

*Progressivism and the
Republican Roosevelt*

1901 - 1912

Reform in the Early Twentieth Century

- Progressivism
 - New reform movement in early 1900s
 - Responded to problems of US at the time
 - Attacked monopolies, corruption, inefficiency, social injustice
 - Sought to strengthen the state, using the government as an agency of human welfare

Progressive Roots

- Outmoded laissez-faire ideology
 - Laissez-faire - an economic doctrine that opposes governmental regulation of or interference in business and trade beyond the minimum necessary for a free-enterprise system to operate according to laws of supply and demand
 - Government was not equipped to deal with the problems of the industrial age
 - Progressives came to believe that government must be strengthened to control huge businesses

One Sees His Finish Unless Good Government Retakes the Ship



ONE SEES HIS FINISH UNLESS GOOD GOVERNMENT RETAKES THE SHIP.

Progressive Roots

- Politicians and writers made attacks on some of the worst abuses

Progressive Roots

- William Jennings Bryan and the Populists
 - Big trusts charged with corruption and wrongdoing

Progressive Roots

- Henry Demarest Lloyd - Wealth Against Commonwealth (1894)
 - Attacked Standard Oil

Progressive Roots

- Thorstein Veblen - The Theory of the Leisure Class (1899)
 - Attacked the new rich and “conspicuous consumption”
 - Parasitic business only worked to make money, not for productive industry

Andrew Carnegie's Mansion In New York



Progressive Roots

- Jacob A. Riis - How the Other Half Lives (1890)
 - Shocked Americans with open portrayal of dirt, disease, vice, misery of New York slums
 - Deeply influenced Theodore Roosevelt



*An Urban
Slum in
New York*

A New York City Tenement



Progressive Roots

- Theodore Dreiser - The Financier (1912) and The Titan (1914)
 - Attacked promoters and profiteers

Progressive Roots

- Where did these Progressive critics come from?
 - Socialists
 - Many were European immigrants influenced by drives for socialism there
 - Social gospel movement
 - Used religious doctrine to demand better conditions for urban poor
 - Feminists
 - Demanded suffrage along with other reforms
 - Led by Jane Addams (Chicago) and Lillian Wald (New York) who worked to improve conditions for urban poor

Raking Muck with the Muckrakers

- Beginning in 1902 - 10-15 cent magazines fight for circulation by printing lurid stories about corruption
 - McClure's, Cosmopolitan, Collier's, Everybody's
 - Idealistic young reporters encouraged by editors seeking greater profits
 - Called "muckrakers" by Roosevelt
 - From Pilgrim's Progress (John Bunyan), an English allegory published in 1678 about a man making his way to heaven
 - Articles were very popular; many were turned into best-selling books

VOL. IX, No. 2 · LANGLEY ON THE FLYING MACHINE · TEN CENTS

MCCLURE'S MAGAZINE

FOR JUNE



PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE S. & M. McCLURE CO., 460 1/2 EIGHTH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

McClure's Magazine

Raking Muck with the Muckrakers

- During the pilgrim's journey, a man named the Interpreter shows "a room where was a man that could look no way but downwards, with a muck-rake in his hand. There stood also one over his head with a celestial crown in his hand, and proffered to give him that crown for his muck-rake; but the man did neither look up nor regard, but raked to himself the straws, the small sticks, and the dust of the floor...it is to let thee know that earthly things, when they are with power upon men's minds, quite carry their hearts away from God." (from *Pilgrim's Progress* by John Bunyan, 1678)

*The
Muck
Rake and
Some of
the Muck*



Raking Muck with the Muckrakers

- Many muckrakers focused on big business and government
 - Insurance companies, tariff lobbies, trusts, railroads, families with huge fortunes

Raking Muck with the Muckrakers

- Lincoln Steffens - “The Shame of the Cities” in McClure’s
 - Exposed corrupt relationship between big business and city governments

Raking Muck with the Muckrakers

- Ida Tarbell - exposé of Standard Oil in McClure's
 - Factual attack on the huge monopoly
 - Magazines went to great expense to check facts on articles to prevent lawsuits

Ida Tarbell



Raking Muck with the Muckrakers

- Thomas M. Lawson - “Frenzied Finance” in Everybody’s
 - Exposed corrupt practices of stock market speculators
 - Lawson himself had made \$50 million in speculation before writing the articles

Raking Muck with the Muckrakers

- David G. Phillips - “The Treason of the Senate” in *Cosmopolitan*
 - Charged that most senators represented large corporations and trusts, not the people
 - Backed up charges with powerful facts

The Bosses of the Senate



Raking Muck with the Muckrakers

- Some muckrakers also focused on social evils
 - “white slave” traffic in women (prostitution), urban slums, industrial accidents, mistreatment and discrimination against blacks

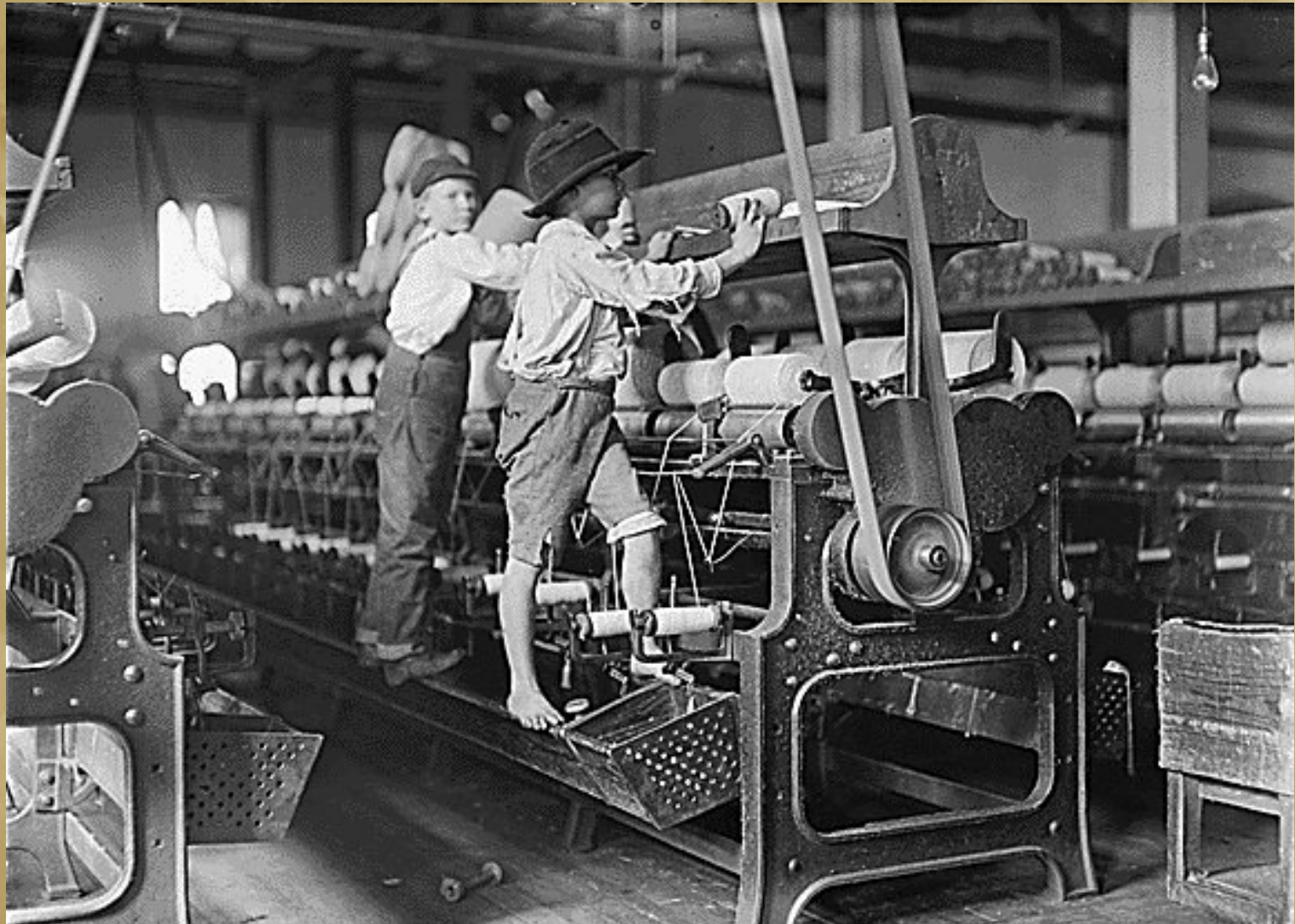
Raking Muck with the Muckrakers

- Ray Stannard Banker - Following the Color Line
 - Attacked discrimination and subjugation of blacks
 - 90% lived in South, 1/3 were illiterate

Raking Muck with the Muckrakers

- John Spargo - The Bitter Cry of the Children
 - Attacked abuses of child labor

Children at Work in a Mill



Children at Work in a Mine



A Young Girl Working in a Stocking Factory



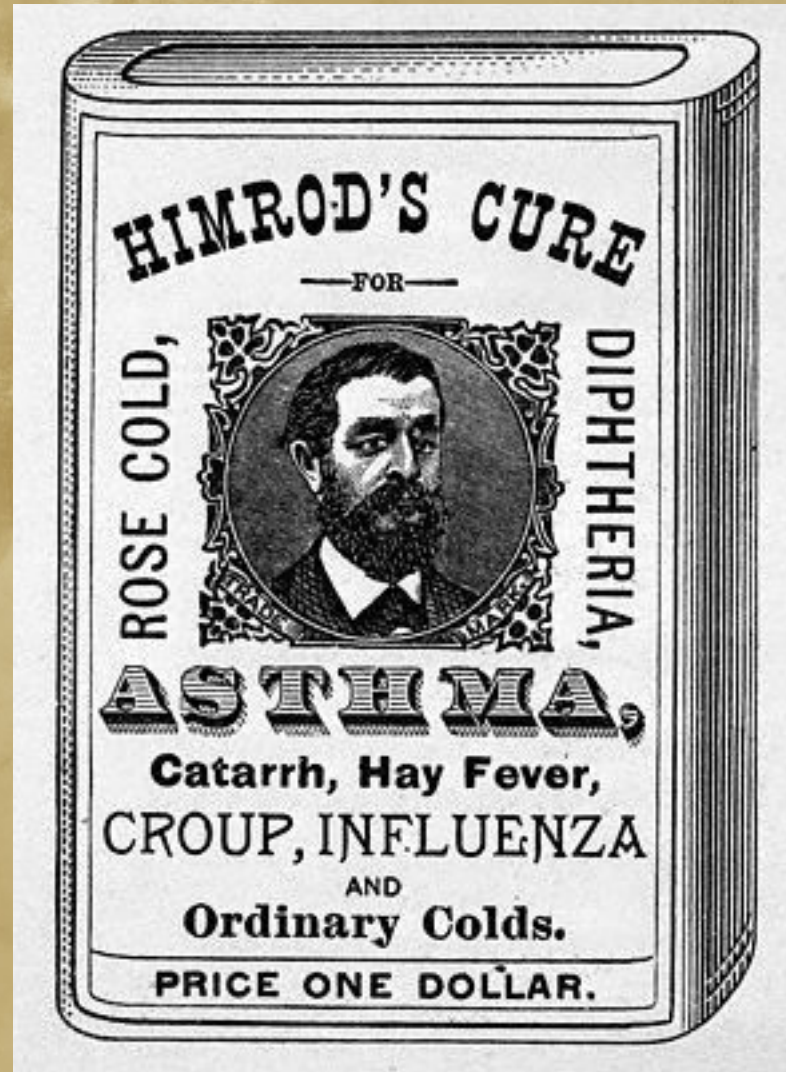
An Injured Young Mill Worker



Raking Muck with the Muckrakers

- Muckrakers also attacked patent medicine industry
 - Patent medicines (spiked with alcohol) were sold without license and filled with adulterated (impure) or habit-forming substances
 - Used heavy advertising in press to prevent investigations
 - Collier's magazine and Dr. Harvey W. Wiley (chief chemist of the Dept. of Agriculture) exposed sellers of patent medicines as frauds (or worse)

*An Ad for
a Patent
Medicine*



Raking Muck with the Muckrakers

- Impact of the muckrakers
 - Exposed problems, but did not propose solutions
 - Believed that publicity and public outrage were enough to fix problems
 - Did not work for drastic political change (or overthrow of capitalism)

Political Progressivism

- Who were progressive reformers?
 - Middle class who felt themselves squeezed from above (giant corporations and trusts) and below (immigrants and poor masses)

Political Progressivism

- 2 goals of progressives
 - Use state (government) power to weaken power of trusts
 - Stop socialism from taking hold among poor by improving common people's lives and working conditions

