The Progressive Era (Chapter 9)

I. Origins of Progressivism (Section 1)

A. Progressive Movement: not a single movement but a total movement that sought to return control of the government to the people, to restore economic opportunities, and to correct injustices in American life—mostly dealt with urban life

B. Four Goals of Progressivism

1. Protecting Social Welfare
   a. Social Gospel and settlement house movements continued: they helped poor through community centers, churches, social services, etc.
   b. Other organizations with similar goals were established:
      1. Youth Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) opened libraries, sponsored classes, and built recreational centers
      2. Salvation Army fed people, cared for children in nurseries, sent “slum brigades” to teach immigrants about hard work and temperance, etc.
   c. Florence Kelly—a reformer who worked tirelessly for new laws that would prohibit or limit child labor and improve conditions for female workers
      1. She helped gain passage of the Illinois Factory Act in 1893 which prohibited child labor and limited women’s working hours
      2. She helped organize the National Child Labor Committee

2. Promoting Moral Improvement
   a. Reformers believed power could uplift themselves by improving their personal behavior
   b. Prohibition—banning of alcoholic: manufacturing, selling, and transporting of alcoholic beverages
      1. Reformers believed that prohibition would reduce crime and the breakup of families
      2. Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)—founded in Cleveland in 1874—and the Anti-Saloon League (ASL), led the movement
      3. Frances Williard was head of the WCTU for sometime and made the group a national force for temperance, moral purity, and the rights of women
4. Billy Sunday, an ex-ballplayer turned Presbyterian evangelist, preached that saloons were “the parent of crimes and the mother of sins”

5. Violence sometimes erupted between reformers and patrons when the reformers would go into salons, singing, praying, and urging people to stop drinking—alcohol was often a custom

6. The drive for prohibition took many forms
   i. many colleges did not allow students athletes to drink
   ii. some industrialists initiated programs intended to convince their workers to not drink alcohol
   iii. school textbooks included information on the dangers of alcohol

7. In 1917 Congress proposed the Eighteenth Amendment, which barred the manufacture, sale, and distribution of alcoholic beverages—which states ratified in 1919.

3. Creating Economic Reform
   a. Labor leaders, such as Eugene V. Debs (led the Pullman strike as leader of the American Railway Union), embraced socialism because they believed capitalism created an uneven balance between people and big business
   b. Most reformers distanced themselves from socialism but agreed that big business gained favorable advantages thank to government
   c. Muckrakers—writers who revealed the corruption in business and public life

1. Name comes from the character in John Bunyan’s “Pilgrim Progress,” in which a character is so busy using a rake to clean up the muck of this world that he does not raise his eyes to heaven

2. In October 1902, McClure’s publication had in it “Tweed Days in St. Louis” by journalists Lincoln Steffens and Claude Wemore which marked the beginning of muckraking

3. Ida M. Tarbell
   i. She wrote about Rockefeller and his business tactics in her “History of the Standard Oil Company”, which appeared monthly in McClure’s Magazine
ii. Her father was put into bankruptcy by Rockefeller’s tactics
4. Theodore Dreiser wrote *Sister Carie* and *The Financier* which depicted workers brutalized by greedy business owners.
5. Edith Wharton wrote *The House of Mirth* about the closed mindedness of the elite.
6. Jane Addams wrote *Democracy and Social Ethics* in 1902.

4. Fostering Efficiency
   a. Many reformers focused on scientific principles to make society and the workplace safer and more efficient
   b. Louis D. Brandeis
      1. in his brief (argument in court) arguing for limited workday, he used scientific evidence to argue for restricted work day
      2. The research convinced the Court to uphold the Oregon law and became a model for the defense of other social legislation
   c. scientific management
      1. Frederick Winslow Taylor used time and motion studies to improve efficiency by breaking tasks into simpler parts
      2. This became known as “Taylorism” or scientific management
   d. Assembly lines
      1. were applied to speed up production—make people work like Machines
      2. Caused high worker turnover due to injuries or extreme fatigue
      3. Henry Ford shortened work day to 8 hours and pay to $5 a day in his assembly line factories

