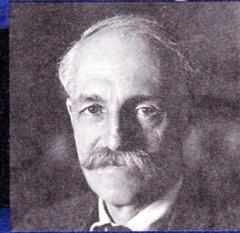
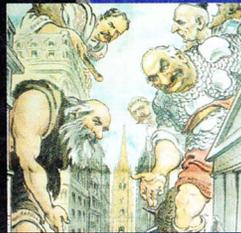


## There's More Online!

- ✓ BIOGRAPHY Upton Sinclair
- ✓ BIOGRAPHY Gifford Pinchot
- ✓ VIDEO Roosevelt and Taft
- ✓ INTERACTIVE SELF-CHECK QUIZ



## LESSON 2

## Roosevelt and Taft

ESSENTIAL QUESTION • Can politics fix social problems?

## Reading HELPDESK



## Academic Vocabulary

- regulate
- environmental

## Content Vocabulary

- **Social Darwinism**
- **arbitration**
- **insubordination**

## TAKING NOTES:

## Key Ideas and Details

**Outlining** As you read about the Roosevelt and Taft administrations, use the headings from the lesson to create an Outlining similar to the one below.

## Roosevelt and Taft

- I. Roosevelt Revives the Presidency
  - A.
  - B.
  - C.
- II.

## IT MATTERS BECAUSE

*Energetic and strong-willed, Theodore Roosevelt extended the federal government's ability to conserve natural resources and to curb the power of big business. His successor, William Howard Taft, was less popular with progressives.*

## Roosevelt Revives the Presidency

**GUIDING QUESTION** How much do you think a president's personal beliefs should shape national policy?

Theodore Roosevelt became president at age 42—the youngest person ever to take the office. In international affairs, he believed in **Social Darwinism**, which held that nations were in competition and only the strongest would survive. Domestically, however, he was a committed progressive. He believed that government should balance the needs of competing groups in American society on behalf of the public interest. His reform programs soon became known as the Square Deal.

## Roosevelt Takes on the Trusts

Roosevelt thought that trusts and other large business organizations were efficient and part of the reason for the prosperity of the United States. Yet he also felt that the monopoly power of some trusts hurt the public interest. He wanted to ensure that trusts did not abuse their power.

His first target was J. P. Morgan's railroad holding company, Northern Securities. The company planned an exchange of stock that would merge existing railroad systems, creating a monopoly on railroad traffic in the Northwest. Farmers and business owners feared that without railroad competition, shipping rates would rise and reduce their profits. In 1902 Roosevelt ordered the attorney general to sue Northern Securities under the Sherman Antitrust Act. The suit charged Northern Securities with restraint of trade.

Wealthy, powerful businessmen, including John D. Rockefeller (top right) and J. P. Morgan (right), tower over Theodore Roosevelt, who stands on Wall Street, carrying a sword labeled “Public Service.”

- 1 Analyzing** What do the giants in the political cartoon represent?
- 2 Making Inferences** What point does the cartoon make by picturing Roosevelt as tiny in relation to the giants?



### Social Darwinism

a philosophy, based on Charles Darwin's theories of evolution and natural selection, stating that humans have developed through competition and natural selection with only the strongest surviving

The suit puzzled J. P. Morgan, who asked what could be done to fix the problem. Unmoved, Roosevelt proceeded with the case. In 1904, in *Northern Securities v. United States*, the Supreme Court ruled that Morgan's firm had violated the Sherman Antitrust Act. Roosevelt was hailed as a “trustbuster,” and his popularity with the public grew.

### The Coal Strike of 1902

As president, Roosevelt believed that it was his job to keep society operating efficiently by helping settle conflicts between different groups and their interests. In the fall of 1902, he put this belief into practice. He worked to help resolve a coal strike between mine owners and nearly 150,000 members of the United Mine Workers (UMW). The UMW wanted increased pay, reduced hours, and union recognition. If the strike had dragged on, the nation would have faced a coal shortage that could have shut down factories and left many homes unheated.

Roosevelt urged the UMW and the mine owners to accept **arbitration**—a settlement negotiated by an outside party. The union agreed to arbitration. The mine owners refused, however, until Roosevelt threatened to order the army to run the mines. By intervening in the dispute, he took the first step toward establishing the federal government as an honest broker between powerful groups in society.

