on socialist ticket in 1900 but got less than 100,000 votes
  - In 1904 he got 400,000 and did even better in later elections
- 1905: Debs; William “Big Bill” Haywood of Western Federation of Miners; Mary Harris “Mother” Jones, a former organizer for United Mine Workers; Daniel De Leon of the Socialist Labor Party and a few others formed the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) which was openly anti-capitalist

LABOR DAY PARADE, MAIN STREET, Buffalo, NY 1895-1910
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division,
Detroit Publishing Company Collection
“RADICAL” PROGRESSIVES: The Wave of the Future

- IWW never attracted many ordinary workers
- Big Bill Haywood
  - Shortly after IWW founded, Haywood was charged with complicity in the murder of an antiunion governor of Idaho but was acquitted
  - 1912: was involved with bitter strike of textile workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts, which was settled with some benefit to strikers
  - Also involved in unsuccessful strike of silk workers in Paterson, New Jersey, in 1913
“RADICAL” PROGRESSIVES: The Wave of the Future

- Other “advanced” European ideas of importance included Sigmund Freud’s psychoanalytic theories
  - Some saw as reason for revolution in morals, advocating easy divorce, trial marriage, and doing away with double standard in all matters relating to sex
  - Rejected Victorian reticence and “puritan” morality and called for programs of sex education and dissemination of birth control information
- Most cities had groups of these “bohemian” thinkers—the most famous was found in New York City’s Greenwich Village
"RADICAL" PROGRESSIVES: The Wave of the Future

- Few bohemians were really radical
  - Most came from middle class backgrounds
  - Found Italian and Jewish neighborhoods charming but did not get involved in immigrants’ lives

- Writers of era adopted optimistic tone
  - Imagism
  - Use of Freudian psychology

JEWISH MARKET on THE EAST SIDE, New York 1890-1901
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Collection
For most progressives, the root of problems lay with political corruption and inefficiency, especially in the cities.

Began assault on these problems in the 1890s.

To destroy machines, had to change urban political institutions:

- “Home rule” charters that gave greater freedom from state control in dealing with local matters.
- Created research bureaus that investigated government problems in a scientific and nonpartisan manner.
- Middle sized communities experimented with a system that integrated executive and legislative powers in the hands of a small elected commission, thereby concentrating responsibility and making it easier to coordinate complex activities—became city manager system under which the commissioners appointed a professional manager to administer city affairs on a nonpartisan basis.
POLITICAL REFORM: Cities First

Once the political system had been made responsive to the desires of the people, the progressives hoped to use it to improve society itself.

Progressive mayors took a variety of steps:

- “gas and water” socialism—taking over public utility companies and operating them as departments of the municipal government.
- Toledo established a minimum wage for city employees, built playgrounds and golf courses, and moderated a harsh penal code.
- New York improved its public transportation system and obtained passage of the tenement house law of 1901.
- Cleveland forced a fare cut to 3 cents on the street railways.
To carry out this kind of change, the support of state legislatures was needed, which could not be obtained without striking at inefficiency and corruption at state level.

Robert La Follette, after serving three terms as a Republican Congressman (1885-1891), became governor of Wisconsin in 1900 and transformed the state.

- Obtained a direct primary system for nominating candidates, a corrupt practices act, and laws limiting campaign expenditures and lobbying activities.

- BUT made ruthless use of patronage, demanded absolute loyalty of subordinates, and often oversimplified the truth when presenting complex issues to voters.
La Follette realized that some state functions called for specialized knowledge and used commissions and agencies to handle railroad regulation, tax assessment, conservation, and highway construction.

Wisconsin established a legislative reference library to assist lawmakers in drafting bills.

La Follette enticed top-notch economists and political scientists from the faculty of the University of Wisconsin into public service.

