For J.P. Morgan, it was a day of triumph. In just 4 months of feverish activity, Morgan had master-minded the formation of the world’s first billion dollar corporation, U.S. Steel. Through buying out leading steel companies, Morgan’s steel trust won control of 60 percent of the nation’s steel-making capacity.

For many people, though, Morgan’s triumph was a frightening one. The 168,000 steelworkers, whose 12-hour days spent in dangerous mills made the steel industry so profitable, feared they would have no bargaining power with the giant new corporation. How low would Morgan drive wages? How high would he drive steel prices?

Only one institution seemed big enough to protect average citizens from Morgan: the federal government. Since the founding of the nation, however, the federal government had done far more to nurture corporations than to challenge them. In early 1901, with President McKinley in office, people had no reason to expect much change. Little did Americans realize that the role of the federal government in American life would soon change dramatically as progressives carried out their agenda.
This cartoon shows J.P. Morgan attempting to form a trust with the sun and planets in order to monopolize the light business.
President McKinley shook hands with admirers at the Pan-American Exhibition in Buffalo, New York, as Secret Service detective Sam Ireland stood guard. Next in line to greet the President was a young man, anarchist Leon Czolgosz, who caught Ireland’s eye:

When Czolgosz came up I noticed that he was a boyish-looking fellow, with an innocent face, perfectly calm, and I also noticed that his right hand was wrapped in what appeared to be a bandage. I watched him closely, but was interrupted by the man in front of him, who held on to the President’s hand an unusually long time... and it was necessary for me to push him along so that the others could reach the President. Just as he released the President’s hand, and as the President was reaching for the hand of the assassin, there were two quick shots. Startled for a moment, I looked and saw the President draw his right hand up under his coat, straighten up, and, pressing his lips together, give Czolgosz the most scornful and contemptuous look possible to imagine.

—Detective Sam Ireland, In Our Times by Mark Sullivan

The doctors who came to the hospital emergency room where McKinley was taken thought the President might survive Czolgosz’s attack. Despite surgery and...
other efforts to save his life, President McKinley died 8 days later, on September 14. Czolgosz was later electrocuted, after admitting to a compulsion to kill a “great ruler.”

Vice President Theodore Roosevelt was away on a hiking trip in the Adirondack Mountains at the time. He succeeded to the presidency shortly before his forty-third birthday. Upon taking the oath of office, Roosevelt became the nation’s youngest President. This energetic young man soon changed the American people’s idea of what the role of the President should be.

Early Political Career
Public Success, Personal Sorrow

Despite ridicule from his educated and respectable friends, Roosevelt entered politics immediately after graduating from Harvard College (and deciding against Columbia Law School) in 1880. Politics, his friends chided him, was for grasping, disreputable people, like the machine bosses whom they considered corrupt and uncultured. Roosevelt argued that “if this were so, it merely meant that the people I knew did not belong to the governing class, and that the other people did . . . I intended to be one of the governing class.” In 1881 Roosevelt showed the strength of his intention by winning election to the New York State Assembly.

He gained reelection twice before personal tragedy struck. On February 14, 1884, in a tragic coincidence, Roosevelt’s young wife died in childbirth just hours after the death of his beloved mother. Emotionally shattered, Roosevelt left politics and fled New York for the Dakota Territory. There he ran a pair of cattle ranches in what he described as “a land of vast silent spaces, of lonely rivers, and of plains where the wild game stared at the passing horseman.”

In 1886 after a disastrous winter demolished most of his cattle herd, Roosevelt returned to the East and to politics, his first love. For the next 12 years, he held various government positions, from civil service commissioner to assistant secretary of the navy. When the United States went to war against Spain in 1898, Roosevelt resigned and organized a group of volunteers called the Rough Riders. Their successful assault on San Juan Hill in Cuba made Roosevelt a national hero. He rode his new fame to victory in the 1898 race for governor of New York.

Roosevelt and McKinley
Balancing the Republican Ticket

When President McKinley prepared to run for reelection in 1900, he needed someone to replace Garret Hobart, his first Vice President, who had died in 1899. Roosevelt seemed a logical choice. After all, the governor of New York had earned public recognition as a war hero and was equally popular with ranchers in the West and reformers in the cities.

Basically a man of action, Roosevelt considered the vice presidency a do-nothing position leading to political oblivion. Political oblivion was exactly where New York’s Republican party hoped to send the politician whose stubborn independence they found so irksome. The bosses schemed to kick Roosevelt out of New York to serve as McKinley’s Vice President. After he and McKinley won the election, Roosevelt

![Theodore Roosevelt](the BETTMANN ARCHIVE)
sadly wrote to a friend, “I do not expect to go any further in politics.”

The reserved and serious McKinley provided a sharp contrast to his constantly moving Vice President. To one senator, Roosevelt resembled “a steam engine in trousers.” Wherever Roosevelt went, he became the center of attention. “When Theodore attends a wedding he wants to be the bride,” noted a relative, “and when he attends a funeral he wants to be the corpse.”

Not all the Republican machine bosses had approved of Roosevelt. When Ohio Senator Mark Hanna heard of the Roosevelt nomination, he shouted at his allies, “Don’t any of you realize that there’s only one life between that madman and the Presidency?”

Fifteen months later, that “one life” was gone. The “madman” was President. Though Roosevelt pledged to carry out McKinley’s moderate policies, the new President’s dramatic style transformed the presidency.

Thanks in part to his energetic speeches, Americans saw Roosevelt as a take-charge President. For his part, Roosevelt saw the presidency as a “bully pulpit” from which to preach his own ideas. The young President captivated audiences with his toothy grin, vigorous gestures, and somewhat squeaky voice.

Throughout his government career, Roosevelt supported progressive reform in strong language while in practice he pursued a more moderate course of action. In this way, Roosevelt persuaded the public that he was a reformer at the same time he reassured the business community of his basic conservatism. For example, as governor, Roosevelt had supported progressive labor legislation but repeatedly threatened to bring out armed troops to control strikers. “We Republicans,” Roosevelt had written in 1896, “hold the just balance and set our faces as resolutely against the improper corporate influence on the one hand as against demagogy and mob rule on the other.”

During the late 1800s, strong Congresses and relatively weak Presidents had predominated. Roosevelt reversed that tradition. As President, he employed the full powers of his office and his own personal magnetism to bypass congressional opposition. In doing so, Roosevelt became the first modern President.

Managing Natural Resources

New Ideas About the Environment

Roosevelt put his stamp on the presidency most clearly in the area of conservation. From his boyhood explorations, Roosevelt had viewed America’s minerals, animals, and rugged terrain as priceless national resources. These treasures, thought Roosevelt, must be protected from greedy private developers. As President, Roosevelt eagerly assumed the role of protector. He argued that the government must distinguish “between the man who skins the land and the man who develops the country. I am going to work with, and only with, the man who develops the country.”

