

The Progressive Era 1890–1920

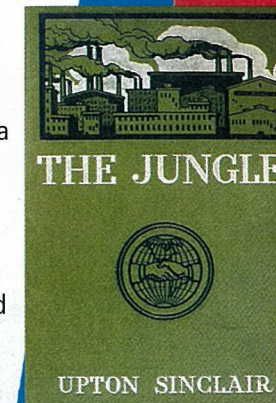


WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

Slum Sisters

In 1865, Methodist minister William Booth opened a street-corner mission in the slums of London. This was the beginning of the Salvation Army. By 1889, the Salvation Army had taken root in New York City. The Army sent pairs of women, known as 'slum sisters,' to visit tenement dwellers. Carrying mops and buckets along with religious pamphlets, these volunteers scrubbed floors, cooked meals, and cared for the sick. As cities grew and industry boomed, the slum sisters of the Salvation Army were just a few of the reformers who dedicated themselves to the needs of the poorest of the poor. *Listen to the Witness History audio to hear more about efforts to help the poor.*

◀ The Salvation Army delivers baskets of food to the poor in New York City on Christmas day.



The Jungle exposed the abuses of the meatpacking industry



1912 Progressive Party presidential campaign button

Chapter Preview

Chapter Focus Question: What were the causes and effects of the Progressive Movement?

Section 1

The Drive for Reform

Section 2

Women Make Progress

Section 3


The Struggle Against Discrimination

Section 4

Roosevelt's Square Deal

Section 5

Wilson's New Freedom

Use the  **Quick Study Timeline** at the end of this chapter to preview chapter events.



Women's suffrage statuette

Note Taking Study Guide Online

For: Note Taking and American Issues Connector
Web Code: nee-0401



▲ These boys toiled in a West Virginia coal mine.

WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

Children in the Coal Mines

Progressive reformers were appalled by the child labor that was common in coal mines, textile mills, and other industries. John Spargo, a union organizer and socialist, sadly described the terrible conditions endured by boys working in the coal mines.

“The coal is hard, and accidents to the hands, such as cut, broken, or crushed fingers, are common among the boys. Sometimes there is a worse accident: a terrified shriek is heard, and a boy is mangled and torn in the machinery, or disappears in the chute to be picked out later smothered and dead. Clouds of dust fill the breakers and are inhaled by the boys, laying the foundations for asthma and miners’ consumption.”

—John Spargo, *The Bitter Cry of the Children*, 1906

The Drive for Reform

Objectives

- Identify the causes of Progressivism and compare it to Populism.
- Analyze the role that journalists played in the Progressive Movement.
- Evaluate some of the social reforms that Progressives tackled.
- Explain what Progressives hoped to achieve through political reforms.

Terms and People

Progressivism	Jane Addams
muckraker	direct primary
Lincoln Steffens	initiative
Jacob Riis	referendum
Social Gospel	recall
settlement house	

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Details Fill in a chart like this one with details about Progressivism.

Progressivism		
Problems	Muckrakers	Reforms
• Industrial hazards	• Exposed conditions	• Factory laws
•	•	•

Why It Matters Industrialization, urbanization, and immigration brought many benefits to America, but they also produced challenging social problems. In response, a movement called **Progressivism** emerged in the 1890s. Progressives believed that new ideas and honest, efficient government could bring about social justice. Progressive ideas brought lasting reforms that still affect society today.

Section Focus Question: What areas did Progressives think were in need of the greatest reform?

Origins of Progressivism

The people who made up the Progressive Movement came from many walks of life. They came from all political parties, social classes, ethnic groups, and religions. Many Progressive leaders emerged from the growing middle class, whose power and influence was rapidly spreading. Dissatisfied industrial workers also joined the Progressive Movement. So did a few wealthy Americans driven by a desire to act for the good of society.

Progressives Share Common Beliefs What the Progressives shared in common was a belief that industrialization and urbanization had created troubling social and political problems. Progressives wanted to bring about reforms that would correct these problems and injustices. They encouraged their state legislatures and the federal government to enact laws to address the issues faced by the poor. Progressives wanted to use logic and reason to make society work in a more efficient and orderly way. Many, motivated by religious faith, sought social justice.

Progressivism was similar to the Populist Movement of the late 1800s. Both were reform movements that wanted to get rid of corrupt government officials and make government more responsive to people’s needs. Both sought to eliminate the abuses of big business. Still, the two movements differed. At the forefront of Progressivism were middle-class people. They believed that highly educated leaders should use modern ideas and scientific techniques to improve society. Leaders of the Populist Movement, on the other hand, consisted mostly of farmers and workers.

Progressives Target a Variety of Problems Some Progressives thought that political reform was the most urgent need. For many women, the number one goal was winning the right to vote. Other Progressives considered honest government to be the most important goal. Reformers targeted city officials who built corrupt organizations, called political machines. The bosses of these political machines used bribery and violence to influence voters and win elections. They counted on the loyalty of city workers who looked the other way when they took public money for themselves. Bosses also helped people solve personal problems, which often kept voters loyal.

Corrupt and ineffective government combined with the booming growth of cities produced other problems. The people living in America’s crowded cities needed paved streets, safe drinking water, decent housing, and adequate municipal services. The lack of adequate services led to wretched living conditions for the urban poor. Too often, dishonest business owners and politicians controlled municipal services. Bribes and shady deals made them rich while conditions for urban residents remained unsafe and little changed.

While some Progressives focused on government, others were worried about big business. As you have learned, wealthy industrialists took over businesses and built huge trusts that limited competition and raised prices. Middle-class Progressives wanted the government to “bust the trusts” and so create more economic opportunities for smaller businesses. Progressives complained that the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 was inadequate and ineffective in limiting the abuses of big business.

Other Progressive reformers, often motivated by their religious faith, sought to reduce the growing gap between the wealthy and the poor. Progressives attacked the harsh conditions endured by miners, factory workers, and other laborers. They wanted better conditions for poor people living in city slums. They wanted social welfare laws to help children, as well as government regulations to aid workers and consumers.

Checkpoint What problems did Progressive reformers hope to solve?



THE SHARP METHOD.—IT WORKS WITH ANY BOARD OF ALDERMEN.

Analyzing Political Cartoons

Business and Government Corruption In the 1880s, Jacob Sharp expanded his streetcar business by bribing New York City aldermen and other government officials.

1. What symbols represent the corruption of city government?
2. According to the cartoonist, what is the effect of the street railroad monopoly on the taxpayer?

Muckrakers Reveal the Need for Reform

Socially conscious journalists and other writers dramatized the need for reform. Their sensational investigative reports uncovered a wide range of ills afflicting America in the early 1900s. Even though Theodore Roosevelt agreed with much of what they said, he called these writers **muckrakers** because he thought them too fascinated with the ugliest side of things. (A muckrake is a tool used to clean manure and hay out of animals' stables.) The writers were angry at first but in time took up Roosevelt's taunting name as a badge of honor. The muckrakers' articles appeared in magazines and newspapers that entered millions of American homes. People across the nation were horrified by the conditions that were revealed to them.

Journalists Uncover Injustices One leading muckraker was **Lincoln Steffens**, managing editor at *McClure's*, a magazine known for uncovering social problems. In 1903, Steffens published *The Shame of the Cities*, a collection of articles on political corruption. His reports exposed how the government of Philadelphia let utility companies charge their customers excessively high fees. He showed how corrupt politicians won elections by bribing and threatening voters, and revealed how political corruption affected all aspects of life in a city.

Primary Source "The visitor [to St. Louis] is told of the wealth of the residents, of the financial strength of the banks, and of the growing importance of the industries; yet he sees poorly paved, refuse-burdened streets, and dusty or mud-covered alleys; he passes a ramshackle firetrap crowded with the sick and learns that it is the City Hospital. . . . Finally, he turns a tap in the hotel to see liquid mud flow into [the] wash basin or bathtub."

—Lincoln Steffens and Claude Wetmore, "Corruption and Reform in St. Louis," *McClure's Magazine*, October 1902

INFOGRAPHIC

EXPOSING HOW THE OTHER HALF LIVES

"Long ago it was said that 'one half of the world does not know how the other half lives.' . . . It did not know because it did not care." Jacob Riis, believing that the "poor were the victims rather than the makers of their fate," used images and words to make the public confront the conditions of New York City's tenement slums.

Riis's 1890 book ▼

▲ A horse lies dead in a New York City street as

Another influential muckraker was **Jacob Riis**, a photographer for the *New York Evening Sun*. Riis turned his camera on the crowded, unsafe, rat-infested tenement buildings where the urban poor lived. Between 1890 and 1903, he published several works, including *How the Other Half Lives* (see Infographic below), that shocked the nation's conscience and led to reforms.

Other outraged writers joined Riis and Steffens. In *The History of Standard Oil*, Ida Tarbell reported that John D. Rockefeller used ruthless methods to ruin his competitors, charge higher prices, and thereby reap huge profits. Others proclaimed the need to improve schools or warned of the breakdown of family life because mothers had to work long hours in factories. John Spargo focused attention on the dangerous and difficult lives of child workers. (See the Witness History at the beginning of this section.)

Novelists Defend the Downtrodden Fiction writers put a human face on social problems. They developed a new genre—the naturalist novel—that honestly portrayed human misery and the struggles of common people. Theodore Dreiser, a midwesterner raised in poverty, published *Sister Carrie* in 1900. His provocative novel traces the fate of a small-town girl drawn into the brutal urban worlds of Chicago and New York.

Naturalist novels became very popular. Frank Norris's *The Octopus* fascinated readers by dramatizing the Southern Pacific Railroad's stranglehold on struggling California farmers. In *The Jungle*, Upton Sinclair related the despair of immigrants working in Chicago's stockyards and revealed the unsanitary conditions in the industry. (See an excerpt from the novel at the end of this section.) African American author Frances Ellen Watkins portrayed some of the struggles of black Americans in her 1892 novel *Iola Leroy*.

✓ **Checkpoint** What role did journalists and other writers play in the Progressive Movement?

WITNESS HISTORY DVD

Watch *The Jungle: A View of Industrial America on the United States Witness History DVD* to learn more about city life in the industrial age.

Discovery
EDUCATION



▲ A New York City cobbler prepares for the Jewish Sabbath Eve dinner in a Ludlow Street coal cellar.

▼ Adults and children sew knee-pants in a New York tenement, many of which served as both homes and workshops.

"[F]rom earliest dawn until mind and muscle give out together," people toiled unprotected by the laws governing factory work.

Thinking Critically

Analyze Visuals What do Riis's images reveal about the conditions of city slums?

History Interactive★

For: A look at tenement life
Web Code: nep-0403

Progressives Reform Society

The work of the muckrakers increased popular support for Progressivism and helped the Progressives bring about reforms. Progressive activists promoted laws to improve living conditions, public health, and schools. They urged government to regulate businesses. They believed that careful social planning would make American life better.

The Social Gospel Guides Reform Efforts Many reformers, like Walter Rauschenbusch, thought that Christianity should be the basis of social reform. A child of German immigrants, Rauschenbusch had become a Baptist minister. He blended ideas from German socialism and American Progressivism into a plan for building a better society. His book *Christianity and the Social Crisis* outlined what he called the **Social Gospel**. By following the Bible's teachings about charity and justice, he explained, people could make society "the kingdom of God."

Many Protestant leaders followed Rauschenbusch's program. They began to urge the end of child labor and a shorter workweek. They also pushed for the federal government to limit the power of corporations and trusts.

Settlement House Workers Aid the Urban Poor An important goal of many Progressives was to improve the lives of poor people in the cities. One approach was the **settlement house**, a community center that provided social services to the urban poor. Settlement house workers gave mothers classes in child care and taught English to immigrants. They ran nursery schools and kindergartens. They also provided theater, art, and dance programs for adults.

A young woman named **Jane Addams** became a leading figure in the settlement house movement. After graduating from college, she pursued several different ideas for careers. On a trip to Europe in 1888, however, she was inspired by the work at Toynbee Hall, a "settlement house" in London. In 1889, Addams opened Hull House, a settlement house in Chicago. Over the years, Hull House grew to include 13 buildings and won much praise. Its success inspired other college-educated, middle-class women to become social workers. By 1911, the country had more than four hundred settlement houses.

The 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire

Victims of the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire lie at the feet of a police officer as he looks up at the deadly blaze. How did the fire help or hurt Progressives' efforts to reform workplace conditions?