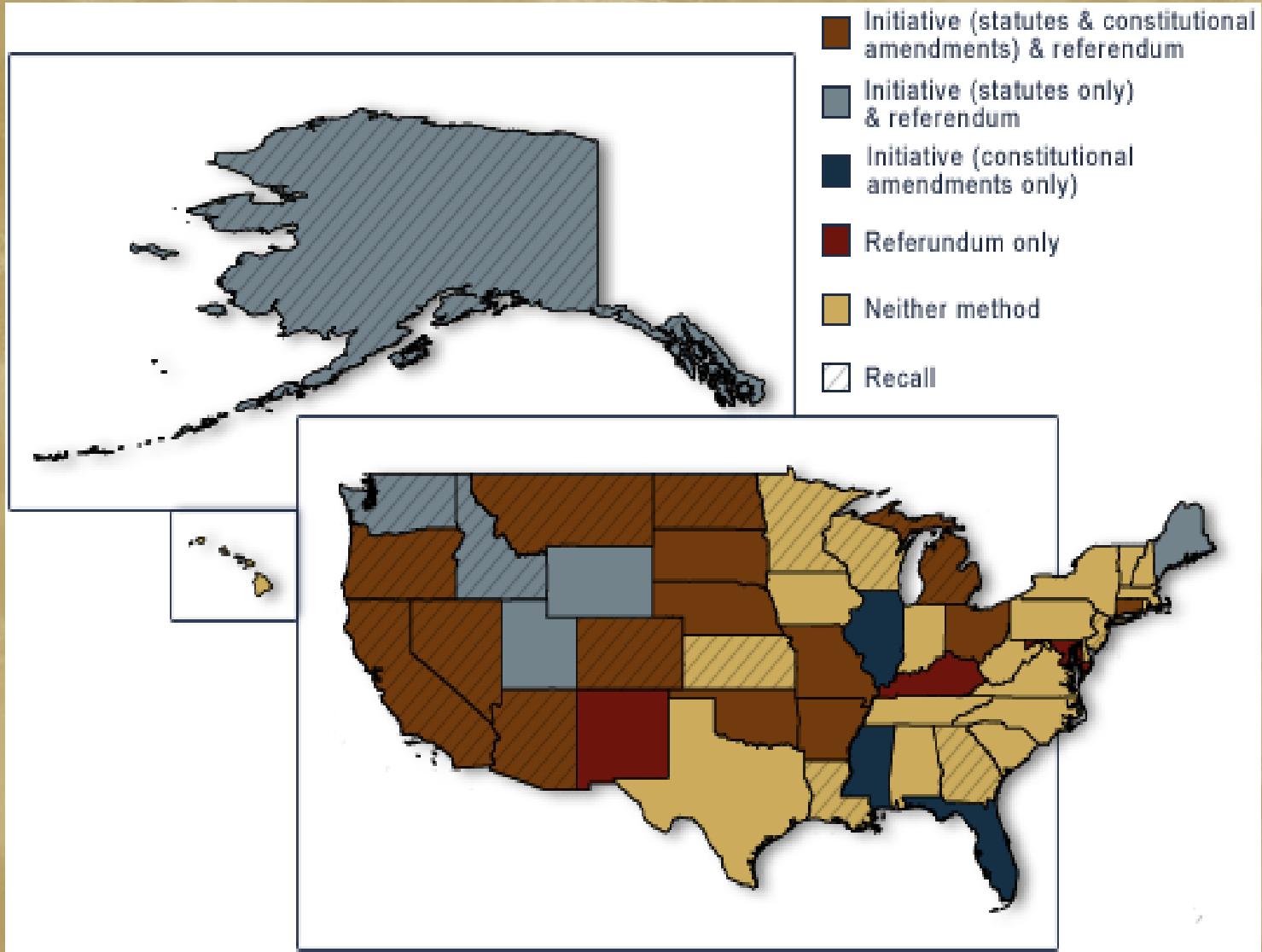
Political Progressivism

- Progressivism was a national mood held by the majority of Americans, not a minority movement
 - Progressives were in both major parties, in all regions, and at all levels of government

Political Progressivism

- Progressives wanted to regain power of the people that had been given up to powerful “interests”
 - Direct primary elections (instead of selection of candidates by party bosses)
 - Initiative so that voters could propose legislation, bypassing corrupt legislators
 - Referendum put laws on ballot to allow voters themselves to pass (or not) laws,
 - Recall would allow voters to remove corrupt elected officials

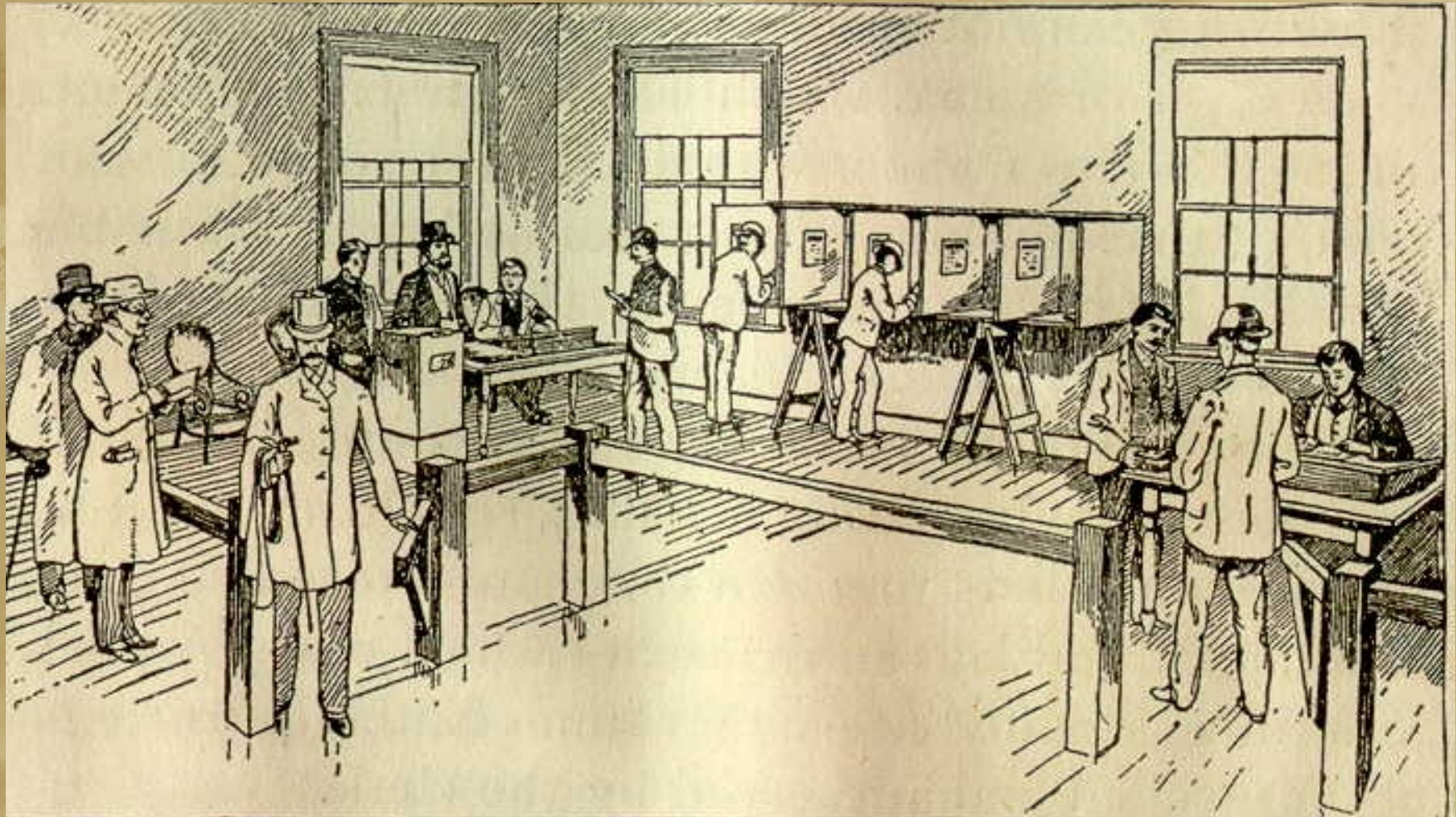
Initiative, Referendum, and Recall Across the States



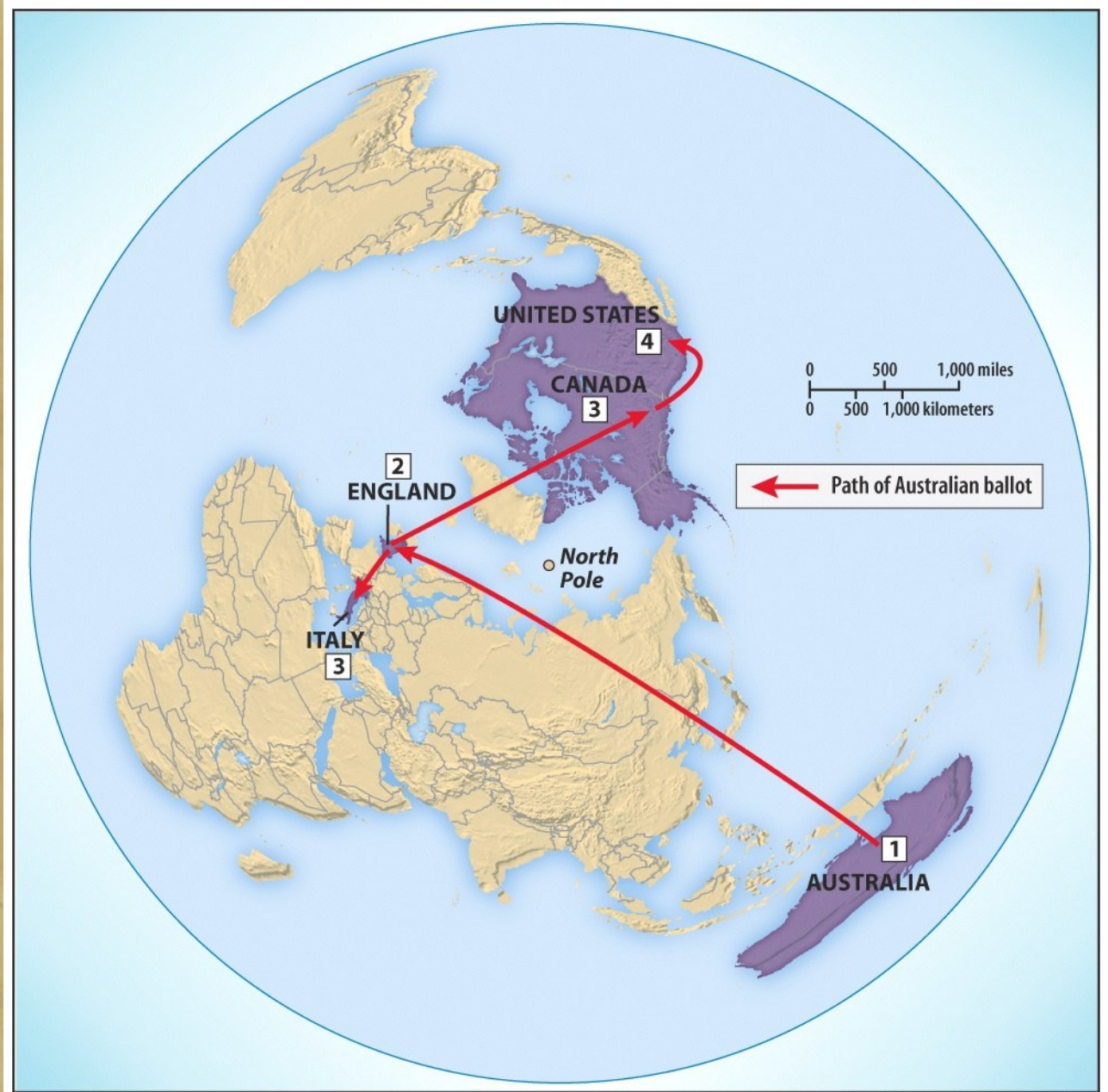
Political Progressivism

- Progressives also wanted to end system of graft (bribery)
 - State legislatures passed corrupt-practices acts to limit money candidates could spend on elections
 - Gifts restricted or banned, which had been used by corporations to bribe elected officials
 - Secret Australian ballot introduced to weaken power of bosses

The Australian Secret Ballot System



The Diffusion of the Australian Ballot



Political Progressivism

- Direct election of senators
 - Senate seen as corrupt “millionaires’ club”; senators followed will of corporations, not people
 - Senate slow to act on desire of progressives to pass constitutional amendment requiring direct election of senators
 - Under Constitution, senators were elected by state legislatures
 - Many states allowed voters to select candidates for Senate in primary elections during Progressive Era
 - State legislatures usually listened to will of people (from primaries)
 - Pressure put on Senate to ratify amendment
 - 1913 - 17th Amendment passed, establishing direct election of senators