Roosevelt quickly applied that philosophy in the dry Western states, where farmers and city dwellers competed for scarce water. To increase crop yields and to protect themselves from droughts, farmers demanded more water to expand their irrigation systems. Rapidly growing cities such as Los Angeles also thirsted for this precious resource. In 1902 Roosevelt
supported passage of the Newlands Reclamation Act, which authorized the use of federal funds from the sale of public lands to pay for irrigation and land development projects in the dry farms and cities of the West. Under the new law, Roosevelt supported the construction of 25 irrigation or reclamation projects.

Roosevelt also backed efforts to save the nation’s forests by preventing shortsighted lumbering companies from overcutting. He appointed his close friend Gifford Pinchot to head the United States Forest Service. Like Roosevelt, Pinchot was a firm believer in resource management, the rational scientific management of natural resources such as timber or mineral deposits.

With the President’s support, Pinchot’s department drew up regulations controlling lumbering on federal lands. This position satisfied neither business nor environmental interests. Business leaders, hoping to profit from unlimited cutting, criticized restrictions instituted by Pinchot as unwarranted government interference in the workings of private business. On the other hand, veteran environmental activists like John Muir of California criticized Pinchot for supporting any cutting in the few remaining unspoiled forests. They argued that forests should be kept in a completely unspoiled condition for people to enjoy.

In addition to supporting Pinchot’s moderate actions in lumbering, Roosevelt took other steps to provide for the managed use of the nation’s resources. He added 150 million acres to the national forests, quadrupling the amount of land they contained. Roosevelt also established 5 new national parks, created 51 federal bird reservations, and started 4 national game preserves. These solid conservation accomplishments hardly put an end to private exploitation of the country’s natural treasures, but they did initiate government protection of such resources. At the very least, Roosevelt’s constant championing of the causes of conservation and resource management served to place the issue on the national agenda.

**Supervising Big Business**

“Speak Softly and Carry a Big Stick” Does Not Apply

Other issues were already on the national agenda when Roosevelt took office. One involved the growth of large trusts—giant firms that controlled whole areas of industry by buying up all the companies with which they did business. This concentration of wealth and economic power under the control of large trusts had dramatically reshaped the American economy. Buyouts, takeovers, and mergers reached a feverish pitch between 1897 and 1903. By 1899 an elite group of 6 companies controlled about 95 percent of the railroads in the country.

Most Americans were suspicious of the trusts. By lowering prices trusts drove smaller companies out of business. They then established monopolies and were able to fix high prices without fear of competition. In 1890 Congress passed the Sherman Antitrust Act, which was designed to prohibit such monopolies, but it had proven
hard to enforce. Industrialists simply devised substitute methods of retaining control—for example, the holding company. Holding companies bought controlling interests in the stock of other companies instead of purchasing the companies outright. While the “held” companies remained separate businesses on paper, in reality the holding company controlled them.

In public Roosevelt capitalized on the widespread mistrust of the wealthy industrialists. He called them the “criminal rich,” “malefactors of great wealth,” and “a miracle of timid and short-sighted selfishness,” yet Roosevelt avoided breaking up trusts whenever he could. “I have let up in every case,” he said in describing his record of prosecuting trusts, “where I have had any possible excuse for so doing.”

Cautious actions offset Roosevelt’s outspoken comments. This behavior led one newspaper columnist, Finley Peter Dunne, writing in a thick Irish dialect, to summarize Roosevelt’s trust policies as mixed: “On wan hand I wud stamp thim undher fut; on th’ other hand not so fast.”

Battling Monopolies

Roosevelt combined dramatic public relations with moderate action in 1902. J.P. Morgan, a powerful Wall Street banker, had joined with a handful of the nation’s wealthiest men to finance the Northern Securities Company. This holding company combined the stock of the Union Pacific, Northern Pacific, and Burlington railroads to dominate rail service from Chicago to the Pacific Ocean. Roosevelt, deciding that the company was a monopoly in violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act, ordered his attorney general to file suit against the Northern Securities Company in 1902.

In 1904 the Supreme Court, in a 5–4 vote, sided with Roosevelt, ruling that the Northern Securities Company had indeed violated the Sherman Antitrust Act. Roosevelt declared victory, claiming it as “one of the great achievements of my administration. . . . The most powerful men in the country were held to accountability before the law.”

Much of the public hailed Roosevelt as a trustbuster who challenged and defeated the most powerful...
financiers in the United States. The common, working people felt they had a fearless ally in the White House, one who would defend them from powerful corporations.

Despite the public praise, the Northern Securities case hardly changed the day-to-day operations of the railroads. The railroads west of Chicago continued to operate under the control of a few giant railroad firms, with little competition. None of the organizers of the trust went to jail or suffered significant financial loss for breaking the law. Instead they remained immensely powerful. Within a few months, Morgan would help Roosevelt further develop his image as a defender of the public interest.

Settling Strikes

In May 1902, the United Mine Workers (UMW) called a strike of the miners who dug the anthracite, or hard coal, that fired most of the furnaces in the United States. The UMW hoped to win a 20 percent pay increase and to reduce the miners’ long workday to 8 hours, while at the same time securing the mine owners’ recognition of the union. For their part, the mine owners firmly opposed a union that might force them to raise wages and improve mine safety conditions. They simply refused to negotiate with the striking workers.

The strike continued through the summer and into the fall. As the reality of a cold winter approached, the shivering public demanded a settlement. President Roosevelt stepped in and urged the union and the owners to accept arbitration, a settlement imposed by an outside party.

Although the UMW agreed, the owners did not. They intended to destroy the union, regardless of the public interest. One of the owners, George Baer, claimed that workers did not need a union, that they should trust the selfless, conscientious owners:
The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given the control of the property interests of the country.

—George F. Baer, Letter to W.F. Clark, July 17, 1902

The mine owners’ stubbornness infuriated Roosevelt, who called Baer’s comment “arrogant stupidity.” If the owners refused to submit to arbitration, Roosevelt threatened to order federal troops into the mines. Then he sent Secretary of War Elihu Root to meet with J.P. Morgan to work out a settlement proposal. Fearing that Roosevelt would carry through on his threat and responding to the urging of the powerful Morgan, the mine owners finally accepted arbitration. The result was a compromise that gave each side part of what it had sought.

The miners won a 9-hour workday and a 10 percent pay increase, which was passed along to consumers in the form of higher coal prices. On the issue of union recognition, however, the owners won—they did not have to recognize the union.

In 1904, when Roosevelt ran for President in his own right, he coined a phrase that could have been used to describe his approach to the coal strike: “I shall see to it that every man has a square deal, no less and no more.” Roosevelt saw himself standing above the battling classes, rendering to each a fair share of the spoils.