### Regulating Big Business

Despite his lawsuit against Northern Securities and his role in the coal strike, Roosevelt believed that most trusts benefited the economy. He held that breaking up the trusts would do more harm than good. Instead, he proposed to create a federal agency to investigate corporations and publicize the findings. Roosevelt believed the most effective way to prevent big business from abusing its power was to keep the public informed.

In 1903 Roosevelt convinced Congress to create the Department of Commerce and Labor. The following year, this department began investigating U.S. Steel, a gigantic holding company that had been created

**arbitration** settling a dispute by agreeing to accept the decision of an impartial outsider

**regulate** to control or direct with rules

**environmental** relating to the environment; the complex system of plants, animals, water, and soil

in 1901. Worried about a possible antitrust lawsuit, the company's leaders met privately with Roosevelt. They offered to open their files for examination. In exchange, the Department of Commerce and Labor would privately tell the company about any problems and allow them to fix the problems quietly. Roosevelt accepted this "gentlemen's agreement," as he called it, and soon made similar deals with other companies. These deals gave him the ability to **regulate** big business without having to sacrifice economic efficiency by breaking up the trusts.

In keeping with his belief in regulation, Roosevelt pushed the Hepburn Act through Congress in 1906. The act was intended to strengthen the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) by giving it the power to set railroad rates. At first, railroad companies were suspicious of the ICC. However, the railroads eventually realized they could work with the commission to set rates and regulations that limited competition and prevented new competitors from entering the industry. By 1920, the ICC had begun setting rates at levels intended to ensure the industry's profits.

By 1905, consumer protection had become a national issue. Journalists and others reported on questionable and potentially dangerous practices of the manufacturers of patent medicines. They revealed that many of these medicines contained unknown ingredients and that the manufacturers made unproven health claims. For similar reasons, food preparation businesses came under scrutiny. In 1906 Upton Sinclair published a novel, *The Jungle*, based on his close observations of the slaughterhouses of Chicago. The appalling conditions in the meatpacking industry, as described by Sinclair, enraged consumers. The government responded by passing the Meat Inspection Act and the Pure Food and Drug Act on the same day in 1906. It helped businesses by enlarging consumer confidence in their products.

### READING PROGRESS CHECK

**Analyzing** What were Theodore Roosevelt's beliefs about big business, and how did he act on those beliefs during the early 1900s?

## Conservation

**GUIDING QUESTION** *Why did President Roosevelt support conservation?*

Of all his progressive actions, Roosevelt may be best remembered for his efforts in the area of **environmental** conservation. Roosevelt realized that the nation's bountiful natural resources were being used up at an alarming rate. He urged Americans to conserve those resources.

Roosevelt was an enthusiastic outdoorsman, and he valued the country's minerals, animals, and rugged terrain. He cautioned against unregulated use of public lands and argued that conservation should be the guiding principle in managing the United States's natural resources.

In his 1907 annual message to Congress, Roosevelt said: "[T]o waste, to destroy our natural resources, to skin and exhaust the land instead of using it so as to increase its usefulness, will result in undermining in the days of our children the very prosperity which we ought by right to hand down to them amplified and developed."

### Western Land Development

Roosevelt quickly applied his philosophy in the dry Western states, where farmers and city dwellers competed for scarce water. In 1902 Roosevelt supported passage of the Newlands Reclamation Act.

### Upton Sinclair on the Meatpacking Industry

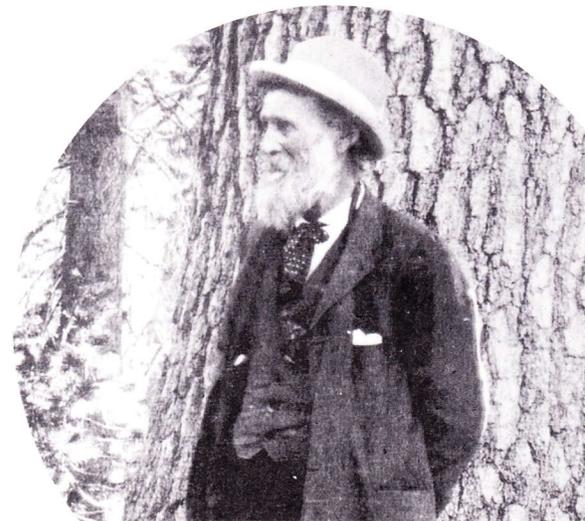
“[T]here would come all the way back from Europe old sausage that had been rejected, and that was [moldy] and white—it would be dosed with borax and glycerine, and dumped into the hoppers, and made over again for home consumption. . . . There would be meat stored in great piles in rooms; and the water from leaky roofs would drip over it, and thousands of rats would race about [upon] it.”

