

Progressivism



Essential Question

Was the progressive movement successful?



About the Photograph: In the late 1800s women began to form organizations to push for equal rights. This women's suffrage parade took place in New York City in 1912.

In this module you will explore the progressive movement that grew during the late 1800s and learn how individuals and groups worked for political and social changes.

What You Will Learn . . .

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Explore ONLINE!



HISTORY

VIDEOS, including...

- Henry Ford's Motor Company
- W.E.B. DuBois
- Teddy Roosevelt vs. Big Industry
- Teddy Roosevelt's Acts and Legacy
- T.R. and the Bull Moose Party
- Woodrow Wilson



Document-Based Investigations



Graphic Organizers



Interactive Games



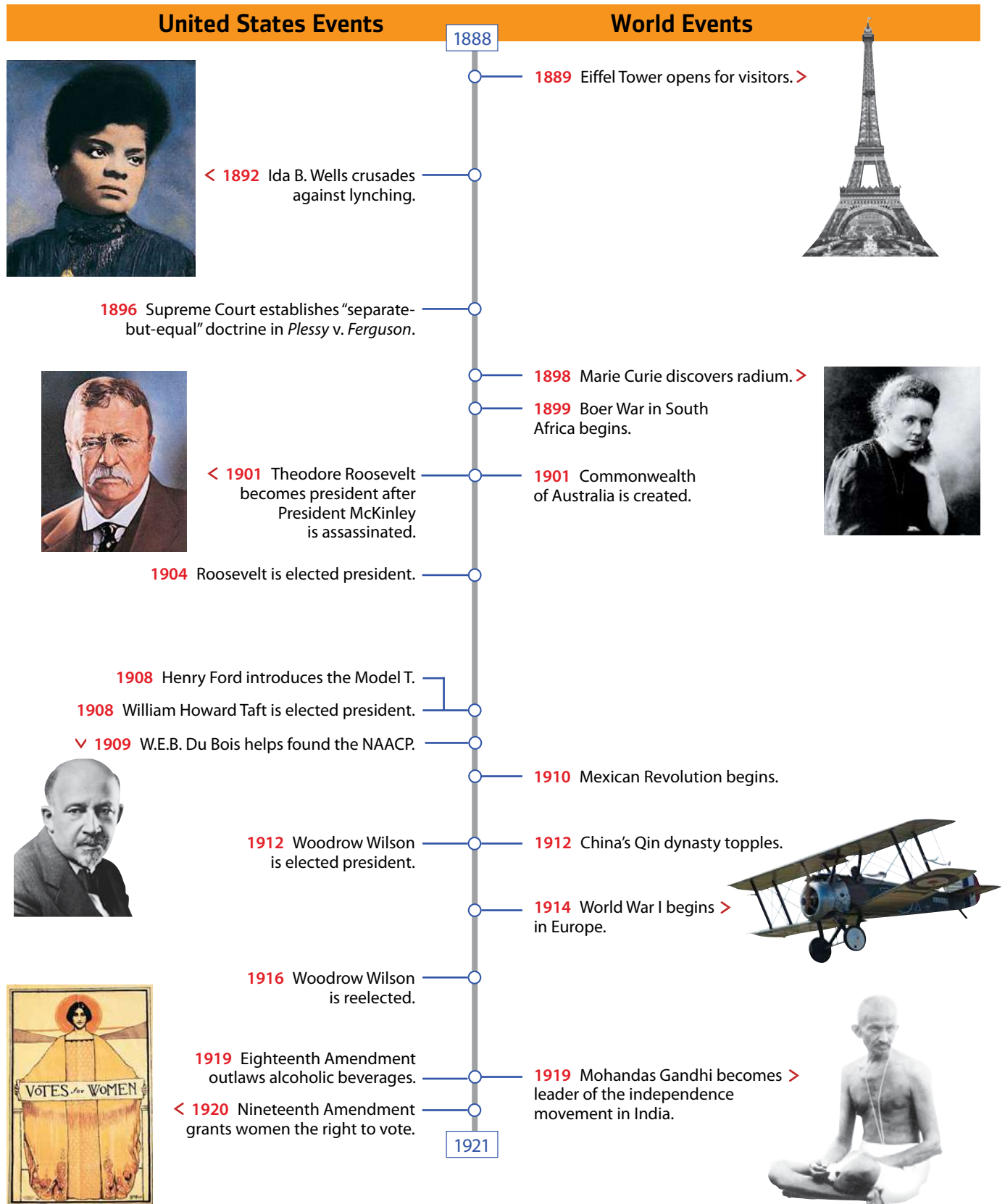
Image Compare: Ford Factory Workers



Image with Text Slider: Suffrage Victories

Timeline of Events 1888–1921

▶ Explore ONLINE!



The Origins of Progressivism

The Big Idea

Political, economic, and social change in late 19th-century America led to broad progressive reforms.

Why It Matters Now

Progressive reforms in areas such as labor and voting rights reinforced democratic principles that continue to exist today.

Key Terms and People

progressive movement

Florence Kelley

prohibition

muckraker

scientific management

Henry Ford

Robert M. La Follette

initiative

referendum

recall

Seventeenth Amendment

One American's Story

Camella Teoli was just 12 years old when she began working in a Lawrence, Massachusetts, textile mill to help support her family. Soon after she started, a machine used for twisting cotton into thread tore off part of her scalp. The young Italian immigrant spent seven months in the hospital and was scarred for life.

Three years later 20,000 Lawrence mill workers went on strike for higher wages. Camella was selected to testify before a congressional committee investigating labor conditions. These conditions included workplace safety and underage workers. When asked why she had gone on strike, Camella answered simply, "Because I didn't get enough to eat at home." She explained how she had gone to work before reaching the legal age of 14.

"I used to go to school, and then a man came up to my house and asked my father why I didn't go to work, so my father says I don't know whether she is 13 or 14 years old. So, the man say: You give me \$4 and I will make

the papers come from the old country [Italy] saying [that] you are 14. So, my father gave him the \$4, and in one month came the papers that I was 14. I went to work, and about two weeks [later] got hurt in my head."

—Camella Teoli, from testimony at congressional hearings, March 1912



Mill workers on strike in 1912 in Lawrence, Massachusetts

After nine weeks of striking, the mill workers won the sympathy of the nation as well as pay raises. Stories like Camella's set off a national investigation of labor conditions. Reformers organized to address the problems of industrialization.

Vocabulary
temperance
refraining from
alcohol consumption

Four Goals of Progressivism

At the dawn of the new century, middle-class reformers addressed many of the problems that had contributed to the social upheavals of the 1890s. Journalists and writers exposed the unsafe conditions often faced by factory workers, including women and children. Intellectuals questioned the dominant role of large corporations in American society. Political reformers struggled to make government more responsive to the people. Together, these reform efforts formed the **progressive movement**. This movement aimed to restore economic opportunities and correct injustices in American life.

Reformers never completely agreed on the problems or solutions. However, each of their progressive efforts shared at least one of the following goals:

- protecting social welfare
- promoting moral improvement
- creating economic reform
- fostering efficiency

PROTECTING SOCIAL WELFARE Many social welfare reformers worked to soften some of the harsh conditions of industrialization. The Social Gospel and settlement house movements of the late 1800s aimed to help the poor through community centers, churches, and social services. These movements continued during the Progressive Era and inspired more reform activities.

The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), for example, opened libraries, sponsored classes, and built swimming pools and handball courts. The Salvation Army fed poor people in soup kitchens and cared for children in nurseries. It also sent "slum brigades" to instruct poor immigrants in middle-class values of hard work and temperance.

In addition, many women were inspired by the settlement houses to take action. **Florence Kelley** became an advocate for improving the lives of women and children. She helped to win passage of the Illinois Factory Act in 1893. The act, which prohibited child labor and limited women's working hours, soon became a model for other states. That same year, Kelley was appointed chief inspector of factories for Illinois.