Political Progressivism

- Woman suffrage
 - Supported by many progressives, who believed they would elevate the political tone and would support temperance, another progressive goal
 - Women demanded equality with men, protesting “taxation without representation”
 - Many states (especially in West) gave women right to vote
 - By 1910, suffrage for women still seemed like a distant goal

March for Women's Suffrage



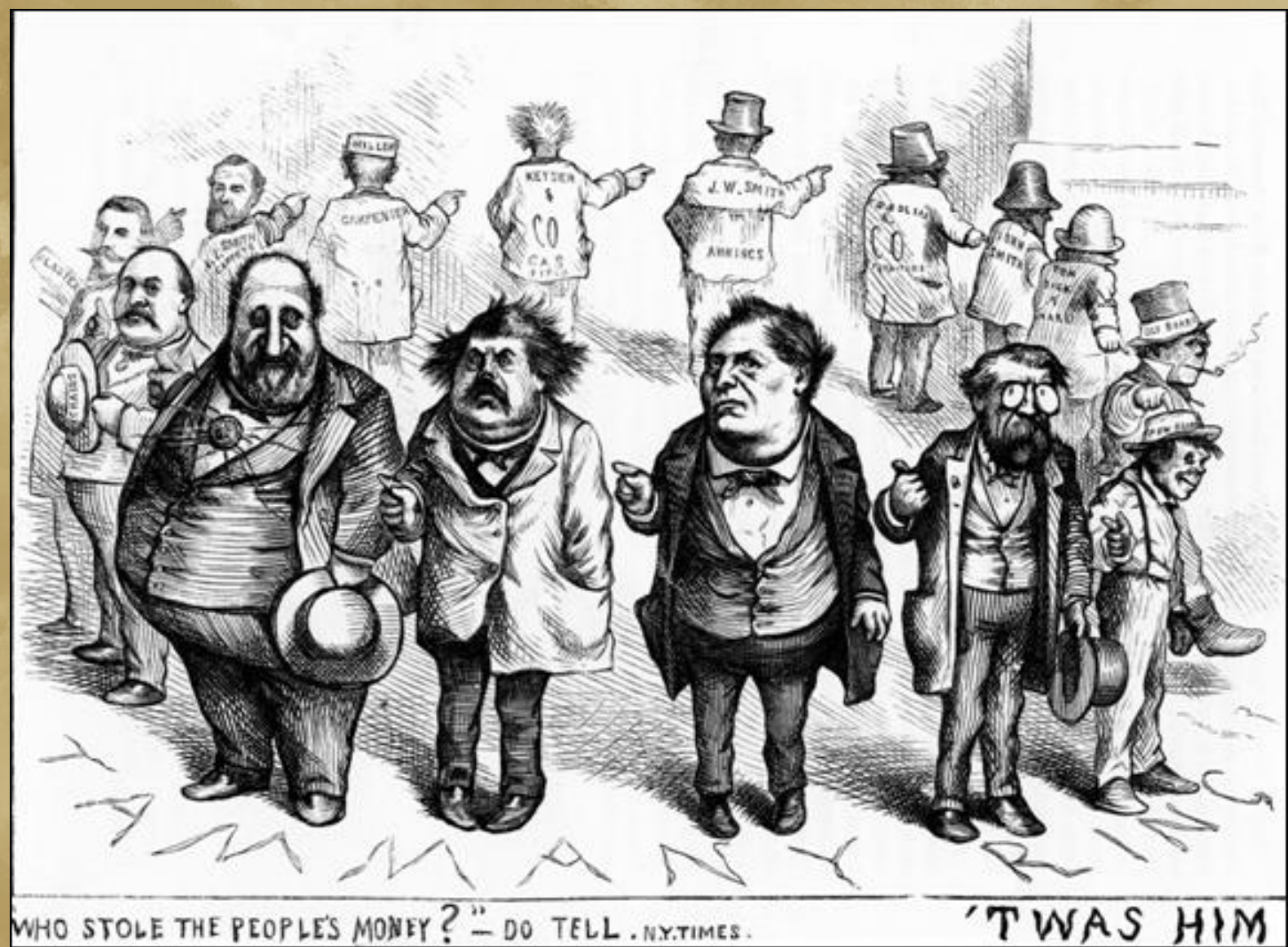
Suffrage Before the 19th Amendment



Progressivism in the Cities and States

- Progressive reforms at the municipal (city) level
 - Before progressivism, cities were run by corrupt bosses
 - Expert-staffed commissions or city managers took politics out of city administration
 - These reforms also made cities less democratic
 - Reformers attacked slumlords, juvenile delinquency, prostitution, sale of city services and public utilities based on bribery

Who Stole the People's Money? 'Twas Him

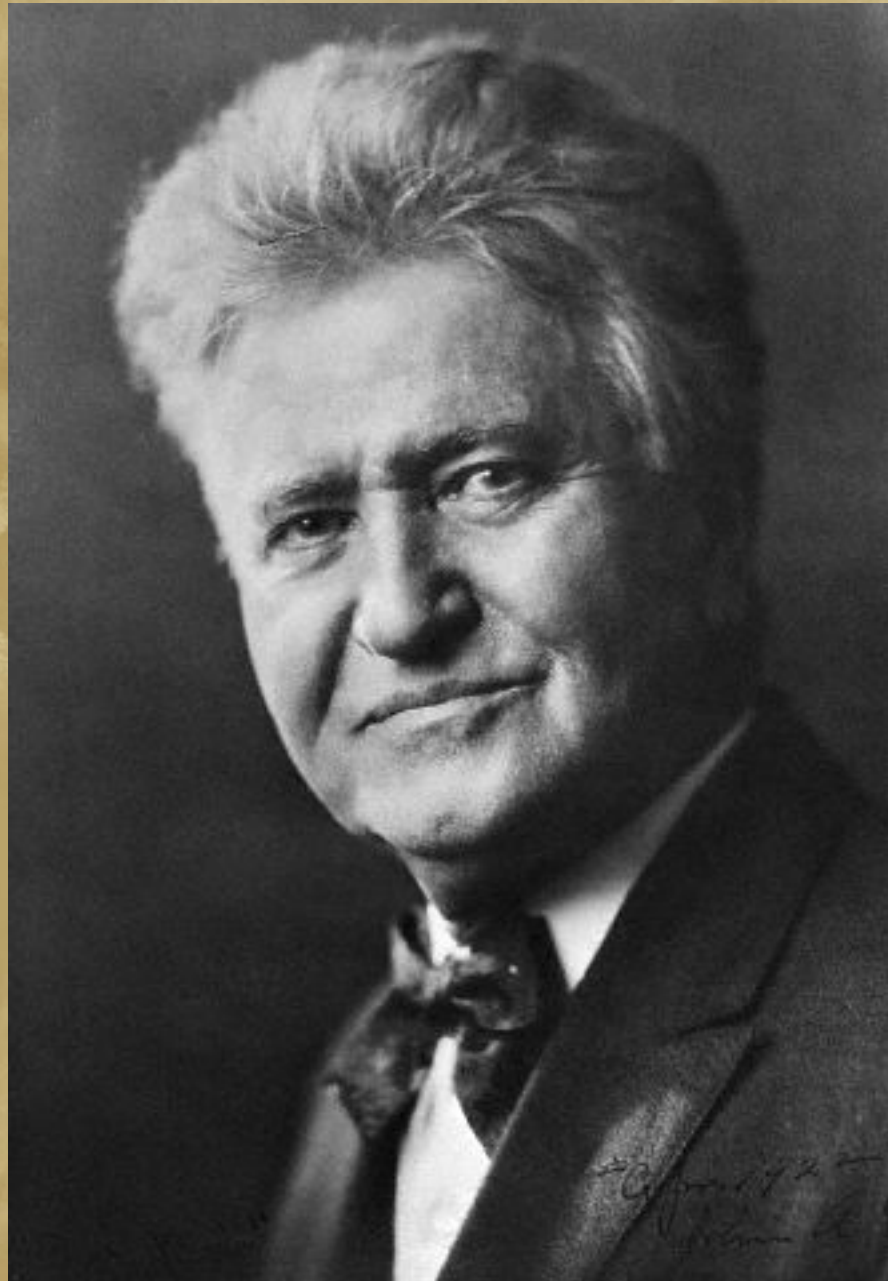


WHO STOLE THE PEOPLE'S MONEY? - DO TELL. N.Y. TIMES.

'T WAS HIM

Progressivism in the Cities and States

- Progressive reforms at the state level - the Wisconsin example
 - Governor Robert M. La Follette (“Fighting Bob”) elected in 1901, after fighting with entrenched trusts to get elected
 - Worked to take power from corporations and give it back to people
 - Came up with way to regulate public utilities
 - Worked with experts from faculty at university (in Madison)



*Robert
LaFollette*

Mr. La Follette's Strongest Card



Progressivism in the Cities and States

- Progressive reforms in other states
 - California under Governor Hiram W. Johnson
 - Ended control that Southern Pacific Railroad had over California's politics
 - New York under governor Charles Evans Hughes
 - Investigated gas, insurance, and coal industries to end corruption

Progressive Women

- Settlement houses
 - Exposed women to social problems (poverty, political corruption, awful working and living conditions)
 - Gave women “side door” to public life and the confidence and skills to attack social problems

Children in a Pottery Class at a Settlement House



Progressive Women

- Women's club movement
 - Literary clubs had read classics from previous centuries, now read about social issues and current events

Progressive Women

- Defending new women's activities
 - Idea of separate spheres for women - women should focus on the home
 - Women said their new activities were an extension (not rejection) of their traditional roles of wife and mother
 - Women drawn into moral and maternal issues
 - Working for better conditions for child workers, against diseases in tenements, and for pensions for mothers with dependent children

Progressive Women

- New national organizations for women
 - Women's Trade Union League
 - National Consumers League
 - 2 new federal agencies in Department of Labor
 - Children's Bureau (1912)
 - Women's Bureau (1920)

Progressive Women

- 2 important issues for women: factory reform and temperance
- US welfare state that emerged from female activism was different from Western Europe
 - Women won rights for women and children (at least at first)
 - In Western Europe, where there was a strong labor movement, protections were adopted for everyone (men as well as women)

Progressive Women

- Factory reform
 - Florence Kelley (who had worked at Hull House with Jane Addams) became first chief factory inspector in Illinois
 - 1899 - Kelly became head of National Consumers League
 - Mobilized female consumers to pressure for laws protecting women and children in the workplace

*Florence
Kelley*



Progressive Women

- Muller v. Oregon (1908)
 - Louis D. Brandeis got Supreme Court to accept constitutionality of special laws protecting women and children in the workplace because (he argued) of their weaker bodies
 - Seen as an important victory because employers previously had had total control over the workplace
 - Looking back, the ruling seems discriminatory (giving women special protections that men did not get) and it blocked women from some “male” jobs

Women and Children Shucking Oysters



Progressive Women

- Lochner v. New York (1905)
 - Supreme Court overturned a New York law establishing a 10-hour workday for bakers
 - Overturned in 1917 when the court upheld a 10-hour workday for factory workers (because of progressive influence on the court)



Progressive Women

- Triangle Shirtwaist Fire (1911)
 - Fire in a clothing factory in New York City
 - Locked doors and other violations of fire code
 - 146 immigrant women burned or jumped from 8 - 9-story building