Protecting Children and Improving Education Progressives also tried to help children. Leading the effort was a lawyer named Florence Kelley. Kelley helped convince the state of Illinois to ban child labor, and other states soon passed similar laws. In 1902, Kelley helped form the National Child Labor Committee, which successfully lobbied the federal government to create the U.S. Children's Bureau in 1912. This new agency examined any issue that affected the health and welfare of children. The agency still works to protect children today.

But progress in children's rights had a long way to go. In 1916, Congress passed the Keating-Owens Act, which banned child labor. However, two years later, the Supreme Court ruled the law unconstitutional. It was not until 1938 that Congress would end child labor for good.

Progressives also tried to better children's lives by improving education. A number of states passed laws that required children to attend school until a certain age. However, there were heated debates about what children should learn and how they should learn. Some argued that they should be taught only work skills. Others said they should learn to appreciate literature and music. Most educators agreed that girls should learn different things from boys.

Educator John Dewey criticized American schools for teaching children to memorize facts but not to think creatively. Dewey wanted schools to teach new subjects such as history and geography, as well as practical skills like cooking and carpentry. His ideas were not adopted at once, but in later years, many states put them into effect.

Progressives Help Industrial Workers In the early 1900s, the United States had the highest rate of industrial accidents in the world. Long hours, poor ventilation, hazardous fumes, and unsafe machinery threatened not only workers' health but also their lives. Each year some thirty thousand workers died on the job, while another half a million were injured.

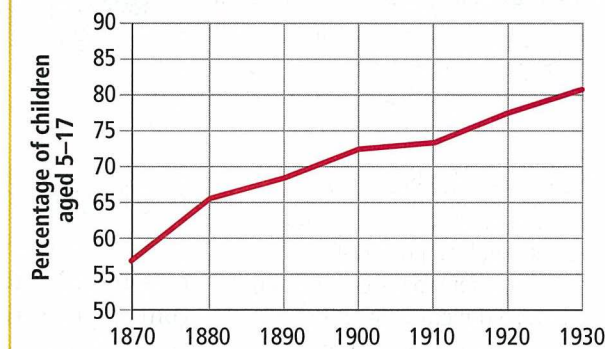
In March 1911, a fire at the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory in New York City shocked Americans and focused attention on the need to protect workers. Workers in the factory had little chance to escape the raging fire because managers had locked most of the exits. The fire killed 146 workers, most of them young Jewish women. Many jumped from the windows in desperation. Inside the smoldering ruins, firefighters found many more victims, "skeletons bending over sewing machines."

After the blaze, outraged Progressives intensified their calls for reform. New York passed laws to make workplaces safer, and other cities and states followed suit. Many states also adopted workers' compensation laws, which set up funds to pay workers who were hurt on the job.

Progressives also persuaded some states to pass laws limiting the workday to 10 hours. However, their efforts suffered a blow in 1905 when the Supreme Court ruled in *Lochner v. New York* that such laws were unconstitutional.

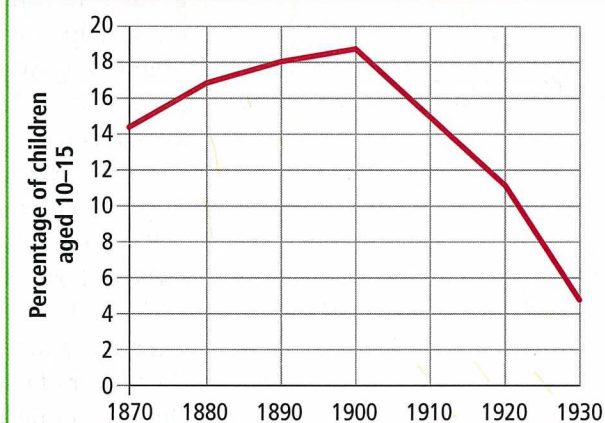
Checkpoint How did Progressives work to help the urban poor?

Children Enrolled in Public School, 1870–1930



SOURCE: Historical Statistics of the United States

Children Employed, 1870–1930



SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau

Graph Skills During the Progressive Era, child labor declined sharply while school enrollment increased. According to the graphs, how did the percentage of children employed change from 1890 to 1920? How did school enrollment change during the same period?



Post-Hurricane Reforms in Galveston

- Galveston adopts a new commission form of government that spreads to other reform-minded cities.
- New city government builds a 17-foot-high seawall as protection against future storms.
- City government uses landfill to raise low-lying neighborhoods above sea level.

Devastated Galveston

After the coastal city of Galveston, Texas, was hit by a powerful hurricane, it adopted the commission form of government to lead the rebuilding effort. *What features would a city government need to handle a reconstruction job of the scale seen here?*

Reforming Government

Progressive reformers realized that they needed to reform the political process in order to reform society. They would have to free government from the control of political bosses and powerful business interests. They wanted to give people more control over their government and make government more effective and efficient in serving the public.

Reformers Improve City Government Just as the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire spurred reformers to action, so did another disaster. In 1900, a massive hurricane left the city of Galveston, Texas, in ruins. The greatest national calamity in American history, the hurricane killed more than 8,000 people. As an emergency measure, Galveston replaced its mayor and board of aldermen with a five-person commission. The commission form of government proved very efficient as the city carried out a tremendous rebuilding effort. The following year, Galveston decided to permanently adopt the commission form of government.

Known as the Galveston plan, many other cities decided to take up the commission form of government. By 1918, nearly 500 cities had adopted some form of the Galveston plan. Dayton, Ohio, and other cities modified the plan by adding a city manager to head the commission. The new city governments curbed the power of bosses and their political machines. The reform governments purchased public utilities so that electric, gas, and water companies could not charge city residents unfairly high rates.

Progressives Reform Election Rules Progressives also pushed for election reforms, taking up some Populist ideas. Traditionally, it was the party leaders who picked candidates for state and local offices. But in Wisconsin, reform governor Robert M. La Follette established a **direct primary**, an election in which citizens themselves vote to select nominees for upcoming elections. By 1916, all but four states had direct primaries.

Progressives also wanted to make sure that elected officials would follow citizens' wishes. To achieve this goal, they worked for three other political reforms: the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. The **initiative** gave people the power to put a proposed new law directly on the ballot in the next election by collecting citizens' signatures on a petition. This meant that voters themselves could pass laws instead of waiting for elected officials to act. The **referendum** allowed citizens to approve or reject laws passed by a legislature. The **recall** gave voters the power to remove public servants from office before their terms ended.

Progressives won yet another political reform: They adopted the Populist call for the direct election of senators by voters, not state legislators. That reform became law in 1913 when the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution was approved.

Progressive Governors Take Charge *Dynamic* Progressives became the leaders of several states, and chief among them was Robert La Follette of Wisconsin. Elected governor in 1900, "Fighting Bob" won the passage of many reform laws. Under his leadership, the Wisconsin state government forced railroads to charge lower fees and pay higher taxes. La Follette helped his state to improve education, make factories safer, and adopt the direct primary. Progressives called Wisconsin the "laboratory of democracy."

Hiram Johnson, governor of California, shattered the Southern Pacific Railroad's stranglehold on state government. He put in place the direct primary, initiative, referendum, and recall. He also pushed for another goal of some Progressives—planning for the careful use of natural resources such as water, forests, and wildlife.

Other Progressive governors included Theodore Roosevelt of New York and Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey. Roosevelt worked to develop a fair system for hiring state workers and made some corporations pay taxes. Wilson reduced the railroads' power and pushed for a direct primary law. Both Roosevelt and Wilson later became President and brought reforms to the White House.

Checkpoint How did Progressive reformers change local and state governments?

Vocabulary Builder
dynamic—(dī NAM ihk) *adj.*
energetic; relating to change or productive activity

SECTION 1 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-0402

Comprehension

- 1. Terms** Explain how each of the following terms is an example of a social or political reform.
 - settlement house
 - direct primary
 - initiative
 - referendum
 - recall

- 2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: Identify Details** Use your flowchart to answer the Section Focus Question: What areas did Progressives think were in need of the greatest reform?

Writing About History

- 3. Quick Write: Compare and Contrast Points of View** In a narrative essay, you may compare and contrast points of view on an issue through the opinions of various individuals. Compare and contrast Social Darwinism with Social Gospel through the personalities of William Graham Sumner, Billy Sunday, and Dwight L. Moody. Use library or Internet resources to complete this assignment.

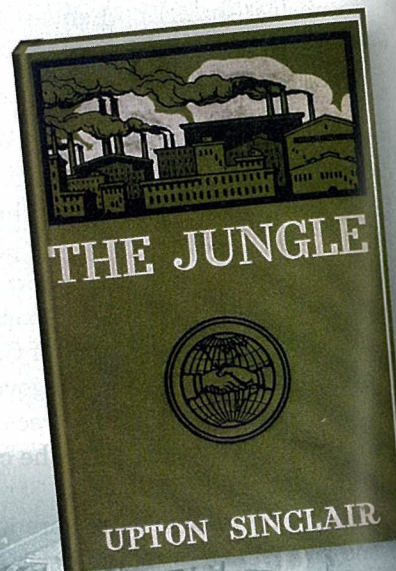
Critical Thinking

- 4. Recognize Cause and Effect** What problems did muckrakers expose and what effects did their work have on Progressive reform?
- 5. Summarize** Describe Walter Rauschenbusch's ideas about Social Gospel and the Progressive Movement.
- 6. Identify Points of View** Which groups in American society might have opposed Progressive reform? Explain.

The Jungle by Upton Sinclair

When Upton Sinclair published *The Jungle* in 1906, he meant to open America's eyes to the plight of workers in the filthy, dangerous Chicago stockyards. Instead, popular outrage focused on the wider-reaching threat of spoiled meat. Congress quickly passed the nation's first legislation regulating the meat, food, and drug industries. Sinclair, disappointed by his failure to provoke more sympathy for the overworked, underpaid workers, noted "I aimed at the public's heart, and by accident I hit it in the stomach."

There was never the least attention paid to what was cut up for sausage. . . . There would be meat that had tumbled out on the floor, in the dirt and sawdust, where the workers had tramped and spit uncounted billions of consumption [tuberculosis] germs. 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 on it. It was too dark in these storage places to see well, but a man could run his hand over these piles of meat and sweep off handfuls of the dried dung of rats. These rats were nuisances, and the packers would put poisoned bread out for them; they would die, and then rats, bread, and meat would go into the hoppers together. This is no fairy story and no joke; the meat would be shoveled into carts, and the man who did the shoveling would not trouble to lift out a rat even when he saw one—there were things that went into the sausage in comparison with which a poisoned rat was a tidbit. There was no place for the men to wash their hands before they ate their dinner, and so they made a practice of washing them in the water that was to be ladled into the sausage. There were the butt-ends of smoked meat, and the scraps of corned beef, and all the odds and ends of the waste of the plants, that would be dumped into old barrels in the cellar and left there. Under the system of rigid economy which the packers enforced, there were some jobs that it only paid to do once in a long time, and among these was the cleaning out of the waste barrels. Every spring they did it; and in the barrels would be dirt and rust and old nails and stale water—and cartload after cartload of it would be taken up and dumped into the hoppers with fresh meat, and sent out to the public's breakfast.



Thinking Critically

- Analyze Literature** Describe the author's style in this excerpt.
- Evaluate Literature** How does Sinclair's way of writing boost his credibility?

SECTION

2



◀ A woman working at a Pittsburgh cigar factory in 1909

WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

Women at Work

As the Progressive Movement wore on, many reformers took up causes that affected women. Although women spearheaded a number of Progressive reforms, they did not have the right to vote in national elections. In workplaces like the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory, women endured the awful conditions described by one worker:

"It was a world of greed; the human being didn't mean anything. The hours were from 7:30 in the morning to 6:30 at night when it wasn't busy. When the season was on we worked until 9:00. No overtime pay, not even supper money. . . . When you were told Saturday afternoon, through a sign on the elevator, 'If you don't come in on Sunday, you needn't come in on Monday,' what choice did you have? You had no choice."

—Pauline Newman, organizer of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union

▲ A week's wages—only \$1.50!

Women Make Progress

Objectives

- Analyze the impact of changes in women's education on women's roles in society.
- Explain what women did to win workers' rights and to improve family life.
- Evaluate the tactics women used to win passage of the Nineteenth Amendment.

Terms and People

Florence Kelley	suffrage
NCL	Carrie Chapman Catt
temperance movement	NAWSA
Margaret Sanger	Alice Paul
Ida B. Wells	Nineteenth Amendment

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas As you read this section, complete an outline like the one below to capture the main ideas.