— BIOGRAPHY —

Florence Kelley (1859–1932)

Florence Kelley was the daughter of an antislavery Republican congressman from Pennsylvania. She became a social reformer who sympathized with the powerless, especially working women and children. Kelley pushed the government to solve America's social problems.

In 1899 Kelley became general secretary of the National Consumers' League, where she lobbied to improve factory conditions. "Why," Kelley asked while campaigning for a federal child labor law, "are seals, bears, reindeer, fish, wild game in the national parks, buffalo, [and] migratory birds all found suitable for federal protection, but not children?"



PROMOTING MORAL IMPROVEMENT Other reformers felt that morality, not the workplace, held the key to improving the lives of poor people. These reformers wanted immigrants and poor city dwellers to uplift themselves by improving their personal behavior. **Prohibition**, the banning of alcoholic beverages, was one such program.

Prohibitionist groups feared that alcohol was undermining American morals. Founded in Cleveland in 1874, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) spearheaded the crusade for prohibition. Members advanced their cause by entering saloons, singing, praying, and urging saloonkeepers to stop selling alcohol. As momentum grew, Frances Willard transformed the union from a small midwestern religious group in 1879 to a national organization. Boasting 245,000 members by 1911, the WCTU became the largest women's group in the nation's history.

WCTU members followed Willard's "do everything" slogan. They began opening kindergartens for immigrants, visiting inmates in prisons and asylums, and working for suffrage. The WCTU reform activities provided women with expanded public roles, which they used to justify giving women voting rights.

Sometimes efforts at prohibition led to trouble with immigrant groups. Quietly founded by progressive women in 1895, the Anti-Saloon League called itself "the Church in action against the saloon." Early temperance efforts had asked individuals to change their ways. In contrast, the Anti-Saloon League worked to pass laws to force people to change and to punish those who drank. As members sought to close saloons to cure society's problems, tensions arose between them and many immigrants. Immigrant customs often included the consumption of alcohol. Additionally, saloons filled a number of roles within the immigrant community such as cashing paychecks and serving meals.

The Anti-Saloon League endorsed politicians of any party who opposed "Demon Rum." It also organized statewide referendums to ban alcohol. Between 1900 and 1917 voters in nearly half of the states prohibited the sale, production, and use of alcohol. Individual towns, city wards, and rural areas also voted themselves "dry."

CREATING ECONOMIC REFORM As moral reformers sought to change behavior, a severe economic panic in 1893 prompted some Americans to question the capitalist economic system. As a result, some Americans, especially workers, embraced socialism. Labor leader Eugene V. Debs helped organize the American Socialist Party in 1901. He commented on the uneven balance among big business, government, and ordinary people under free-market capitalism.

"Competition was natural enough at one time, but do you think you are competing today? Many of you think you are competing. Against whom? Against [oil magnate John D.] Rockefeller? About as I would if I had a wheelbarrow and competed with the Santa Fe [railroad] from here to Kansas City."

—Eugene V. Debs, from *Debs: His Life, Writings and Speeches*

Though most Progressives distanced themselves from socialism, they saw the truth of many of Debs's criticisms. Big business often received favorable treatment from government officials and politicians. Business could use its economic power to limit competition.

Journalists who wrote about the corrupt side of business and public life in mass circulation magazines during the early 20th century became known as **muckrakers** (mŭk'rāk'ŕ). (The term refers to John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. In this book, 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.) In her "History of the Standard Oil Company," a monthly serial in *McClure's Magazine*, writer Ida M. Tarbell described the company's cutthroat methods of eliminating competition. "Mr. Rockefeller has systematically played with loaded dice," Tarbell charged, "and it is doubtful if there has been a time since 1872 when he has run a race with a competitor and started fair." Other muckraking journalists worked to expose dangerous working conditions. These conditions included the use of child labor, unsafe products, and political corruption.

FOSTERING EFFICIENCY Many progressive leaders put their faith in experts and scientific principles to make society and the workplace more efficient. An Oregon law limited women factory and laundry workers to a ten-hour workday. When lawyer Louis D. Brandeis defended this law, he paid little attention to legal argument. Instead, he focused on data produced by social scientists showing the high costs of long working hours for both the individual and society. This type of argument—the "Brandeis brief"—would become a model for later reform litigation.

Within industry, Frederick Winslow Taylor began using time and motion studies to improve efficiency by breaking manufacturing tasks into simpler parts. "Taylorism" became a management fad. Industry reformers applied these **scientific management** studies to see just how quickly each task could be performed.

One of the champions of efficiency in the workplace was automobile pioneer Henry Ford. In the early 1900s **Henry Ford** revolutionized manufacturing with

the production and sale of the Ford Model T automobile. By making his cars simple and identical, Ford was able to introduce mass production through a large-scale assembly line. In this system, the product moved along a conveyor belt as each worker performed one specific job. This new and efficient way of manufacturing automobiles made them more affordable for the general public. What was once viewed as a luxury for the rich soon became the main form of transportation. As Ford stated, "everybody will be able to afford [a car], and about everyone will have one." Cars flew out of Ford's manufacturing plant. His company was soon the largest automobile manufacturer in the world.

However, not all workers could work at the same rate. The introduction of the assembly lines did speed up production, but the system required people to work like machines. This caused a high worker

Workers at the Ford flywheel factory cope with the demanding pace of the assembly line to earn five dollars a day—a good wage in 1914.



The Muckrakers

The muckraking movement spilled over from journalism as writers made use of the greater dramatic effects of fiction to bring about reform. Ida M. Tarbell's "The History of the Standard Oil Company" exposed the ruthlessness of John D. Rockefeller and added force to the trustbusting reforms of the early 20th century. Lincoln Steffens is usually named as a leading figure of the muckraking movement. He published exposés of business and government corruption in various magazines. These articles were then collected in two books: *The Shame of the Cities* and *The Struggle for Self-Government*.

IDA M. TARBELL



Mr. Hanna had been refining since July, 1869. . . . Some time in February, 1872, the Standard Oil Company asked [for] an interview with him and his associates. They wanted to buy his works, they said. "But we don't want to sell," objected

Mr. Hanna. "You can never make any more money, in my judgment," said Mr. Rockefeller. "You can't compete with the Standard. We have all the large refineries now. If you refuse to sell, it will end in your being crushed." Hanna and Baslington were not satisfied. They went to see . . . General Devereux, manager of the Lake Shore road. They were told that the Standard had special rates; that it was useless to try to compete with them. General Devereux explained to the gentlemen that the privileges granted the Standard were the legitimate and necessary advantage of the larger shipper over the smaller. . . . General Devereux says they "recognised the propriety" of his excuse. They certainly recognised its authority. They say that they were satisfied they could no longer get rates to and from Cleveland which would enable them to live, and "reluctantly" sold out. It must have been reluctantly, for they had paid \$75,000 for their works, and had made thirty per cent. a year on an average on their investment, and the Standard appraiser allowed them \$45,000.

—from "The History of the Standard Oil Company" (1904)

LINCOLN STEFFENS



The police are forbidden by law to stand within thirty feet of the polls, but they are at the box and they are there to see that the [Republican political] machine's orders are obeyed and that repeaters whom they help to furnish are permitted to vote without "intimidation" on the names they, the police, have supplied. The editor of an anti-machine paper who was looking about for himself once told me that a ward leader who knew him well asked him into a polling place. "I'll show you how it's done," he said, and he had the repeaters go round and round voting again and again on the names handed them on slips. . . . The business proceeds with very few hitches; there is more jesting than fighting. Violence in the past has had its effect; and is not often necessary nowadays, but if it is needed the police are there to apply it.

—from *The Shame of the Cities* (1904)

Analyze American Literature

State the main idea of each of these selections. What role do details play in making the passages convincing?