The success of the “Wisconsin Idea” led other states to duplicate it.
Reform administrations swept into office
- Iowa and Arkansas (1901)
- Oregon (1902)
- Minnesota, Kansas and Mississippi (1904)
- New York and Georgia (1906)
- Nebraska (1909)
- New Jersey and Colorado (1910)

By 1910, 15 states had established legislative references services, most of them staffed by personnel trained in Wisconsin

The direct primary system became almost universal

1902: Oregon experimented with:
- the initiative—a system by which a bill could be forced on the attention of the legislature by popular petition
- the referendum—a method for allowing the electorate to approve measures rejected by their representatives and to repeal measures the legislature had passed
- by 1914, 11 mostly western states legalized these devices
STATE SOCIAL LEGISLATION

- 1874: Massachusetts restricted working hours of women and children to 10 per day
- By the 1890s, most states in the East and Midwest had followed suit
- 1893: Illinois passed an 8-hour law for women workers
- A New York law of 1882 struck at the sweatshops of the slums by prohibiting the manufacture of cigars on premises occupied as a house or residence
Some states established special rules for workers in hazardous industries
- In 1890s several states limited the hours of railway workers
- 1896: Utah restricted miners to 8 hour days
- 1901: New York enacted an effective tenement law, greatly increasing the area of open space on building lots and requiring toilets for each apartment, better ventilation systems and more adequate fireproofing

Before 1900 the collective impact of such legislation was blunted by powerful manufacturers, landlords, or the federal system itself
- Role of 14th amendment
STATE SOCIAL LEGISLATION

- Judges took increasingly conservative view as new, far-reaching laws emerged
- 1905: Supreme Court in *Lochner v. New York* ruled that a New York 10 hour law for bakers deprived bakers of the liberty of working as long as they chose and thus violated their 14th amendment rights
  - Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes dissented: if the people of New York believed that public health was endangered by bakers working long hours, it was not the court’s job to overrule them
STATE SOCIAL LEGISLATION

- Progressives, especially women, continued to struggle for state legislation to control business
- 1904: National Child Labor Committee organized
  - Over next 10 years obtained laws in every state banning the employment of young children and limiting the hours of older ones
  - Congress passed a federal law in 1916
- 1918: Supreme Court, in *Hammer v Dagenhart*, ruled the federal law unconstitutional
STATE SOCIAL LEGISLATION

- By 1917 nearly all states limited the hours of women industrial workers and 10 had set wage standards for women
  - A minimum wage law for women in the District of Columbia was overturned by the Supreme Court in *Adkins v. Children’s Hospital* (1923)
- Laws protecting workers against on-the-job accidents were also enacted in many states
  - Stricter municipal building codes and factory inspection acts
  - By 1910 many states had modified the common law principle that a worker accepted the risk of accident as a condition of employment and was not entitled to compensation unless it could be proved that the employer had been negligent
  - States adopted accident insurance plans
  - Some began to grant pensions to widows with small children
  - Most manufacturers favored such measures because they regularized procedures and avoided costly lawsuits
STATE SOCIAL LEGISLATION

- Conservatives reacted to this new legislation with judicial proceedings, believing that no government had the power to deprive either workers or employers of the right to negotiate any kind of labor contract they wished
  - *Muller v. Oregon* (1908): case challenging an Oregon law limiting women laundry workers to 10 hours a day
  - Consumers’ League, probably the most effective of women’s reform organizations, persuaded Louis D. Brandeis to defend the Law
  - Brandeis provided research showing long hours damaged health of women and society causing Court to uphold the law
- After 1908 the right of states to protect women, children and workers performing dangerous and hazardous tasks by special legislation was accepted
Progressives also launched an attack on problems related to monopoly between 1900 and 1917

- Wisconsin passed a graduated personal income tax, forced corporations to bear a larger share of the cost of government, created an industrial commission to enforce the state’s labor and factory legislation and established a conservation commission

- Under governor Woodrow Wilson (1911-1913) New Jersey enacted similar legislation
Leaders of suffrage embittered by failure of 14th and 15th amendment to give women the right to vote