Despite the coal price hike, a relieved public felt it had been given a square deal. Americans hailed Roosevelt, whose powerful language shaped the public image of him as a fighter for their protection. Not since Abraham Lincoln had a President seemed to act so boldly on behalf of the public’s interest.

**Protecting Consumers**

Roosevelt also defended the public interest on consumer issues. He was President when Upton Sinclair published *The Jungle* in 1906, exposing the unsanitary practices of the meatpacking industry. *The Jungle* provoked a massive crusade. Roosevelt jumped to the head of the crusade and pushed the Meat Inspection Act through Congress.

The Meat Inspection Act of 1906 outlawed misleading labels and dangerous chemical preservatives. It also showed Roosevelt’s willingness to compromise with the trusts. For example, Roosevelt agreed that the government, rather than the packers, should pay for the inspection. In addition, he dropped the requirement that meat be dated, which would have informed consumers about the meat’s age.

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**Gallery of Presidents**

**William Howard Taft**

1909–1913

“I have had the honor to be one of the advisers of my distinguished predecessor; and, as such, to hold up his hands in the reforms he has initiated. I should be untrue to myself, to my promises, and to the declarations of the party platform upon which I was elected to office, if I did not make the ... enforcement of those reforms a most important feature of my administration.”

Inaugural Address, March 4, 1909

**Background**

- Born 1857; Died 1930
- Republican, Ohio
- Governor of the Philippines 1901–1904
- Secretary of War 1904–1908
- Chief Justice of the United States 1921–1930

**Achievements in Office**

- Postal Savings System (1910)
- Alaska given territorial government (1912)
Though *The Jungle* focused specifically on meat, progressives worried about all of the foods and medicines that Americans consumed. Quack doctors sold concoctions of alcohol, cocaine, opium, and other drugs that claimed to heal everything from liver ailments to baldness. Many of these patent medicines, or nonprescription drugs, were worthless at best and addictive at worst. On the same day that Congress passed the Meat Inspection Act, it also passed the Pure Food and Drug Act. This act banned the manufacture, sale, or shipment of impure or falsely labeled food and drugs in interstate commerce. Later, in 1938, the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) was established. This agency broadly expanded the power of the federal government to protect consumers from fraudulent advertising claims by patent medicine dealers and from unsafe foods.

Going Beyond Roosevelt

Taft Quietly Furthers Roosevelt’s Work

No President had ever served more than two terms. In keeping with that tradition, Roosevelt decided not to run for reelection in 1908. Instead he chose William Howard Taft, an experienced diplomat and administrator, as his Republican successor. Taft, a large, slow-moving, but extremely intelligent man, ran a mild-mannered campaign. Thanks to Roosevelt’s energetic efforts on his behalf, Taft won the election.

In office Taft repeated the pattern he had established on the campaign trail. Instead of dashing about, making fiery speeches and remaining in the public eye, Taft remained calm, quiet, and often almost unnoticeable.

Although he had none of Roosevelt’s flair, Taft carried out—and went beyond—many of his predecessor’s policies. In dealing with trusts, he rejected accommodation in favor of prosecution. In only four years as President, Taft prosecuted almost twice as many trusts as did Roosevelt in his nearly eight years, including two of the most powerful, Standard Oil and the American Tobacco Company.

In other areas, Taft was every bit a progressive. He expanded the number of acres of national forest. He supported laws requiring mine owners to improve safety. He established the Children’s Bureau, a federal agency that protected the rights of children.

Despite all of these achievements, Taft never received the public acclaim Roosevelt did. Taft did not view the presidency as a bully pulpit. Rather, he considered it an administrative post, a job. He never had the eye for publicity that Roosevelt had. Nor did he have the ability to mobilize the nation with stirring speeches as Roosevelt had.

By 1912 Roosevelt had become upset over Taft’s failure to exert strong public leadership. With a new presidential election on the horizon, Roosevelt wondered if Taft was enough of an activist to warrant his support.
“Look at that man’s jaw!” exclaimed a delegate to the New Jersey Democratic convention upon seeing the tall, sharply dressed Woodrow Wilson for the first time. That long, strong jaw of the just-nominated candidate for governor suggested an unbending moralist, one solidly in the progressive mold. Wilson, however, was not the candidate of New Jersey progressives; he was the handpicked choice of machine boss James Smith, Jr. The New Jersey machine backed Wilson, the popular president of Princeton University, because he was both electable and, as a political novice, nonthreatening to the entrenched machine. When Wilson rose to give his acceptance speech, however, he expressed views that neither the bosses nor the reformers expected from him:

“I shall enter upon the duties of the office of governor, if elected, with absolutely no pledge of any kind to prevent me from serving the people of the state with singleness of purpose.

—Woodrow Wilson, Acceptance Speech, 1910

With these words, Wilson declared his independence from the machine. From a reformer in the delegation came the cry, “Thank God, at last, a leader has come!” “Go on, go on,” other delegates shouted. Wilson went on to pledge his support for almost every progressive cause desired by New Jersey reformers, from direct election of senators

Thomas Woodrow Wilson
As an undergraduate, Wilson and his friends made a “compact” to become powerful and principled leaders.
to the establishment of utility regulatory commissions to oversee the utilities’ compliance with existing laws. At the end of his speech, the reformers, who had greeted him skeptically, applauded wildly. Some reformers ran up to the platform and tried to lift him to their shoulders, but Wilson would have none of that. His sponsors, figuring that the new politician was just playing to the crowd, assumed his backbone was not as strong as his jaw. They were wrong. Soon after election, Wilson began destroying the political machine that brought him to power.

Wilson’s Rise to Power
From Professor to Progressive

Thomas Woodrow Wilson entered politics with a firm set of moral values that he had learned from his father, a Presbyterian minister, and his mother, the daughter of a Presbyterian minister. Wilson was born in Virginia in 1856 and grew up in Georgia and South Carolina. Although both of his parents were educated and avid readers, “Tommy” did not learn the alphabet until age 9 and could not read until age 11. Although he may have suffered from a learning disability, he persevered and became an excellent student. He attended law school, and eventually received a Ph.D. in political science from Johns Hopkins University in 1886. During his 16 years as a professor, he frequently won praise from students for his outstanding skills as a lecturer. In 1902 he was selected president of Princeton University, a post he held until he ran for governor.

When nominated, Wilson possessed no government experience. In dozens of articles and several books written during his academic career, however, he had expressed his political views. Wilson ridiculed Populists as “crude and ignorant” for their unquestioning trust in the wisdom of common citizens. He attacked Theodore Roosevelt and the Republicans for carrying political reforms to “radical lengths.” The best model of government, he said, was the British system, which allowed for slow, orderly change under strong leadership from a well-educated elite. Because of his criticisms of most reformers and his praise for the British system, Wilson was generally branded a conservative rather than a progressive Democrat.