- | |
|-------------------------|
| I. Women Expand Reforms |
| A. Hardships for women |
| 1. |
| 2. |
| B. |

Why It Matters

In the early 1900s, a growing number of women were no longer content to have a limited role in society. Women activists helped bring about Progressive reforms and won the right to vote. In the years ahead, women would continue the struggle to expand their roles and rights. **Section Focus Question:** How did women of the Progressive Era make progress and win the right to vote?

Progressive Women Expand Reforms

In the early 1900s, a growing number of women wanted to do more than fulfill their roles as wives and mothers. They were ready to move beyond raising children, cooking meals, keeping the home tidy, and caring for family members. They wanted to expand their role in the community.

Education helped women achieve their goals. By the 1890s, a growing number of women's colleges prepared them for careers as teachers or nurses. Some, such as Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania and the School of Social Work in New York, trained them to lead the new organizations working for social reform. Armed with education and modern ideas, many middle-class white women began to tackle problems they saw in society.

Working Women Face Hardships For most women, however, working outside the home meant difficult jobs, with long hours and dangerous conditions. And these women were usually expected to

hand over their wages to their husbands, fathers, or brothers. Many women labored in factories that made cigars or clothing. Others toiled as laundresses or servants. Immigrants, African Americans, and women from rural areas filled these jobs, and most of them had little or no education. As a result, they could easily be cheated or bullied by their employers. Without being able to vote, women had little influence on the politicians who could expand their rights and look after their interests.

Reformers Champion Working Women's Rights A key goal of women reformers was to limit the number of work hours. They succeeded in several states. For example, a 1903 Oregon law capped women's workdays at ten hours. Five years later, in *Muller v. Oregon*, the Supreme Court reviewed that law. Lawyer Louis D. Brandeis argued that long working hours harmed working women and their families.

The Supreme Court agreed with Brandeis. Based on their role as mothers, it said, women could be "properly placed in a class" by themselves. As a result, laws could limit their work hours, even if similar laws would not be allowed for men. At the time, Progressives viewed this decision as a victory for women workers. In later years, however, this ruling was used to justify paying women less than men for the same job.

Florence Kelley believed that women were hurt by the unfair prices of goods they had to buy to run their homes. In 1899, she helped found the **National Consumers League (NCL)**, which is still active today. The NCL gave special labels to "goods produced under fair, safe, and healthy working conditions" and urged women to buy them and avoid products that did not have these labels. The NCL pushed for other reforms as well. It backed laws calling for the government to inspect meatpacking plants, to make workplaces safer, and to make payments to the unemployed.

Florence Kelley also helped form the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), another group that tried to improve conditions for female factory workers. It was one of the few groups in which upper-class and working-class women served together as leaders. The WTUL pushed for federal laws that set a minimum wage and an eight-hour workday. It also created the first workers' strike fund, which could be used to help support families who refused to work in unsafe or unfair conditions.

Women Work for Changes in Family Life A main goal of Progressive women was to improve family life. They pushed for laws that could help mothers keep families healthy and safe. One focus of this effort was the **temperance movement** led by the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). This group promoted temperance, the practice of never drinking alcohol. Members felt that alcohol often led men to spend their earnings on liquor, neglect their families, and abuse their wives. Formed in the 1870s, the WCTU gained strength during the Progressive Era. Their work led to the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, which outlawed the production and sale of alcohol.

Nurse **Margaret Sanger** thought that family life and women's health would improve if mothers had fewer children. In 1916, Sanger, herself one of 11 children, opened the country's first birth-control clinic. Sanger was jailed several times as a "public nuisance." But federal courts eventually said doctors could give out information about family planning. In 1921, Sanger founded the American Birth Control League to make this information available to more women.

African American women also worked for social change. In 1896, **Ida B. Wells**, a black teacher, helped form the National Association of Colored Women (NACW). The group aimed to help families strive for success and to assist those who were less fortunate. With money raised from educated black women, the NACW set up day-care centers to protect and educate black children while their parents went to work.

✓ **Checkpoint** What steps did women take to win workers' rights?

Women Fight for the Right to Vote

One of the boldest goals of Progressive women was **suffrage**—the right to vote. They argued that this was the only way to make sure that the government would protect children, foster education, and support family life. As Jane Addams explained, women needed the vote because political issues reached inside people's homes.

Primary Source

"If the street is not cleaned by the city authorities no amount of private sweeping will keep the tenement free from grime; if the garbage is not properly collected and destroyed a tenement-house mother may see her children sicken and die of diseases from which she alone is powerless to shield them, although her tenderness and devotion are unbounded. She cannot even secure untainted meat for her household, . . . unless the meat has been inspected by city officials."

—Jane Addams, *Ladies Home Journal*, 1910

Since the 1860s, reformers such as Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton had tirelessly struggled for the right for women to have a voice in political issues. They failed at the federal level, but by the end of the 1890s women in western states, such as Wyoming and Colorado, had won the right to vote.

Catt Takes Charge of the Movement In the 1890s, the national suffrage effort was reenergized by **Carrie Chapman Catt**. Catt had studied law and worked as one of the country's first female school superintendents. A captivating speaker, Catt traveled around the country urging women to join the **National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA)**. In 1900, she became the president of the NAWSA. Catt promoted what became known as her "winning plan," which called for action on two fronts. Some teams of women lobbied Congress to pass a constitutional amendment giving women the right to vote. Meanwhile, other teams used the new referendum process to try to pass state suffrage laws. By 1918, this **strategy** had helped women win the right to vote in New York, Michigan, and Oklahoma.

Catt introduced a "society plan" to recruit wealthy, well-educated women. She and her army of workers signed on women from all levels of society, including African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Jewish immigrants. All these women, called "suffragettes," helped promote suffrage in their own areas.

While the suffrage movement gained ground, some women worked against it. The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage (NAOWS) believed that the effort to win the vote would take women's attention away from family and volunteer work that benefited society in many ways. But as the pressure for women's suffrage grew stronger, the NAOWS faded away.

HISTORY MAKERS

Ida B. Wells (1862–1931)

Wells had gained fame for her campaign against the lynching of African Americans. But she was also a tireless worker for women's suffrage and joined in the famous 1913 march for universal suffrage that took place in Washington, D.C. Not able to tolerate injustice of any kind, Ida B. Wells, along with Jane Addams, successfully blocked the establishment of segregated schools in Chicago. In 1930, she ran for the Illinois State legislature, which made her one of the first black women to run for public office in the United States.



Women Campaign for Temperance

Minnesota women march to ban alcohol. The temperance movement gained a victory when Congress passed the 18th Amendment in 1917.



Vocabulary Builder

strategy—(STRAT uh jee) *n.* plan or an action based on a plan

Activists Carry on the Struggle Some women, known as social activists, grew more daring in their strategies to win the vote. **Alice Paul**, their best-known leader, was raised in a Quaker home where she was encouraged to be independent. Paul attended a Quaker college and the New York School of Social Work before earning a Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1912. She believed that drastic steps were needed to win the vote. By 1913, she was organizing women to recruit others across the nation. They drew in women of many backgrounds, from Maud Younger, known as the “millionaire waitress” because she organized California’s first waitresses’ union, to Nina Otero-Warren, a Hispanic who headed New Mexico’s State Board of Health.

By 1917, Paul formed the National Woman’s Party (NWP), which used public protest marches. The NWP became the first group to march with picket signs

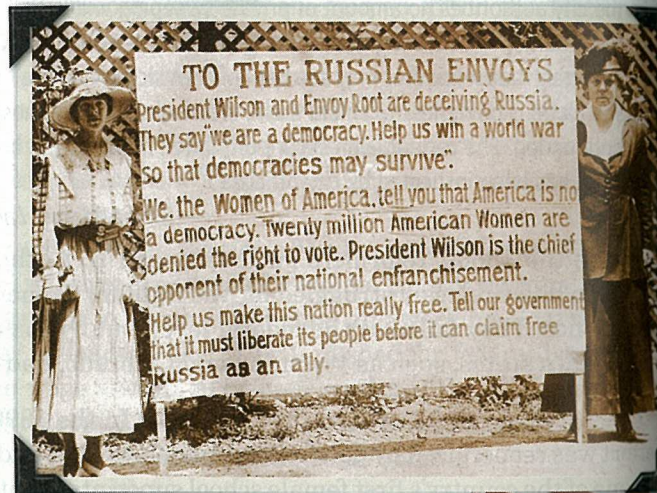
outside the White House. Hundreds of women were arrested in these protests. Some went on hunger strikes, refusing to eat until they could vote. The NWP methods angered many people, including women in other suffrage groups. Nevertheless, they did help win women the right to vote, because the NWP’s actions made less-radical groups like the NAWSA look tame by comparison.

The Nineteenth Amendment Becomes Law When the United States entered World War I in 1917, Carrie Catt and Florence Kelley led the NAWSA to support the war effort. Their actions and those of the NWP convinced a growing number of legislators to support a women’s suffrage amendment. In June 1919, Congress approved the **Nineteenth Amendment**, which stated that the right to vote “shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex.” On August 18, 1920, the

SUFFRAGISTS WIN THE VOTE

The National Woman’s Party began picketing the White House, urging President Wilson to back the woman’s suffrage amendment. Susan B. Anthony had introduced the amendment nearly 40 years earlier, but the Senate had rejected it twice. So when America entered World War I, and Wilson proclaimed, “The world must be made safe for democracy,” the weary suffragists were astounded. They wondered how could America be a democracy if women could not vote?

Then, when envoys from Russia visited Wilson in June, Alice Paul and her activists saw a golden opportunity. The Russians had just overthrown the czar, established a republic, and granted women the right to vote. As the envoys neared the White House, the suffragists stunned and embarrassed Wilson by unveiling a new banner that claimed America was not a democracy. The women set in motion a series of events that would change America.



▲ **“America is Not a Democracy”**
An angry mob shredded protestors’ banners. The police warned the women not to return.



▲ **Civil Disobedience and Arrests**
Alice Paul continued to lead protests in front of the White House. She and 168 others were arrested and jailed.

◀ **Suffering for the Cause**
The jailed women went on hunger strikes. They endured forced-feedings, beatings, disease, and poor medical treatment.



Why It Matters

The efforts of these women swayed public opinion and helped the Susan B. Anthony Amendment become law. The House passed the amendment in 1918. Then the Senate passed it by one vote in 1919. Finally, in 1920, Tennessee became the 36th state to ratify the 19th Amendment. At long last, women in every state of the nation could vote. America had changed.

◀ Spreading the Word

The suffragists traveled the country, telling their story. They kept attention focused on women’s suffrage when the issue might otherwise have been eclipsed by World War I.



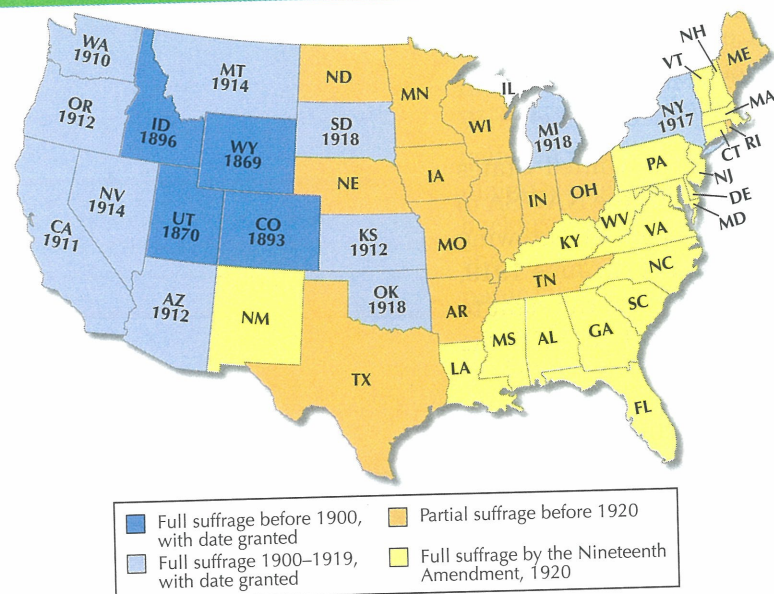
▶ **Suffrage Poster**
In marches on Washington, D.C., women urged Congress to vote for suffrage.



Thinking Critically

Why was the banner that was unveiled when the Russians visited Wilson so effective in stirring public opinion?

Passage of Women's Suffrage



Women's Suffrage

What pattern do you see in the passage of suffrage at the state level?

Tennessee State House of Representatives passed the amendment by one vote. With Tennessee's ratification, enough states had passed the amendment that it became official.