Reading Check
Contrast Contrast the goals of scientific management with other progressive reforms.

turnover, often due to injuries suffered by fatigued workers. To keep automobile workers happy and to prevent strikes, Henry Ford reduced the workday to eight hours and paid workers five dollars a day. This incentive attracted thousands of workers, but they exhausted themselves. As one homemaker complained in a letter to Ford in 1914, “That \$5 is a blessing—a bigger one than you know but oh they earn it.”

Such efforts at improving efficiency, an important part of progressivism, targeted not only industry but government as well.

Cleaning Up Local Government

Cities faced some of the most obvious social problems of the new industrial age. In many large cities, political bosses rewarded their supporters with jobs and kickbacks. Bosses also openly bought votes with favors and bribes. Efforts to reform city politics stemmed in part from the desire to make government more efficient and more responsive. But those efforts also grew from distrust of immigrants’ participation in politics.

REFORMING LOCAL GOVERNMENT Natural disasters sometimes played an important role in prompting reform of city governments. In 1900 a hurricane and tidal wave almost demolished Galveston, Texas. The politicians on the city council botched the huge relief and rebuilding job. The Texas legislature then appointed a five-member commission of experts to take over. Each expert took charge of a different city department, and soon Galveston was rebuilt. This success prompted the city to adopt the commission idea as a form of government. By 1917, 500 cities had followed Galveston’s example.

A flood in Dayton, Ohio, in 1913 led to the widespread adoption of the council-manager form of government. Staunton, Virginia, had already pioneered this system, in which people elected a city council to make laws. The council, in turn, appointed a manager, typically a person with training and experience in public administration, to run the city’s departments. By 1925 managers were administering nearly 250 cities.

REFORM MAYORS In some cities, mayors such as Hazen Pingree of Detroit, Michigan (1890–1897), and Tom Johnson of Cleveland, Ohio (1901–1909), introduced progressive reforms without changing how their city governments were organized.

Concentrating on economics, Pingree instituted a fairer tax structure and lowered fares for public transportation. He also rooted out corruption and set up a system of work relief for the unemployed. Detroit city workers built schools, parks, and a municipal lighting plant.

Johnson was only one of 19 socialist mayors who worked to institute progressive reforms in America’s cities. In general, these mayors focused on dismissing corrupt and greedy private owners of utilities and converting the utilities to publicly owned enterprises. Johnson believed that citizens should play a more active role in city government. He held meetings in a large circus tent and invited them to question officials about how the city was managed.

Reading Check
Summarize How did city government change during the Progressive Era?

Reform at the State Level

Local reforms coincided with progressive efforts at the state level. Spurred by progressive governors, many states passed laws to regulate railroads, mines, mills, telephone companies, and other large businesses.

REFORM GOVERNORS Under the progressive Republican leadership of **Robert M. La Follette**, Wisconsin led the way in regulating big business. “Fighting Bob” La Follette served three terms as governor before he entered the U.S. Senate in 1906. Under his leadership, Wisconsin became a laboratory for progressivism. He developed a program called the Wisconsin Idea to recruit the help of professors at the University of Wisconsin in writing laws and providing expert advice. All of La Follette’s reforms and progressive experiments revolved around the idea that government should be controlled by voters rather than business leaders. He explained that he did not mean to “smash corporations, but merely to drive them out of politics, and then to treat them exactly the same as other people are treated.”



James S. Hogg

La Follette’s major target was the railroad industry. He taxed railroad property at the same rate as other business property. He also set up a commission to regulate rates and forbade railroads to issue free passes to state officials. Other reform governors who attacked big business interests included Charles B. Aycock of North Carolina and James S. Hogg of Texas.

PROTECTING WORKING CHILDREN As the number of child workers rose dramatically, reformers worked to protect workers and to end child labor. Businesses hired children because they performed unskilled jobs for lower wages. Children’s small hands also made them more adept at handling small parts and tools. Immigrants and rural migrants often sent their children to work because they viewed their children as part of the family economy. Wages were usually so low for adults that every family member needed to work.

In industrial settings, however, children were more prone to accidents caused by fatigue. Many developed serious health problems and suffered from stunted growth.

Formed in 1904, the National Child Labor Committee sent investigators to gather evidence of children working in harsh conditions. They then organized exhibitions with photographs and statistics to dramatize the children’s plight. Labor union members joined in this effort. They argued that child labor lowered wages for all workers. These groups pressured national politicians to pass the Keating-Owen Act in 1916. The act prohibited the transportation across state lines of goods produced with child labor.

Two years later the Supreme Court declared the act unconstitutional due to interference with states’ rights to regulate labor. However, muckrakers, unions, and other reformers did ultimately succeed in convincing nearly every state to enact legislation that banned child labor and set maximum hours. By removing children from the workforce, Progressives were able to place them in public schools. By 1900 more than half the states had laws requiring children to attend school. By 1918 all states had enacted compulsory school attendance laws.

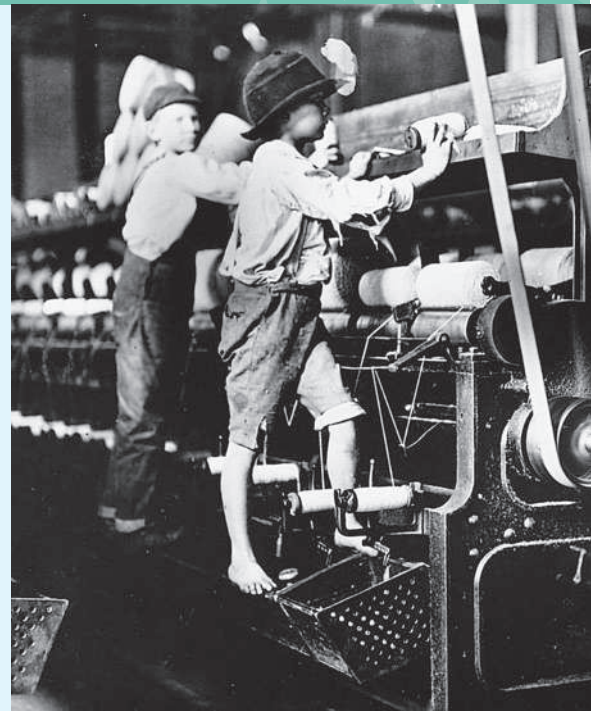
Lewis Hine

In 1908 Lewis Hine quit his teaching job to document child labor practices. He believed in the power of photography to move people to action. His compelling images of exploitation—such as these spindle boys and girls who were forced to climb atop moving machinery to replace parts—helped to convince the public of the need for child labor regulations.

Hine devised a host of clever tactics to gain access to his subjects. He learned shop managers' schedules and arrived during their lunch breaks. While talking casually with the children, he secretly scribbled notes on paper hidden in his pocket.

Analyze Historical Sources

1. What elements of this photograph do you find most striking?
2. Why do you think Hine was a successful photographer?



EFFORTS TO LIMIT WORKING HOURS The Supreme Court sometimes took a more sympathetic view of the plight of workers. In the 1908 case of *Muller v. Oregon*, Louis D. Brandeis argued that poor working women were much more economically insecure than large corporations. Asserting that women required the state's protection against powerful employers, Brandeis convinced the Court to uphold an Oregon law limiting women to a ten-hour workday. Other states responded by enacting or strengthening laws to reduce women's hours of work. A similar Brandeis brief in *Bunting v. Oregon* in 1917 persuaded the Court to uphold a ten-hour workday for men.

Progressives also succeeded in winning workers' compensation to aid the families of workers who were hurt or killed on the job. Beginning with Maryland in 1902, more states passed laws requiring employers to pay benefits in death cases.

REFORMING ELECTIONS In some cases, ordinary citizens won state reforms. William S. U'Ren prompted his state of Oregon to adopt the secret ballot (also called the Australian ballot), the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. These reforms were also a key part of the Wisconsin Idea to give citizens a more direct say in government.