C. Cleaning Up Local Government
   1. Reforming Local Government
      a. Reformers try to make government efficient, responsive to voters
      b. Some cities change due to natural disaster
         1. Galveston, Texas—1900-Tidal Wave and Hurricane demolished the city
            i. The State had to created a commission of experts to take over and rebuild the city
         2. Dayton, Ohio—1913-Flood occurred destroying most of the area
i. Led to the widespread adoption of the Council Manager form of Government

ii. Council Members are elected and they hire a city manager that has training and experience in public administration

c. Some cities adopt government by commission of experts (each expert in charge of a specific city department)
d. Many use council-manager: people elect council that appoints manager

2. Reform Mayors

a. Hazen Pingree of Detroit tackles taxes, transit fares, corruption

b. Socialist Tom Johnson of Cleveland fights corrupt utility companies

c. Samuel M. “Golden Rule” Jones believed that you should “Do unto others as you would have them do unto you”; he created reform in Toledo

D. Reform at the State Level

1. Reform Governors

a. Governors push states to pass laws to regulate large businesses (railroads, mines, mills, telephone, etc.)

b. Robert M. La Follette

   1. “Fighting Bob” La Follette was a 3-term governor and then senator of Wisconsin who sought to further regulate big business

   2. He pushed the “Wisconsin Idea” which became a model for other states

      i. Called for a direct primary

      ii. Urged state legislature to increase taxes on big businesses such as railroads and public utilities and set up commissions to oversee these businesses

      iii. Pass laws to curb lobbying

c. James S. Hogg

   1. Governor of Texas who fought big business especially in insurance fraud and railroad rate rigging

2. Protecting Working Children

a. Child workers attractive to employers because they get lower wages and their small hands handle small parts better

   1. families need children’s wages so they allow them/force them to work
b. National Child Labor Committee (F. Kelley) gathers evidence of harsh conditions to showcase to draw awareness
c. Labor unions argue children’s wages lower wages for all workers
d. Groups press government to ban child labor and cut work hours

3. Efforts to Limit Working Hours
   a. *Muller v. Oregon*
      1. A case in 1908 where an employer challenged the 10-hour workday that Florence Kelly had pushed through
      2. Louis D. Brandeis was brought in to argue the case for the law; he used scientists’ data to argue case
      3. “Brandeis Brief” contained many examples of the harm that working long hours did to women’s health and well being.
      4. The research convinced the Court to uphold the Oregon law
   b. *Bunting v. Oregon*—upholds 10-hour workday for men
   c. Reformers win workers’ compensation for families of injured, killed

4. Reforming Elections
   a. A ordinary citizen, William S. U’Ren, prompted Oregon to adapt new changes—most states picked up on them shortly thereafter
   b. Secret Ballot (Australian Ballot)—at the time political parties printed their ballot using a distinctive color which made it easy to see how people voted
   c. Initiative—bill proposed by people, not lawmakers, put on ballots
   d. Referendum—voters, not legislature, decide if initiative becomes law (i.e. take a law off the books)
   e. Recall—voters remove elected official through early election
   f. Direct Primaries allow voters, not party machines, to choose candidates

5. Direct Election of Senators
   a. Seventeenth Amendment permits popular election of senators
   b. Prior to this, state’s legislature chose their own US senators which put power in the hands of party bosses and big businesses
II. Women in Public Life (Chapter 9, Section 2)

A. Women in the Work Force
   1. Changing Patterns of Living
      a. Only middle-, upper-class women can devote selves to home, family
      b. Poor women usually have to work for wages outside home
   2. Farm Women
      a. On Southern, Midwestern farms, women’s roles same as before
      b. Perform household tasks, raise livestock, help with crops
   3. Women in Industry
      a. After 1900, 1 in 5 women hold jobs; 25% in manufacturing
      b. 50% industrial workers in garment trade; earn half of men’s wages
      c. Jobs in offices, stores, classrooms require high school education
      d. Business schools train bookkeepers, stenographers, typists
   4. Domestic Workers
      a. In 1870, 70% of employed women do domestic work
      b. Many African-American, immigrant women do domestic labor
         1. married immigrants take in piecework, boarders