Alice Paul and Carrie Catt both claimed responsibility for the victory. In fact, according to historian Nancy Cott, "neither the shocking militancy of the National Women's Party nor the ladylike moderation of NAWSA was so solely responsible for victory as each group publicly claimed." The rival groups both contributed to the triumph of the women's suffrage movement. As a result, on November 2, 1920, Catt, Paul, and millions of other American women voted for the first time in a U.S. presidential election.

Checkpoint What tactics did Progressive women use to win the right to vote?

SECTION 2 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-0404

Comprehension

- 1. People** Explain how each of the following people changed the lives of women.
 - Florence Kelley
 - Margaret Sanger
 - Ida B. Wells
 - Carrie Chapman Catt
 - Alice Paul

- 2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: Identify Main Idea** Use your outline to answer the Section Focus Question: How did women of the Progressive Era make progress and win the right to vote?

Writing About History

- 3. Quick Write: Communicate Perspective** Look at the map on the passage of women's suffrage in this section. In one paragraph, describe the map from the perspective of a supporter of suffrage for women. In a second paragraph, describe the map as viewed by a suffrage opponent.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Draw Conclusions** Why would education have led middle-class women to address societal problems?
- 5. Solve Problems** Choose one specific social problem and explain how Progressive women reformers proposed to solve that problem.
- 6. Analyze Effects** How did suffragists' efforts at the state level affect their effort to win the right to vote at the national level?

TRACK THE ISSUE

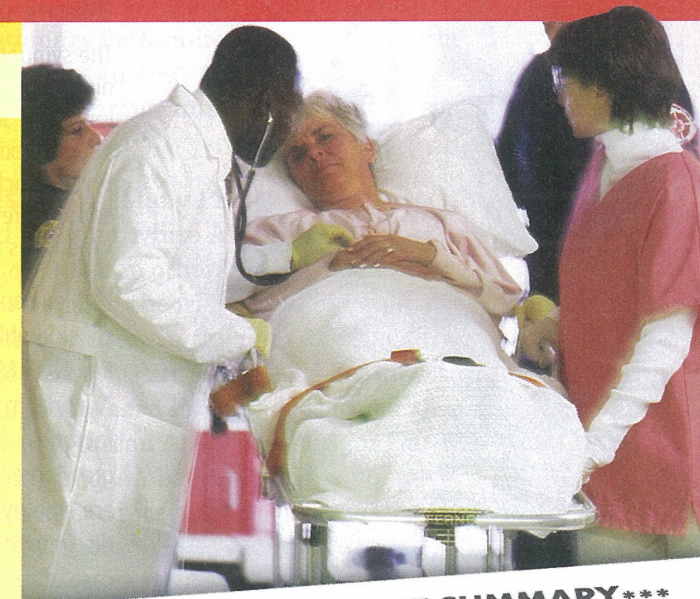
What are the most pressing problems, and how can we solve them?

There have been many movements for social reform in the United States. But Americans do not always agree on the need for reform or on the best way to achieve it. In fact, some reform ideas face strong opposition. Why do some reform movements win support, while others do not? Use the timeline below to explore this enduring issue.

- 1790s–1820s Second Great Awakening**
Revival of Christian faith sparks moral and spiritual reform.
- 1830s–1850s Abolitionism**
Antislavery forces demand an end to the slave system.
- 1890–1920 Progressivism**
Reformers urge a broad range of social and political changes.
- 1950s–1960s Civil Rights**
African Americans lead movement for racial equality.
- 1990s–2000s Healthcare Reform**
Reformers combat the spiraling costs of healthcare and insurance.



Young children line up to receive vaccinations in a school clinic.



HEALTH CARE ACCOUNT SUMMARY		
01/11/05	MRI LUMBAR W/O CONTRAST	\$1,874.00
01/12/05	INSURANCE/PAYMENTS	\$250.00
AMOUNT DUE FROM PATIENT		\$1,624.00

Healthcare costs are a major issue.

DEBATE THE ISSUE

Health Insurance Medical costs are soaring. Many Americans lack health insurance and cannot pay their bills. Some reformers want the government to provide universal health insurance, also known as a single-payer system. Others say this approach will cause more harm than good.

"It's time to demand universal health care for all. We are the richest and most powerful nation in the world, yet we don't offer the most basic right to health care. Over 40 million Americans are uninsured. . . . Other countries . . . manage to spend less per capita, guarantee coverage for everyone, and use their money more wisely. . . ."

—Lisa McGiffert, Senior Policy Analyst, Consumers Union

"A single-payer system promotes higher taxes, limits technology, produces waiting lists, rations care, and prolongs suffering. . . . A universal healthcare system run by government will reduce the quality and access to health care for all Americans. It's a prescription for disaster."

—Sally Pipes, President, Pacific Research Institute

Connect to Your World

- 1. Compare** Why does Lisa McGiffert support universal health insurance? Why does Sally Pipes oppose it?
- 2. Analyze** Do you think Sally Pipes would support the efforts of some Progressive Era city governments to purchase public utilities? Explain.
- 3. Debate** Learn more about recent debates on healthcare reform, and prepare an argument supporting one viewpoint. **Web Code:** neh-0405



▲ Cuero family, Warner Springs, California, 1904

WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

Voices of Protest

The sympathy that reformers felt for the plight of the poor did not often extend to minorities. In 1912, Progressive journalist Samuel Bryan wrote an investigative article about Mexican immigrants. Displaying a common bias, Bryan concluded that the immigrants did not work hard enough. Yet, he was forced to admit that Mexican Americans faced discrimination. He wrote:

“[Mexican Americans] are now employed to a considerable extent in the coal mines of Colorado and New Mexico, in the ore mines of Colorado and Arizona, in the smelters of Arizona, in the cement factories of Colorado and California, . . . and in fruit growing and canning in California. . . . Where they are employed in other industries, the same wage discrimination against them as was noted in the case of railroad employees is generally apparent.”

—Samuel Bryan, *The Survey*, September 1912

The Struggle Against Discrimination

Objectives

- Analyze Progressives' attitudes toward minority rights.
- Explain why African Americans organized.
- Examine the strategies used by members of other minority groups to defend their rights.

Terms and People

Americanization	NAACP
Booker T. Washington	Urban League
W.E.B. Du Bois	Anti-Defamation League
Niagara Movement	mutualistas

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Main Idea and Details

Outline the section's main ideas and details.

I. The Struggle Against Discrimination
A.

Why It Matters Prejudice and discrimination against minorities continued even as the Progressive Movement got underway. But in the spirit of Progressivism, African Americans, Latinos, Catholics, Jews, and new immigrant groups worked to help themselves. Their efforts paved the way for the era of civil rights that would follow decades later. **Section Focus Question: What steps did minorities take to combat social problems and discrimination?**

Progressivism Presents Contradictions

The Progressive Era was not so progressive for nonwhite and immigrant Americans. Most Progressives were white Anglo-Saxon Protestant reformers who were indifferent or actively hostile to minorities. They tried to make the United States a model society by encouraging everyone to follow white, middle-class ways of life.

Social Reform or Social Control? Settlement houses and other civic groups played a prominent role in the **Americanization** efforts of many Progressives. While they taught immigrants English, their programs also tried to change how immigrants lived. They advised immigrants how to dress like white middle-class Americans and pushed them to replace the foods and customs of their homelands with

Protestant practices and values. These reformers believed that assimilating immigrants into American society would make them more loyal and moral citizens.

Many Progressives found the immigrants' use of alcohol especially alarming. In many European countries, it was customary for families to serve wine or beer with meals. Many reformers, however, believed that these practices showed moral faults. As a result, prejudice against immigrants was one of the forces behind the temperance movement.

Racism Limits the Goals of Progressivism Many Progressives shared the same prejudice against nonwhites held by other white Americans of the time. They believed that some people were more fit than others to play a leading role in society. They agreed with **so-called** scientific theories that said that dark-skinned peoples had less intelligence than whites. In the late 1800s, southern Progressives used these misguided theories to justify the passage of laws that kept African Americans from voting. Some southern Progressives urged an end to the violence and terrorism waged against African Americans. Edgar Gardner Murphy, an Episcopal minister and a leading Alabama Progressive, advised that African Americans “will accept in the white man's country the place assigned him by the white man, . . . not by stress of rivalry, but by genial cooperation with the white man's interests.”

After the Supreme Court issued its *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision, states across the North and the South had passed segregation laws. By 1910, segregation was the norm across the nation. After 1914, even the offices of the federal

Vocabulary Builder
so-called—(SOH kawld) *adj.*
commonly named; falsely or improperly named

Comparing Viewpoints

How should we respond to discrimination?

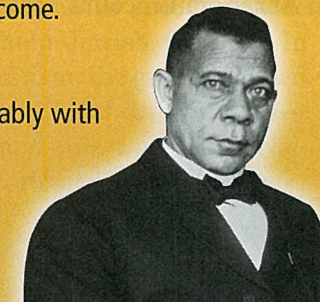
African Americans were freed from slavery, but discriminatory laws and racist attitudes kept them oppressed and threatened. African Americans debated how they should respond to this discrimination.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

Washington (1856–1915) believed that African Americans had to achieve economic independence before civil rights. Black people must tolerate discrimination while they proved themselves equal to white people. Slowly, civil rights would come.

Primary Source

“[The Negro must] live peaceably with his white neighbors . . . the Negro [must] deport himself modestly . . . depending upon the slow but sure influences that proceed from the possessions of property, intelligence, and high character for the full recognition of his political rights.”



Compare

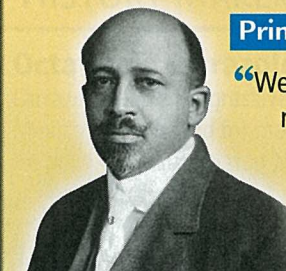
1. How did the views of Washington and Du Bois about the nature of civil rights differ?
2. How do these leaders' opinions reflect the era in which they lived? Would leaders today make similar arguments? Explain.

W.E.B. DU BOIS

Du Bois (1868–1963) believed that black Americans had to demand their social and civil rights or else become permanent victims of racism. African Americans must fight every day for the rights given to them in the Constitution.

Primary Source

“We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a freeborn American . . . and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest. . . . How shall we get them? By voting where we may vote, by persistent, unceasing agitation, by hammering at the truth, by sacrifice and work.”



government in Washington, D.C., were segregated as a result of policies approved by President Woodrow Wilson, a Progressive.

✓ **Checkpoint** What attitudes did most Progressives hold about minorities and immigrant groups?

African Americans Demand Reform

In the face of these injustices, the nation's most visible African American leader urged patience. **Booker T. Washington** told blacks to move slowly toward racial progress. By working hard and waiting patiently, he believed, African Americans would gradually win white Americans' respect and eventually would be able to exercise their full voting and citizenship rights.

Other African Americans rejected this view. The most outspoken among them were **W.E.B. Du Bois** and William Monroe Trotter. Both men had been raised in New England and educated at Harvard University. Both urged African Americans to demand immediately all the rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

African Americans Form the Niagara Movement Du Bois and Trotter were especially concerned that all across the South, black men were being denied the right to vote. In the summer of 1905, they and other leading African American thinkers met at Niagara Falls. They had to meet in Canada because no hotel on the New York side of the border would give them rooms.

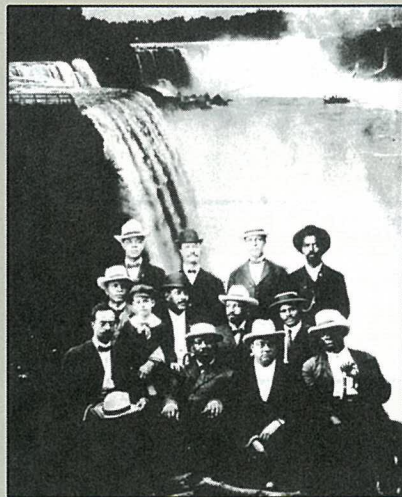
The **Niagara Movement**, as the group called itself, denounced the idea of gradual progress. Washington, they said, was too willing to compromise African Americans' basic rights. They also condemned his notion of teaching only trade skills. This kind of education, Du Bois said, "can create workers, but it cannot make *men*." Talented blacks should be taught history, literature, and philosophy, so they could think for themselves.

Despite its bold ideas, the Niagara Movement never grew to more than a few hundred strong. To make a difference, African Americans needed a more powerful voice.

Riots Lead to Formation of NAACP In the summer of 1908, a white mob in Springfield, Illinois, attempted to lynch two African American prisoners in the city jail. Upon learning that the prisoners had been removed to safety, the rioters turned their anger against the city's black residents, killing two people and burning 40 homes. The Niagara Movement members were outraged that such an attack could happen in Abraham Lincoln's hometown.