- American Woman’s Suffrage Association (AWSA) focused on vote question alone
- National Woman’s Suffrage Association (NWSA), led by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, concerned itself with other women’s issues as well, such as unionization of women
POLITICAL REFORM: The Woman Suffrage Movement

- Women also handicapped by Victorian sexual inhibitions
  - Continued to insist on feminine purity and women as the bastion of the home
  - Believed, based on scientific thinking, that the female personality was inherently different than that of the male

SUFFRAGE PARADE, New York City, May 6, 1912
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division
[reproduction number, e.g., LC-USZ62-110212]
POLITICAL REFORM: The Woman Suffrage Movement

- Led to concept that since women were morally superior to men, giving them the vote would improve the electorate
  - Politics would be come less corrupt
  - War would become a thing of the past
- Not only was the argument wrong, it surrendered the principle of equality which would have long term consequences for the women’s movement
POLITICAL REFORM: The Woman Suffrage Movement

- 1890: two major women’s groups combined to form the National American Woman’s Suffrage Association (NAWSA)
  - Stanton and Anthony were the first two presidents of the association
  - Carrie Chapman Catt was a rising leader
- NAWSA made winning the vote its main objective and concentrated on a state-by-state approach
  - 1869: Wyoming gave women the right to vote
  - By 1896, Utah, Colorado, and Idaho had also given women the right to vote
POLITICAL REFORM: The Woman Suffrage Movement

- Growing progressive movement led middle class recruits of both sexes to join the cause
  - 1911: California, which had rejected the proposal 15 years earlier, passed woman suffrage
  - Within three years most other western states joined in
POLITICAL REFORM: The Woman Suffrage Movement

- For the first time, large numbers of working class women began to agitate for the vote
  - 1917: Tammany Hall bosses threw their support behind what they saw as an inevitable progression and the movement passed
- Suffragists shifted attention back to national level under the leadership of Alice Paul and Alva Belmont of the Congressional Union

ALICE PAUL, 1920
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [reproduction number, e.g., LC-USZ62-110212]
When President Wilson refused to support the idea of a constitutional amendment, militant women picketed the White House.

A number were arrested and sentenced to 60 days in a workhouse.
POLITICAL REFORM: The Woman Suffrage Movement

- The arrest of the picketers aroused a storm of protest and Wilson was forced to pardon them.
- NAWSA stopped concentrating on a state-by-state approach and began to campaign for a national amendment.
  - Pressure on Congress mounted steadily.
  - 1919: The amendment won Congressional approval.
- By 1920, three-fourths of the states had ratified the Nineteenth Amendment.
POLITICAL REFORM: Income Taxes and Popular Election of Senators

- 1913: Progressive reform drive led to:
  - 16th Amendment: authorizing federal income taxes
  - 17th Amendment: requiring the popular election of senators
- “Insurgent” congressmen reformed the House by limiting the power of the Speaker
  - During early years of the century, the speaker appointed the members of all committees and controlled the course of legislation
  - Representatives could seldom gain the floor without first obtaining the Speaker’s consent
- 1910: insurgents stripped the Speaker of control of the House Rules Committee
- Thereafter, appointments made to committees determined by entire membership, acting through party caucuses
September 6, 1901: anarchist Leon Czolgosz shot President McKinley during a public reception at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York
- 8 days later McKinley died
- At 42, Theodore Roosevelt became the youngest American president

THEODORE ROOSEVELT: Cowboy in the White House

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, by George Burroughs Torrey 1905
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Collection

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THEODORE ROOSEVELT:
Cowboy in the White House

Theodore Roosevelt
- Son of a well-to-do New York merchant
- Graduated from Harvard in 1880 and studied law, but did not receive a degree, at Columbia
- Three terms in New York assembly, six years on the Civil Service Commission, two years as police commissioner of New York City, another as assistant secretary of the navy, term as governor of New York
- Had also been rancher in Dakota Territory and soldier in Spanish-American War
- Also a well-know historian: *Naval War of 1812* (1882) & 4 volume *Winning of the West* (1889-1896), two popular biographies, and other books as well
- Was a loyal Republican
Conservatives were worried about “Teddy” Roosevelt:
- Too undignified
- Too energetic
- Too outspoken
- Too unconventional

To compensate for a sickly childhood, Roosevelt carried displays of physical stamina, personal courage, his love of athletics, and big game hunting to great lengths.
Roosevelt was energetic and hard-driving and often got what he wanted by using executive power rather than by persuading Congress to pass new laws.