Once elected, however, Wilson proved that he was independent of the machine. Smith wanted to return to the seat he had once held in the United States Senate. Because the Seventeenth Amendment had not yet been ratified, the New Jersey legislature appointed the state’s two senators. Smith, who had recruited Wilson to run for governor, expected Wilson’s support in winning the votes of state legislators. In the Democratic primary, Smith had finished behind Thomas E. Martine. Wilson, calling machine bosses “warts upon the body politic,” endorsed Martine. Without the governor’s backing, an exasperated Smith and his machine lost. As one reporter put it, Wilson had “licked that gang to a frazzle.”

From that battle onward, Wilson supported and won one progressive reform after another in New Jersey. He revamped election laws, established utility regulatory boards, and allowed cities to change to the commissioner form of government. To the embarrassment of the New Jersey machine, in less than two years as governor, Wilson transformed the state into a model of progressive reform.

The Election of 1912
 Spoilers and Third Parties

Wilson’s success in New Jersey attracted national attention. The Democratic party, which had elected only 1 President since the Civil War, needed a fresh new leader. The party met in Baltimore in June 1912, to choose its presidential nominee. The leading contenders were Wilson and Champ Clark, a Missouri representative and longtime reform activist. During a solid week of feverish politicking and 45 rounds of voting, the delegates could not reach agreement on a candidate. Finally the powerful Illinois machine threw its support to Wilson, and he won the nomination. In the 1912 election, as in 1910, Wilson owed his success to machine politicians.
The Republicans

The Republicans were even more divided than the Democrats. Taft retained the support of most party officials, but few progressive Republicans stood by him. Widespread Democratic successes in the 1910 congressional elections convinced many Republicans that supporting Taft would cost them the White House in 1912. Progressive Republicans turned to the only person powerful enough to challenge an incumbent President: former President Roosevelt. Fearing that Taft was not progressive enough and that other leaders like Robert La Follette were too radical, Roosevelt entered the race. At the Republican Convention, though, Taft won the nomination.

The Bull Moose Party

Instead of quietly accepting defeat, Roosevelt bolted the Republican party. Declaring himself “fit as a bull moose,” he created the Progressive party, often called the Bull Moose party. Social reformers, including Jane Addams, eagerly flocked to Roosevelt. “Roosevelt bit me and I went mad,” confessed Kansas journalist William Allen White. The Progressive party platform included calls for many long-standing goals of the progressives: a minimum-wage law for women; prohibition of child labor; workers’ compensation laws; a federal trade commission to regulate business and industry; woman suffrage; and initiative, referendum, and recall.

In addition to Wilson, Taft, and Roosevelt, Eugene Debs ran for President. Debs, leader of the American Railway Union during the Pullman strike in 1894, had run in 1908 and received about 420,000 votes. Debs believed in socialism, an economic theory advocating collective, or social, ownership of factories, mines, and other businesses. As a response to the problems caused by private ownership of big business, socialism gained considerable support in the United States in the early 1900s. Debs rejected the moral and economic basis of capitalism, in which private individuals own the means of production and profit by their ownership. If trusts did not serve the public interest, Debs passionately argued, then the government should take them over and run them. His faith in people and his energy won Debs many followers. One supporter commented, “That old man with the burning eyes actually believes that there can be such a thing as the brotherhood of man. And that’s not the funnest part of it. As long as he’s around I believe it myself.”
The Front-runners

Debs, despite his powerful oratory, and Taft, despite his influence as the incumbent, soon realized that they could not win. Taft recognized that many voters opposed him because they thought he lacked leadership on progressive causes. “I might as well give up,” he lamented, “there are so many people in the country who don’t like me.” Debs attracted large crowds wherever he went, but he could not convince many of his supporters that he had a chance to win. They gave their vote instead to one of the two front-runners, Wilson or Roosevelt.

Wilson and Roosevelt agreed on many basic issues, such as the need for a stronger federal government to influence the economy, but to win votes the candidates highlighted their differences, particularly on the great question of the day—the trusts.

The Trust Issue

Roosevelt believed that trusts must be accepted and regulated. Though known as a trustbuster while President, in 1912 he maintained that breaking up the trusts was “futile madness.” Big companies, Roosevelt decided, were as necessary to modern life as big factories, big stores, and big cities. He ridiculed efforts to promote competition in a trust-dominated economy as “preposterous.” Instead, government must be big enough and powerful enough to protect the public interest by controlling the excesses of big business. Just as La Follette in Wisconsin tamed the railroads by setting up a commission of experts to oversee their operation, so Roosevelt proposed establishing a federal regulatory commission to oversee trade practices of big businesses. He labeled that regulatory program the New Nationalism.

Wilson criticized Roosevelt’s program as one that supported “regulated monopoly.” If big businesses were destroying competition, Wilson argued, then government must break up big businesses. He urged that a strong federal government should dismantle—not regulate—the trusts so that small businesses could once again compete freely. Wilson referred to his program of restoring competition as the New Freedom.
pledged to make the nation safe for aggressive young entrepreneurs once again: “What this country needs above everything else is a body of laws which will look after the men who are on the make rather than the men who are already made.”

The Campaign Trail

Wilson, with a smooth, analytical speaking style honed during years of lecturing as a professor, and Roosevelt, with his energetic personality, captivated audiences wherever they spoke. Crowds of 10,000 people, straining to hear, stood and listened to hour-long speeches from each candidate. In Milwaukee on October 14, less than a month before the election, a would-be assassin shot Roosevelt as he prepared to give a speech. Slowed by his glasses case and the bulky speech still in his coat pocket, the bullet did not stop Roosevelt. “Friends,” he began, “I shall have to ask you to be as quiet as possible. I do not know whether you fully understand that I have just been shot, but it takes more than that to kill a Bull Moose.” He gave his speech, at times nearly fainting, before going to the hospital for treatment. Wilson, in a show of fair play, suspended his campaign until Roosevelt recovered.

The intensive campaigning and brilliant oratory, though, did not inspire the citizens. On Election Day, only 59 percent of the voters went to the polls and they seemed to follow traditional party loyalties. The only surprise was Debs, who more than doubled his vote total from 1908. Democrats united behind Wilson, while Roosevelt and Taft split the Republican voters. The result: Wilson won a landslide in the electoral college, even though he got only 42 percent of the popular vote.