*Firefighters
Battle the
Triangle
Shirtwaist
Fire*



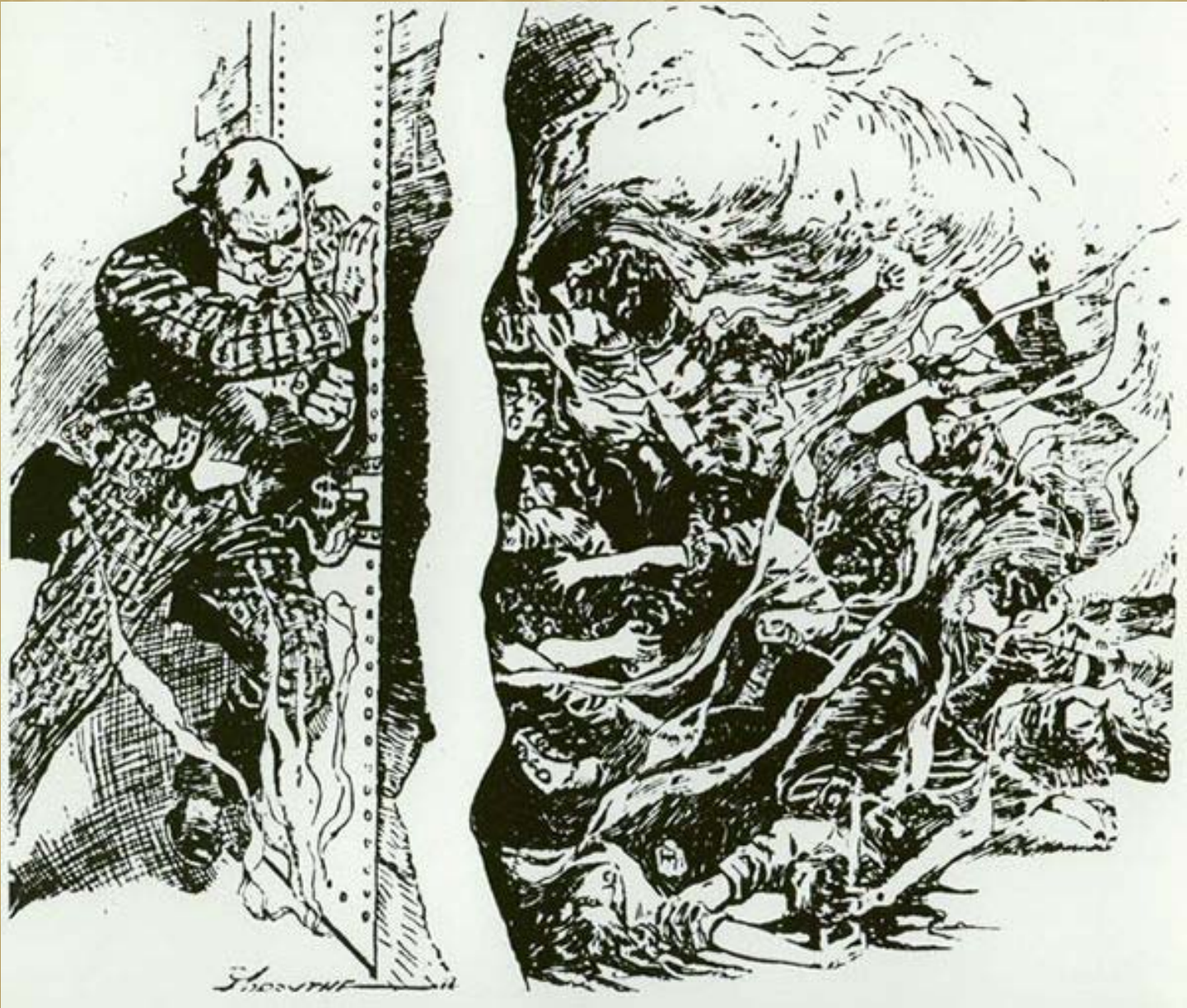
The Locked Door of the Triangle Shirtwaist Company Trapped the Women Who Worked There



Young Women's Bodies Lie on the Street Below



The Triangle Shirtwaist Fire



Progressive Women

- Gradual change from idea of unregulated capitalism to belief that employers had responsibility to workers and society
 - Many states (starting with New York) passed tougher laws regulating sweatshops (after the Triangle fire)
 - Worker's compensations laws gave injured workers insurance for lost income

Progressive Women

- The problem of alcohol
 - Connected to prostitution, crooked politicians and voters, in addition to abuse and poverty
 - Large cities had numerous saloons (1 for every 200 people in New York)

Progressive Women

- Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)
 - Founded by Frances E. Willard
 - Prayed on saloon floors, mobilizing 1 million women
 - Build WCTU into largest women's organization in world
- Anti-Saloon League
 - Allied with WCTU to fight alcohol abuse

Women Picketing for Prohibition



Progressive Women

- State laws regulating alcohol
 - By 1914, 1/2 of the US lived in “dry” territory
 - Big cities usually stayed “wet” because of large immigrant populations

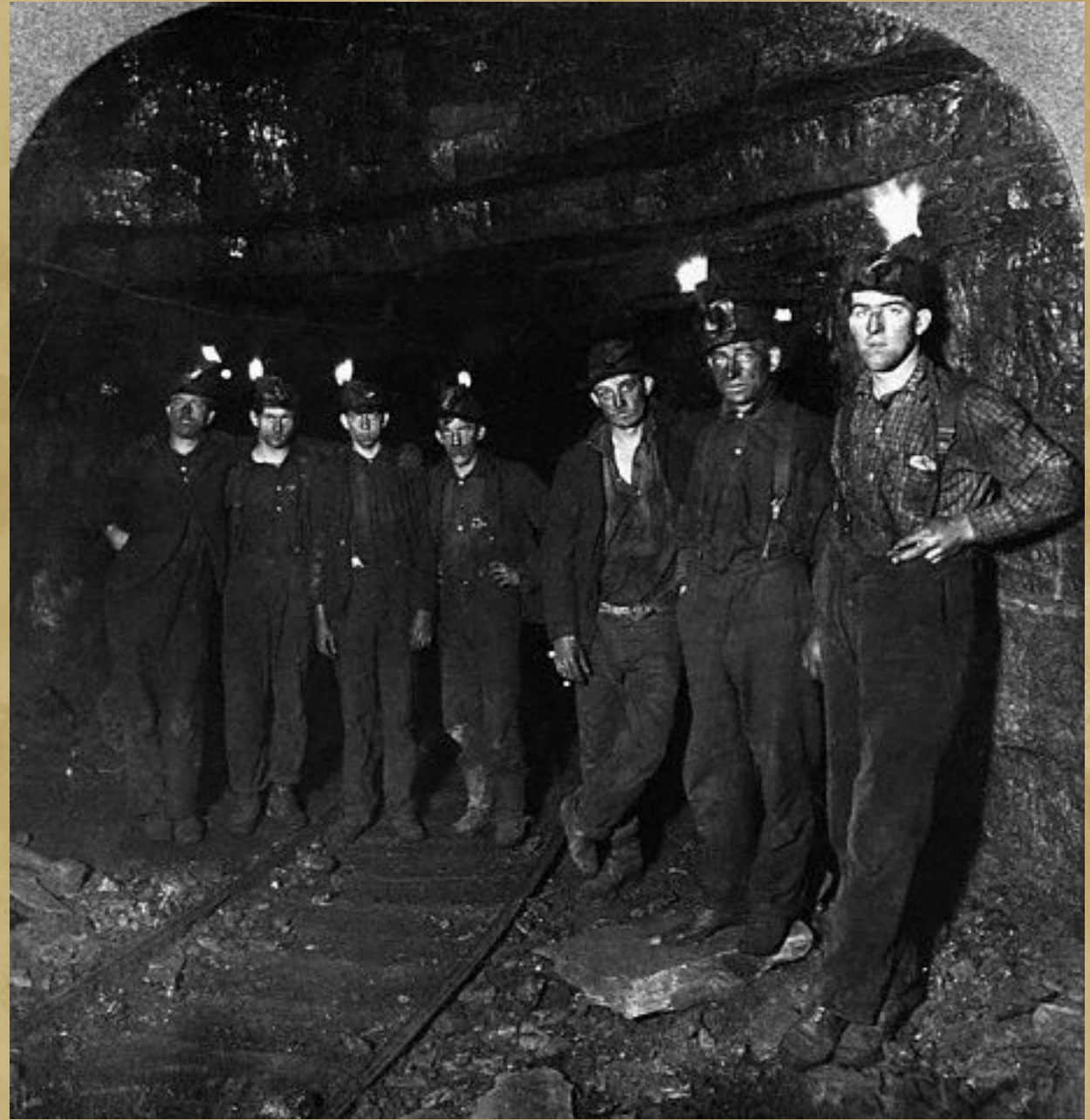
TR's Square Deal for Labor

- Roosevelt influenced by progressives, decided to protect the “public interest”
 - Demanded “Square Deal” for capital, labor, public
 - Three C’s: control of corporations, consumer protection, conservation of natural resources

TR's Square Deal for Labor

- 1902 coal strike in Pennsylvania
 - Workers (many illiterate immigrants) had been exploited in dangerous mines
 - Workers demanded 20% increase in pay and working day of 9 hours (instead of 10)

Coal Miners



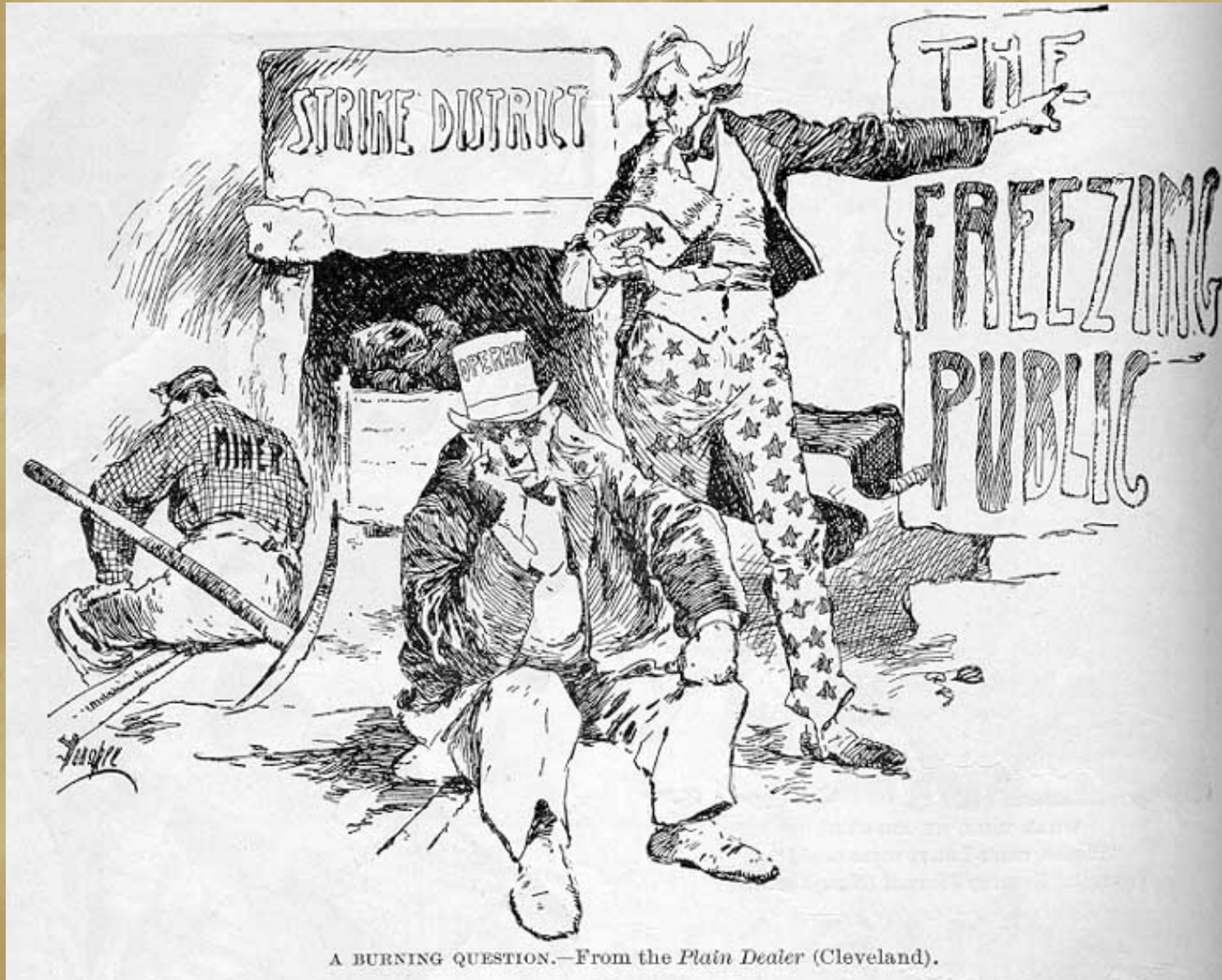
TR's Square Deal for Labor

- Mine owners refused arbitration or negotiation
 - Believed public would support the owners over the workers
 - Workers should be 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 this country.”
George F. Baer, a spokesman for the owners

TR's Square Deal for Labor

- Impact of the strike
 - Coal supplies dwindled
 - Schools, factories, even hospitals forced to shut down or cut back