Domestic program:
- Some measure of control of big corporations
- More power for the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC)
- Conservation of natural resources
THEODORE ROOSEVELT: Cowboy in the White House

Obtained new laws

- 1902: New Lands Act funneled proceeds from land sales in West into federal irrigation projects
- Department of Commerce and Labor, which was to include a Bureau of Corporations, with authority to investigate industrial combines and issue reports, was established
- 1903: The Elkins Railroad Act strengthened the ICC’s hand against the railroads by making the receiving as well as the granting of rebates illegal, and by forbidding the roads to deviate in any way from their published rates
Roosevelt considered monopoly problem the most pressing issue of the time, but did not believe in breaking corporations indiscriminately.

- Wanted to regulate, but Congress was unwilling to pass necessary legislation, so resorted to Sherman Antitrust Act.

- 1902: Roosevelt had the Justice Department sue the Northern Securities Company.
  - Created in 1901.
  - Controlled the Great Northern, Northern Pacific, and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy railroads—essentially a monopoly of western railroads.
ROOSEVELT AND BIG BUSINESS

1904: Despite J.P. Morgan’s attempt to preempt the suit, the Supreme Court ordered the dissolution of the Northern Securities Company.

Roosevelt then ordered suits against the meat packers, the Standard Oil Trust, and the American Tobacco Company.

President, however, went out of his way to assure cooperative corporate magnates that he was not against size per se.

- Agreement with U.S. Steel: investigate, with their cooperation, in return for a chance to fix problems.
- Similar deal with International Harvester.
- Standard Oil reneged on their deal and were sued and broken up under the Sherman Antitrust Act.
ROOSEVELT AND THE COAL STRIKE

- June 1902: United Mine Workers (UMW), led by John Mitchell, went on strike for higher wages, an 8 hour day, and recognition of the union.
  - Most of the anthracite mines were owned by railroads.
  - Two years earlier miners had won a 10% wage raise in a similar strike because the owners had feared labor unrest might interfere with McKinley’s election.
  - When workers struck, owners shut down mines and prepared to starve the workers out.

BREAKER BOYS, Woodward Coal Mines, Kingston, Pa  
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Collection
ROOSEVELT AND THE COAL STRIKE

- Strike dragged on through summer and early fall
  - Miners avoided violence and offered to submit their claims for arbitration
  - Sentiment on their behalf rose along with price of coal
  - Mine owners acted poorly
- October: Roosevelt summoned both sides for a meeting and urged them to come to agreement in the face of impending coal shortage
  - Mine owners outraged at interference and refused to come to conference, instead demanding that Roosevelt end the strike with force and sue the union under the Sherman Antitrust Act
Management’s attitude only furthered public support for miners

Roosevelt responded by announcing that unless a settlement was forthcoming he would order troops to the anthracite regions to seize and operate the mines

The owners gave in
- Miners would return to the mines
- All issues would be submitted for arbitration to a commission appointed by Roosevelt

March 1903: the commission gave the workers a 10% raise and a 9 hour day
ROOSEVELT AND THE COAL STRIKE

- The public saw this event as the perfect example of the progressive spirit
- Actually, miners gained little and the companies lost less
  - Companies not required to recognize the union
  - Commission also recommended a 10% increase in the price of coal (covered wage raise)
- Main winner was Roosevelt, who was seen as a fearless, imaginative, public-spirited leader
  - Expanded power of presidency
1904: Roosevelt easily defeated Democrat Judge Alton B. Parker of New York