By the late 1880s each party produced their own ballots for elections. In most states the job of printing and distributing these ballots fell to political bosses in each ward. This made it nearly impossible for voters to cast secret ballots. It also made it much easier for political bosses to manipulate elections. The presidential election of 1888 helped focus the public's attention on vote rigging and other corrupt practices. Muckraking journalists, aided by Democrats, exposed the Republican Party's bold practice of openly buying votes in Indiana. This practice handed the presidency to Benjamin Harrison.

By the next presidential election in 1892, all states had adopted a secret ballot to help stop voter corruption.

The initiative and referendum gave citizens the power to create laws. Citizens could petition to place an **initiative**—a bill originated by the people rather than lawmakers—on the ballot. Then voters accepted or rejected the initiative by **referendum**, a vote on the initiative. The **recall** enabled voters to remove public officials from elected positions by forcing them to face another election before the end of their term if enough voters asked for it. By 1920, 20 states had adopted at least one of these procedures.

In 1899 Minnesota passed the first mandatory statewide primary system. This enabled voters, instead of political machines, to choose candidates for public office through a special popular election. About two-thirds of the states had adopted some form of direct primary by 1915.

DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS It was the success of the direct primary that paved the way for the **Seventeenth Amendment** to the Constitution. Before 1913 each state's legislature had chosen its own United States senators. This practice put even more power in the hands of party bosses and wealthy heads of corporations. To force senators to be more responsive to the public, Progressives pushed for the popular election of senators. Popular election would also limit the power of state political machines. At first, the Senate refused to go along with the idea. Gradually more and more states began allowing voters to nominate senatorial candidates in direct primaries. As a result, Congress approved the Seventeenth Amendment in 1912. Its ratification in 1913 made direct election of senators the law of the land.

Government reform—including efforts to give Americans more of a voice in electing their legislators and creating laws—drew increased numbers of women into public life. It also focused renewed attention on the issue of woman suffrage.

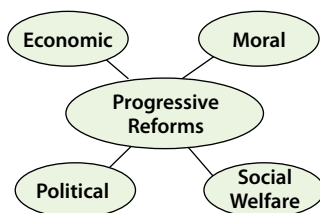
Reading Check

Summarize

Summarize the impact of the direct election of senators.

Lesson 1 Assessment

1. **Organize Information** Fill in a web with examples of organizations that worked for economic, moral, political, and social welfare reform.



Which group was most successful and why?

2. **Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

3. **Form Generalizations** In what ways might Illinois, Wisconsin, and Oregon all be considered trailblazers in progressive reform? Support your answers.

Think About:

- legislative and electoral reforms at the state level
- the leadership of William U'Ren and Robert La Follette
- Florence Kelley's appointment as chief inspector of factories for Illinois

4. **Analyze Primary Sources**

This cartoon shows Carry Nation inside a saloon that she has attacked. Do you think the cartoonist had a favorable or unfavorable opinion of this prohibitionist? Explain.



Education Reform

The Big Idea

Reforms in public education led to a rise in national literacy and the promotion of public education.

Why It Matters Now

The public education system is a foundation of the democratic ideals of American society.

Key Terms and People

Booker T. Washington

Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute

W.E.B. Du Bois

Niagara Movement

One American's Story

William Torrey Harris was an educational reformer who saw the public schools as a great instrument “to lift all classes of people into . . . civilized life.” As U.S. commissioner of education from 1889 to 1906, Harris promoted the ideas of great educators like Horace Mann and John Dewey. Harris advanced the belief that schools exist for the children and not the teachers. Schools, according to Harris, should properly prepare students for full participation in community life.

“Every [educational] method must . . . be looked at from two points of view: first, its capacity to secure the development of rationality or of the true adjustment of the individual to the social whole; and, second, its capacity to strengthen the individuality of the pupil and avoid the danger of obliterating the personality of the child by securing blind obedience in place of intelligent cooperation, and by mechanical memorizing in place of rational insight.”

—William Torrey Harris, quoted in *Public Schools and Moral Education*



Compulsory attendance laws, though slow to be enforced, helped fill classrooms at the turn of the 20th century.

Many other middle-class reformers agreed with Harris. They viewed the public schools as training grounds for employment and citizenship. People believed that economic development depended on scientific and technological knowledge. As a result, they viewed education as a key to greater security and social status. Others saw the public schools as the best opportunity to assimilate immigrants entering American society. Most people also believed that public education was necessary for a stable and prosperous democratic nation.

Expanding Public Education

Although most states had established public schools by the Civil War, many school-age children still received no formal schooling. The majority of students who went to school left within four years. Few went to high school. However, as the United States moved from an agricultural economy to a more modern industrial economy, formal education grew in importance.

SCHOOLS FOR CHILDREN Between 1865 and 1895 states passed laws requiring 12 to 16 weeks annually of school attendance by students between the ages of 8 and 14. The curriculum emphasized reading, writing, and arithmetic. However, the emphasis on rote memorization and the uneven quality of teachers drew criticism. Strict rules and physical punishment made many students miserable.

In spite of such problems, children began attending school at a younger age. Kindergartens had been created outside the public school system to offer childcare for working mothers. Kindergartens became increasingly popular. Their numbers surged from 200 in 1880 to 3,000 in 1900. Under the guidance of William Torrey Harris, public school systems began to add kindergartens to their programs.

Although public education grew, opportunities differed sharply for white and black students. In 1880 about 62 percent of white children attended elementary school. This compared to about 34 percent of African American children. Not until the 1940s would public school education become available to the majority of black children living in the South.

THE GROWTH OF HIGH SCHOOLS In the new industrial age, the economy demanded advanced technical and managerial skills. Moreover, business leaders like Andrew Carnegie pointed out that keeping workers loyal to capitalism required society to “provide ladders upon which the aspiring can rise.”

By early 1900 more than half a million students attended high school. The curriculum expanded to include courses in science, civics, and social studies.

Document-Based Investigation Historical Source

Early Immigrant Education

By 1895 most states passed laws requiring children under age 14 to attend school. One 13-year-old boy explained to a Chicago school inspector why he hid in a warehouse basement instead of going to school.







“They hits ye if yer don’t learn, and they hits ye if ye whisper, and they hits ye if ye have string in yer pocket, and they hits ye if yer seat squeaks, and they hits ye if ye don’t stan’ up in time, and they hits ye if yer late, and they hits ye if ye forget the page.”


—anonymous schoolboy, quoted in *The One Best System*

Analyze Historical Sources

What reason does the Chicago schoolboy give for not wanting to attend school?

Expanding Education/Increasing Literacy

Year	Students Enrolled	Literacy in English (% of Population age 10 and over)
1871	 7.6 million	80%
1880	 9.9 million	83%
1890	 12.7 million	87%
1900	 15.5 million	89%
1910	 17.8 million	92%
1920	 21.6 million	94%

 = 1,000,000 students
Sources: *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1921*; *Historical Statistics of the United States*

Interpret Graphs

1. Which year reported the greatest gain in the literacy rate?
2. What do you think were the implications on society of a more literate population?

New vocational courses in drafting, carpentry, and mechanics prepared male graduates for industrial jobs. Courses in stenography and bookkeeping prepared female graduates for office work.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION African Americans were mostly excluded from public secondary education. In 1890 fewer than 1 percent of black teenagers attended high school. More than two-thirds of these students went to private schools, which received no government financial support. By 1910 about 3 percent of African Americans between the ages of 15 and 19 attended high school. However, a majority of these students still attended private schools.

Mary McLeod Bethune started one such private school in Daytona Beach, Florida. With less than \$20 in her budget, Bethune rented a house and built desks. She opened a school for African American girls. Through her work in education and civil rights, Bethune attracted help from wealthy donors, such as John D. Rockefeller and Eleanor Roosevelt. In time, Bethune's school grew and merged with a local African American boys school to become Bethune-Cookman College.

