CHAPTER 28

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 city-manager system . . . ” (p. 669)

8. 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)

10. 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 thought not necessarily disparaging.) “These wedges into the federal bureaucracy, however small, gave female reformers a national stage. . . .” (p. 670)

11. 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)

12. reclamation The process of bringing or restoring wasteland to productive use. “Settlers repaid the cost of reclamation. . . .” (p. 676)

13. 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)

14. insubordination Deliberate disobedience to proper authority. “. . . Taft dismissed Pinchot on the narrow grounds of insubordination. . . .” (p. 685)

PART II: CHECKING YOUR PROGRESS

A. True-False

Where the statement is true, circle T; where it is false, circle F.

1. T F The progressive movement believed that social and economic problems should be solved at the community level without involvement by the federal government.

2. T F Muckraking journalists, social-gospel ministers, and women reformers all aroused Americans’ concern about economic and social problems.

3. T F The leading progressive reformers were primarily immigrants and urban industrial workers.

4. T F Many female progressives saw the task of improving life in factories and slums as an extension of their traditional roles as wives and mothers.

5. T F President Theodore Roosevelt ended the anthracite coal strike by threatening to use federal troops to break the miners’ union.

6. T F Roosevelt promoted stronger federal legislation to regulate the railroads and other major industries.

7. T F Roosevelt believed that all the monopolistic corporate trusts should be broken up and competition restored among smaller businesses.

8. T F Upton Sinclair’s novel The Jungle was intended to arouse consumers’ concern about unsanitary practices in the meat industry.
9. T F Conservation policies like land reclamation and forest preservation were probably Theodore Roosevelt’s most popular and enduring presidential achievements.

10. T F Defenders of nature became divided between fervent “preservationists” who wanted to stop all human intrusions and more moderate “conservationists.”

11. T F 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. T F William Howard Taft demonstrated his skill as a political campaigner and leader throughout his presidency.

13. T F Progressive Republicans became angry with President Taft because he began to form alliances with Democrats and Socialists.

14. T F The Ballinger-Pinchot conservation controversy pushed Taft into alliance with the Republican “Old Guard” against the pro-Roosevelt progressives.

15. T F President Taft used his control of the Republican party machinery to deny Roosevelt the nomination in 1912.

B. Multiple Choice
Select the best answer and circle the corresponding letter.

1. The primary emphasis of the progressive movement was on
   a. freeing individuals and business from federal control.
   b. protecting farmers and small business from corporate power.
   c. strengthening government as an instrument of social betterment.
   d. organizing workers into a unified and class-conscious political party.

2. Prominent among those who aroused the progressive movement by stirring the public’s sense of concern were
   a. socialists, social gospelers, women, and muckraking journalists.
   b. union leaders, machine politicians, immigrant spokespeople, and engineers.
   c. bankers, advertising people, congressmen, and scientists.
   d. athletes, entertainers, filmmakers, and musicians.

3. Which of the following was not among the targets of muckraking journalistic exposés?
   a. Urban politics and government
   b. The oil, insurance, and railroad industries
   c. The U.S. Army and Navy
   d. Child labor and the “white slave” traffic in women

4. Most progressives were
   a. poor farmers.
   b. urban workers.
   c. urban middle-class people.
   d. wealthy people.

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.
   b. an Equal Rights Amendment, federal financing of elections, and restrictions on negative campaigning.
   c. 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
   a. Massachusetts, Maine, and New Hampshire.
   b. Wisconsin, Oregon, and California.
   c. Michigan, Kansas, and Nevada.

7. The Supreme Court case of *Muller v. Oregon* was seen as a victory for both progressivism and women’s rights because
   a. 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.”
   c. it upheld workplace safety regulations to prevent disasters like the Triangle Shirtwaist fire.
   d. it opened almost all categories of the new industrial employment to women.

8. Roosevelt ended the Pennsylvania coal strike by
   a. urging labor and management to negotiate a settlement.
   b. passing federal legislation legalizing unions.
   c. forcing mediation by threatening to seize the coal mines and operate them with federal troops.
   d. 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. 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.

12. Roosevelt was blamed for the “Panic of 1907” because
    a. his “boat-rocking tactics” had allegedly unsettled industry.
    b. his policies of regulating and protecting industrial workers had caused a depression.
    c. his inability to establish a stable monetary policy led to a wall street crash.
    d. the public wanted him to run again for president in 1908.

13. As a result of his successful campaign in 1908, William Howard Taft was expected to
    a. continue and extend Roosevelt’s progressive policies.
    b. forge a coalition with William Jennings Bryan and the Democrats.
    c. emphasize foreign policy instead of Roosevelt’s domestic reforms.
    d. turn away from Roosevelt and toward the conservative wing of the Republican party.