B. Women Lead Reform
   1. Women Get Involved
      a. Many female industrial workers seek to reform working conditions
      b. Women form cultural clubs, sometimes become reform groups
   2. Women in Higher Education
      a. Many women active in public life have attended new women’s colleges
      b. 50% college-educated women never marry; many work on social reforms
   3. Women and Reform
      a. Women reformers target workplace, housing, education, food, drugs
      b. National Association of Colored Women (NACW)—their mission was “the moral education of the race with which we are identified”—they set up child care, education opportunities, etc.
      c. Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton founded the national Women Suffrage Association (NWSA)
      d. It then formed with another group to become the National American Women Suffrage Association (NAWSA)
1. worked for woman suffrage, or right to vote
2. Lucy stone and Julia Ward How were to other prominent suffrage leaders
4. A Three-Part Strategy For Suffrage
   a. State Level: Convince state legislatures to give women right to vote
   b. Judicial Level: Test 14th Amendment in court—states lose representation if deny men vote
   c. Federal Level: Push for constitutional amendment to give women the vote
III. Teddy Roosevelt’s Square Deal (Chapter 9, Section 3)

A. Rough-Riding President

1. Roosevelt’s Rise
   a. Theodore Roosevelt has sickly childhood, drives self in athletics
   b. Is ambitious, rises through New York politics
   c. Gained national attention in war with Spain when his Volunteer cavalry brigade (Rough Riders) won acclaim in the battle at San Juan Hill.
   d. Became governor of New York
   e. NY political bosses cannot control him, urge run for vice-president

2. Modern Presidency
   a. President McKinley shot; Roosevelt becomes president at 42
   b. His leadership, publicity campaigns help create modern presidency
   c. He believed presidency should act as a “bully pulpit”—Term coined by Roosevelt that reflected his belief that the president should solve problems that the state does not by influencing the news media and congressmen to shape legislation; pulpit means elevated platform
   d. Square Deal—Roosevelt’s progressive reforms
      1. He promised to “see to it that every man has a square deal, no less and no more”
      2. “While I am President, I wish the laboring man to feel that he has the same right of access to me that the capitalist has; the doors swing open as easily to the wage-worker as to the head of a big corporation—and no easier”—Theodore Roosevelt

B. Using Federal Power

1. Trust-busting
   a. By 1900, trusts control about 4/5 of U.S. industries—many of them held poor reputations with public because of their tactics
   b. Roosevelt wants to curb trusts that hurt public interest (he did not believe all trusts were bad) and use the Sherman Antitrust Act to do so
      1. He first takes on the Northern Securities Company which is controlled by J.P. Morgan and railroad barons James. J. Hill and E.H. Harriman—Roosevelt wins
2. Roosevelt administration filed 44 antitrust suites and won a number of them

2. 1902 Coal Strike
   a. Pennsylvania coal miners went on strike demanding 20 percent raise, nine-hour workday, and the right to organize a union
   b. Coal reserves low; forces miners and operators to accept arbitration (the process by which two opposing sides allow a third party to settle the dispute)
   c. Sets principle of federal intervention when strike threatens public

3. Railroad Regulation
   a. Roosevelt pushes for federal regulation to control abuses
      1. Elkins Act—stops rebates, sudden rate changes
      2. Hepburn Act—limits passes, ICC to set maximum rates