—from *The Jungle*, 1906

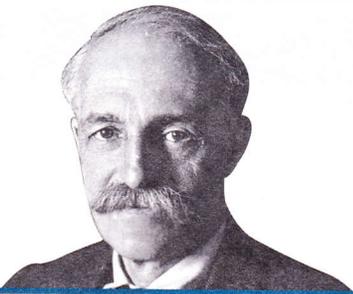
### DBQ DRAWING CONCLUSIONS

Based on this excerpt, how would you describe the attitude of slaughterhouse owners in Sinclair's time?

American naturalist John Muir looks out over Yosemite. Muir believed in preserving wilderness areas and successfully lobbied for the creation of Yosemite National Park.



## BIOGRAPHY



### Gifford Pinchot (1865–1946)

Connecticut native Gifford Pinchot studied forestry at schools in Europe before becoming head of the U.S. Forest Service. As head, he helped develop the forest service system and was influential in the conservation movement, which he enthusiastically supported. He advocated wise use of natural resources and their stewardship by the federal government, believing that business would not sufficiently protect America's natural resources.

#### ► CRITICAL THINKING

**Making Generalizations** How might Pinchot's study of forestry have helped him in his work with the U.S. Forest Service?

This act authorized the use of federal funds from public land sales to pay for irrigation and land development projects. The federal government thus began transforming the West's landscape and economy on a large scale.

### Gifford Pinchot

Roosevelt also backed efforts to save the nation's forests. He supported careful management of the timber resources of the West. He appointed his close friend Gifford Pinchot to head the United States Forest Service, established in 1905.

As progressives, Roosevelt and Pinchot both believed that trained experts in forestry and resource management should manage the nation's forests. These professional managers would apply the same scientific standards to the landscape that others were applying to managing cities and industry. Roosevelt and Pinchot rejected the laissez-faire argument that the best way to preserve public land was to sell it to lumber companies, who would carefully conserve it because it was the source of their profits. With the president's support, Pinchot's department drew up regulations to control lumbering on federal lands. Roosevelt also added more than 100 million acres to the protected national forests and established five new national parks and 51 federal wildlife reservations.

### Roosevelt's Legacy

President Theodore Roosevelt changed the role of the federal government and the nature of the presidency. He used his power in the White House to present his views, calling it his "bully pulpit." Increasingly, Americans began looking to the federal government to solve the nation's economic and social problems.

Under Roosevelt, the power of the executive branch of government had dramatically increased. The Interstate Commerce Commission, through the Hepburn Act, could set rates. The Department of Commerce and Labor could monitor business. And the attorney general could rapidly bring antitrust lawsuits under the Expedition Act. In addition, Roosevelt's concern for the environment and for protection of the wild areas of the United States helped develop a national parks system that preceded the establishment of the National Park Service in 1916.