Niagara Movement

The original leaders of the Niagara Movement met in response to W.E.B. Du Bois's call to "organize thoroughly the intelligent honest Negroes throughout the United States."



This lynching occurred during the 1908 Springfield, Illinois, riot.

The Springfield riot also got the attention of a number of white reformers. They now **acknowledged** the need to help African Americans protect their lives, win the right to vote, and secure their civil rights. In 1909, they joined with leaders of the Niagara Movement to form the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)**. The NAACP aimed to help African Americans be "physically free from peonage [forced, low-paid labor], mentally free from ignorance, politically free from disfranchisement, and socially free from insult."

NAACP leaders included white and black Progressives who had worked in other areas of social reform. Among them were Jane Addams, Ray Stannard Baker, and Florence Kelley. Ida B. Wells, owner of a Tennessee newspaper, used her publication to make clear the horror of lynching. She and the others planned the group's strategy—to use the courts to challenge unfair laws. In the early 1900s, the NAACP focused on the battle for equal access to decent housing and professional careers like teaching.

African Americans Form the Urban League Across the country, African Americans were migrating from rural to urban areas during this period. Local black clubs and churches set up employment agencies and relief efforts to help African Americans get settled and find work. In 1911, more than 100 of these groups in many cities joined into a network called the **Urban League**. While the NAACP helped middle-class blacks struggle for political and social justice, the Urban League focused on poorer workers. It helped families buy clothes and books and send children to school. It helped factory workers and maids find jobs. Both the NAACP and the Urban League still aid African Americans today.

✓ **Checkpoint** Why did African Americans and others decide it was time to organize against discrimination?

Reducing Prejudice and Protecting Rights

African Americans were not alone in seeking their rights. Individuals and organizations of diverse ethnic groups spoke out against unfair treatment and took action by creating self-help agencies. For example, in northern cities, Catholic parishes offered a variety of social services to immigrants. In Chicago, a network of Polish Catholic groups grew so strong that it earned the nickname American Warsaw.

The Anti-Defamation League Aids Jews Jews in New York had formed the B'nai B'rith in 1843 to provide religious education and to help Jewish families. In response to growing anti-Semitism, the group founded the **Anti-Defamation League** in 1913. Its goal was—and still is—to defend Jews and others against physical and verbal attacks, false statements, and "to secure justice and fair treatment to all citizens alike. . . ."

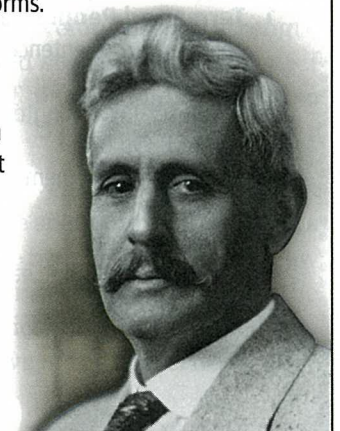
Mexican Americans Organize Mexican Americans also organized to help themselves. Those living in Arizona formed the Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM), which offered Mexican Americans many of the same services that the Urban League gave to African Americans. In several states, Mexican Americans formed **mutualistas**, groups that made loans and provided legal assistance. The mutualistas also had insurance programs to help members if they were too sick to work.

Vocabulary Builder
acknowledge—(ak NAHL ihj) *v.*
to admit to be true

HISTORY MAKERS

Octaviano Larrazolo (1859–1930)

Larrazolo was a Progressive governor in New Mexico who worked for many reforms. He helped make sure that New Mexico's first state constitution protected Latinos from discrimination. Elected governor in 1918, he pushed for laws aimed at helping children and improving public health. He also favored bilingual education and voting rights for women. That last stand cost him the support of his Republican Party, and he served only one term as governor.





Japanese Field Workers

Japanese immigrants, like those above, often found work tending the fruit orchards of California. Through hard work, many were later able to buy land and orchards of their own.

Many Mexican Americans were forced to sign unfair labor contracts that kept them in debt to people whose land they worked. In 1911, the Supreme Court struck down a law that enforced that system.

Native Americans Take Action Progressives did little to help Native Americans. The Dawes Act, passed in 1887, had divided reservations into plots for individuals to farm. But the law also said that lands not given to individual Indians could be sold to the general public. By 1932, nearly two thirds of the lands held by tribes in 1887 were in the hands of whites.

Carlos Montezuma, a Native American from Arizona, helped establish the Society of American Indians in 1911, the first organization for Indian rights to protest federal Indian policy. A doctor, Montezuma treated Native Americans living on reservations. He urged Native Americans to preserve their cultures and avoid being dependent on the government.

Asian Americans Fight Unfair Laws Asian Americans also had to protect themselves. A 1913 California law said that only American citizens could own land. Because Japanese immigrants could not become citizens, the law forced them to sell their land. Japanese Americans found a way around this, however, by putting the land in their children's names. Because their children had been born in the United States, they were American citizens.

Takao Ozawa fought the law in court that blocked Asian Americans from becoming citizens. In 1922, however, the Supreme Court ruled against him. A newspaper read by Japanese Americans commented, "The slim hope that we had entertained . . . has been shattered completely."

✓ **Checkpoint** What strategies did other minority groups use to defend their rights?

SECTION 3 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-0406

Comprehension

1. Terms and People For each item below, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Booker T. Washington
- W.E.B. Du Bois
- Niagara Movement
- NAACP
- Urban League
- Anti-Defamation League
- mutualistas

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: Main Ideas and Details Use your outline to answer the Section Focus Question: What steps did minorities take to combat social problems and discrimination?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Gather Details Suppose you want to write a narrative about the effect of the Urban League's work in the Progressive Era. Conduct research to find descriptions and images of African American life before and during this period.

Critical Thinking

4. Analyze Information How did Progressives' views about race and values foster prejudice?

5. Draw Inferences What do the differing approaches of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois suggest about their views of American society?

6. Compare Were the goals and actions of the mutualistas more similar to those of the Urban League or to those of the Anti-Defamation League? Explain.

SECTION

4



▲ Theodore Roosevelt speaking in New York City

"Teddy" bear ▶



WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

A Bold Leader Takes Control

When Theodore Roosevelt entered the White House, never before had the country had so young a leader. He brought to the presidency tremendous energy, vision, and a willingness to expand presidential power in order to improve American lives. In a rousing speech, he urged some young supporters:

"The principles for which we stand are the principles of fair play and a square deal for every man and every woman in the United States. . . . I wish to see you boys join the Progressive Party, and act in that part and as good citizens in the same way I'd expect any one of you to act in a football game. In other words, don't flinch, don't fold, and hit the line hard."

—Theodore Roosevelt, Address to Boy's Progressive League, 1913

Roosevelt's Square Deal

Objectives

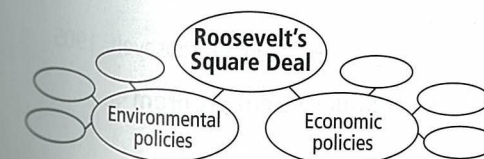
- Discuss Theodore Roosevelt's ideas on the role of government.
- Analyze how Roosevelt changed the government's role in the economy.
- Explain the impact of Roosevelt's actions on natural resources.
- Compare and contrast Taft's policies with Roosevelt's.

Terms and People

Theodore Roosevelt	Gifford Pinchot
Square Deal	National Reclamation Act
Hepburn Act	Act
Meat Inspection Act	New Nationalism
Pure Food and Drug Act	Progressive Party
John Muir	

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas As you read this section, use a concept web like the one below to record the main ideas.



Why It Matters In the late 1800s, the United States had several weak and ineffective Presidents. The arrival of Theodore Roosevelt, a charismatic figure who embraced Progressive ideals, ushered in a new era. Roosevelt passed Progressive reforms and expanded the powers of the presidency. He changed the way Americans viewed the roles of the President and the government. **Section Focus Question:** What did Roosevelt think government should do for citizens?

Roosevelt Shapes the Modern Presidency

In 1901, when **Theodore Roosevelt** became President of the United States, he was only 43 years old. However, Roosevelt had packed quite a lot into those years, gaining a reputation for being smart, energetic, and opinionated. The sickly child of wealthy parents, he had used his family's resources to develop both his strength and his mind. Observers said he generated so much energy that if you met him, you left the event with bits of his personality "stuck to your clothes."

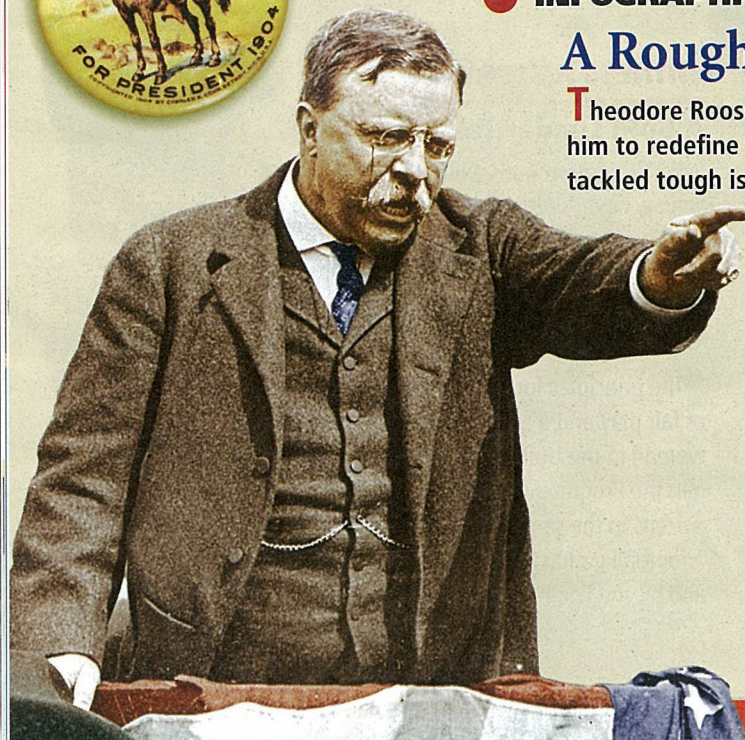
Roosevelt Rises to the Presidency Roosevelt had graduated with honors from Harvard University in 1880. He spent only a few months studying law at Columbia University before being elected to the New York State Assembly. After three years' service there, and after the deaths of both his mother and his wife, Alice, Roosevelt retired to a ranch in the West. There he developed a love of the wilderness.



INFOGRAPHIC

A Rough Rider in the White House

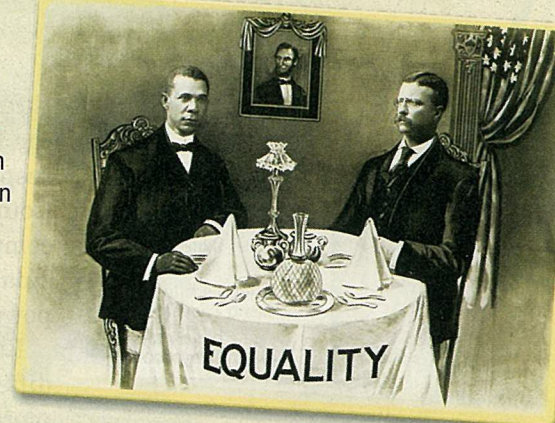
Theodore Roosevelt's energetic leadership style enabled him to redefine the presidency. He took on industry and tackled tough issues. Roosevelt used his presidential power to bust illegal monopolies, reduce abusive business practices, and make a symbolic statement against segregation.



This 1909 cartoon shows ▶ Roosevelt's differing approaches to "good" and "bad" trusts.



The illustration shows that ▶ in 1901, Booker T. Washington accepted Roosevelt's invitation to dinner. Roosevelt's actions angered those who favored segregation.



▶ "Patent medications" sometimes made fraudulent claims or contained harmful chemicals. Roosevelt helped restore consumer confidence by supporting laws that regulated the food and drug industries.

Thinking Critically

- Analyze Visuals** Look at the image of Roosevelt's dinner with Washington. Why would the artist have placed a painting of Abraham Lincoln in the background?
- Make Generalizations** Using the information in these visuals, make one generalization about Theodore Roosevelt as President.

Vocabulary Builder

dominate—(DAHM ih nayt) *v.* to have a commanding place or position in

Roosevelt could not remain long out of the spotlight, however. By 1889, he had returned to politics. As president of New York City's Board of Police Commissioners, he gained fame by fighting corruption. President William McKinley noticed him and named him Assistant Secretary of the Navy. When the Spanish-American War broke out in 1898, Roosevelt resigned the post to form the Rough Riders, a volunteer cavalry unit that became famous during the war.