A Burning Question

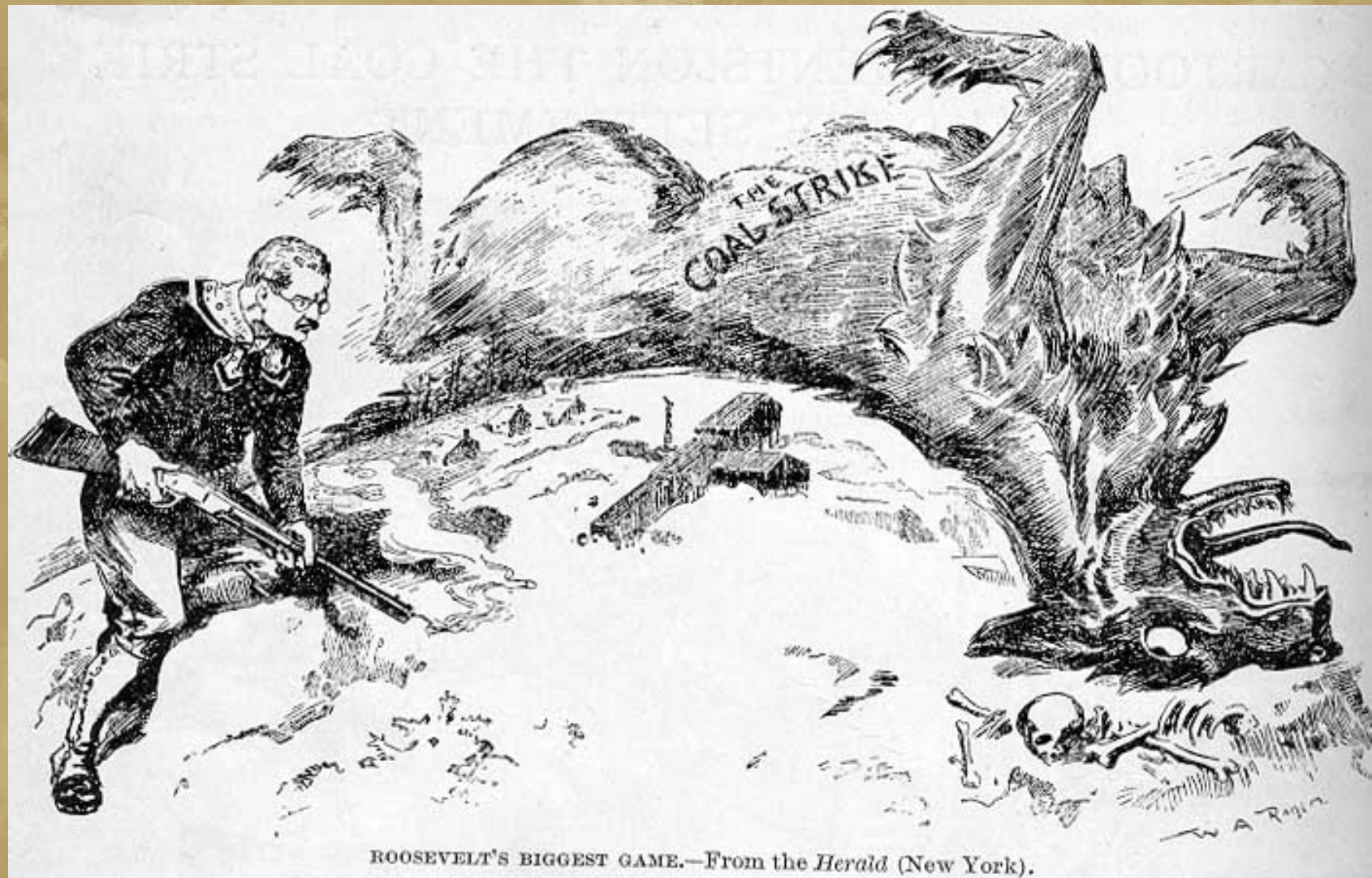


A BURNING QUESTION.—From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland).

TR's Square Deal for Labor

- Roosevelt's actions
 - Realizes, because of importance of coal for fuel, that he must do something
 - Sided with workers, in part because of the arrogance of the mine owners
 - Threatened to seize and operate mines with federal troops
 - First time government had threatened owners, instead of workers, with violence

Roosevelt's Biggest Game



ROOSEVELT'S BIGGEST GAME.—From the *Herald* (New York).

The Washington Schoolmaster



THE WASHINGTON SCHOOLMASTER
From the *Chronicle* (Chicago)

TR's Square Deal for Labor

- Owners (partially) gave in
 - Workers got 9 hour workday and 10% increase in pay
 - But workers' union not officially recognized by owners

TR's Square Deal for Labor

- Department of Commerce and Labor (1903)
 - Created at urging of Roosevelt because of antagonism between capital and labor
 - Bureau of Corporations (inside the department) authorized to investigate businesses in interstate commerce
 - Strengthened government's power against big business and trusts

TR Corrals the Corporations

- Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) created in 1887 to regulate railroads, but was very weak
 - Corporations could appeal and delay ICC rulings for years

TR Corrals the Corporations

- Elkins Act (1903)
 - Primarily used to stop abuse of rebates
 - Large fines now imposed on railroads and shippers for rebates

The Elkins Act (1903)



TR Corrals the Corporations

- Hepburn Act (1906)
 - Free passes (used to bribe politicians) restricted
 - ICC expanded to regulate other types of interstate companies
 - Express, sleeping-car, pipeline companies
 - ICC given power to throw out existing rates and set maximum rates when shippers complained

TR Corrals the Corporations

- Roosevelt's good and bad trusts
 - Realized large trusts like railroads were not going to be eliminated
 - Good trusts had a public conscience; bad trusts were greedy for money and power
 - Only fought bad trusts, not all large corporations

Good vs. Bad Trusts



TR Corrals the Corporations

- Northern Securities Company
 - Railroad holding company organized by JP Morgan and James J. Hill to monopolize railroads in Northwest
 - 1902 - Roosevelt uses regulatory power to order breakup of Northern Securities
 - 1904 - Northern Securities decision
 - Supreme Court upheld Roosevelt's order, greatly strengthening his reputation as trust buster

TR Corrals the Corporations

- Roosevelt moved into other areas after railroads
 - Over 40 legal proceedings against various trusts, including beef, sugar, fertilizer, harvesters
 - US Supreme Court upheld Roosevelt's actions

TR Corrals the Corporations

- Roosevelt used trust busting to show that the government - not business - was in charge of the country
 - Did not believe that haphazardly breaking up large corporations was economically wise
 - Combination and integration were symbolic of the time
 - Large corporations were extremely efficient
 - Used the threat of breakup to force corporations to accept government regulation

*The Lion-
Tamer*



THE LION-TAMER

TR Corrals the Corporations

- Truth about Roosevelt's trust busting
 - Business was healthier after Roosevelt than before
 - Taft busted more trusts than Roosevelt did

Caring for the Consumer

- State of meat production in early 1900s
 - US meat blocked from Europe because it was unclean
 - The Jungle (published in 1906) by Upton Sinclair described disgusting practices in meatpacking plants
 - “I aimed for the nation’s heart, but I hit it in the stomach.”
 - Roosevelt (after reading The Jungle) appointed special investigative commission
 - Described in greater detail than even The Jungle the horrible practices in meatpacking plants

A Typical Meatpacking Plant at the Turn of the Century



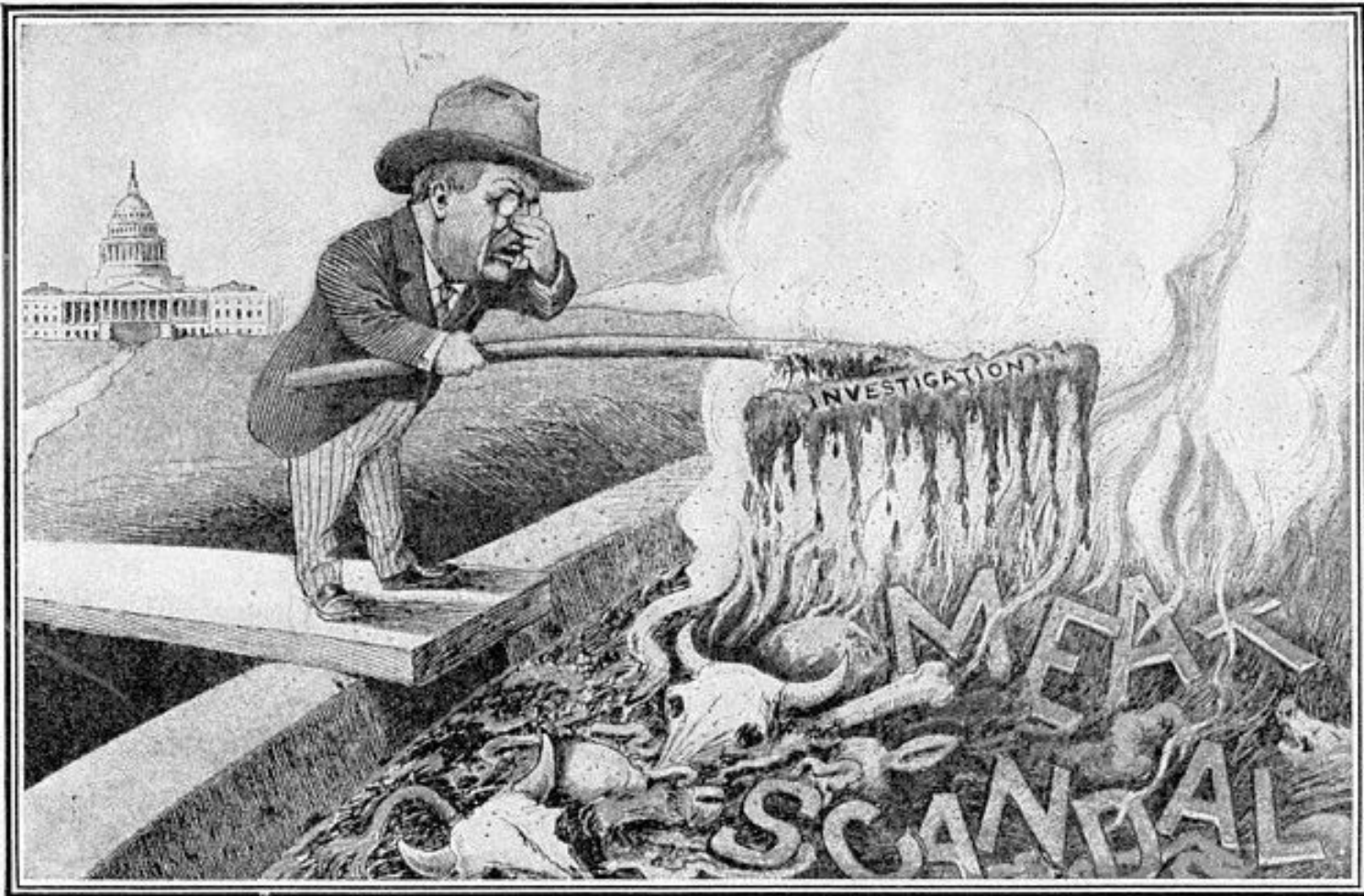
Panoramic Picture Illustrating the Beef Industry



Caring for the Consumer

- Meat Inspection Act (1906)
 - Meat shipped over state lines subject to federal inspection throughout entire process (corral to can)
 - Used by large packing houses to drive smaller competitors out of business
 - Large packing houses got US government's approval for their meat, allowing them to increase shipments to Europe
- Pure Food and Drug Act (1906)
 - Prevented the adulteration and mislabeling of food and drugs

Roosevelt and the Meat Scandal



A NAUSEATING JOB, BUT IT MUST BE DONE

(President Roosevelt takes hold of the investigating muck-rake himself in the packing-house scandal.)