The New Freedom in Operation

Wilson Increases Federal Power

Once inaugurated Wilson immediately took charge of the government. “The president is at liberty, both in law and conscience, to be as big a man as he can,” Wilson had once written. “His capacity will set the limit.” Two weeks into his term, Wilson became the first President to hold regularly scheduled press conferences. Allowing reporters to question him directly, Wilson knew, would make him a more powerful leader in shaping legislation. During his eight years as President, Wilson demonstrated his power as he crafted reforms affecting the tariffs, the banking system, the trusts, and the rights of workers.

Reducing Tariffs

Five weeks after taking office, Wilson appeared before Congress—something no President had done since John Adams in 1800—to present his bill to reduce tariffs. High tariffs symbolized the special treatment government accorded big business. Adding taxes to the price of imported goods protected businesses from foreign competition. The consumers paid for this protection of big business in the form of higher prices. Progressives had long attacked high tariffs as an example of how government served the special interests at the expense of the public interest.

Wilson personally lobbied members of Congress to support the tariff reduction bill. Rarely had a President, even Roosevelt, taken such an active role in promoting specific legislation. Representatives for the trusts flooded Washington to defeat the tariff reduction bill. Wilson took the offensive. Charging that the nation’s capital was so full of lobbyists for big business that “a brick couldn’t be thrown without hitting one of them,” he called on Congress to defend “the interests of the public.” In 1913, with the attention of the voting public focused on it by Wilson’s charges, Congress passed and Wilson signed into law the Underwood Tariff, which reduced the average tariff on imported goods to about 30 percent of the value of the goods, or about half the tariff rate in the 1890s.

Reforming Banks

Wilson’s second major legislative initiative attempted to bolster the banking industry. The United States had not had a central bank since the 1830s, when President Andrew Jackson destroyed the Second Bank of the United States. During the economic depressions
that had hit the United States periodically over the decades that followed, hundreds of small banks went bankrupt, wiping out the life savings of many depositors. To restore public confidence in the banking system, Wilson proposed a Federal Reserve System. Banks would have to keep a portion of their deposits in a reserve bank, which would provide a financial cushion against unexpected economic downturns. Wilson reasoned fewer banks would go broke when depressions hit. A reserve system would also serve as a central bank for the entire economy, controlling interest rates and the amount of money in circulation.

Advocates of a reserve system disagreed about who should control the reserve banks. Wealthy bank presidents and industrialists argued that the big banks should control the system because they had the expertise. Many progressives favored a government regulatory agency directly controlled by the President and Congress and thereby responsive to the public. Wilson proposed a compromise system composed of 12 regional banks that a board appointed by the President would oversee. Congress approved Wilson’s proposal at the end of 1913, creating the Federal Reserve System.

Regulating Trusts

As President, Wilson vowed to break up the trusts. In 1914 Congress passed the Clayton Antitrust Act, which broadened the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890. For example, the Clayton Act prohibited interlocking directorates, which had allowed companies to work together to reduce competition. The Clayton Act also made corporate officers personally responsible for violations of antitrust laws.

Wilson also backed efforts to regulate trusts. In 1914 Congress established the Federal Trade Commission (FTC), which attempted to stop unfair trading and business practices. For example, the FTC could prevent companies from working together in order to keep prices high. Fair trade, Wilson hoped, would help small companies compete with larger companies.

Protecting Workers

As President, Wilson supported a variety of progressive federal labor laws. For example, in 1916, Wilson signed the first federal law regulating the use of children as workers in factories and mines. The Supreme Court struck down the law in 1918, however, claiming that whether or not children could work was a matter for the state courts.

Wilson also supported laws that required all federally contracted companies to provide their workers with compensation for injuries on the job. These laws greatly increased federal protection of workers.

During his presidency Wilson built upon Roosevelt’s foundation. He expanded the role of the federal government and of the President. Like Roosevelt, Wilson saw himself as a crusader, using federal power to protect common citizens. In Wilson’s view (and that of most progressives), however, the common citizens were white, native-born, and capitalists. Other Americans, such as African Americans, immigrants, and socialists, often suffered during the Progressive era.
Critical Thinking Skill

MAKING COMPARISONS

Learning the Skill

When you make comparisons, you determine similarities and differences between ideas, events, or objects. Knowing how to make comparisons helps you to understand the differing points of view voiced by the groups or individuals that shape history. For example, environmentalists may advocate the preservation of national parks as a necessary and beneficial government action; the logging industry may oppose the same preservation issue as government interference in the pursuit of their business. Comparing the positions can clarify an issue.

Making comparisons can help you organize information in your writing or thinking. It is also a citizenship skill that will help you choose between alternative candidates or policies.

The Process

Follow these steps to make comparisons:

a. Identify or decide what will be compared.

b. Determine a common area or areas in which comparisons can be drawn, such as positions on a certain issue, reactions to a certain event, goals of certain groups, and so on.

c. Look for similarities and differences within these areas. For example, two politicians’ positions on labor rights might be very similar, very different, or similar in some respects and different in others.

d. If possible, find information that explains the similarities and differences.

Practicing the Skill

1. Using the chart below, identify the groups that share the same position on the strike.

2. Do those groups have the same reasons for their positions? Explain.

3. On what common grounds can you compare the various groups?

4. Which two groups’ positions and reasons conflict the most?

5. Which point of view is probably most similar to that of the United Mine Workers?

Applying the Skill

Take an opinion poll among your classmates about a current issue in the news. Summarize the opinions and write a paragraph comparing the results. What reasons could explain any differences or similarities?

The Glencoe Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook, Level 2 CD-ROM provides more practice in key social studies skills.

Comparing Chart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Who?</th>
<th>Position on the Coal Strike of 1902</th>
<th>Why?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Mine Workers</td>
<td>Supports</td>
<td>They originated the strike, seeking an 8-hour workday and recognition of their union.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mine owners</td>
<td>Oppose</td>
<td>They believe workers’ demands are excessive and want to crush the union, keeping the industry free of regulation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal-consuming public</td>
<td>Opposes</td>
<td>They suffer from the coal shortages and high prices that the strike engenders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President Roosevelt</td>
<td>Officially neutral</td>
<td>He wants to halt the strike, but thinks owners are too selfish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IWW</td>
<td>Supports</td>
<td>While not agreeing with the UMW on everything, the IWW promotes solidarity with all workers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"Two years ago you were thought to be a second Lincoln," William Monroe Trotter angrily reminded President Wilson. Trotter, the outspoken editor of the Boston newspaper the Guardian, and four other African American leaders were meeting with Wilson to protest the segregation of African American and white workers in federal offices in Washington, D.C. These offices had been integrated for almost 50 years, since the end of the Civil War, and now the President had tried to change that. Wilson agreed to meet with the African American delegation, but he had little sympathy for their complaints. After nearly an hour of tense discussion, an exasperated Trotter challenged President Wilson, “Have you a New Freedom for white Americans and a new slavery for your Afro-American fellow citizens? God forbid!”