After the end of the conflict, the young war hero was elected governor of New York, where he pushed for Progressive reforms. His reform efforts annoyed Republican leaders in the state, though. They convinced McKinley to choose Roosevelt as his running mate so Roosevelt would leave New York—and them—alone. McKinley was reelected President in 1900, but within a few months he was assassinated, and Roosevelt became President. Roosevelt soon **dominated** public attention. Journalists vied for interviews with him and children begged their parents for a teddy bear, the new stuffed animal named for him.

Roosevelt greatly expanded the power of the President. He used his office and its powers to convince Americans of the need for change and to push through his reform proposals. He called his program the **Square Deal**, and its goals were to keep the wealthy and powerful from taking advantage of small business owners and the poor. His idea of fair government did not mean that everyone would get rich or that the government should take care of the lazy. He compared his Square Deal to a hand of cards.

Primary Source

"When I say I believe in a square deal, I do not mean to give every man the best hand. If good cards do not come to any man, or if they do come, and he has not got the power to play them, that is his affair. All I mean is that there shall be no crookedness in the dealing."

—Theodore Roosevelt, 1905

- ✔ **Checkpoint** What did Roosevelt want his Square Deal program to achieve?

Trustbusting and Regulating Industry

Roosevelt often stepped in with the authority and power of the federal government. One example was in 1902, when Pennsylvania coal miners went on strike. The miners wanted a pay raise and a shorter workday. Roosevelt sympathized with the overworked miners, but he knew that a steady supply of coal was needed to keep factories running and homes warm. He wanted the strike ended quickly.

First, Roosevelt tried to get mine owners to listen to workers' concerns. When this failed, he threatened to send federal troops to take control of the mines and to run them with federal employees. His threat forced the mine owners to give the miners a small pay raise and a nine-hour workday. For the first time, the federal government had stepped in to help workers in a labor dispute.

The coal strike was one of many steps Roosevelt took to control the power of corporations. Within a year, Roosevelt convinced Congress to establish the Department of Commerce and Labor to monitor businesses engaged in interstate commerce and to keep capitalists from abusing their power.

Roosevelt Takes on the Railroads The cost of shipping freight on railroads had been an issue since the 1870s. Railroad companies could charge whatever they wanted. The railroads' power was especially troublesome for western farmers. They had no other way to move their products to eastern markets.

In 1887, Congress had created the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) to oversee rail charges for shipments that passed through more than one state. The ICC was supposed to make sure that all shippers were charged the same amounts. By 1900, though, the Supreme Court had stripped away most of the ICC's power. So Roosevelt pushed Congress to pass the Elkins Act in 1903, which imposed fines on railroads that gave special rates to favored shippers. In 1906, he got Congress to pass the **Hepburn Act**, which gave the ICC strong enforcement powers. This law gave the government the authority to set and limit shipping costs. The act also set maximum prices for ferries, bridge tolls, and oil pipelines.

National Land Conservation



Roosevelt Enforces the Sherman Antitrust Act It did not take long for the President and his administration to earn a reputation as “trustbusters.” In response to an antitrust suit filed by Roosevelt’s attorney general, the Supreme Court ruled in 1904 that the Northern Securities Company—a big railroad company—was an illegal trust. The decision forced the company to split into smaller companies. The next year, the Court found that a beef trust and several powerful agricultural companies broke antitrust laws.

Roosevelt was not interested in bringing down all large companies. He saw a difference between “good trusts” and “bad trusts.” Big businesses could often be more efficient than small ones, he believed. Big business was bad, he said, only if it bullied smaller outfits or cheated consumers. So he supported powerful corporations as long as they did business fairly. His supporters called him a “trust-tamer,” but some wealthy Progressives criticized his trustbusting.

Regulating Food and Drug Industries In 1906, Upton Sinclair published his novel *The Jungle*. His descriptions of the filthy, unhealthy conditions in meatpacking plants revolted the public and infuriated the President. Roosevelt urged Congress to pass the **Meat Inspection Act** that same year. It provided federal agents to inspect any meat sold across state lines and required federal inspection of meat-processing plants. Today, when we eat lunchmeat or grilled chicken, we trust that federal inspectors have monitored the plant where it is produced. If there is a serious problem, the government can force the meat-packer to pull the product off the shelves before many people become sick. This regulation is one lasting result of Progressives’ insistence that the government take responsibility for food safety.

The **Pure Food and Drug Act** placed the same controls on other foods and on medicines. It also banned the interstate shipment of impure food and the mislabeling of food and drugs. Today, the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) still enforces this law and others. The FDA monitors companies to make sure people are not hurt by dangerous substances or dishonest labels. For example, before a drug can be sold, it must be tested and approved by the FDA.

✓ **Checkpoint** What impact did Roosevelt’s actions have on the government’s role in the economy?

The Government Manages the Environment

Roosevelt’s deep reverence for nature also shaped his policies. The books he published on hunting and the rugged West reflected his fascination with the competition between humans and the wilderness. He was pleased that the federal government had established Yellowstone National Park in 1872 to protect wildlife, and he admired California naturalist **John Muir**, whose efforts had led Congress to create Yosemite National Park in 1890.

Should National Forests Be Conserved or Preserved? In 1891, Congress had given the President the power to protect timberlands by setting aside land as federal forests. Following Muir’s advice, Roosevelt closed off more than 100 million acres of forestland. However, the President did not agree with Muir that all wild areas should be preserved, or left untouched. Some wild lands held valuable resources, and Roosevelt thought those resources were meant to be used. This view became clear in his forest policy. In typical Progressive style, he called on experts to draw up plans for both conserving and using the forests.

Roosevelt drew on the “rational use” ideas of **Gifford Pinchot**, who led the Division of Forestry in the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Pinchot recommended a different approach—that forests be preserved for public use. By this, he meant

In 1892, John Muir helped found the Sierra Club to help people enjoy California’s wild places and to lobby for protection of natural resources.

Primary Source “Climb the mountains and get their good tidings, Nature’s peace will flow into you as sunshine flows into trees. The winds will blow their own freshness into you and the storms their energy, while cares will drop off like autumn leaves. As age comes on, one source of enjoyment after another is closed, but nature’s sources never fail.”

—John Muir, *Our National Parks*, 1901

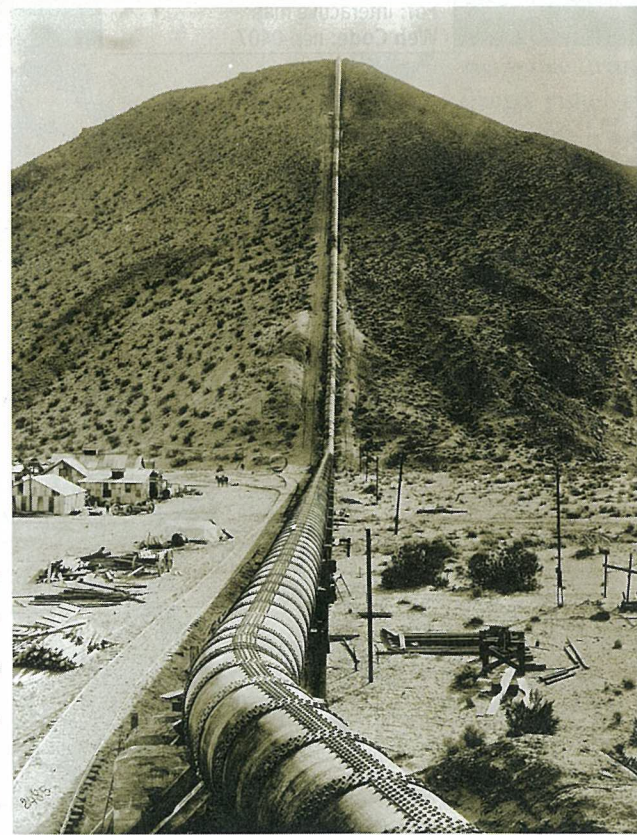
Map Skills The land conservation movement of the Progressive Era led to the conservation of millions of acres of United States land.

- Human-Environment Interaction** How does preserving land for national parks and forests benefit people?
- Regions** What region of the country has the greatest area of conservation lands? Why do you think this is so?



President Theodore Roosevelt and conservationist John Muir at California’s Yosemite National Park in 1903

Vocabulary Builder
rational—(RASH uhn uhl) *adj.*
relating to or based on reason;
reasonable



Los Angeles Aqueduct

Massive water projects carry water from reservoirs and lakes to distant cities and farmland. *Why would some people oppose redirecting water in such ways?*

that forests should be protected so that trees would have time to mature into good lumber. Then, the protected areas should be logged for wood to build houses and new areas placed under protection. “The object of our forest policy,” explained Pinchot, “is not to preserve the forests because they are refuges for the wild creatures of the wilderness, but rather they are the making of prosperous homes.” Pinchot’s views came to dominate American policies toward natural resources.

Roosevelt Changes Water Policy A highly controversial natural resource issue was water. Over centuries, Native Americans had used various irrigation methods to bring water to the arid Southwest. The situation changed in the late 1800s, when prospectors began mining and farming in Utah, New Mexico, Colorado, Nevada, and California. Mining machinery required a great deal of water, and systems of sharing water used by Mexican Americans were fought by people and businesses moving into these states. Private irrigation companies came to the area, staked claims to sections of riverbeds and redirected the water so farmers could revive—or “reclaim”—dried-up fields. Bitter fights developed over who should own water rights and how the water should be shared.

Roosevelt sprang into action on this issue. He listened to Nevada representative Francis Newlands, who wanted the federal government to help western states build huge reservoirs to hold and to conserve water. Roosevelt pushed Congress for a law that would allow it.

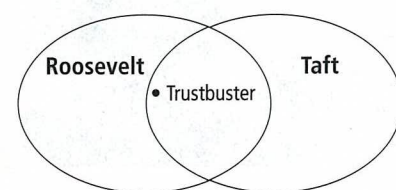
In 1902, Congress passed the **National Reclamation Act**, which gave the federal government the power to decide where and how water would be distributed. The government would build and manage dams that would create reservoirs, generate power, and direct water flow. This would make water from one state’s rivers and streams available to farmers in other states. The full effect of the Reclamation Act was felt over the next few decades, as water management projects created huge reservoirs and lakes where there had been dry canyons. Examples include the Salt Valley Project in Arizona and the Roosevelt Dam and Hoover Dam on the Colorado River.

✓ **Checkpoint** How did Roosevelt’s policies affect the environment?

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Compare and Contrast

As you read, fill in the Venn diagram with similarities and differences between Roosevelt and Taft.



Roosevelt and Taft Differ

Roosevelt left the presidency after two terms in office, saying he wished to enjoy private life. He was still a powerful force in the Republican Party, however, and he used that power to help Secretary of War William Howard Taft win the presidency in 1908. Roosevelt expected Taft to continue his programs of managing business and natural resources. Political cartoonists made caricatures of Roosevelt handing over what he called “my policies” to Taft, who seemed to have no ideas of his own.

Taft Takes His Own Course But Taft soon set his own agenda. He approved the Payne-Aldrich Act (1909), which did not lower tariffs as much as Roosevelt had wanted. He also pushed Congress to pass the Mann-Elkins Act (1910), which gave the government control over telephone and telegraph rates. He encouraged Congress to propose an income tax. Perhaps, most importantly,

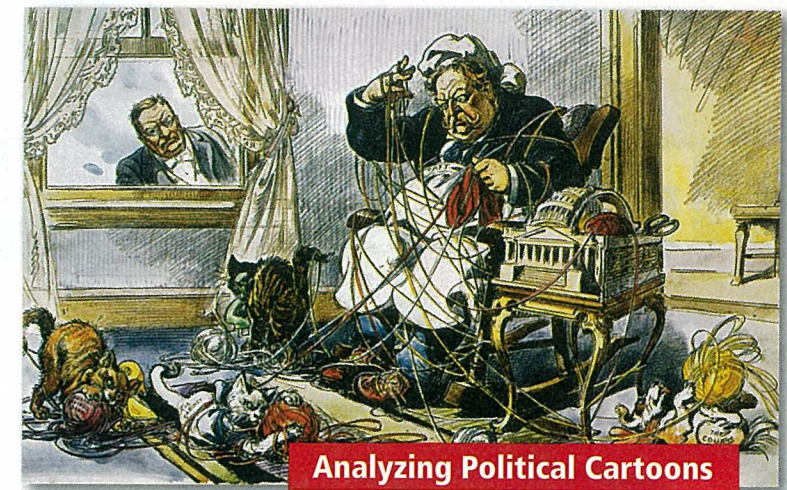
he dropped Roosevelt’s distinction between good trusts and bad trusts.