From the *Saturday Globe* (Utica)

Earth Control

- American exploitation of the environment
 - Americans had assumed natural resources were inexhaustible, and had wasted them for hundreds of years
 - Western ranchers and timber men were especially eager to use resources

Earth Control

- Even before end of 19th century, leaders saw that natural resources must be protected, or they would be impossible to replace

Earth Control

- Desert Land Act of 1877
 - US government sold arid (dry) land cheaply with condition that owner irrigate land within 3 years

Earth Control

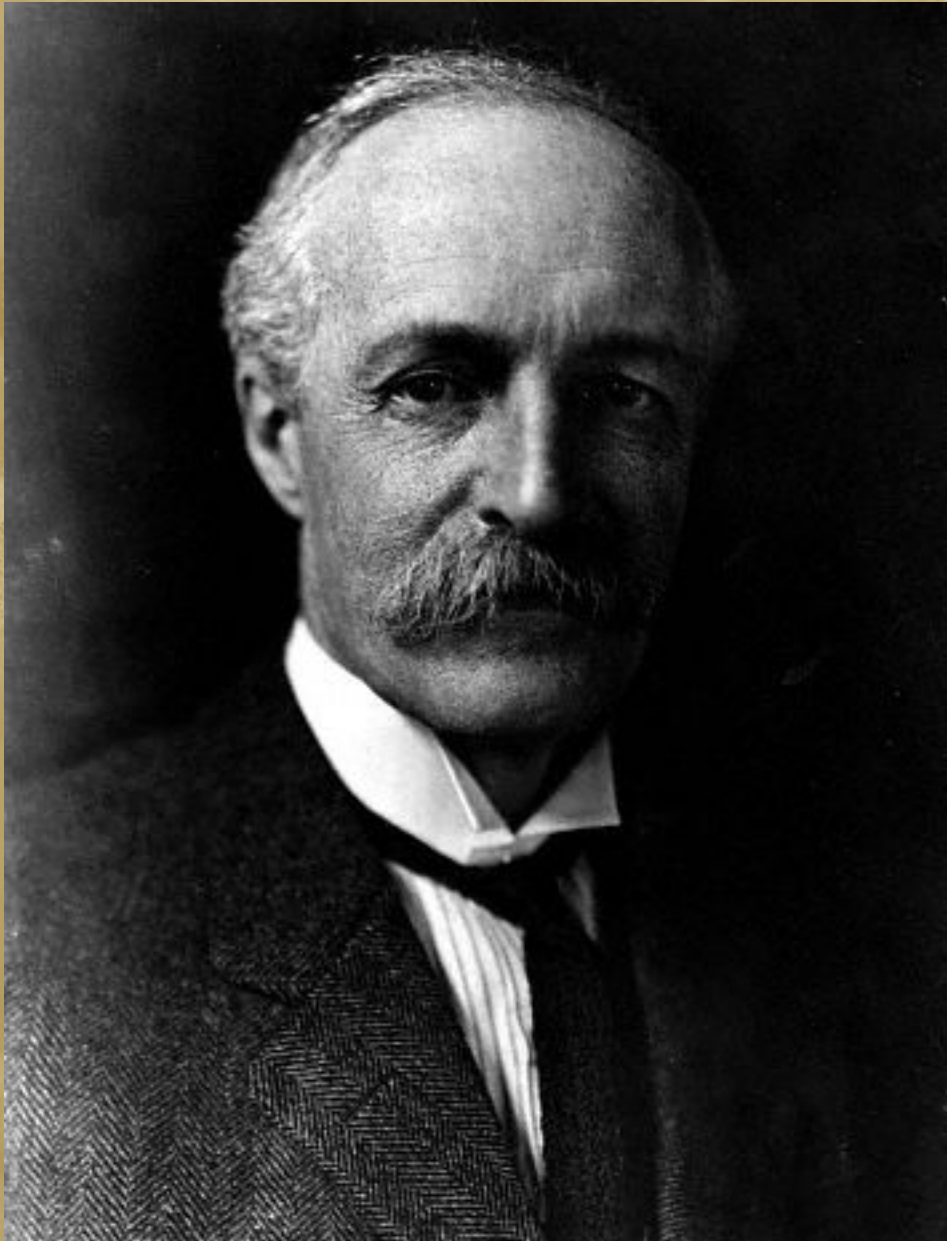
- Forest Reserve Act of 1891
 - Authorized president to set aside public forests as national parks and other reserves
 - 1890s - 46 million acres protected

Earth Control

- Carey Act of 1894
 - Distributed federal land to states on condition that the land be irrigated and settled

Earth Control

- Gifford Pinchot
 - Head of the federal Division of Forestry
 - Worked for conservation



*Gifford
Pinchot*

Earth Control

- Roosevelt greatly energized conservation movement at federal level
 - He was a lover of the outdoors - hunter, naturalist, rancher
 - Waste and greed of those using up natural resources appalled him
 - Used his power as president and energy to work for conservation

Roosevelt Hunting Bear in Arizona



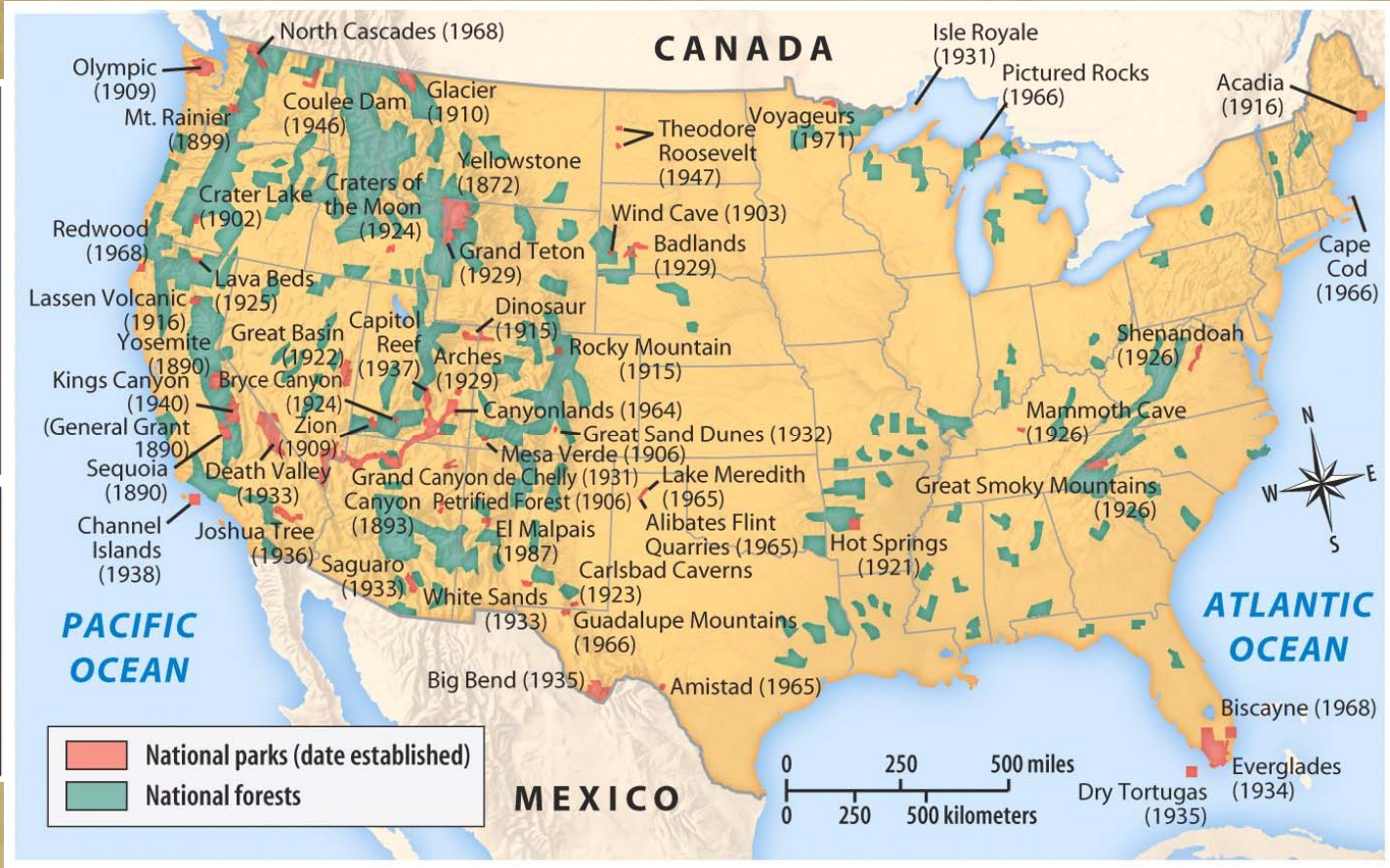
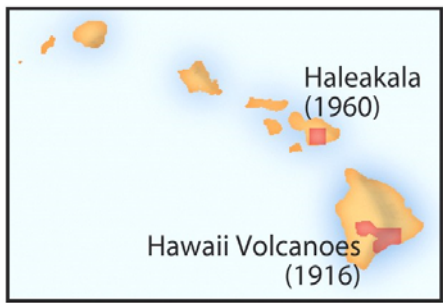
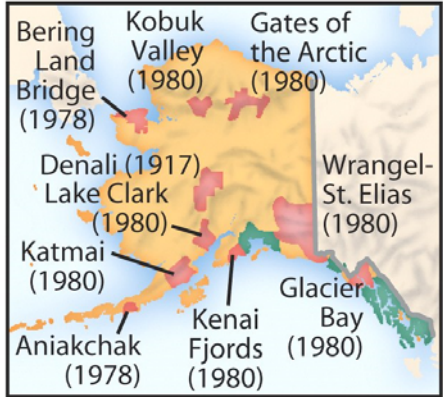
Earth Control

- Newlands Act of 1902
 - Federal government authorized to collect money from sale of public lands in West to fund irrigation projects
 - Settlers paid federal government back by using the soil that was now useful, thanks to irrigation
 - Money paid back to government put into a fund to pay for more such projects
 - Dozens of dams, including Roosevelt Dam (on Arizona's Salt River in 1911) built in next few decades

Earth Control

- Roosevelt saving the forests
 - 1900 - only about 1/4 of US's forests were still standing
 - Most of the forests in the east (Maine to Michigan) were gone
 - Lumber companies moving into West
 - Set aside 125 million acres, 3 times what his predecessors had done
 - Also set aside millions of acres of coal and water resources

The Growth of National Parks and Forests



Earth Control

- Roosevelt's actions supported by public increasingly concerned with environment
 - Frontier seen as source of national character
 - Believed too much civilization might not be good for America's soul
 - Call of the Wild by Jack London, the Boy Scouts, and the Sierra Club all sprung up around this time, symbols of increased concern with environment



A Practical Forester

A PRACTICAL FORESTER

(A subject that had attention all through Mr. Roosevelt's Presidency.)

From the *Pioneer Press* (St. Paul)

Earth Control

- 1913 - Hetch Hetchy Valley controversy
 - Federal government allowed San Francisco to build dam for its water supply in Yosemite National Park
 - Exposed conflict between conservationists
 - Some, like naturalist John Muir, wanted to preserve nature unspoiled by people
 - Others, like Gifford Pinchot (and Roosevelt) believed nature should be used wisely, but used

Hetch Hetchy Valley, Before and After



Earth Control

- Policy of “multiple-use resource management” developed by forest employers of the federal government
 - Combined recreation, sustained-yield logging, watershed [an area or region drained by a river, river system, or other body of water] protection, and grazing on same land

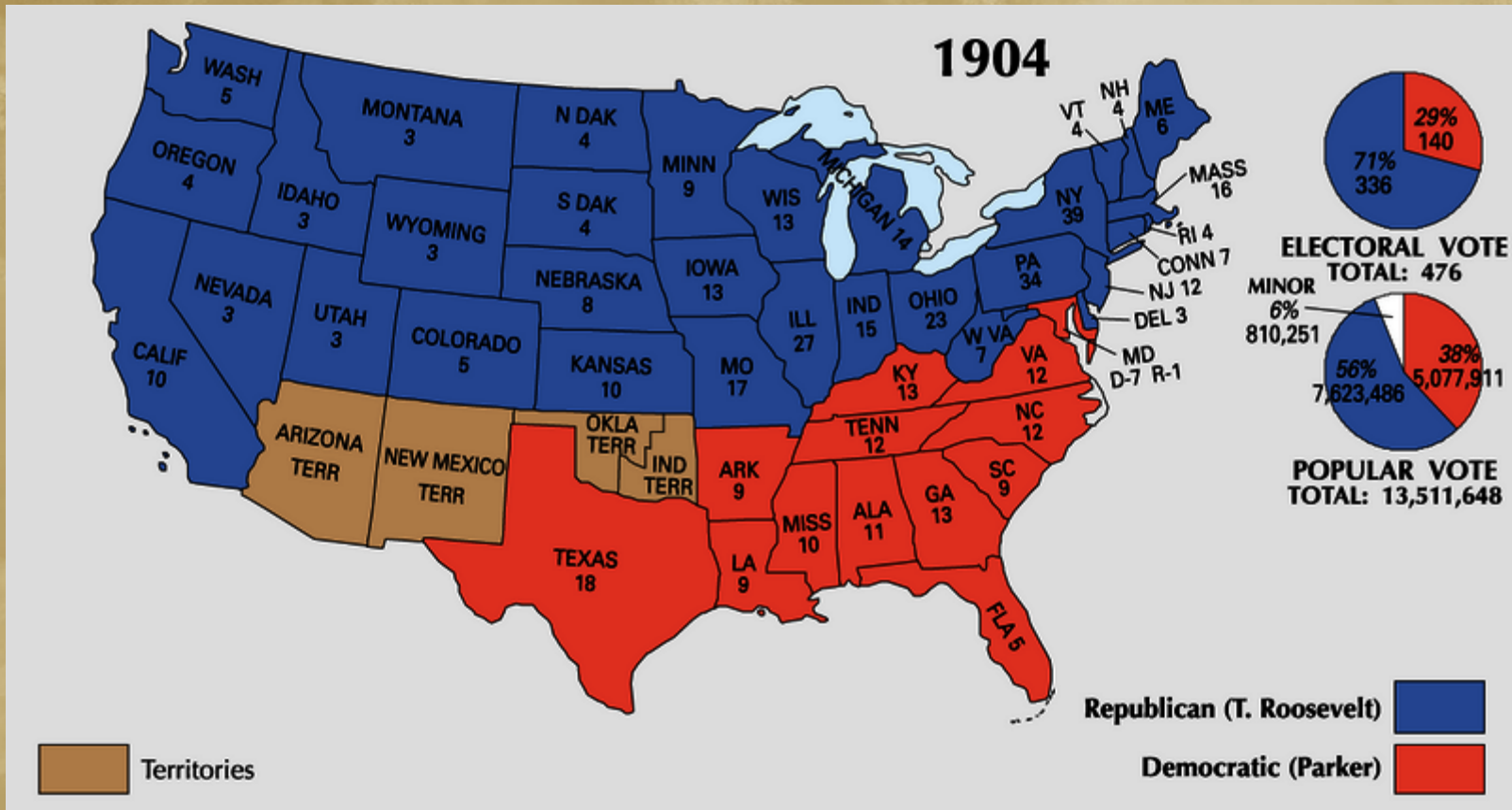
Earth Control

- At first, westerners resisted new regulation
- Soon, large ranches and lumber companies learned to take advantage of federal regulation
 - Used regulation to drive out small ranchers and lumbermen