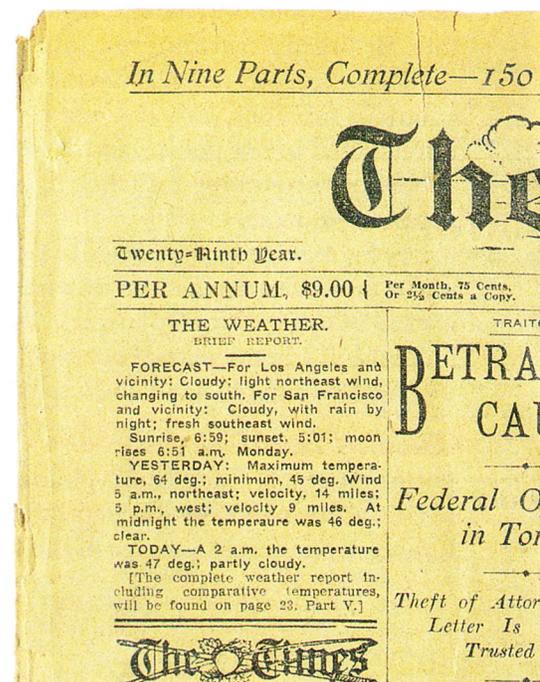
#### ✓ READING PROGRESS CHECK

**Examining** What were President Roosevelt's views on conservation, and how did he act on those views?

## Taft's Reforms

**GUIDING QUESTION** How did President Taft's beliefs differ from the progressives' beliefs?

Roosevelt believed William Howard Taft, his secretary of war, was the ideal person to continue his policies. Taft easily secured the Republican nomination and won the election of 1908. The Democratic candidate, William Jennings Bryan, lost for a third time.



## The Payne-Aldrich Tariff

Like many progressives, Taft believed high tariffs limited competition, hurt consumers, and protected trusts. Roosevelt had warned him to stay away from tariff reform because it would divide the Republican Party.

Nevertheless, Taft called Congress into special session to lower tariff rates. The tariff debate did, indeed, divide the Republican Party into two groups: the progressives, who favored tariff reduction, and conservative Republicans, who wanted to maintain high tariffs. As negotiations dragged on, Taft's support for tariff reductions waned. Finally, he signed into law the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, which hardly cut tariffs at all and actually raised them on some goods.

Progressives felt outraged by Taft's decision. "I knew the fire had gone out of [the progressive movement]," recalled Gifford Pinchot, after Roosevelt left office. "Its leader was gone, and in his place [was] a man whose fundamental desire was to keep out of trouble."

## Ballinger Versus Pinchot

In 1909 Taft further angered progressives by replacing Roosevelt's secretary of the interior, James R. Garfield, with Richard A. Ballinger. Garfield was an aggressive conservationist; Ballinger was a conservative corporate lawyer. Once in office, Ballinger tried to open nearly a million acres of public lands to private development. Ballinger expressed his disgust with the "excitement" for conservation:

### PRIMARY SOURCE

“[M]any people have been led to believe that conservation holds the secret of our National well-being. The demagogue, the fanatic, the sentimentalist, the faddist are crusading under the banner of conservation mainly because it is popular, and holds the attention of the hour.”

—quoted in the *New York Times*, August 13, 1910

Gifford Pinchot accused Ballinger of planning to give valuable public lands in Alaska to a private business group for his own profit. Taft's attorney general investigated the charges and decided they were unfounded. Not satisfied, Pinchot went to the press and asked Congress to investigate. Taft fired Pinchot for **insubordination**, or disobedience to authority. The congressional investigation cleared Ballinger.

### insubordination

disobedience to authority

This page from the *Los Angeles Times*, January 9, 1910, highlights the controversy between progressive Gifford Pinchot and Taft's secretary of the interior, Richard Ballinger. Pinchot leaked a story to the press alleging that Ballinger turned over public lands for personal profit.

### CRITICAL THINKING

**Determining Cause and Effect** Why do you think Pinchot made accusations against Ballinger?

PHOTO: Picture Research Consultants & Archives

Part I—Telegraph Sheet—12 Pages

LOS ANGELES

MINIMUM TEMPERATURES: LOS ANGELES, 45; Boston, 20; New York, 18; Washington, 16; Pittsburgh, 8; Cincinnati, 8; Chicago, 18; Kansas City, 26; St. Paul, —4; Jacksonville, 36.

SUNDAY MORNING, JANUARY 9, 1910.

On All News Stands, Trains and Streets. 15 CENTS.

BELLIGERENT.

**PINCHOT DEFIANT.**

Urges Friends to Fight.

Tells Former Subordinates That Battle Has Just Begun.