Taft’s Justice Department brought lawsuits against twice as many corporations as Roosevelt’s had done. As a result, in 1911, the Supreme Court “busted” the trust built by the Standard Oil Company. But Taft also supported what the Court called its “rule of reason,” which relaxed the hard line set by the Sherman Antitrust Act. The rule of reason allowed big monopolies so long as they did not “unreasonably” squeeze out smaller companies. Roosevelt publicly criticized these decisions. Then, Taft’s attorney general sued to force U.S. Steel to sell a coal company it had bought. Roosevelt, who had approved the purchase of the company, fumed.

Taft further infuriated Roosevelt and other Progressives in the Republican Party when he fired Gifford Pinchot for publicly criticizing Secretary of the Interior Richard Ballinger. Pinchot charged that Ballinger, who opposed Roosevelt’s conservation policies, had worked with business interests to sell federal land rich in coal deposits in Alaska.

Roosevelt Strikes Back Roosevelt began traveling the country speaking about what he called the **New Nationalism**—a program to restore the government’s trustbusting power. (See an excerpt from Roosevelt’s New Nationalism speech at the end of this book.) Declaring himself as “strong as a bull moose,” Roosevelt vowed to tackle the trusts in a third presidential term. The Taft-Roosevelt battle split the Republican Party as an election neared. Progressives bolted from the Republican party and set up the **Progressive Party**. Reformer Jane Addams nominated Roosevelt as the Progressive Party’s candidate for the 1912 presidential election. The Republicans nominated Taft. A bitter election loomed.

✓ **Checkpoint** How did William Howard Taft’s policies compare with Theodore Roosevelt’s?



Analyzing Political Cartoons

Taft in the White House Theodore Roosevelt looks on as President Taft is entangled in troubles.

1. What details illustrate Taft’s troubles?
2. What does the cartoon suggest about Roosevelt’s reaction to Taft’s situation?

SECTION

4 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-0408

Comprehension

1. **Terms** Explain how each of the following acts and policies reflects Progressivism’s influence.
 - Square Deal
 - Hepburn Act
 - Meat Inspection Act
 - Pure Food and Drug Act
 - National Reclamation Act
 - New Nationalism

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Identify Main Ideas Use your concept web to answer the Section Focus Question: What did Roosevelt think government should do for citizens?

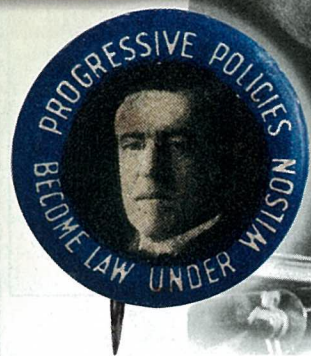
Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Present a Point of View

Choose one of the industries that President Roosevelt regulated. Imagine that you are a worker or business owner in the industry. In one or two paragraphs, describe your reaction to the President’s actions. Use details to relate the effect of the government’s actions on your work.

Critical Thinking

4. **Recognize Causes** Why might Theodore Roosevelt’s push for reforms have angered some political leaders?
5. **Apply Information** How did Roosevelt’s use of presidential and federal power differ from that of earlier Presidents? Give two examples.
6. **Analyze** How did Theodore Roosevelt’s national forest policy reflect his ideas about conservation and preservation?
7. **Draw Conclusions** Do you think Roosevelt’s public criticisms of Taft were justified? Why or why not?



▲ Wilson campaign button

Wilson's New Freedom

Objectives

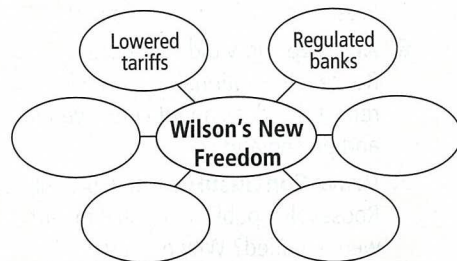
- Evaluate what Wilson hoped to do with his "New Freedom" program.
- Describe Wilson's efforts to regulate the economy.
- Assess the legacy of the Progressive Era.

Terms and People

Woodrow Wilson	Federal Trade Commission
New Freedom	Clayton Antitrust Act
Sixteenth Amendment	Federal Reserve Act

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Details As you read this section, fill in a concept web like the one below to record details from the section.



◀ Woodrow Wilson, 1919

WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

A History of Reform

Before becoming President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson was president of Princeton University in New Jersey. At the time, most Princeton students were sons of wealthy families. These students joined "eating clubs" that excluded poor students and other outsiders.

Wilson objected. The eating clubs, he said, made social life more important than learning. Furthermore, he said, the clubs were unfair and damaging to those students who were excluded. Wilson lost his fight to do away with the eating clubs. But he won a reputation as a high-minded reformer who would speak out against social injustice. Wilson's reform efforts would continue in his role as President of the United States.

Why It Matters Republicans Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft introduced the country to forceful Progressive Presidents. Democrat Woodrow Wilson used the expanded power of the presidency to promote a far-reaching reform agenda. Some of Wilson's economic and antitrust measures are still important in American life today. **Section Focus Question: What steps did Wilson take to increase the government's role in the economy?**

Wilson and the Democrats Prevail

In 1912, the Republican Party split over the issue of reform. Those who wanted a more active government formed the Progressive Party and chose Theodore Roosevelt as their candidate for President. Loyal Republicans gave the nod to President William Howard Taft.

The split created an opportunity for the Democrats and their candidate, **Woodrow Wilson**, to win the White House. Wilson's ideas had caught the attention of William Jennings Bryan, who helped Wilson win the Democratic nomination. As a student and later as a professor, Wilson had thought a great deal about good government. His doctoral thesis, *Congressional Government*, had launched him on a career teaching in college before he became the reforming governor of New Jersey.

Wilson shaped his ideas into a program he called the **New Freedom**. His plan looked much like Roosevelt's New Nationalism. It, too, would place strict government controls on corporations.

In a speech on the New Freedom, Wilson outlined his aim to provide more opportunities—more freedom—for small businesses.

Primary Source

"The man with only a little capital is finding it harder and harder to get into the field, more and more impossible to compete with the big fellow. Why? Because the laws of this country do not prevent the strong from crushing the weak."

—Woodrow Wilson, "The New Freedom," 1913

Though he did not win the majority of the popular vote, Wilson received more than four times the number of Electoral College votes that went to Roosevelt or to Taft. The pious and **intellectual** son of a Virginia minister, Wilson was the first man born in the South to win the presidency in almost 60 years.

✓ **Checkpoint** How did Republican divisions help Wilson win the presidency?

Wilson Regulates the Economy

President Wilson attacked what he called the "triple wall of privilege"—the tariffs, the banks, and the trusts—that blocked businesses from being free. Early in his first term, he pushed for new laws that would bring down those three walls and give the government more control over the economy.

Congress Lowers Tariffs and Raises Taxes First, Wilson aimed to prevent big manufacturers from unfairly charging high prices to their customers. One way to do this was to lower the tariffs on goods imported from foreign countries so, if American companies' prices were too high, consumers could buy foreign goods. Wilson called a special session of Congress and convinced its members to pass the Underwood Tariff Bill, which cut tariffs.

The Underwood Tariff Act of 1913 included a provision to create a graduated income tax, which the recently passed **Sixteenth Amendment** gave Congress the power to do. A graduated income tax means that wealthy people pay a higher percentage of their income than do poor people. The revenue from the income tax more than made up for the money the government lost by lowering tariffs on imports.

Federal Reserve Act Next, Wilson tried to reform the banking system. At the time, the country had no central authority to supervise banks. As a result, interest rates for loans could fluctuate wildly, and a few wealthy bankers had a great deal of control over the national, state, and local banks' reserve funds. This meant that a bank might not have full access to its reserves when customers needed to withdraw or borrow money.

Wilson pushed Congress to pass the **Federal Reserve Act** (1913). This law placed national banks under the control of a Federal Reserve Board, which set up regional banks to hold the reserve funds from commercial banks. This system, still in place today, helps protect the American economy from having too much

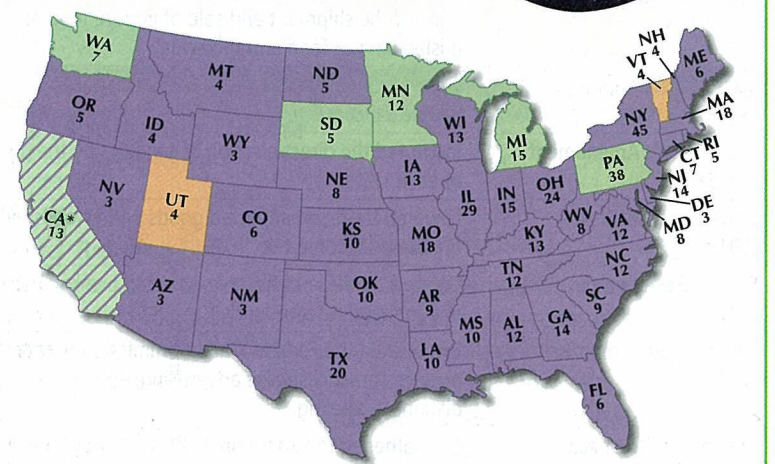
Vocabulary Builder

intellectual—(ihh tuh LEHK choo uhl) *adj.* guided by thought; possessing great power of thought and reason

Progressive Party button



Presidential Election of 1912



Candidate (Party)	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	% Electoral Vote	% Popular Vote
Woodrow Wilson (Democrat)	435	6,296,547	82	42
Theodore Roosevelt (Progressive)	88	4,118,571	17	27
William H. Taft (Republican)	8	3,486,720	1	23

*Two of California's electors voted for Wilson



money end up in the hands of one person, bank, or region. The Federal Reserve Board also sets the interest rate that banks pay to borrow money from other banks, and it supervises banks to make sure they are well run. Historians have called the Federal Reserve Act the most important piece of economic legislation before the 1930s.

Wilson Strengthens Antitrust Regulation Like Presidents before him, Wilson focused on trusts. Wilson agreed with Roosevelt that trusts were not dangerous as long as they did not engage in unfair practices. In 1914, he persuaded Congress to create the **Federal Trade Commission (FTC)**. Members of this group were named by the President to monitor business practices that might lead to monopoly. The FTC was also charged with watching out for false advertising or dishonest labeling. Congress also passed the **Clayton Antitrust Act (1914)**, which strengthened earlier antitrust laws by spelling out those activities in which businesses could not engage.

These laws are still in effect today, protecting both businesses and consumers from abusive business activities. In recent years, the FTC has prosecuted companies that traded stocks dishonestly and fined companies that published false ads. The FTC also regulates buying on the Internet.

Progressive Era Legislation and Constitutional Amendments	
Legislation/Amendment	Effect
Sherman Antitrust Act (1890)	Outlawed monopolies and practices that restrained trade, such as price fixing
National Reclamation Act (1902)	Provided for federal irrigation projects by using money from the sale of public lands
Elkins Act (1903)	Imposed fines on railroads that gave special rates to favored shippers
Hepburn Act (1906)	Authorized the federal government to regulate railroad rates and set maximum prices for ferries, bridge tolls, and oil pipelines
Meat Inspection Act (1906)	Allowed the federal government to inspect meat sold across state lines and required inspection of meat-processing plants
Pure Food and Drug Act (1906)	Allowed federal inspection of food and medicine and banned the shipment and sale of impure food and the mislabeling of food and medicine
Sixteenth Amendment (1913)	Gave Congress the power to collect taxes on people's income
Seventeenth Amendment (1913)	Instituted the direct election of senators by the people of each state
Underwood Tariff Act (1913)	Lowered tariffs on imported goods and established a graduated income tax
Federal Reserve Act (1913)	Created the Federal Reserve Board to oversee banks and manage reserve funds
Federal Trade Commission Act (1914)	Established the Federal Trade Commission to monitor business practices, false advertising, and dishonest labeling
Clayton Antitrust Act (1914)	Strengthened the Sherman Antitrust Act by spelling out specific activities businesses could not do
Eighteenth Amendment (1919)	Banned the making, selling, and transporting of alcoholic beverages in the United States
Nineteenth Amendment (1920)	Gave women the right to vote in all elections

Workers' Rights Protected The Clayton Antitrust Act also ushered in a new era for workers by protecting labor unions from being attacked as trusts. Now, workers could organize more freely. Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) praised the new law as the "Magna Carta" of labor.