The “Roosevelt Panic” of 1907

- Roosevelt easily reelected in 1904
 - Called more strongly for Progressive measures
 - Taxing income, protecting income, regulating corporations
 - Conservative Republican bosses believed he was dangerous
 - Announced he would not run for a 3rd term in 1908 during 1904 election
 - Move he would later regret

The Election of 1904



The “Roosevelt Panic” of 1907

- 1907 - short panic hit Wall Street
 - Included runs on banks, suicides, and criminal proceedings against speculators
 - Roosevelt blamed by business leaders for the crash
 - Roosevelt himself blamed the business leaders for engineering the crash

The “Roosevelt Panic” of 1907

- Panic of 1907 led to important currency reforms
 - Banks and others with money unable or unwilling to increase amount of money in circulation during panic
 - Aldrich-Vreeland Act (1908)
 - Authorized national banks to issue currency backed by collateral
 - Eventually led to Federal Reserve Act (1913)



Uncle Sam's Need of an Elastic Currency, 1908

UNCLE SAM'S NEED OF AN ELASTIC CURRENCY

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT: "You see, those galluses ought to have rubber in them, so that when Uncle Sam stoops to move the sheaf there won't be much strain on the buttons."

From the *Pioneer Press* (St. Paul)

The Rough Rider Thunders Out

- Roosevelt could have easily won the nomination and election in 1908
 - However, because of his impulsive promise in 1904, he decided not to run

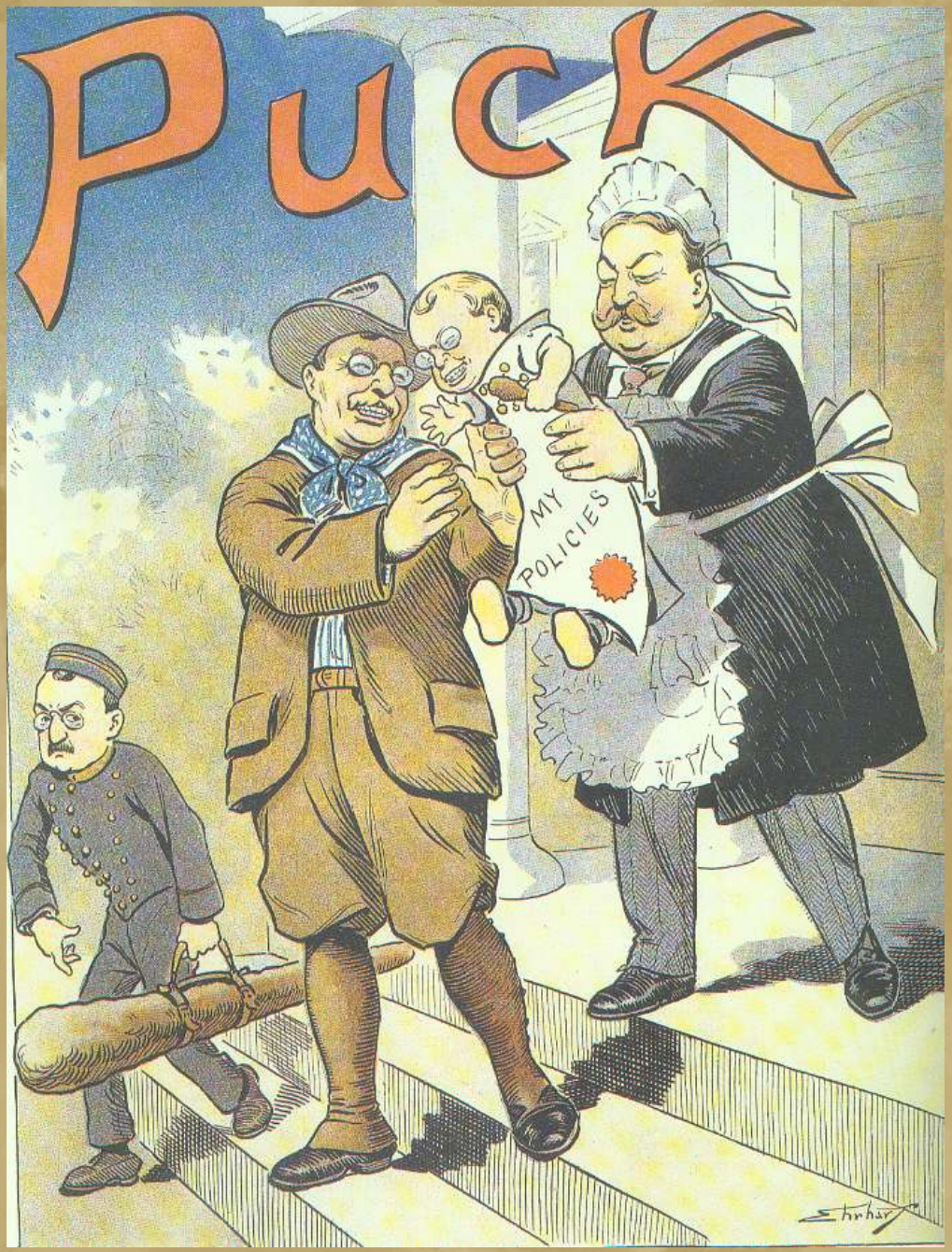
The Rough Rider Thunders Out

- Roosevelt decided that his secretary of war William Howard Taft would be his successor
 - Taft was chosen because Roosevelt felt would carry out “my policies”
 - Roosevelt used his power and control of the Republican party to push Taft’s nomination through

*William
Howard Taft*



*Roosevelt
Hands “My
Policies” Off
to Taft*



The Rough Rider Thunders Out

- Meanwhile, the Democrats nominated William Jennings Bryan, who had already been defeated twice for the presidency (1896 and 1900)

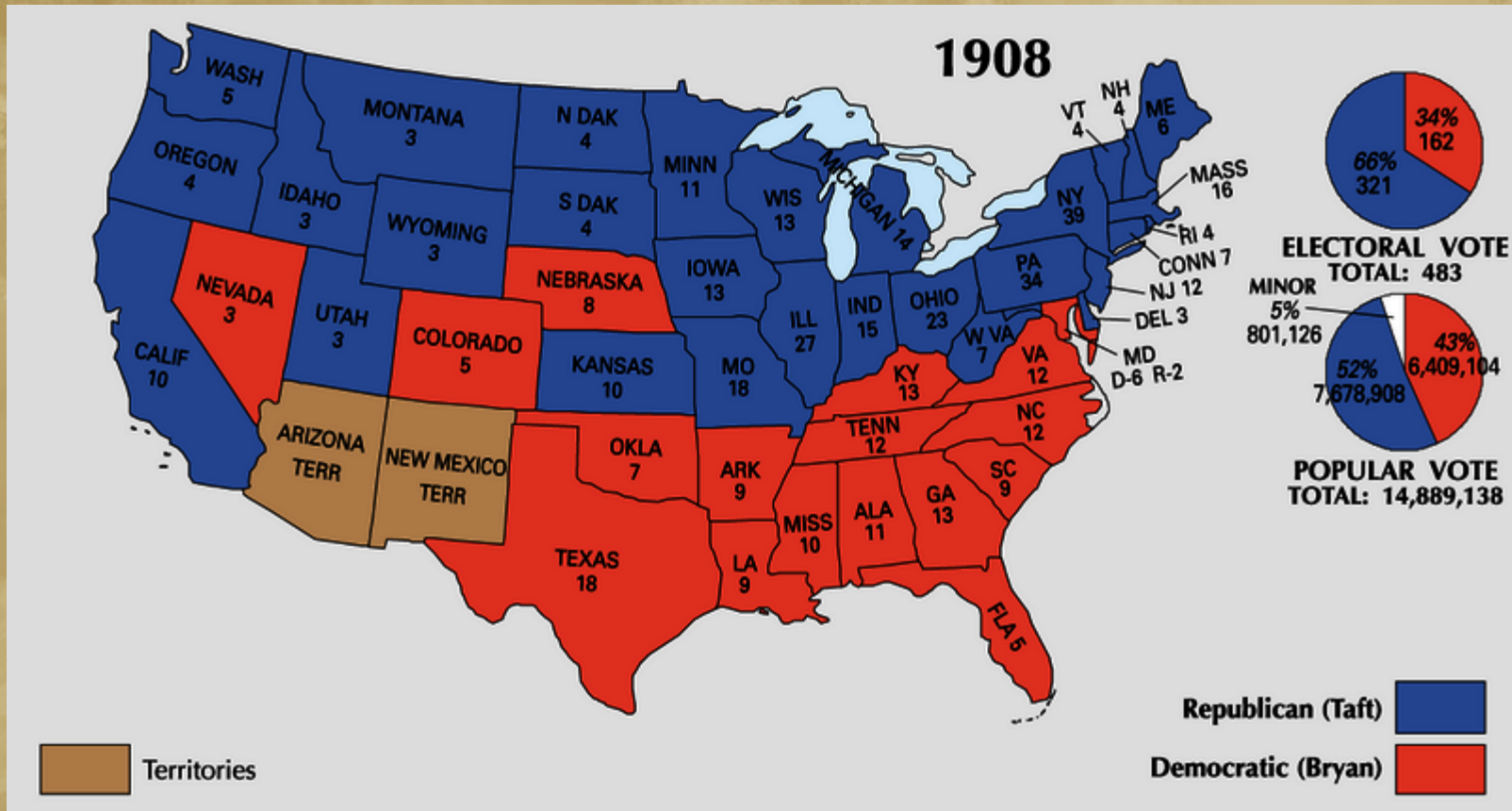
The Rough Rider Thunders Out

- The election of 1908: the campaign
 - Was relatively dull and unexciting
 - Both candidates attempted to portray themselves as the true Progressive heirs of Roosevelt

The Rough Rider Thunders Out

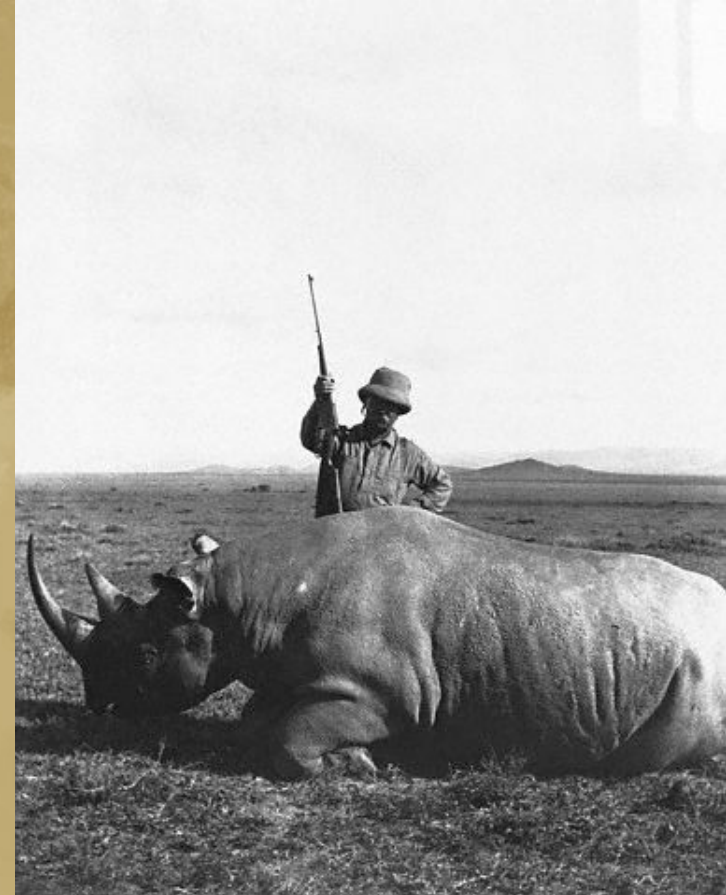
- The election of 1908: the results
 - Voters chose Taft and stability
 - Taft won with 321 to 162 electoral votes and 7.6 million to 6.4 million popular votes
 - The big surprise was the strong showing of socialist Eugene V. Debs (leader of the Pullman Strike in 1894) who got 420,000 votes