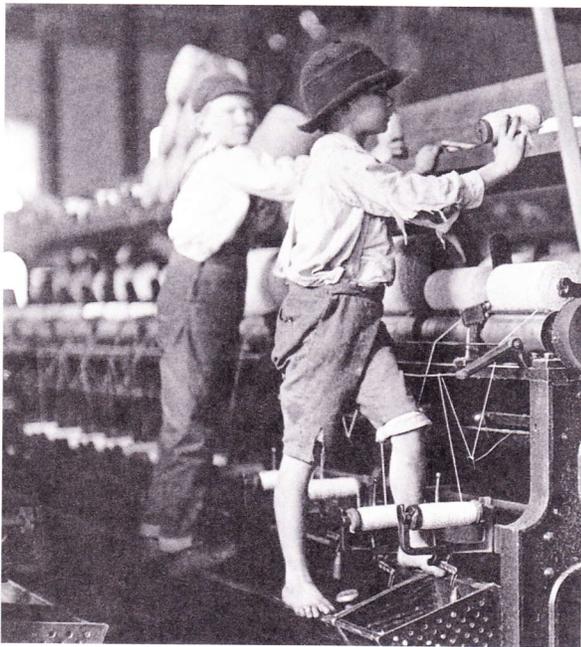
THE MAN WHO STARTED ALL THE RUMPUS.

BRITAIN BOILING.

**PRESS IS ABLAZE.**

British Election Hot test in History.

Despite Invective Margin Between Victory and Defeat Is Narrow.



At a Georgia cotton mill in 1909, two boys keep a spinning machine running by repairing broken thread and replacing bobbins as they are filled.

**► CRITICAL THINKING**

**Predicting Consequences** What might happen if one of these boys slips?

By the second half of Taft's term of office, many Americans had come to believe that he had betrayed the Square Deal. Popular indignation was so great that the congressional elections of 1910 resulted in a sweeping Democratic victory. Democrats took the majority in the House, and Democrats and progressive Republicans gained control of the Senate from conservative Republicans.

**Taft's Achievements**

Despite his political problems, Taft also had several successes. Although Roosevelt was nicknamed the "trustbuster," Taft actually brought twice as many antitrust cases in four years as his predecessor had in seven. In other areas, Taft also pursued progressive policies. In 1912 he established the Children's Bureau. This agency investigated and publicized the problems of child labor. The agency still exists today, and deals with issues such as child abuse prevention, adoption, and foster care.

The Ballinger-Pinchot controversy aside, Taft was a dedicated conservationist, and his achievements in this area equal or surpass those of Roosevelt. In 1910 Taft set up the Bureau of Mines to monitor the activities of mining companies, expand national forests, and protect waterpower sites from private development. The bureau helped make possible many new technologies in the field of mining.

After Taft took office in 1909, Roosevelt left the country for a long voyage to Africa and Europe. He did not return to the United States until June 1910. Although disturbed by stories of Taft's "betrayal" of his progressivism, Roosevelt refused to criticize the president. He soon became impatient. In 1907, while president, Roosevelt had approved the purchase of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company by U.S. Steel. In October 1911, Taft declared that the deal violated the Sherman Antitrust Act. Roosevelt believed Taft's focus on breaking up trusts was destroying the system of cooperation and regulation that he had set up with big business. In November 1911, Roosevelt publicly criticized Taft for this decision.

After Roosevelt broke with Taft, it was only a matter of time before progressives convinced Roosevelt to reenter politics. In late February 1912, Roosevelt announced he would enter the presidential campaign of 1912 and attempt to replace Taft as the Republican nominee for president.

**✓ READING PROGRESS CHECK**

**Evaluating** Which of Taft's actions most harmed his standing among progressives?

**LESSON 2 REVIEW**



**Reviewing Vocabulary**

**1. Explaining** Why did President Taft fire Gifford Pinchot for insubordination?

**Using Your Notes**

**2. Identifying** Use your notes to identify ways in which Taft helped conservation efforts and child labor problems.

**Answering the Guiding Questions**

**3. Evaluating** How much do you think a president's personal beliefs should shape national policy?

**4. Analyzing** Why did President Roosevelt support conservation?

**5. Examining** How did President Taft's beliefs differ from the progressives' beliefs?

**Writing Activity**

**6. ARGUMENT** Who did more to support the conservation of natural resources: President Roosevelt or President Taft? Write an essay in which you express your opinion and support it with specific examples.