Pressed for further reforms but Congress refused to act

1906: Got an increase in the power of the ICC with Hepburn Bill

- Commission could inspect books of railroad companies
- Could set maximum rates
- Could control sleeping car companies, owners of oil pipelines and other firms engaged in transportation
- Railroads could not issue passes freely
TR’S TRIUMPHS

- 1906: Upton Sinclair’s *The Jungle* exposed the filthy conditions in the Chicago meatpacking industry
  - Roosevelt sent two officials to Chicago to investigate
  - Report was shocking and Roosevelt threatened to release it unless Congress acted by passing the meat inspection Act
- Pure Food and Drug Act: forbid the manufacture and sale of adulterated and fraudulently labeled products
ROOSEVELT TILTS LEFT

- Roosevelt took increasingly liberal positions
- Very concerned about conservation of natural resources
  - Placed 150 million acres of forest lands in federal reserves
  - Strictly enforced laws governing grazing, mining and lumbering
- October 1907: financial panic increased concern of conservative Republicans over Roosevelt’s direction
  - To deal with run on Stock Exchange Roosevelt authorized the deposit of large amounts of government cash in New York Banks and agreed to acquisition of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company by U.S. Steel
WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT: The Listless Progressive, or More Is Less

- Roosevelt chose his Secretary of War, William Howard Taft, to succeed him as the Republican candidate
  - Easily defeated William Jennings Bryan 321 to 162 electoral votes in 1908
- Taft had been a lawyer, judge, solicitor general, federal circuit judge, and civil governor of the Philippines before becoming Secretary of War in 1904
- Loyally supported Roosevelt’s Square Deal
WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT: The Listless Progressive, or More Is Less

- Enforced the Sherman Act vigorously
- Continued to expand the forest reserves
- Signed the Mann-Elkins Act of 1910: empowered the ICC to suspend rate increases without waiting for a shipper to complain and established the Commerce Court to speed the settlement of railroad rate cases
- Approved 8 hour day for all persons working on government contracts, and mine safety legislation
- Summoned Congress to special session to reduce tariff duties
WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT: The Listless Progressive, or More Is Less

- Taft disliked Roosevelt’s method of circumventing Congress.
- Conservationists concerned about Taft’s secretary of the interior, Richard A. Ballinger.
  - Less than ardent conservationist.
  - Returned to the public domain certain waterpower sites that Roosevelt had removed on legally dubious grounds that they were to become ranger stations.
  - This action alarmed Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot, who launched an attack on Ballinger when he learned Ballinger intended to validate the shaky claim of mining interests to a large tract of coal land in Alaska.
- Taft supported Ballinger and eventually dismissed Pinchot.
BREAKUP OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

- Theodore Roosevelt was a close friend of Pinchot.
- March 1910: when he emerged from big game hunting in Africa, Roosevelt was confronted with accusations that Taft was lazy and dangerous to the Republican Party, and pleas for Roosevelt’s assistance.
- Taft offended by Roosevelt’s increasing coolness.
- Republican Party was dividing into two factions: Progressives and Old Guard.
BREAKUP OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

- August 1910: Roosevelt sided with progressives and backed comprehensive package of social legislation, “New Nationalism”
- October 1911: Final break came when Taft ordered an antitrust suit filed against U.S. Steel based, in part, on its absorption of Tennessee Coal and Iron, which Roosevelt had agreed to
- Early 1912: Roosevelt declared himself a candidate for president
BREAKUP OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

- While Roosevelt won in most states with presidential primaries, Taft controlled Republican Party machinery and emerged with the nomination.