EDUCATION FOR IMMIGRANTS Unlike African Americans, immigrants were encouraged to go to school. Nearly 10 million European immigrants settled in the United States between 1860 and 1890. Many were Jewish people fleeing poverty and systematic oppression in eastern Europe. Most immigrants sent their children to America's free public schools, where they quickly became "Americanized." Russian Jewish immigrant Mary Antin recalled the large numbers of non-English-speaking immigrant children. By the end of the school year, they could recite "patriotic verses in honor of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln . . . with plenty of enthusiasm."

Technology and Schools

In 1922 Thomas Edison predicted that motion pictures would eventually replace textbooks. More recently, it has been predicted that online learning will replace traditional classrooms and texts. Today, many students are able to read and interact with course materials on the Internet, using computers, tablets, and cell phones. MOOCs, or massive open

online courses, allow students in many locations to participate in the same class. Students are also using the Internet to access and share scientific data and to communicate with peers around the world. Technology has begun to reshape traditional classrooms as well. Teachers are using electronic interactive whiteboards to help them lead and record presentations and discussions.

Vocabulary

parochial school a school supported by a church parish

Reading Check

Draw Conclusions

Why did American children begin attending school at a younger age?

Some people resented the suppression of their native languages in favor of English. Catholics were concerned that many public school systems had mandatory readings from the (Protestant) King James Version of the Bible. Catholic communities often set up parochial schools to give their children a Catholic education.

Thousands of adult immigrants attended night school to learn English and to qualify for American citizenship. Employers often offered daytime programs to Americanize their workers. At his Model T plant in Highland Park, Michigan, Henry Ford established a “Sociology Department.” He believed “men of many nations must be taught American ways, the English language, and the right way to live.” Ford’s ideas were not universally accepted. Some labor activists argued that Ford’s educational goals sought to weaken the trade union movement by teaching workers not to confront management.

Expanding Higher Education

Although the number of students attending high school had increased by the turn of the century, only a minority of Americans had high school diplomas. At the same time, an even smaller minority—only 2.3 percent—of America’s young people attended colleges and universities.

CHANGES IN UNIVERSITIES Between 1880 and 1920 college enrollments more than quadrupled. And colleges instituted major changes in curricula and admission policies. Industrial development changed the nation’s educational needs. The research university emerged—offering courses in modern languages, the physical sciences, and the new disciplines of psychology and sociology. Professional schools in law and medicine were established. Some state universities began to admit students by using the high school diploma as the entrance requirement. Other colleges and universities required entrance exams to help them identify the most qualified students.

HIGHER EDUCATION FOR AFRICAN AMERICANS After the Civil War, thousands of freed African Americans pursued higher education, despite their exclusion from white institutions. With the help of the Freedmen’s Bureau and other groups, blacks founded Howard, Atlanta, and Fisk



Students at Hampton Institute in Virginia learn dressmaking.

universities. These schools opened between 1865 and 1868. Private donors could not, however, financially support enough black college graduates to meet the needs of the segregated communities. By 1900, out of about 9 million African Americans, only 3,880 attended colleges or professional schools.

The prominent African American educator, **Booker T. Washington**, believed that racism would end once blacks acquired useful labor skills and proved their economic value to society. Washington, who was born enslaved, graduated from Virginia's Hampton Institute. By 1881 he headed the **Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute**, now called Tuskegee University, in Alabama. Tuskegee aimed to equip

African Americans with teaching diplomas and useful skills in agricultural, domestic, or mechanical work. "No race," Washington said, "can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem."

W.E.B. Du Bois, the first African American to receive a doctorate from Harvard, strongly disagreed with Washington's gradual approach. In 1905 Du Bois founded the **Niagara Movement**. This group insisted that blacks should seek a liberal arts education so that the African American community would have well-educated leaders.

The Niagara Movement was comprised of 29 black intellectuals. They met secretly in 1905 to compose a civil rights manifesto. Du Bois proposed that a group of educated blacks attempt to achieve immediate inclusion into mainstream American life. He wanted the group to be the most "talented tenth" of the community. "We are Americans, not only by birth and by citizenship," Du Bois argued, "but by our political ideals. . . . And the greatest of those ideals is that ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL."

By the turn of the 20th century, millions of people received the education they needed to cope with a rapidly changing world. At the same time, however, racial discrimination remained a thorn in the flesh of American society.

Reading Check
Synthesize Describe the state of higher education for African Americans at the turn of the century.

Lesson 2 Assessment

- Organize Information** Create a chart to list three developments in education at the turn of the 20th century and their major results.

Development	Result
1.	
2.	
3.	

Which educational development do you think was most important? Explain your choice.

- Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Predict** How might the economy and culture of the United States have been different without the expansion of public schools?

Think About:

- public school goals and whether they have been met
- why people supported expanding public education
- the impact of public schools on the development of private schools

- Compare and Contrast** Compare and contrast the views of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois on the subject of the education of African Americans.

Segregation and Discrimination

The Big Idea

African Americans led the fight against voting restrictions and Jim Crow laws.

Why It Matters Now

Today, African Americans have the legacy of a century-long battle for civil rights.

Key Terms and People

Ida B. Wells

poll tax

grandfather clause

segregation

Jim Crow laws

Plessy v. Ferguson

debt peonage

One American's Story

Born into slavery shortly before emancipation, **Ida B. Wells** moved to Memphis in the early 1880s to work as a teacher. She later became an editor of a local paper. Racial justice was a persistent theme in Wells's reporting. The events of March 9, 1892, turned that theme into a crusade. Three African American businessmen, friends of Wells, were lynched—illegally executed without trial. Wells saw lynching for what it was.

"Thomas Moss, Calvin McDowell, and Lee Stewart had been lynched in Memphis . . . [where] no lynching had taken place before. . . . This is what opened my eyes to what lynching really was. An excuse to get rid of Negroes who were acquiring wealth and property and thus keep the race terrorized."

—Ida B. Wells, quoted in *Crusade for Justice*



Ida B. Wells moved north to continue her fight against lynching by writing, lecturing, and organizing for civil rights.

African Americans were not the only group to experience violence and racial discrimination. Native Americans, Mexican residents, and Chinese immigrants also encountered bitter forms of oppression, particularly in the American West.

Vocabulary

nadir the worst or lowest point in an experience

Vocabulary

minstrel one of a troupe of entertainers in blackface presenting a comic variety show

Legal Discrimination

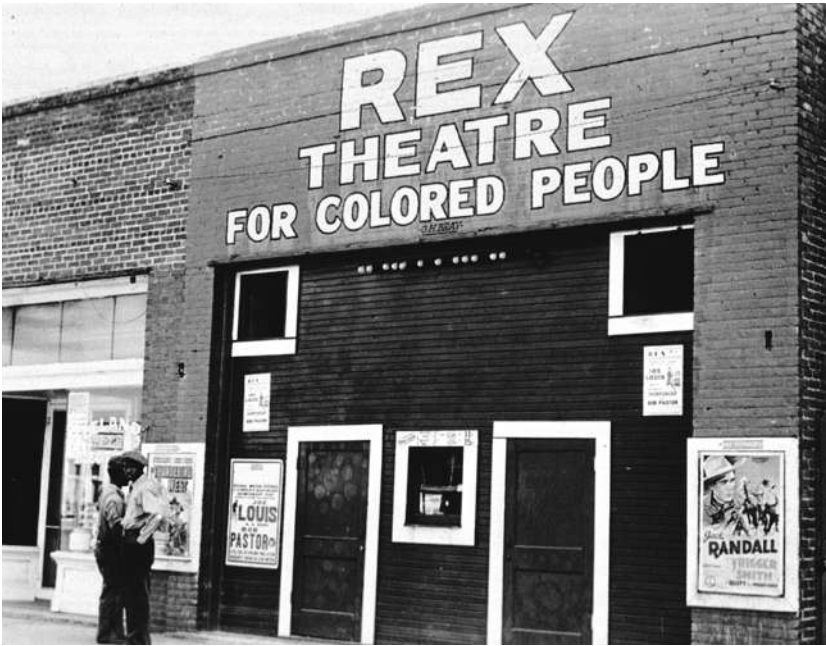
As African Americans exercised their newly won political and social rights during Reconstruction, many at this time held onto the hope that life in America was changing for the better. However, African Americans faced hostile and often violent opposition from some whites. For at least ten years after the end of Reconstruction in 1877, African Americans in the South continued to vote and occasionally hold political office. By the turn of the 20th century, however, southern states had adopted a broad system of legal policies of racial discrimination. These states devised methods to weaken African American political power. This period between the late 19th and early 20th centuries was called *the nadir* by noted black historian Rayford Logan.