On the heels of these protections came the **Workingman's Compensation Act (1916)**, which gave wages to temporarily disabled civil service employees. That same year, Wilson pushed for the **Adamson Act** to prevent a nationwide railroad strike, which would have stopped the movement of coal and food, leaving millions of Americans cold and hungry. Railroad union leaders insisted on the eight-hour day, but railroad managers would not accept it. Wilson called many company leaders to the White House, pleading with them to change their minds and avert a strike. When those efforts failed, he worked with Congress to pass the **Adamson Act**, which limited railroad employees' workdays to eight hours.

However, Wilson did not always support organized labor, as a tragic incident known as the **Ludlow Massacre** showed. In the fall of 1913, coal miners in Ludlow, Colorado, demanded safer conditions, higher pay, and the right to form a union. When the coal company refused, they walked off the job. Evicted from company housing, the miners and their families set up in a tent city near

the mines. The strike continued through the winter. Then, on April 20, 1914, the Colorado National Guard opened fire on the tent city and set fire to the tents, killing some 26 men, women, and children. In the end, Wilson sent federal troops to restore order and break up the strike. The miners' attempt to form a union had failed.

Checkpoint What policies did Wilson pursue in support of his New Freedom program?

Progressivism Leaves a Lasting Legacy

The political reforms of the Progressives had a lasting effect on the American political system. The initiative, referendum, and recall and the Nineteenth Amendment expanded voters' influence. Progressive reforms also paved the way for future trends. Starting in this period, the federal government grew to offer more protection to Americans' private lives while at the same time, gaining more control over peoples' lives.

The American economy today showcases the strength of the Progressives' legacy. Antitrust laws, the Federal Reserve Board, and the other federal agencies watch closely over the economy. The controls that Roosevelt and Wilson put in place continue to provide consumer protections. In later years, the government built on those actions to extend regulation over other aspects of business.

The Progressive years also greatly expanded the government's role in managing natural resources. Especially in the West, federal action on dams, national parks, and resource use remain major areas of debate. Those debates and decisions affect people in other regions as well. For example, while farmers in California, Arizona, or New Mexico worry about getting enough water to grow crops, the rest of the nation awaits the delivery of the food they grow.

It is true that many of the problems identified by the Progressives still plague us today. There are still dishonest sellers, unfair employment practices, and problems in schools, cities, the environment, and public health. However, the Progressive reformers passed on the idea that government can take action to help people fix those problems.

Checkpoint What was the long-term impact of the Progressive Era on American life?

SECTION 5 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-0409

Comprehension

- Terms and People** For each item below, write a sentence explaining its significance.
 - Woodrow Wilson
 - New Freedom
 - Sixteenth Amendment
 - Federal Reserve Act
 - Clayton Antitrust Act

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Identify Details Use your flowchart to answer the Section Focus Question: What steps did Wilson take to increase the government's role in the economy?

Writing About History

- Quick Write: Use Vivid Language** Choose an event discussed in this section. In one or two paragraphs, retell a portion of the event. Be sure to use vivid language and include details. Do additional research if needed.

Critical Thinking

- Compare and Contrast** How were the goals and actions of Wilson's New Freedom similar to Roosevelt's New Nationalism? How were they different?
- Draw Conclusions** Describe how each of the following met Progressive goals: the Sixteenth Amendment; the Clayton Antitrust Act; the FTC.
- Demonstrate Reasoned Judgment** In which area do you think government reforms had the greatest impact? Why?

Quick Study Guide

Progress Monitoring Online
 For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
 Web Code: nea-0410

Effects of Social Progressivism

Living Conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Immigrants gain access to child care and English classes. Municipal governments are pressured to improve sanitation and tenement safety. Minority groups organize, create self-help agencies, and fight discrimination. Immigrants are encouraged to become "Americanized." Laws regulate safety of foods and medicine.
Working Conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> City and state laws improve workplace safety. Workers' compensation laws provide for payments to injured workers. Laws limit workday hours; Supreme Court upholds limits for women but not for men. State and federal governments were urged to adopt minimum wage and make other reforms. Strike fund aids workers who reject unsafe working conditions. Minority job seekers gain access to more jobs.
Children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State and federal laws ban child labor; Supreme Court overturns federal ban. Compulsory-education laws require children to attend school. Poor children gain access to nursery schools and kindergartens.

Progressive Organizations That Worked for Rights



Municipal Reforms

Government Reforms	Election Reforms
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Commission form of government City managers Trained administrators City-owned public utilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Direct primary Initiative Referendum Recall

Quick Study Timeline

American Issues Connector

By connecting prior knowledge with what you have learned in this chapter, you can gradually build your understanding of enduring questions that still affect America today. Answer the questions below. Then, use your American Issues Connector study guide (or go online: www.PHSchool.com Web Code: neh-0411).

Issues You Learned About

- Social Problems and Reforms** Again and again, Americans have worked to reform problems that afflict society.
 - Think about the social problems that you have read about in this chapter. Identify the five problems that you think posed the biggest threat to society or to groups of Americans. Create a chart showing the following:
 - social problems
 - reform efforts
 - reformers involved
 - results of reform efforts

- Government's Role in the Economy** Americans often debate the proper balance between free enterprise and government regulation of the economy.
 - What is a trust?
 - How did Roosevelt's and Taft's attitudes toward trusts differ?
 - What effect did Wilson have on trusts?

Connect to Your World Activity

Interaction With the Environment Today, the National Park System includes about 80 million acres of land. Since the creation of the first national park in 1872, politicians, business leaders, and citizens have debated how to use this land. Some Americans feel that national parks need to be kept untouched. Other Americans support developments, such as logging and oil drilling, in these areas. Still others believe that the parks' natural resources should be used on a limited basis. What do you think? Go online or to your local library to research different points of view about land usage at America's national parks. Decide your own opinion on the best way to use this valuable land. Then, write an oral presentation to share your ideas with the class.

History Interactive
 For: Interactive timeline
 Web Code: nep-0412

Chapter Assessment

Terms and People

- Who were the **muckrakers**? Explain the effect the muckrakers had on American life.
- Define **suffrage**. Why did Progressive women demand suffrage?
- Who were **Booker T. Washington** and **W.E.B. Du Bois**? What different ideas did they hold?
- What was the **Pure Food and Drug Act**? Which government agency enforces this act, and how does it do so?
- Define the **Sixteenth Amendment**. How did it help the government?

Focus Questions

The focus question for this chapter is **What were the causes and effects of the Progressive Movement?** Build an answer to this big question by answering the focus questions for Sections 1 through 5 and the Critical Thinking questions that follow.

Section 1

- What areas did Progressives think were in need of the greatest reform?

Section 2

- How did women of the Progressive Era make progress and win the right to vote?

Section 3

- What steps did minorities take to combat social problems and discrimination?

Section 4

- What did Roosevelt think government should do for citizens?

Section 5

- What steps did Wilson take to increase the government's role in the economy?

Writing About History

Writing a Narrative Essay Write a narrative essay that tells a story about one of the reform efforts of the Progressive Era in the United States. Tell the story from the point of view of a historical individual or a fictional character of the period.

Prewriting

- Choose a reform effort that interests you most. Take notes about the people and locations involved.
- Choose a purpose for your essay. For example, you may want to highlight a certain event or result that you think deserves attention.
- Gather the facts and details you will need to tell your story, including any historic background.

Drafting

- Identify the climax, or most important part, of your story. Then, decide what will happen in the beginning, middle, and end of the essay.

Critical Thinking

- Analyze Visuals** Study the photograph of the child coal miners on the opening page of Section 1. What does this image tell you about the life of young laborers?
- Identify Point of View** Explain the different points of view Progressives held on the education of children. What point of view did John Dewey hold?
- Draw Inferences** In what way did the Court ruling in *Muller v. Oregon* contradict the ideas behind the women's rights movement?
- Draw Inferences** What factors may have pushed African Americans to migrate from rural areas to urban areas?
- Make Generalizations** How did nonwhites and minority groups seek to better themselves during the Progressive Era?
- Determine Relevance** How important was Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* to passage of the Meat Inspection Act? Explain.
- Explain Effects** How did the Progressive Party affect the presidential election of 1912?
- Analyze Information** Why do historians believe that the Federal Reserve Act was the most important piece of economic legislation before the 1930s?
- Analyze Ideas and Effects** Compare the Social Gospel Movement and its results with Social Darwinism, which you read about earlier.
- Predict Consequences** Do you think that either the NAWSA or the NWP could have succeeded in gaining suffrage for women on its own? Explain.

- Write an opening for the essay that will grab a reader's interest and make sure to include sensory details.
- Use many details to make the story vivid. Include dialogue when possible to convey the thoughts of your character.
- Write a conclusion that summarizes the significance of the experience to the character.

Revising

- Use the guidelines on page SH11 of the Writing Handbook to revise your narrative essay.



Document-Based Assessment

Regulation of the Economy

During the Progressive Era, Presidents such as Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson called for the federal government to take on a greater role in regulating the economy. But not all Americans approved of the expansion of federal power. Use your knowledge of the Progressive Era and Documents A, B, C, and D to answer questions 1 through 4.

Document A

"This country belongs to the people who inhabit it. Its resources, its businesses, its institutions, and its laws should be utilized, maintained, or altered in whatever manner will best promote the general interest. It is time to set the public welfare in the first place. . . .

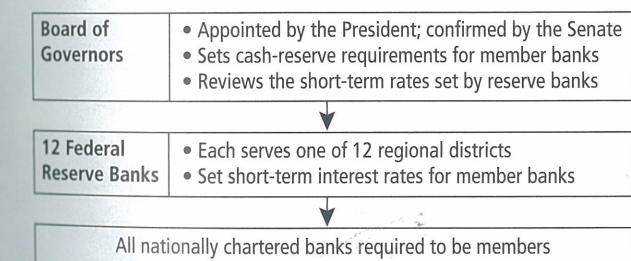
We demand . . . that those who profit by control of business affairs shall justify that profit and that control by sharing with the public the fruits thereof. We therefore demand a strong national regulation of interstate corporations. . . .

We pledge our party to establish a Department of Labor, with a seat in the Cabinet, and with wide jurisdiction over matters affecting the conditions of labor and living."

—Progressive "Bull Moose" Party Platform, 1912

Document B

Federal Reserve System



- Which of the documents above most closely reflects a belief in laissez-faire economics?
 - Document A
 - Document B
 - Document C
 - Document D
- Why does the Progressive Party platform favor the creation of a federal Department of Labor?
 - It would increase the profits of corporations.
 - It would promote the good of the people.
 - It would lead to the regulation of interstate commerce.
 - It would limit the growing power of the federal government.

Document C

"What effect is what you may do here going to have upon the future welfare, productiveness, and value of the greatest single industrial interest of the country? . . . Gentlemen, you may pass an act that will so compromise the value of the property and the prosperity of the communities of this country that it will bring widespread disaster. . . .

What I say, gentlemen, is that [it] is a very, very serious moment when an Anglo-Saxon government undertakes the charge of the people's money and says how much they shall earn by the exercise of their constitutional rights of liberty and property. And it should be recognized that possibly we are at the parting of the ways, and that if this be done it will go on until those constitutional guarantees have but little value, and the only profession worth exercising in the country will be that of holding office in some administrative board."

—David Wilcox, *President of Delaware and Hudson Railroad, testimony to Congress, 1905*

Document D

"We have studied, as perhaps no other nation has, the most effective means of production, but we have not studied cost or economy as we should either as organizers of industry, as statesmen, or as individuals. Nor have we studied and perfected the means by which government may be put to the service of humanity, in safeguarding the health of the nation, the health of its men and its women and its children, as well as their rights in the struggle for existence. . . .

The first duty of law is to keep sound the society it serves. Sanitary laws, pure-food laws, and laws determining conditions of labor, which individuals are powerless to determine for themselves, are intimate parts of the very business of justice and legal efficiency."

—Woodrow Wilson, *First Inaugural Address, 1913*

- Based on Document B, how did the Federal Reserve Act increase the role of the federal government?
 - It gave a federal board greater power to regulate interest rates.
 - It increased the number of commercial banks.
 - It made the Board of Governors independent of the President and Senate.
 - It gave the people the right to elect the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve.
- Writing Task** Should the federal government have broad power over the economy and people's lives? Use your knowledge of the Progressive Era and specific evidence from the primary sources above to support your opinion.