them up. Instead, he favored vigorous government regulation of business, in effect, government control of it. He favored government empowerment of labor unions and their regulation as well. Generally, Roosevelt favored the establishment of commissions, such as the Interstate Commerce Commission, to accomplish the regulation.[15]

By contrast, Woodrow Wilson was much more intent upon breaking what he conceived to be the power of the "trusts." His analysis convinced him that the "trusts" were not a natural growth so much as a product of government nurture. The traditional arguments of Democrats against the protective tariffs could be rung in to support this view. He pointed out, too, that the corporation derives its powers "wholly . . . from legislation."[16] He proposed to remove government supports, where appropriate, the use of government power to break them up, in many instances, and to prevent by law the development of industrial giants.

The legislation of the Progressive years bore earmarks of both these strains of thought. Before discussing that, however, it may be well to emphasize that both Roosevelt and Wilson believed in a strong and innovative presidency. In his earliest studies, Wilson had described the potentialities of presidential power, and Roosevelt demonstrated how it could become actuality by his energetic involvement in all sorts of things. They initiated and developed the idea of presidential candidates developing full-fledged programs, giving them a name, and campaigning on the basis of them—what I have elsewhere characterized as "Four-Year Plans."[17] Roosevelt weighed in with the first program under the rubric of a Square Deal. For the campaign in 1912 he came up with the New Nationalism. Wilson followed suit by dubbing his program the New Freedom. Since that time, such program names have been devices used mostly by Democrats.

Regulatory Measures

In the main, the reform legislation of the Roosevelt-Taft years (1901–1913) falls into the regulatory pattern. Much of it had to do with increasing the power and sway of the Interstate Commerce Commission. (The Commission was established in the 1880s, but it was granted little power, and the courts tended to restrain it even further.) In 1903, the Elkins Act provided statutory penalties for railroad officials who gave rebates and defined and prohibited discrimination between railroads. The Hepburn Act of 1906 empowered the ICC to set maximum rail rates and prescribe uniform accounting procedures. It expanded the jurisdiction of the ICC and gave to its decisions binding authority subject to court review. The Mann-Elkins Act of 1910 extended the authority of the ICC to telephone and telegraph facilities and further expanded its powers. The whole scheme of railroad regulation was finally rounded out by the Transportation Act of 1920, which gave the ICC the most comprehensive control over the railroads that had ever been devised for privately owned companies.

Progressive legislation moved into other areas during these years, too. In 1903, a Department of Commerce and Labor was established. It had within it a Bureau of Corporations which was empowered to investigate corporate behavior, a first step toward control. An Expedition Act was passed in the same year, giving the Attorney General authority to place anti-trust suits at the head of court dockets. A Pure Food and Drug Act was passed in 1906 which put the Federal government in the business of regulating these. On the same day, a Meat Inspection Act was passed. The Aldrich-Vreeland Act of 1908 turned out to be a forerunner of the Federal Reserve, since it authorized the issuance of currency on the basis of commercial paper and government bonds. The act also established a National Monetary Commission, whose eventual report pointed hesitantly toward the setting up of a central banking system. In the same year, a National Conservation Commission was established for the purpose of cataloging the natural resources within the United States. The Mann Act of 1910 put the Federal government into the business of regulating morals by prohibiting the transportation of females across state lines for immoral purposes. And, a Postal Savings bank was established in the same year, bringing into being a system sought by the Populists first in 1892.

Constitutional Amendment

Four amendments to the Constitution can be attributed to the Progressive impulse. Two were passed by Congress and sent to the states for consideration during Taft's presidency. The 16th Amendment, whose ratification was completed in 1913, made taxes on incomes legal and has been used as the basis for the graduated income tax on individuals and corporations, though there is no specific grant of power to do so contained in it, or elsewhere in the Constitution. At any rate, the stage was now set for a direct assault by government upon the accumulation of wealth.

The 17th Amendment was a more indirect slap at wealth. It provided for the direct election of Senators. The charge had been repeatedly made that the Senate was a rich man's club, and claims were made that since Senators were elected by state legislatures wealth could eas-