Wilson resented anyone challenging his authority, particularly a defiant African American. “You have spoiled the whole cause for which you came!” barked Wilson, as he pointed to the door. The meeting was over, and the five men exited. Though unsuccessful in changing Wilson’s policy, Trotter’s final question did make his objective clear: he wanted progressives to address the needs of African Americans as well as white Americans.

Few white progressives thought to challenge the racism rampant in American society because they themselves had deeply negative attitudes toward all minority groups. As a result African Americans found themselves ignored by the mainstream of the Progressive movement. Two other groups—immigrants and radical workers—also found themselves battling progressives on many issues.

**Main Idea**
The progressive movement fell short of its lofty idealism when it came to the African Americans, immigrants, and radical workers who struggled for justice largely on their own.

**Vocabulary**
- accommodation
- melting pot
- nativism
- eugenics

**Read to Find Out . . .**
- the obstacles to and shortcomings of the Progressive movement.
- what areas of conflict existed between progressives and immigrants.
- the relationship between progressives and workers.
African Americans and Equality

“Jim Crow” Entrenched

For African Americans, continuing poverty and discrimination marked the Progressive era. About two-thirds of African Americans scratched out livings in the rural South. Most were sharecroppers, farmers who traded a share of their crop in return for land to plant and money to buy seeds and tools. Sharecroppers generally found that the tobacco or cotton they raised barely covered their rent and the money they had borrowed, so they were almost always in debt.

African Americans who could leave their farms joined the flood of rural people moving to cities in search of opportunity. Though most went to Southern cities, an increasing number headed north, hoping to escape racism. In Northern cities, though, African Americans found much of the same discrimination and segregation that they had experienced in the South. In addition, in the North, African Americans competed with immigrants for jobs. This competition created tension and sometimes violence between the two groups.

In both the North and the South, segregation was a matter of custom. Beginning in the 1880s, however, Southern states and cities started passing laws requiring racial segregation. Taking their name from a character in an old minstrel song, the Jim Crow laws required, for example, that trains have separate cars for African American and white passengers. They also mandated segregation in hotels, restaurants, parks, and every facility open to the public. Atlanta even required separate Bibles for African Americans and whites to swear upon when called as witnesses in court cases. In 1896, in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Supreme Court ruled that separate, segregated facilities were constitutional as long as they were equal. The only dissenter in the “separate but equal” decision was Justice John Harlan, a Southerner and former slaveholder. “Our Constitution is color-blind,” protested Harlan fruitlessly.

Despite the requirements of the courts that separate facilities must be equal, they rarely if ever were. African American children received a second-class education compared to what white children received. For example, in 1900 in Adams County, Mississippi, the school system spent $22.25 per white student and only $2 per African American student.

Accommodating Racism

Leading one African American response to racism in the Progressive era was Booker T. Washington. The son of enslaved parents, Washington grew up in a log cabin with a dirt floor. He worked as a janitor to pay his way through Hampton Institute, a federally funded school in Virginia in 1868 established to educate African Americans freed from slavery. In 1881 the state of Alabama hired the mild-mannered but ambitious 25-year-old Washington to open a vocational school for African Americans in Tuskegee. Over the next 33 years, Washington molded Tuskegee Institute into a nationally prominent school where African American students could learn 38 trades and professions, including farming, forestry, plumbing, sewing, and nursing.
Washington believed that African Americans could achieve economic prosperity, independence, and the respect of whites through hard work as farmers, craft workers, and laborers. By succeeding at such jobs, African Americans would become valuable members of their communities without posing a threat to whites. Publicly Washington urged African Americans to bend to white racism by accepting without challenge Jim Crow laws, voting restrictions, and less desirable jobs. This policy, known as accommodation, emphasized economic success over racial equality.

Many African Americans, particularly poor farmers, agreed with Washington. Struggling to escape poverty, they believed that economic gains were more important than winning the vote, ending segregation, or directly challenging white domination.

Agitating for Equality

In spite of Washington’s popularity, many African Americans opposed Washington’s apparently meek acceptance of humiliating discrimination. The leading opponent of accommodation was W.E.B. Du Bois. Born in 1868 and raised in a free African American family in Massachusetts, Du Bois became the first African American to receive a Ph.D. from Harvard University. He taught history and social science at Atlanta University before helping found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909. He served as that organization’s director of publications for 24 years.

A proud and strong-willed man, Du Bois summoned African Americans to demand equality at once. “The way for a people to gain their reasonable rights,” he pointed out, “is not by voluntarily throwing them away.” Du Bois argued that the key to winning equality was not in developing vocational skills but in voting. With the vote African Americans would gain the political influence to end lynchings, to provide better schools for their children, and, in general, to challenge the white domination of society.

Reacting to African Americans

Most white people, including most progressives, ignored or actively opposed the efforts of Du Bois, Washington, and other African Americans to achieve equality. Many agreed with Theodore Roosevelt, who confided to a friend, “Now as to the Negroes! I entirely agree with you that as a race and in the mass [they] are altogether inferior to the whites.”

Some progressives—usually women—did support African American reformers. Jane Addams, for example, criticized racial discrimination and helped organize the NAACP. The alliance between white female reformers and African Americans reached back to the 1830s. Many white women continued to identify with the cause for racial equality because, like themselves, African Americans were caught in a web of discrimination.

Among sympathetic whites, Washington’s ideas were more acceptable than those of Du Bois because Washington did not directly challenge white social and political domination. These people might have been less supportive had they known that Washington privately supported many of the same goals as Du Bois. He quietly provided money to pay for court cases challenging Jim Crow laws, to win back voting rights for African Americans, and to support antilynching campaigns.

The activism of Washington, Du Bois, and other African Americans led to some advances in spite of the lack of support from progressives. For example, the African American illiteracy rate was cut in half between 1900 and 1910, and the number of African Americans owning land increased by 10 percent.

Immigrants and the Melting Pot

American Anxiety Comes to a Boil

Like African Americans, immigrants struggled to find their place in American society. After the flood of newcomers from eastern and southern Europe between 1890 and 1914, immigrants and their children constituted about one-third of the American population. The United States became even more of a melting pot—a society in which various racial, ethnic, and cultural groups were blended together—than it had been before 1890. Each immigrant went through the assimilation process of absorbing a new culture. For most the first steps in assimilating the culture of the United States, or...
Americanization, were learning English and understanding the laws and system of government of the United States.

**Americanizing the Newcomers**

Few progressives valued the cultural diversity that immigrants brought to the United States. Most, like Theodore Roosevelt, considered the cultures of all immigrant groups inferior to the culture of the United States. Americanization, to Roosevelt, was a process of stripping away an immigrant’s old habits and replacing them with new, American ones. With his usual confidence, Roosevelt had no doubt that the American melting pot could assimilate as many European immigrants as wished to come to the United States.