- Upset at Taft’s tactics, Roosevelt agreed to organize a third party and run for election.
  - August 1912: Progressive (Bull Moose) Party met in Chicago and nominated Roosevelt.
  - Called for strict regulation of corporations, a tariff commission, national presidential primaries, minimum wage and workers’ compensation laws, the elimination of child labor, and other reforms.
THE ELECTION OF 1912

- Democrats, after 46 ballots, nominated the liberal governor of New Jersey, Woodrow Wilson
  - A political scientist who criticized status quo and took a pragmatic approach to the idea of government regulation of the economy
  - Called his brand of reform “New Freedom”

- Wilson wanted to eradicate special privileges and restore competition by breaking up the great trusts, establishing fair rules for doing business and subjecting violators to stiff punishments

- In the end, Wilson’s New Freedom defeated Roosevelt’s New Nationalism with 435 electoral votes to 88
  - Taft had only 8 electoral votes
  - Eugene V. Debs, running on the Socialist ticket, gained no electoral votes but 897,000 popular votes
The Election of 1912

The fourth-largest vote getter in the election of 1912 was Eugene V. Debs of the Socialist party, who gained nearly 900,000 popular votes (or approximately 6 percent of the total popular vote) but no electoral votes.
Wilson achieved an avalanche of legislation when he entered office

Underwood Tariff 1913: first significant reduction of tariffs since before the Civil War and compensated for lost revenues with a graduated tax on personal incomes
Federal Reserve Act gave the country a central banking system by dividing the nation into 12 banking districts, each under the supervision of a Federal Reserve bank.

- All national and state banks who wished to participate had to invest 6 percent of their capital and surplus in the reserve bank which was empowered to exchange paper money (rediscount) for the commercial and agricultural paper that members took in as security from borrowers.

- Volume of currency was no longer at the mercy of the supply of gold or any other commodity.

- Federal Reserve Board in Washington, DC, appointed the majority of directors of the federal reserve banks and had some control over rediscount rates.

- When inflation threatened, reserve banks could raise the rediscount rate, reducing amount of money in circulation, or, in bad times it could lower the rate, making it easier to borrow, and injecting money into the economy.
1914: Congress passed two laws affecting corporations:

- One created the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) to replace Roosevelt’s Bureau of Corporations
  - Could issue cease-and-desist orders against “unfair” trade practices (though the law did not define “unfair”)
  - Commission’s rulings could be appealed in federal courts

- Clayton Antitrust Act made certain specific business practices illegal, including price discrimination that tended to foster monopolies, “tying” agreements that forbade retailers from handling the products of a firm’s competitors, and the creation of interlocking directorates as a means of controlling competing companies
  - Exempted labor unions and agricultural organizations from the antitrust laws and curtailed use of injunctions in labor disputes
  - Officers of corporations could be held personally responsible if their companies violated antitrust laws
April 1913: Wilson called Congress (both houses were controlled by Democrats) into special session, and became first president since John Adams to personally address it.

- Closely followed the course of administration bills.
- Had private phone line installed to Capitol and sent notes of encouragement or demands for support.
Wilson expected responsible party government
- Expected individual Democrats to support decisions of party majority
- Awarded spoils of office to city bosses and conservative congressmen as long as they supported his program

Objected strenuously to laws granting special favors to farmers and workers
- Did not back a bill for low interest loans for farmers
- Did not like exempting unions from the antitrust laws
- Would not push for law prohibiting child labor
- Refused to back amendment for female vote
Wilson was distinctly reactionary on race relations, like many progressives.

1907: Gentlemen’s Agreement had excluded Japanese immigration.

Dillingham Commission on immigration issued report in 1909 that led to 1913 bill restricting the number of newcomers to be admitted, especially from eastern and southern Europe (passage prevented by outbreak of WWI in 1914).