VOTING RESTRICTIONS As the nadir wore on, the hopes of African Americans slowly eroded. All southern states imposed new voting restrictions and denied legal equality to African Americans. Some states, for example, limited the vote to people who could read. Registration officials administered a literacy, or reading, test. Blacks trying to vote were often asked more difficult questions than whites, or given a test in a foreign language. Officials could pass or fail applicants as they wished.

Another requirement was the **poll tax**, an annual tax that had to be paid before qualifying to vote. Black as well as white sharecroppers were often too poor to pay the poll tax. To reinstate white voters who may have failed the literacy test or could not pay the poll tax, several southern states added the **grandfather clause** to their constitutions. The clause stated that even if a man failed the literacy test or could not afford the poll tax, he was still entitled to vote if he, his father, or his grandfather had been eligible to vote before January 1, 1867. Before that date, freed slaves did not have the right to vote. The grandfather clause, therefore, did not protect voting rights for many African Americans.

JIM CROW LAWS During the 1870s and 1880s, the Supreme Court failed to overturn the poll tax or the grandfather clause. The laws stood even though they undermined all federal protections for African Americans' civil rights. At the same time that blacks lost voting rights, southern states passed racial **segregation** laws to separate white and black people in public and private facilities. This kind of segregation, enforced by laws, is known as *de jure* segregation. These laws came to be known as **Jim Crow laws** after a popular old minstrel song that ended in the words "Jump, Jim Crow."

The first Supreme Court decision to set a precedent for segregation appeared to have nothing to do with race relations at all. In 1873 three separate cases regarding the meatpacking industry in New Orleans were brought before the Court. Together, these cases were called the Slaughterhouse Cases. The state of Louisiana had decided to create a new corporation to run all slaughterhouses in the city of New Orleans. The slaughterhouse owners objected, stating that it would be an unlawful monopoly. They argued that Louisiana violated the Fourteenth Amendment, which stated that no state could impede the rights and privileges of its citizens. Unfortunately for the



This theater in Leland, Mississippi, was segregated under the Jim Crow laws.

plaintiffs, the Supreme Court did not agree. It said that the Fourteenth Amendment only protected the rights granted by the U.S. Constitution. It did not protect rights, such as business ownership, that had been granted by states.

Though they did not deal directly with segregation, the Slaughterhouse Cases were later used to justify the creation of separate facilities for blacks and whites. After all, schooling, housing, transportation, and the like were rights granted to citizens by states, not the federal government. Therefore, states had the right to determine how those rights were interpreted.

PLESSY v. FERGUSON Eventually a legal case reached the U.S. Supreme Court to test the constitutionality of segregation. In 1896, in **Plessy v. Ferguson**, the Supreme Court ruled that the separation of races in public accommodations was legal and did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment. The decision established the doctrine of “separate but equal.” This allowed states to maintain segregated facilities for blacks and whites as long as they provided equal service. The decision permitted legalized racial segregation for almost 60 years.

The implementation of Jim Crow laws and the decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* chipped away at the rights of African Americans and other racial minorities. Democracy in the United States had been founded on a tradition of majority rule while at the same time protecting minority rights. The Bill of Rights was intended to protect the rights of all U.S. citizens, whether they are in the majority or the minority. In the late 1800s, however, the political majority—overwhelmingly white men—used legislation and court decisions to strip away the rights of minorities. Despite these roadblocks, African Americans continued to fight inequality through the courts and through the press. By the mid-1900s these efforts would begin to pay off. Strong, national civil rights organizations helped push for laws and protections to end racial discrimination.

Turn-of-the-Century Race Relations

African Americans faced not only formal discrimination but also informal rules and customs, called racial etiquette, that regulated relationships between whites and blacks. Usually, these customs belittled and humiliated African Americans, enforcing their second-class status. For example, blacks and whites never shook hands, since shaking hands would have implied equality. Blacks also had to yield the sidewalk to white pedestrians. Black men always had to remove their hats for whites.

Reading Check

Analyze Effects

How did the *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling affect the civil rights of African Americans?

WASHINGTON VS. DU BOIS Some moderate reformers, like Booker T. Washington, earned support from whites. Washington suggested that whites and blacks work together for social progress. Washington hoped that improving the economic skills of African Americans would pave the way for long-term gains. He argued for a gradual approach to racial equality. Washington suggested that “it is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top.”

People like Ida B. Wells and W.E.B. Du Bois, however, thought that the problems of inequality were too urgent to postpone. W.E.B. Du Bois denounced Washington’s view of gradual equality. Du Bois demanded full social and economic equality for African Americans. He declared that “persistent manly agitation is the way to liberty.”

VIOLENCE African Americans and others who did not follow the racial etiquette could face severe punishment or death. All too often, blacks who were accused of violating the etiquette were lynched. Between 1882 and 1892 more than 1,400 African American men and women were shot, burned, or hanged without trial in the South. Lynching peaked in the 1880s and 1890s but continued well into the 20th century.

The Wilmington Race Riots revealed the lengths that some whites in the South would go to hold on to power. In 1896 white Populists and black Republicans in North Carolina had joined forces to defeat the Democrats that controlled state politics. In 1898 the Democrats won back control. But this did not pacify white radicals in Wilmington. They rioted, driving black community leaders from the city, burning black-owned businesses, and gunning down African Americans in the streets. By the next day, 14 African Americans had been killed, according to official records. However, the real number was likely much higher. In addition, many African Americans were banished from the city. Others fled, fearing for their lives.

Document-Based Investigation Historical Source

The Atlanta Compromise

On September 18, 1895, Booker T. Washington was invited to deliver a speech to the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta. In the speech, he outlined his ideas about racial inequality and the shared responsibilities of African Americans and whites in improving society both socially and economically.

“To those of the white race . . . I would repeat what I say to my own race. . . . Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labour wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, builded your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth. . . . In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.”

—Booker T. Washington, from a speech to the Cotton States and International Exposition

Analyze Historical Sources

How do Washington’s words represent a compromise?

AFRICAN AMERICAN PRESS With the erosion of federal protections for African Americans, many in the South turned to the press to help fight back against inequality. During the latter half of the 19th century, hundreds of black newspapers sprang up in communities across the South. While many of these newspapers did not last long, they provided a valuable service for communities that had few outlets to seek justice. Brave editors, such as Ida B. Wells of the *Free Speech and Headlight* in Memphis, Tennessee, documented lynching and other acts of violence. When a lynch mob attacked her newspaper office in 1892, Wells was fortunately out of town. Fearing for her safety, she did not return to the South for another 30 years. She did not give up on her work, however. She continued to fight back, hoping that one day the traditions of American democracy would be applied equally to all of the country's citizens.

DISCRIMINATION IN THE NORTH Most African Americans lived in the segregated South. By 1900, however, a number of blacks had moved to northern cities. Many blacks migrated to northern cities in search of better-paying jobs and social equality. But after their arrival, African Americans found that there was racial discrimination in the North as well. Many African Americans faced social and economic pressures that forced them into segregated neighborhoods. This kind of segregation is known as *de facto* segregation. Although not enforced by laws, *de facto* segregation had some of the same effects on African Americans in northern cities as *de jure* segregation had on African Americans in the South.