Not everyone shared Roosevelt’s optimism about the melting pot. Among those who feared that the flood of immigrants was destroying American culture were some progressives, as well as advocates of nativism, a policy of favoring native-born individuals over foreign-born ones.

Many nativists were Protestants who opposed immigration because of the large number of Roman Catholics, Eastern Orthodox Christians, and Jews who arrived between 1890 and 1920. As the chart on this page shows, the Protestant domination of the United States was facing a challenge. Other nativists feared that radical immigrants, though few in number, would undermine the economic system and the government of the United States.

Opposition to immigration existed throughout society. Woodrow Wilson, while a professor at Princeton, complained that countries such as Hungary and Poland were “disburdening themselves of the more sordid and hapless elements of their population.” A sign in a restaurant in California read: “John’s Restaurant. Pure American. No Rats. No Greeks.” Job advertisements often included a footnote, “No Irish Need Apply.”

Some opponents of immigration claimed to have scientific evidence proving that some racial or ethnic groups were superior to others. In particular they asserted that the Anglo-Saxon and Nordic peoples of northern and western Europe were smarter, stronger, and more moral than the Slavs and Mediterranean peoples of southern and eastern Europe. Jews, African Americans, and Asians, they claimed, were even more inferior. Based on these mistaken beliefs, some people advocated a eugenics movement, an effort to improve the human race by controlling breeding. The eugenics movement successfully convinced some state legislatures to allow forced sterilization of criminals and individuals who were diagnosed as having severe mental disabilities.

**Imposing Restrictions**

Nativists had begun calling for sweeping restrictions on immigration in the late 1840s. At that time about 150,000 Roman Catholics from Ireland were entering the United States each year because of a disastrous famine in their homeland.

As immigration swelled after 1880, reaching more than 1 million immigrants a year by 1905, the call for restriction became a loud chorus. The federal government began limiting Chinese immigration in 1882. In 1903 Congress prohibited individuals “dangerous to the public welfare,” meaning political radicals, from immigrating. In 1907 Roosevelt worked out a “gentlemen’s agreement” with Japan whereby the Japanese government limited the number of Japanese allowed to leave for the United States. All of these restrictions were targeted at specific groups. Still many Americans wanted much broader restrictions that would dramatically limit immigration from southern and eastern Europe.

In 1907, in response to the concerns of nativists, Congress established a commission to study how well immigrants were assimilating into American life. In its report issued in 1911, the Dillingham Commission concluded that the new immigrants from eastern and southern Europe were not assimilating as well as the older immigrants from western and northern Europe and that they never would. Hence, the commission recommended, Congress should restrict immigration, especially from eastern and southern Europe.

Some labor unions also called for immigration restrictions, hoping that a reduction in the number of people looking for work would help push wages upward. Ironically many labor union members were themselves recent immigrants.

Under these combined pressures, Congress adopted a wide-ranging restriction on immigration in 1917. This law refused entry to immigrants over the age of 16 who
could not pass a literacy test. Because schooling was limited in southern and eastern Europe, the literacy requirement affected immigration from these areas most sharply. More severe restrictions would come in the 1920s. (See Case Study, pages 404–407.)

Responding to Nativism

In a climate of restrictions and nativism, many immigrants relied upon one another for support. They formed mutual assistance societies, organizations that provided care for the sick and paid for funerals for members who died. Virtually every immigrant group had its own newspapers, its own athletic and social clubs, and its own theater groups. In many immigrant communities, churches and synagogues became centers of social as well as religious activity. There, new arrivals could meet people who spoke the same language and understood their customs.

Though old, ethnic hostilities frequently kept immigrant groups divided, they sometimes joined together for political battles, often in opposition to progressive reforms. For example, many immigrants supported the urban political machines that progressives tended to attack. Some poverty-stricken immigrant families who relied on the labor of their children to help them buy food and pay their rent opposed progressives who wanted to ban child labor. Immigrants from cultures in which drinking wine or beer was a traditional social behavior often resented progressives who advocated temperance. These conflicts over economic, social, and political issues increased tensions between immigrants and progressives.

Workers and Radicals

Progressives Uneasy as Unions Gain Strength

Progressives also had tense relationships with many labor unions and were deeply opposed to radical labor leaders and ideologies. On one hand progressives sympathized with workers in factories, mines, and mills who suffered from low wages, dangerous working conditions, and the constant threat of unemployment. Most progressives recognized that workers needed protection. On the other hand, progressives firmly supported capitalism and rejected all other economic systems. Most were horrified by socialists such as Eugene Debs, who argued that workers or the government should own the factories and operate them in the public interest.

Supporting Unions

Among progressives, the strongest advocates of unions were those who had the most contact with laboring people—the settlement house reformers. Jane Addams and others saw how unions won fairer wages, safer working conditions, and greater job stability for workers.
In addition to backing unions, many progressives supported political reforms advocated by labor unions, such as limits on the length of the workday, a minimum wage for women, and an end to child labor. The largest labor organization was the American Federation of Labor (AFL), a coalition of unions that represented about 1.5 million workers by 1904. While the AFL called for these reforms, it trusted government less than did many progressives. The AFL realized that a government that could grant such reforms could also revoke them. The best protection for a worker, according to the AFL, was a strong union capable of negotiating with the owners.

AFL leaders also distrusted the government because they had frequently seen government side with owners to break strikes and crush unions. State governors or the President often sent in troops to reopen a plant shut down by striking workers. At other times courts ended strikes by declaring them illegal under the Sherman Antitrust Act, which banned all actions that restrained trade. Although this act was written to break up business monopolies, the courts used it to crack down on unions. Owners who knew the courts or the troops would end a strike for them often sent in troops to reopen a plant shut down by striking workers. At other times courts ended strikes by declaring them illegal under the Sherman Antitrust Act, which banned all actions that restrained trade. Although this act was written to break up business monopolies, the courts used it to crack down on unions. Owners who knew that the courts or the troops would end a strike for them had almost no reason to negotiate with unions. Without that ability to strike, unions had little power.

**Challenging Capitalism**

Unions often included some socialists as members. While they envisioned radical changes in the long term, socialists often worked for short-term reforms that improved the lives of workers. They generally supported stronger unions that could fight for higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions. Socialists also called for public ownership of railroads, trolley lines, and utilities such as water and electricity. Most supported the right of women to vote.

Though the progressives shared many of the short-term goals of the socialists, the two groups analyzed problems differently and came up with different solutions. For example, when progressives saw a problem, such as the high number of workers killed on the job, they blamed insensitive owners and supported a factory safety law to solve the problem. Socialists seeing the same problem blamed the capitalist system of competition that forced owners to require workers to risk their lives so that the company could remain in business. Even if a law improved workplace safety, argued the socialists, the problems of workers would not go away until the competitive system that caused them was eliminated.