American Indians, previously viewed as capable of civilization, were increasingly dismissed as fundamentally inferior people who would always be second class citizens.
THE PROGRESSIVES AND MINORITY RIGHTS

- 1902: Dead Indian Land Act made it easier for Indians to sell allotments that they had inherited
- 1906: another law further relaxed prohibitions on sales
- Efforts to improve education of Indian children continued, though most progressives assumed only vocational training would help them

SAINT MARY’S [i.e. Sault Sainte Marie] CANAL CELEBRATION, reviewing stand and Indian village
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Collection
THE PROGRESSIVES AND MINORITY RIGHTS

- Populist efforts to unite white and black farmers in southern states led to imposition of further repressive measures
  - Segregation became more rigid
  - White opposition to black voting became more monolithic
- Many progressive women appealed to southerners to support woman suffrage by using racist arguments
- There was little support for southern black education
  - 1910: only 8,000 black children were attending high schools
- Between 1900 and 1914 more than 1,100 blacks were lynched
BLACK MILITANCY

- William E. B. Du Bois, the first American black to earn a PhD in history from Harvard (1895), became the most prominent of those who rejected Booker T. Washington’s position

- Du Bois wanted blacks to establish their own businesses, run their own newspapers and colleges, write their own literature BUT they must preserve their own identity rather than seek to amalgamate to white society

- 1903: Du Bois wrote an essay criticizing the accommodationist attitude of Booker T. Washington
BLACK MILITANCY

- Du Bois believed that immorality, crime and laziness were common among blacks
  - While much of this resulted from their treatment by whites, Du Bois believed that the race would be saved by its exceptional men
- July 1905: Du Bois and other blacks met at Niagara Falls and issued a list of demands: unrestricted right to vote, an end to every kind of segregation, equality of economic opportunity, higher education for the talented, equal justice in the courts, and an end to trade-union discrimination
1909: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded
- Dedicated to the eradication of racial discrimination
- Initially, leadership was predominantly white

After 1909 white and black leaders rejected the Washington approach
- Blacks began to study their past in an effort to stimulate pride in their heritage
BLACK MILITANCY

- Militancy produced few results
  - Roosevelt courted blacks when it suited him politically and ignored then when it didn’t
  - Wilson was actively antipathetic to blacks
    - Refused to appoint even privately funded commission to look at race issues
    - Administration dominated by southerners
    - Believed segregation was in the best interest of both races
- November 1915: Booker T. Washington died
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<th>Year</th>
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<td>1890</td>
<td>National American Woman Suffrage Association is founded</td>
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<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Robert La Follette is elected governor of Wisconsin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>McKinley is reelected president</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>McKinley is assassinated; Theodore Roosevelt becomes president</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Roosevelt helps settle anthracite coal strike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Oregon adopts initiative system for proposing legislation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Northern Securities case revives Sherman Antitrust Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>National Child Labor Committee is established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Theodore Roosevelt is elected president</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Anticapitalist Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) is founded</td>
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<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Hepburn Act strengthens Interstate Commerce Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>U.S. Steel absorbs Tennessee Coal and Iron Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Theodore Roosevelt convenes National Conservation Conference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>NAACP is founded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Ballinger-Pinchot Affair deepens Roosevelt-Taft rift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Roosevelt gives New Nationalism speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Roosevelt runs for president on Progressive ticket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Woodrow Wilson is elected president</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Sixteenth Amendment authorizes federal income taxes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Seventeenth Amendment provides for direct election of U.S. senators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Underwood Tariff reduces duties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Federal Reserve Act gives the United States a central banking system again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Federal Trade Commission is created to protect against trusts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Clayton Antitrust Act regulates business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Nineteenth Amendment guarantees women the right to vote</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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  http://www.rochester.edu/SBA
- The Conservation Movement, 1850-1920
  http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amrvhtml/conshome.html
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  http://ehistory.osu.edu/osu/mmh/gildedage/default.cfm
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  http://www.theodoreroosevelt.org
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- NAACP On-line
  http://www.naacp.org/past_future/index.html
- The Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire, March 25, 1911
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- Bill Haywood Trial (1907)
  http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/haywood/haywood.htm
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- Theodore Roosevelt
  http://www.ipl.org/div/potus/troosevelt.html
- The 1906 San Francisco Earthquake
- Federal Reserve Act of 1913
  http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/E/usbank/bank13.htm
- William Howard Taft
  http://www.ipl.org/div/potus/whtaft.html