The Election of 1908



The Rough Rider Thunders Out

- After the election, Roosevelt went on a hunting trip in Africa, bursting with energy at age 51



The Rough Rider Thunders Out

- Assessing Roosevelt
 - His enemies branded him as a wild-eyed radical
 - In truth, his reputation as a fighter of large trusts is inflated
 - Although he did fight trusts and get laws passed, he used these things to get publicity and popularity, out of proportion to the importance of his actions

The Rough Rider Thunders Out

- Roosevelt chose the middle road
 - In acting to soften the worst abuses of capitalism, he effectively preserved capitalism and allowed the system to flourish
 - He acted to head off popular outrage and rebellion which might lead to “ominous” socialism
 - In his most important and lasting contribution - preservation of natural resources - he chose the middle road between preservationists who wanted to keep nature pristine and unused, and greedy men who wanted to rape the land of all its resources

The Rough Rider Thunders Out

- Other important achievements of Roosevelt
 - He greatly enlarged the power and prestige of the presidential office
 - Further, he masterfully used the power of publicity (the “bully pulpit”) to get his way
 - He helped guide the progressive movement and later liberal reforms
 - His Square Deal was the forerunner of the later New Deal, launched by Franklin Roosevelt
 - Roosevelt opened Americans’ eyes to the fact that they shared the world with other countries
 - As a great power, the US now had responsibilities and ambitions that could not be escaped

The Bully Pulpit



Taft: A Round Peg in a Square Hole

- At first Taft was popular and inspired confidence
 - He had been a trusted administrator for Roosevelt in the Philippines, at home, and in Cuba
 - He had a strong record as a lawyer and judge, although he was seen as somewhat hostile to labor

Taft: A Round Peg in a Square Hole

- Taft's weaknesses soon became apparent
 - Roosevelt had led a Republican party that was divided between its conservative wing and the progressive wing through the strength of his personality
 - In contrast, Taft did not have Roosevelt's strong political leadership skills or his love of a good fight
 - Taft did not like fighting or controversy and became passive when dealing with Congress
 - Taft was not a good judge of public opinion and frequently misspoke in public
 - Taft was much too conservative to make the Progressives in his party happy

The Dollar Goes Abroad as a Diplomat

- Taft's plan for foreign policy replaced Roosevelt's "big stick" policy with "dollar diplomacy"
 - US investors would pour money into areas of strategic concern for the US - especially the Far East and Latin America around the Panama Canal
 - US investors would thereby block out rival investors from foreign countries while bringing profit back to themselves and the US

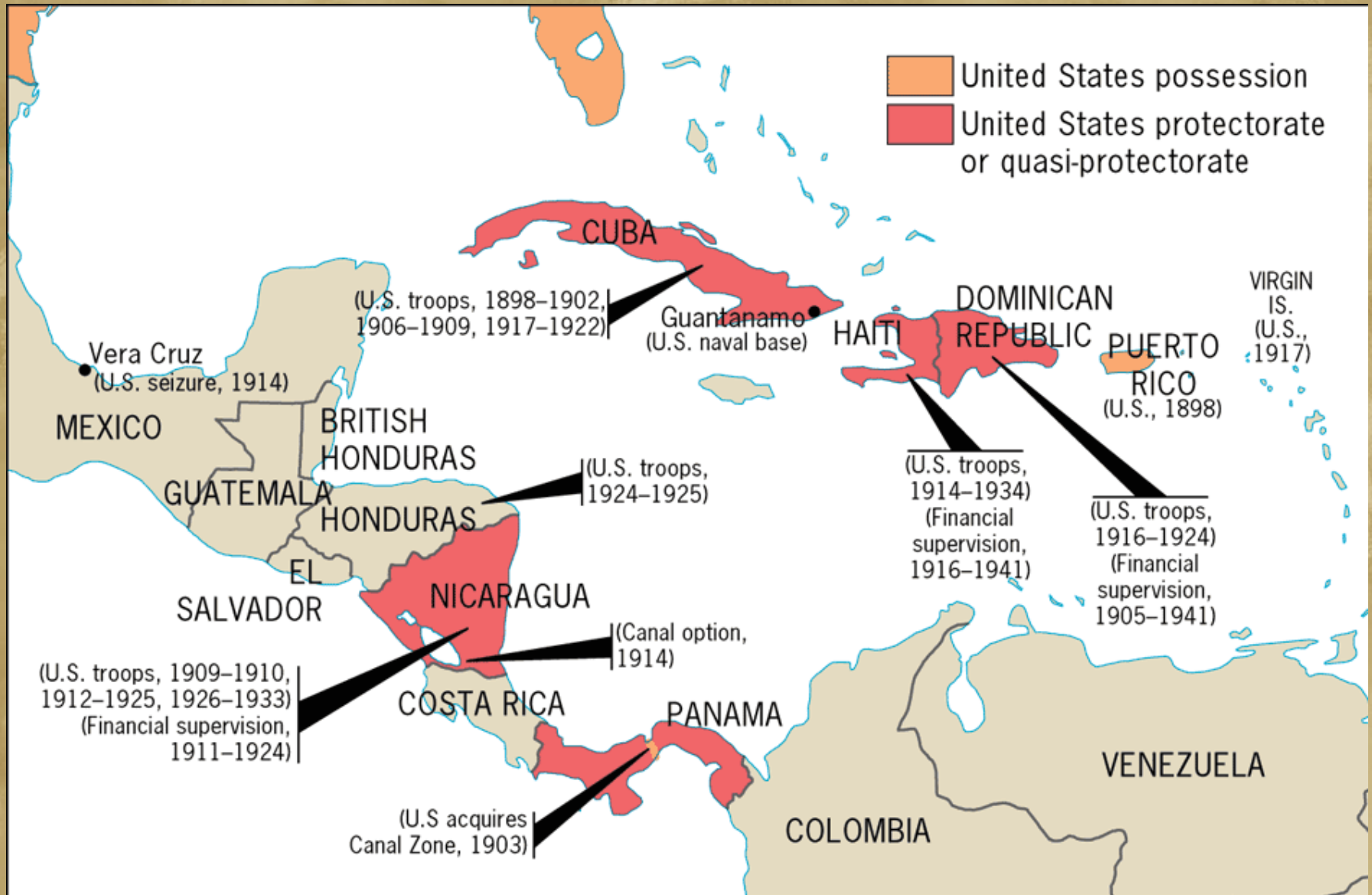
The Dollar Goes Abroad as a Diplomat

- Dollar diplomacy in Manchuria
 - Taft doesn't like the fact that Russia and Japan control the railroads in Manchuria (a province of northern China)
 - These 2 countries might use their economic and shipping power to subvert the Open Door policy and prevent trade between China and US merchants
 - Secretary of State Knox proposed that a group of US and foreign bankers buy up the Manchurian railroads and then sell them to China
 - Japan and Russia reject the proposal; Taft is ridiculed

The Dollar Goes Abroad as a Diplomat

- Dollar diplomacy in Latin America
 - Because of the Monroe Doctrine, the US refused to allow European investment in Latin America
 - Taft urged US investors to pump money into Latin America to keep out foreign funds
 - To protect these investments, US forces were frequently used to put down disturbances and revolutions
 - For example, in 1912 a force of 2,500 US marines landed in Nicaragua to put down a revolution, and stayed 13 years

The United States in the Caribbean



Taft the Trustbuster

- Although Roosevelt had the reputation as the “trustbuster”, Taft busted many more trusts
 - Roosevelt took action against 44 trusts in 7 1/2 years in office, while Taft took action against 90 trusts in only 4 years in office
 - The most important rulings regarding trusts came in 1911, toward the end of Taft’s term

Taft the Trustbuster

- 1911 - the Supreme Court ordered the breakup of Standard Oil Company because it was held to violate the 1890 Sherman Antitrust Act
 - In this ruling, the court handed down its “rule of reason” which held that only combinations that “unreasonably” restrained trade were illegal; this rule greatly weakened the government’s strength against other trusts

Taft the Trustbuster

- 1911 - Taft decided to sue the US Steel Corporation for antitrust violations
 - Roosevelt was personally angry over this decision, because as president he had been involved in the approval of the merger of US Steel
 - Taft's attempt to break up US Steel failed, but the move set up a rupture within the Republican Party and between Taft and Roosevelt

Taft Splits the Republican Party

- The progressive wing of the Republican party had wanted to reduce the high protective tariff (which they called the “Mother of Trusts” because of its protections for big business)

Taft Splits the Republican Party

- At first, the progressives believed that Taft was on their side on the tariff issue
 - March 1909 - Taft called a special session of Congress to reduce tariffs
 - The House passed a bill that moderately reduced tariffs, but some far-right (reactionary) senators, pushed through hundred of provisions that increased the tariff, leaving a bill that only reduced tariff levels on few unimportant items
 - This bill - the Payne-Aldrich Bill - was signed by Taft; he even called it “the best bill that the Republican party ever passed”
 - Taft’s signing of the bill was seen as a betrayal of the progressives in the Republican party

Taft Splits the Republican Party

- Taft was a strong supporter of conservation; his contributions at least equaled those of Roosevelt
 - Established the Bureau of Mines to control mineral resources
 - Rescued millions of acres of coal land from exploitation
 - Protected water-power sites from development

Taft Splits the Republican Party

- Taft's many conservation accomplishments were erased in the public's mind by the Ballinger-Pinchot affair (1910)
 - Secretary of the Interior Ballinger opened public lands in Wyoming, Montana, Alaska to corporate development
 - Gifford Pinchot, chief of the Agricultural Department's Division of Forestry, sharply criticized Ballinger for this
 - Taft decided to fire Pinchot on the weak grounds of insubordination, leading to a storm of protest from conservationists and Roosevelt's many supporters and a growing divide between Taft and Roosevelt

Taft Splits the Republican Party

- By the spring of 1910, the Republican party was split because of Taft's political clumsiness
 - The progressive wing of the Republican party was now openly hostile to Taft
 - Taft was pushed into an alliance with the conservative (“Old Guard”) wing of the Republican party

Taft Splits the Republican Party

- In June 1910, Roosevelt returned from Africa and, unable to keep silent, began to criticize Taft
 - At a speech in Osawatomie, Kansas, he outlined his plan for “New Nationalism” - the national government should increase its power to fix economic and social abuses

Taft Makes a Mess



Originals: Joseph Keppler's 1910 cartoon for Puck.

Taft Splits the Republican Party

- The Democrats win the Congress in the midterm elections of 1910 in a landslide
 - Democrats now had 228 seats to the Republicans' 161; before the election, Republicans had controlled Congress
 - The Republicans kept control of the Senate (51 to 41 seats) but their hold on the Senate was weak

The Taft-Roosevelt Rupture

- In early 1911, the National Progressive Republican League was formed
 - Senator Robert La Follette of Wisconsin was its leading candidate for president
 - They assumed Roosevelt would not run, in order to not violate the no-third-term tradition and his 1904 promise

The Taft-Roosevelt Rupture

- February 1912 - Roosevelt, angry with Taft for his alliance with the Republican Old Guard and apparent rejection of Progressivism (“my policies”), decided he was willing to accept the Republican nomination
 - He reasoned that the third-term tradition applied to 3 *consecutive elective* terms
 - “My hat is in the ring!”

Roosevelt the Take-Back Giver



Roosevelt the Take-Back Giver (Knecht in the Evansville [Indiana] Courier.)

The Taft-Roosevelt Rupture

- Roosevelt's campaign for the Republican nomination
 - Pushed aside a protesting La Follette
 - Charged that Taft had allied himself with right-wing conservative bosses
 - Taft, although he “means well, he means well feebly [weakly]”
 - Taft replied that Roosevelt's supporters were “emotionalists and neurotics”

The Taft-Roosevelt Rupture

- The Republican convention in June 1912 at Chicago
 - Roosevelt was about 100 delegates short of winning the nomination but he challenged the right of some of Taft's 250 delegates to be seated
 - Most of the disputes were settled in favor of Taft, mainly because his supporters controlled the convention
 - Roosevelt and his supporters charged that Taft had stolen the nomination and refused to support Taft; instead, Roosevelt got ready for a run for president in a third party

Old “Friends” Taft and Roosevelt



FOR AULD LANG SYNE.

UNCLE SAM (philosophically watching the Taft-Roosevelt scrap). "WAL! I GUESS OLD FRIENDS ARE THE BEST!"

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