**LABOR’S STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE, 1880–1920**

Across the nation, workers and their families walked the picket lines during the Progressive era. Why was a strike an emotional and often frightening experience for the men, women, and children involved?
Some radical labor organizations not only rejected capitalism, but they also rejected the willingness of socialists to run candidates for political office and to work with progressives. One such group was the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), formed in Chicago in 1905. Wobblies, as IWW members were known, wanted a single union for all workers. They believed that workers should confront owners directly. “Shall I tell you what direct action means?” one IWW pamphlet asked. “The worker on the job shall tell the boss when and where he shall work, how long and for what wages and under what conditions.” Under William D. (“Big Bill”) Haywood, the IWW successfully organized unskilled workers that the AFL often ignored, such as miners, lumberjacks, and migrant farm laborers. In the most popular union song, sung to the tune of “Battle Hymn of the Republic,” an IWW songwriter expressed the union’s belief that workers needed to join together for their own protection:

When the union’s inspiration through the workers’ blood shall run,  
There can be no power greater anywhere beneath the sun.  
Yet what force on earth is weaker than the feeble strength of one?  
But the union makes us strong.  
Solidarity forever!  
Solidarity forever!  
Solidarity forever!  
For the union makes us strong.

They have taken untold millions that they never toiled to earn,  
But without our brain and muscle not a single wheel could turn.  
We can break their haughty power,  
gain our freedom when we learn  
That the union makes us strong.  
—Ralph Chaplin, “Solidarity Forever,” 1915

The members of the IWW, in addition to socialists, African Americans, and immigrants, often worked at cross-purposes to most progressives. Ironically these groups were the ones that suffered the most from the social ills that motivated progressives. Despite this irony, the progressives managed to expand government power to meet many of the problems caused by urbanization and industrialization. That expansion would have a significant and lasting effect on American life.

**Section Assessment**

**Main Idea**
1. Use a diagram like this one to show the limits of progressivism as it applied to African Americans, immigrants, and radical workers.

**Vocabulary**
2. Define: accommodation, melting pot, nativism, eugenics.

**Checking Facts**
3. What led to the immigration law of 1917? How did it differ from laws passed in 1882 and 1907?
4. How was the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 used against unions?

**Critical Thinking**
5. Making Comparisons How were progressives and Wobblies similar? How were they different?
Ragtime
The ragtime years, named for the sprightly music of African American composer Scott Joplin, were an extraordinary time in the nation’s history. Industrialization and innovation transformed the way Americans worked and played. Newly discovered “free time” presented the challenge of what to do with it. The invention of the camera made it possible to record many scenes of people eager to meet this new challenge.

WORLD TRAVELER
Ingenuity, determination, and achievement were some of the “American” virtues embodied by journalist Nellie Bly. Traveling around the world in 72 days (with one dress) in 1890, she outdid the record set in Jules Verne’s popular novel Around the World in 80 Days.

POPULAR MUSIC
Sales of sheet music flourished when Scott Joplin began entertaining audiences with ragtime piano music—syncopated, high-stepping dance music born on the Mississippi Delta.
LIVE THEATER

The vaudeville act, unique to American theater, gave many actors and comedians who later became stars their start, often as children. The curtain behind the performers displayed the first commercial messages. Vaudeville, minstrel, and variety troupes toured the country, influencing community groups who then created their own shows.

SIDEWALK ENTERTAINERS

Traveling organ grinders in urban areas provided entertainment and amusement for city dwellers. Often they sold peanuts or popcorn and had trained animals (usually monkeys) who performed for the audience. People who lived during this time period had a chance to laugh and take a break from their tough daily routine of trying to make ends meet.

EXCITING RIDES

Amusement parks, such as Luna Park on New York’s Coney Island, provided a “bully” time for everyone. They offered exciting rides and elaborate slides for the young and daring.
Reviewing Key Terms

Complete the sentences below with one of the vocabulary terms listed:

- arbitration
- eugenics
- socialism
- accommodation
- capitalism
- nativism
- melting pot
- holding company

1. and are two different economic systems.

2. Theodore Roosevelt helped resolve the coal miners’ strike of 1902 when he imposed by a third-party commission.


4. One movement opposed to immigration was ; another was the so-called science of .

5. A can skirt antitrust laws by retaining controlling interests in companies or industries without owning them.

Recalling Facts

1. How did Theodore Roosevelt become President?

2. Why was the Sherman Antitrust Act difficult to enforce?

3. Identify three progressive reforms President Taft supported.

4. Why did Eugene Debs reject capitalism?

5. How did President Wilson restore public confidence in the banking system?

6. What effect did the Supreme Court decision in Plessy v. Ferguson have on the Jim Crow laws?


8. Why did the concept of socialism frighten the progressives?

Critical Thinking

1. Recognizing Bias  Reread the section entitled “Americanizing the Newcomers” on page 284. Find examples of bias in the attitudes of the progressives toward the immigrants and compare them to those of the nativists.

2. Formulating Questions Assume the role of an arbitrator in the United Mine Workers strike of 1902. Write at least three questions you would ask each side to understand their demands and identify opposing sets of values. Explain what you hope to learn from these questions.

3. Determining Cause and Effect  Use a diagram like this one to show ways that Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson increased the power of the presidency.

Standardized Test Practice

1. Which statement about the progressive Presidents is a FACT?

   A. Taft and Wilson did more to break up trusts than Roosevelt.
   B. The progressive Presidents upset the system of checks and balances.
   C. Taft was the most effective of the progressive Presidents.
   D. Roosevelt would have benefited the nation by seeking a third term.

2. In contrast to Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois argued that to achieve equality African Americans primarily needed to

   A. learn vocational skills.
   B. gain the right to vote.
   C. achieve economic prosperity.
   D. avoid direct challenges to white racism.

Test-Taking Tip: The question asks you to distinguish between fact and opinion. A fact can be proved true, while an opinion expresses a personal view or judgment. Eliminate any obvious opinions such as answer D, which cannot be proved.

Test-Taking Tip: Eliminate answers that you know are wrong. Booker T. Washington argued that economic success would eventually win white respect. Eliminate answers that reflect this belief. Then look for an idea that is in contrast to this approach to winning equality.
Reinforcing Skills

Making Comparisons

Politicians who support contrasting solutions often share similar beliefs. For example, Roosevelt, an ardent capitalist, agreed with most Socialists in blaming competition as the source of employees’ overwork and inadequate pay. What other beliefs did Roosevelt and Socialists share?

Technology Activity

Using a Word Processor

Create a chart using a word processor to compare the views of activists Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois. Include headings such as Biographical Information, Major Contributions, and Personal Philosophy.