C. Health and the Environment
   1. Regulating Foods and Drugs
      a. Upton Sinclair’s *The Jungle* unveiled the unsanitary conditions in meatpacking
         1. Sinclair wanted to the novel to reveal “the breaking of human hearts by a system [that] exploits the labor of men and women for profits”
            i. Jonas had told them how the meat that was taken out of pickle would often be found sour, and how they would rub it up with [baking] soda to take away the smell, and sell it to be eaten on free-lunch counters; also of all the miracles of chemistry which they performed, giving to any sort of meat, fresh or salted, whole or chopped, any color and any flavor and any odor they chose.
               It was only when the whole ham was spoiled that it came into the department of Elzbieta. Cut up by the two-thousand-revolutions-a-minute flyers, and mixed with half a ton of other meat, no odor that ever was in a ham could make any difference. There was never the least attention paid to what was cut up for sausage; there would come all the way back from Europe old sausage that had been rejected, and that was moldy and white—it would be dosed with borax and glycerin, and dumped into the hoppers, and made over again for home consumption.—Upton Sinclair, *The Jungle* (1906)
            ii. There were the wool-pluckers, whose hands went to pieces even sooner than the hands of the pickle-men; for the pelts of the sheep had to be painted with acid to loosen the wool, and then the pluckers had to pull out this wool with their bare hands, till the acid had eaten their fingers off.
               Some worked at the stamping machines, and it was very seldom that one could work long there at the pace that was set, and not give out and forget himself, and have part of his hand chopped of.
               Those who served in the cooking-rooms. Their peculiar trouble was that they fell into the vats; and when they were fished out, there was never enough of them left to be worth exhibiting.—sometimes they would be overlooked for days, till all but the bones of them had gone out to the world as Durham’s Pure Leaf Lard! —Upton Sinclair, *The Jungle* (1906)
      b. Roosevelt commission investigates, backs up Sinclair’s account
      c. Roosevelt pushes for Meat Inspection Act:
         1. dictates sanitary requirements
         2. creates federal meat inspection program
   2. Pure Food and Drug Act
a. Dr. Harvey Washington Wiley, chief chemist at the Department of Agriculture, went around country lecturing about how manufacturers add harmful preservatives to food
b. Food, drug advertisements make false claims; medicines often unsafe
c. Pure Food and Drug Act halts sale of contaminated food, medicine
   1. requires truth in labeling
3. Conservation and Natural Resources
   a. 1887, U.S. Forest Bureau established, manages 45 million acres
   b. Private interests exploit natural environment
      1. “The conservation of our natural resources and their proper use constitute the fundamental problem which underlies almost every other problem of our national life. . . . But there must be the look ahead, there must be a realization of the fact that to waste, to destroy our natural resources, to skin and exhaust the land instead of using it so as to increase its usefulness, will result in undermining in the days of our children the very prosperity which we ought by right to hand down to them amplified and developed. . . . Optimism is a good characteristic, but if carried to an excess it becomes foolishness. We are prone to speak of the resources of this country as unexhausted ultimately; and wastefulness in dealing with it today means that our descendents will feel the exhaustion a generation or two before they otherwise would.”—Theodore Roosevelt
4. Conservation Measures
   a. Roosevelt was friends with John Muir, a naturalist and writer, who convinced the president to set aside forest reserves rather than selling them in order to preserve them for years to come
   b. Roosevelt sets aside forest reserves, sanctuaries, national parks
   c. He named Gifford Pinchot, a professional conservationist, the head of the U.S. Forest Service
   d. Believes conservation part preservation, part development for public
   e. Roosevelt helped pass the Newlands Reclamation Act
      1. Act used the money from the sale of public lands to be used for irrigation and reclamation—the process of making damaged land productive again
D. Roosevelt and Civil Rights
   1. Civil Rights at the Turn of the 20th Century
      a. Roosevelt does not support civil rights for African Americans
      b. Supports individual African Americans in civil service
         1. invites Booker T. Washington to White House
      c. NAACP—National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
         1. goal is full equality among races
      d. Founded 1909 by W. E. B. Du Bois and black, white reformers
IV. Progressivism Under Taft (Chapter 9, Section 4)

A. Taft Becomes President

1. Taft Stumbles
   a. 1908, Republican William Howard Taft won with Roosevelt’s support (handpicked to be Roosevelt’s successor)
   b. He had a cautiously progressive agenda—got him little credit for successes
      1. filed 90 anti-trust lawsuits (4 years)
      2. all trusts were bad
   c. Does not use presidential bully pulpit to arouse public opinion

2. The Payne-Aldrich Tariff
   a. campaigned on lowering tariffs
   b. signed highest tariff in history (Payne-Aldrich Tariff)
   c. Taft signs Payne-Aldrich Tariff—compromise bill but was highest tariff in history
   d. Progressives were angry believing that Taft had abandoned progressivism

3. Disputing Public Lands
   a. Conservationists angry that Richard A. Ballinger was named interior secretary
      1. Ballinger put 1 million acres of reserved land back into the public domain
   b. An Interior official was fired after protesting Ballinger’s actions—the official then wrote a magazine expose (muckraking article) about Ballinger
   c. Gifford Pinchot head of U.S. Forest Service
      1. testifies against Taft’s pick (Ballinger)
      2. Taft tries to get Pinchot to relax on issue but he refuses and continues to criticize
      3. Pinchot was fired by Taft