14. Progressive Republicans grew disillusioned with Taft primarily over the issues of
    a. dollar diplomacy and military intervention in the Caribbean and Central America.
    b. labor union rights and women’s concerns.
    c. trust-busting, tariffs, and conservation.
    d. regulation of the banking and railroad industries.
15. Roosevelt finally decided to break with the Republicans and form a third party because
   a. he had always regarded the Republican party as too conservative.
   b. he could no longer stand to be in the same party with Taft.
   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.

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 officials from office
5. _______ Roosevelt's policy of having the federal government promote the public interest 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
10. _______ Brief but sharp economic downturn of 1907, blamed by conservatives on the supposedly dangerous president
11. _______ Generally unsuccessful Taft foreign policy in which government attempted to encourage overseas business ventures
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. ____ Thorstein Veblen
   a. Politically inept inheritor of the Roosevelt legacy who ended up allied with the reactionary Republican "Old Guard"
2. ____ Lincoln Steffens
   b. Case that upheld protective legislation on the grounds of women's supposed physical weakness
3. ____ Ida Tarbell
4. ____ Seventeenth Amendment
5. ____ Robert La Follette
6. ____ Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire
7. ___ Anthracite coal strike
8. ___ Meat Inspection Act of 1906
9. ___ Muller v. Oregon
10. ___ William Howard Taft
11. ___ Lochner v. New York
12. ___ Gifford Pinchot

c. New York City disaster that underscored urban workers' need for
government protection
d. The most influential of the state-level
progressive governors and a
presidential aspirant in 1912
e. Eccentric economist who criticized the
wealthy for "conspicuous
consumption" and failure to serve real
human needs
f. Leading muckraking journalist whose
articles documented the Standard Oil
Company's abuse of power
g. Proconservation federal official whose
dismissal by Taft angered Roosevelt
progressives
h. Dangerous labor conflict resolved by
Rooseveltian negotiation and threats
against business people
i. Early muckraker who exposed the
political corruption in many American
cities
j. Progressive law aimed at curbing
practices like those exposed in Upton
Sinclair's The Jungle
k. Progressive measure that required U.S.
senators to be elected directly by the
people rather than by state legislatures
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.

1. ______ A former president opposes his handpicked successor for the Republican
   presidential nomination.
2. ______ Sensational journalistic accounts of corruption and abuse of power in politics
   and business spur the progressive movement.
3. ______ A progressive forestry official feuds with Taft's secretary of the interior,
   deepening the division within the Republican party.
4. ______ A novelistic account of Chicago's meat-packing industry sparks new federal
   laws to protect consumers.
A brief but sharp financial crisis leads to conservative criticism of Roosevelt’s progressive policies.

F. Matching Cause and Effect

Match the historical cause in the left column with the proper effect in the right column by writing the correct letter on the blank line.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old-time Populists, muckraking journalists, social-gospel ministers, and European socialist immigrants</td>
<td>a. Ended the era of uncontrolled exploitation of nature and involved the federal government in preserving natural resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive concern about political corruption</td>
<td>b. Led to reforms like the initiative, referendum, and direct election of senators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governors like Robert La Follette</td>
<td>c. Forced a compromise settlement of a strike that threatened the national well-being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt’s threat to seize the anthracite coal mines</td>
<td>d. Outraged consumers and led to the Meat Inspection Act and the Pure Food and Drug Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlement Houses and women’s clubs</td>
<td>e. Laid the basis for a third-party crusade in the election of 1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upton Sinclair’s The Jungle</td>
<td>f. Incensed pro-Roosevelt progressives and increased their attacks on the Republican “Old Guard”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt’s personal interest in conservation</td>
<td>g. Led the way in using universities and regulatory agencies to pursue progressive goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taft’s political mishandling of tariff and conservation policies</td>
<td>h. Made Taft’s dollar-diplomacy policy a failure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia’s and Japan’s hostility to an American role in China</td>
<td>i. Provided the pioneering forces who laid the foundations for the Progressive movement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt’s feeling that he was cheated out of the Republican nomination by the Taft machine</td>
<td>j. Served as the launching pads for widespread female involvement in progressive reforms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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 America? (See Chapters 24 and 25.)
7. It is sometimes argued that progressivism was a uniquely American phenomenon because it addressed the most profound social and economic problems without engaging in the rhetoric of class conflict or economic warfare. Is this true? How did progressives address the problems of the working classes and poor without adopting the ideologies of socialism or communism?
8. If it is true that progressivism was largely a movement of the middle classes, was that a source of strength or weakness for its ideology and social policies?