African Americans faced discrimination in the workplace as well. Labor unions often discouraged black membership. Employers hired African American labor only as a last resort and fired blacks before white employees. Sometimes the competition between African Americans and working-class whites became violent, as in the New York City race riot of 1900. Violence erupted after a young black man, believing that his wife was being mistreated by a white policeman, killed the policeman. Word of the killing spread, and whites retaliated by attacking blacks. Northern blacks, however, were not alone in facing discrimination. Nonwhites in the West also faced oppression.

Discrimination in the West

Western communities were home to people of many backgrounds working and living side by side. Native Americans still lived in the western territories claimed by the United States. Asian immigrants went to America's Pacific coast in search of wealth and work. Mexicans continued to inhabit the American Southwest. African Americans were also present, especially in former slave-holding areas, such as Texas. Still, racial tensions often made life difficult.

MEXICAN WORKERS In the late 1800s the railroads hired large numbers of Mexicans to construct rail lines in the Southwest. Mexicans were accustomed to the region's hot, dry climate. But the work was grueling, and the railroads made them work for less money than other ethnic groups.

Reading Check

Summarize What were Booker T. Washington's views about establishing racial equality?



Mexican track workers for the Southern Pacific Railroad posed for this group photo taken sometime between 1910 and 1915.

Vocabulary

peon a worker bound in servitude to a landlord creditor

Mexicans were also vital to the development of mining and agriculture in the Southwest. When the 1902 National Reclamation Act gave government assistance for irrigation projects, many southwest desert areas bloomed. Mexican workers became the major labor force in the agricultural industries of the region.

Like other immigrant workers, Mexican farm workers often faced difficult working conditions for low pay. To help win improved conditions and higher pay, Mexican and Japanese farm workers formed the Japanese-Mexican Labor Association in 1903. This was the first farm labor union of its kind.

Some Mexicans, however, as well as African Americans in the Southwest, were forced into **debt peonage**. This system bound laborers into slavery in order to work off a debt to the employer. Not until 1911 did the Supreme Court declare involuntary peonage a violation of the Thirteenth Amendment.

EXCLUDING THE CHINESE By 1880 more than 100,000 Chinese immigrants lived in the United States. White people's fear of job competition often pushed the Chinese into segregated schools and neighborhoods.

Discrimination against Chinese immigrants prompted some to return to China. Among them were the parents of Wong Kim Ark, who returned in 1890. Wong Kim Ark, though, decided to stay. Having been born in California, he considered the United States his home. After a brief visit with his parents in China in 1894, Wong was denied reentry to the United States and detained. To justify this action, government officials cited the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Rather than abandon his homeland, Wong Kim Ark decided to fight back. After a four-year legal battle, the U.S. Supreme Court, citing the Fourteenth Amendment, ruled that because Wong was born in the United States, he was a citizen. *United States v. Wong Kim Ark* became a landmark case in determining citizenship status for the children of immigrants.

NATIVE AMERICANS Like other minority groups in the West, Native Americans faced discrimination and violence. Unlike other minority groups, though, most Native Americans were not U.S. citizens. As the United States



Native Americans of the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes perform a Ghost Dance at the Indian Congress in 1898.

grew, Native Americans were pushed farther and farther west. Many had to give up their lands for homes on reservations. In addition, many whites felt that Native Americans lacked the intelligence to become citizens. Whites often opposed any naturalization efforts by the government.

The courts ruled that Native American citizenship was not granted by the Fourteenth Amendment. Because most were living on reservations, Native Americans were not under the jurisdiction, or rule, of the United States government at birth. After the Dawes Act in 1887, some Native American groups were able to trade reservation land for citizenship. However, even with full citizenship, many states still denied Native Americans the right to vote, serve on juries, or attend public schools.

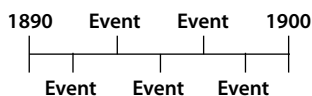
Vocabulary
naturalization the formal process of becoming a United States citizen

Reading Check
Make Inferences
 Why did some Native Americans resist offers of citizenship?

Beginning in the late 19th century, groups formed to help Native Americans fight for their civil rights. One such group was the Women's National Indian Association. However, many of these groups believed that the only way for Native Americans to become full citizens was to assimilate into American culture. This pressure to assimilate led many Native Americans to embrace the Ghost Dance movement. The Ghost Dance movement encouraged Native Americans to return to their traditions. The movement's leader, Wovoka, claimed to have had a vision of the end of the world. At that point, Wovoka claimed, Native Americans would regain their lands and ways of life. Though the movement had been formed as a peaceful attempt to revitalize Native American culture, the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs feared it would encourage violent rebellion. The bureau banned the Ghost Dance.

Lesson 3 Assessment

- 1. Organize Information** Review the lesson, and find five key events to place on a timeline.



Which of these events do you think was most important? Why?

- 2. Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- 3. Contrast** How did the challenges and opportunities for Mexicans in the United States differ from those for African Americans?

Think About:

- the types of work available to each group
- the effects of government policies on each group
- the effect of the legal system on each group

- 4. Identify Problems** How did segregation and discrimination affect the lives of African Americans at the turn of the 20th century?

- 5. Compare** What did some African American leaders do to fight discrimination?

Plessy v. Ferguson (1896)

ORIGINS OF THE CASE

In 1892 Homer Plessy took a seat in the “Whites Only” car of a train and refused to move. He was arrested, tried, and convicted in the District Court of New Orleans for breaking Louisiana’s segregation law. Plessy appealed, claiming that he had been denied equal protection under the law. The Supreme Court handed down its decision on May 18, 1896.

THE RULING

The Court ruled that separate-but-equal facilities for blacks and whites did not violate the Constitution.

LEGAL REASONING

Plessy claimed that segregation violated his right to equal protection under the law. Moreover, he claimed that, being “of mixed descent,” he was entitled to “every recognition, right, privilege and immunity secured to the citizens of the United States of the white race.”

Justice Henry B. Brown, writing for the majority, ruled:

“The object of the [Fourteenth] amendment was . . . undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but . . . it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either. Laws permitting, and even requiring, their separation in places where they are liable to be brought into contact do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other.”

In truth, segregation laws did perpetrate an unequal and inferior status for African Americans. Justice John Marshall Harlan understood this fact and dissented



Justice John Marshall Harlan

from the majority opinion. He wrote, “In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law.” He condemned the majority for letting “the seeds of race hate . . . be planted under the sanction of law.” He also warned that “The thin disguise of ‘equal’ accommodations . . . will not mislead any one, nor atone for the wrong this day done.”

LEGAL SOURCES

LEGISLATION

U.S. Constitution, Fourteenth Amendment (1868)

“No state shall . . . deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.”

Louisiana Acts 1890, No. 111

“. . . that all railway companies carrying passengers in their coaches in this State, shall provide equal but separate accommodations for the white, and colored races.”

RELATED CASES

Civil Rights Cases (1883)

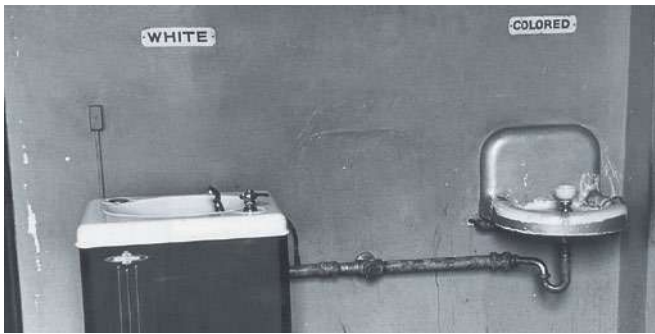
The Court ruled that the Fourteenth Amendment could not be used to prevent private citizens from discriminating against others on the basis of race.

Williams v. Mississippi (1898)

The Court upheld a state literacy requirement for voting that, in effect, kept African Americans from the polls.

Cumming v. Board of Education of Richmond County (1899)

The Court ruled that the federal government cannot prevent segregation in local school facilities because education is a local, not federal, issue.