B. The Republican Party Splits

1. Problems within the Party
a. Republicans split over Taft’s support of House Speaker Joseph Cannon
   1. Cannon “Uncle Joe” was chairman of the House Rules Committee which decides what bills Congress considers—he often weakened or ignored progressive agenda/bills
   2. Progressives ally with Democrats to try and strip Cannon of his power
b. In 1910 midterm elections, Democrats gained control of House

2. The Bull Moose Party
   a. At 1912 convention, Taft people outmaneuver Roosevelt’s people for nomination
   b. Progressives form Bull Moose Party (nominate Roosevelt), and call for:
      1. more voter participation in government
      2. woman suffrage
      3. labor legislation, business controls

C. Democrats Win in 1912
   1. The Election
      a. William Taft (Republican), Theodore Roosevelt (Bull Moose), and Woodrow Wilson (Democrat)
      b. Wilson endorsed progressive platform called the New Freedom
         1. wanted stronger antitrust laws, banking reform, and lower tariffs
         2. called all monopolies evil
      c. Roosevelt wants oversight of big business and believes that not all monopolies bad
      d. Socialist Party candidate Eugene V. Debs wanted to end capitalism
      e. Wilson won great electoral victory and Democrats also get the majority in Congress
         1. Wilson only received 42 of the popular vote but won majority of popular vote and electoral vote because
Roosevelt and Taft split the Democratic Votes (58 percent of the country)

V. Wilson’s New Freedom (Chapter 9, Section 5)

A. Wilson Wins Financial Reforms

1. Wilson’s Background
   a. Wilson was a lawyer, a professor, the president of Princeton and the governor of NJ
   b. As president—he focused on trusts, tariffs, and high finance
      1. all trusts should be broken
      2. government/business should get smaller
      3. give average citizens greater freedom

2. Two Key Anti-Trust Measures
   a. Clayton Antitrust Act stopped companies from buying stock to form monopoly
      1. Ended injunctions against strikers unless threatened irreparable damage
   b. Federal Trade Commission (FTC)—new “watchdog” agency
      1. investigated regulatory violations
      2. ended unfair business practices

3. A New Tax System
   a. Wilson pushed for Underwood Act to substantially reduce tariffs
   b. Set precedent of giving State of the Union message in person
   c. His use of bully pulpit leads to passage

4. Federal Income Tax
   a. Sixteenth Amendment legalizes graduated federal income tax

5. Federal Reserve System
   a. Federal Reserve System—private banking system under federal control
      1. Nation divided into 12 districts (central federal reserve bank in each district)
2. controlled money supply and credit availability

b. important jobs
   1. keep economy healthy
      i. low inflation
      ii. low unemployment
      iii. helps consumers and producers make economic decisions with confidence and wisdom

2. conduct monetary policy
   i. manage the nation’s money supply
   ii. manage the nation’s use of credit

c. how monetary policy works
   1. discount rate – the interest rate Reserve banks charge banks for short-term loans
   2. reserve requirements – portions of deposits that banks must hold in reserve (either in vaults or on deposit at a Reserve bank)
   3. open market operations – buying and selling of U.S. government securities

d. policy goals
   1. ease money supply
   2. tighten money supply
   3. maintain the growth of the money supply
B. Women Win Suffrage

1. Local Suffrage Battles
   a. College-educated women spread suffrage message to working-class
   b. Went door-to-door and took trolley tours (gave speeches at stops)
      1. some adopt bold tactics of British suffragists
         i. Emmeline Pankurst, British suffragist, used tactics such as heckling government officials, parades, hunger strikes, etc.

2. Catt and the National Movement
   a. Carrie Chapman Catt, head of NAWSA, focused on five tactics:
      1. painstaking organization
      2. close ties between local, state, and national workers
      3. establishing a wide base of support
      4. cautious lobbying
      5. gracious, ladylike behavior
b. Work of patriotic women in war effort influenced politicians
c. 1920 Nineteenth Amendment granted women right to vote

C. The Limits of Progressivism
1. Wilson and Civil Rights
   a. As candidate, won support of NAACP for favoring civil rights
   b. As president, opposed antilynching legislation (believed it fell on under a state law’s responsibility)
   c. Appoints fellow white Southerners to cabinet who extend segregation—Wilson believed segregated facilities were ok as long as both races had access
   d. NAACP felt betrayed and Wilson self-defense widens rift
2. The Twilight of Progressive
   a. Outbreak of World War I distracted Americans and reform efforts stall