One result of Jim Crow laws was separate drinking fountains for whites and African Americans.

WHY IT MATTERED

In the decades following the Civil War (1861–1865), southern state legislatures passed laws that aimed to limit civil rights for African Americans. The Black Codes of the 1860s, and later Jim Crow laws, were intended to deprive African Americans of their newly won political and social rights granted during Reconstruction.

Plessy was one of several Supreme Court cases brought by African Americans to protect their rights against segregation. In these cases, the Court regularly ignored the Fourteenth Amendment and upheld state laws that denied blacks their rights. *Plessy* was the most important of these cases because the Court used it to establish the separate-but-equal doctrine.

As a result, city and state governments across the South—and in some other states—maintained their segregation laws for more than half of the 20th century. These laws limited African Americans' access to most public facilities, including restaurants, schools, and hospitals. Without exception, the facilities reserved for whites were superior to those reserved for nonwhites. Signs reading "Colored Only" and "Whites Only" served as constant reminders that facilities in segregated societies were separate but not equal.

HISTORICAL IMPACT

It took many decades to abolish legal segregation. During the first half of the 20th century, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) led the legal fight to overturn *Plessy*. Although they won a few cases over the years, it was not until 1954 in *Brown v. Board of Education* that the Court overturned any part of *Plessy*. In that case, the Supreme Court said that separate-but-equal was unconstitutional in public education, but it did not completely overturn the separate-but-equal doctrine.

In later years, the Court did overturn the separate-but-equal doctrine, and it used the *Brown* decision to do so. For example, in 1955 Rosa Parks was convicted for violating a Montgomery, Alabama, law for segregated seating on buses. A federal court overturned the conviction, finding such segregation unconstitutional. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court, which upheld without comment the lower court's decision. In doing so in this and similar cases, the Court signaled that the reasoning behind *Plessy* no longer applied.



As secretary of the Montgomery chapter of the NAACP, Rosa Parks had protested segregation through everyday acts long before September 1955.

Critical Thinking

1. Connect to History Research and read Justice Harlan's entire dissent in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Based on his position, what view might Harlan have taken toward laws that denied African Americans the right to vote? Write a paragraph or two expressing what Harlan would say about those laws.

2. Connect to Today Read the part of the Fourteenth Amendment reprinted in this feature. Write a paragraph explaining what you think "equal protection of the laws" means. Use evidence to support your ideas.

Women in Public Life

The Big Idea

As a result of social and economic change, many women entered public life as workers and reformers.

Why It Matters Now

Women won new opportunities in labor and education that are enjoyed today.

Key Terms and People

NACW

Susan B. Anthony

suffrage

Elizabeth Cady Stanton

NAWSA

One American's Story

In 1879 Susette La Flesche, a young Omaha woman, traveled east to translate into English the sad words of Chief Standing Bear, whose Ponca people had been forcibly removed from their homeland in Nebraska. Later, she was invited with Chief Standing Bear to go on a lecture tour to draw attention to the Ponca's situation.

"We are thinking men and women. . . . We have a right to be heard in whatever concerns us. Your government has driven us hither and thither like cattle. . . . Your government has no right to say to us, Go here, or Go there, and if we show any reluctance, to force us to do its will at the point of the bayonet. . . . Do you wonder that the Indian feels outraged by such treatment and retaliates, although it will end in death to himself?"

—Susette La Flesche, quoted in *Bright Eyes*



Susette La Flesche

La Flesche testified before congressional committees and helped win passage of the Dawes Act of 1887. This act allowed individual Native Americans to claim reservation land and citizenship rights. Her activism was an example of a new role for American women, who were expanding their participation in public life.

Women in the Work Force

Before the Civil War, married middle-class women were generally expected to devote nearly all their time to the care of their homes and families. By the late 19th century, however, only middle-class and upper-class women could afford to do so. Poorer women usually had no choice but to work for wages outside the home.

FARM WOMEN On farms in the South and the Midwest, women's roles had not changed substantially since the previous century. In addition to household tasks such as cooking, making clothes, and laundering, farm women handled a host of other chores such as raising livestock. Often, the women had to help plow and plant the fields and harvest the crops.

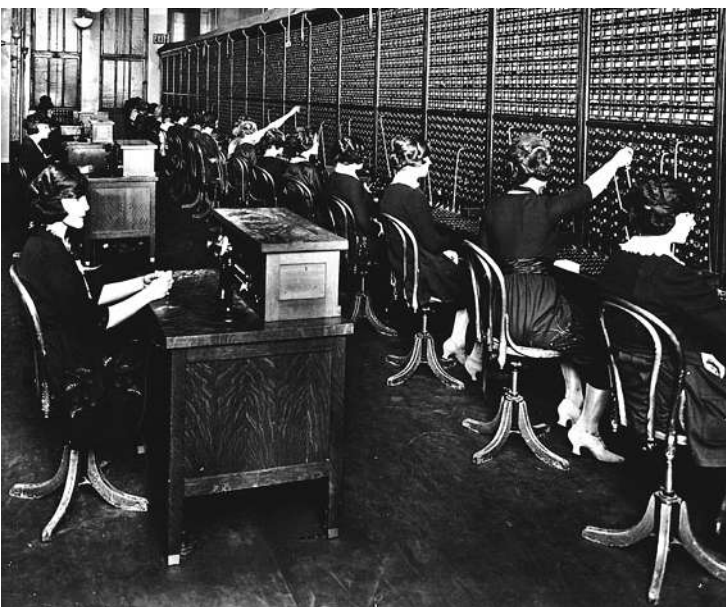
WOMEN IN INDUSTRY As better-paying opportunities became available in towns and cities, women had new options for finding jobs. This occurred even though men's labor unions excluded them from membership. At the turn of the century, one out of five American women held jobs. One quarter of these women worked in manufacturing.

The garment trade claimed about half of all women industrial workers. They typically held the least skilled positions, however, and received only about half as much money as their male counterparts or less. Many of these women were single and were assumed to be supporting only themselves. Men were assumed to be supporting families.

Women also began to fill new jobs in offices, stores, and classrooms. These jobs required a high school education. By 1890 women high school graduates outnumbered men. Moreover, new business schools prepared bookkeepers and stenographers, as well as training female typists, to operate the new machines.

DOMESTIC WORKERS Many women without formal education or industrial skills contributed to the economic survival of their families by doing domestic work, such as cleaning for other families. After almost 2 million African American women were freed from slavery, poverty quickly drove nearly half of them into the work force. They worked on farms and as domestic workers. They also migrated by the thousands to big cities for jobs as cooks, laundresses, scrubwomen, and maids. Altogether, roughly 70 percent of women employed in 1870 were servants.

Unmarried immigrant women also performed domestic labor, especially when they first arrived in the United States. Many married immigrant women contributed to the family income by taking in piecework or caring for boarders at home.



Telephone operators manually connect phone calls in 1915.

Reading Check

Analyze Causes

What kinds of job opportunities prompted more women to complete high school?

PROPERTY RIGHTS Until the mid-1800s, women were not legally guaranteed the right to the fruits of their labor. In many states, for example, the wages earned by a married woman were legally the property of her husband. In 1839 Mississippi was the first state to pass a Married Women's Property Act. By 1900 every state had followed Mississippi's lead. Married women gained the right to own property in their own name, as well as keep any wages from their work. For women, gaining property rights was just one victory in a new push for equality.

Women Lead Reform

Dangerous conditions, low wages, and long hours led many female industrial workers to push for reforms. Their ranks grew after 146 workers, mostly Jewish and Italian immigrant girls, died in a 1911 fire in the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory in New York City. Middle- and upper-class women also entered the public sphere. By 1910 women's clubs, at which these women discussed art or literature, were nearly half a million strong. These clubs sometimes grew into reform groups that addressed issues such as temperance or child labor.

WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION Many of the women who became active in public life in the late 19th century had attended the new women's colleges. Vassar College—with a faculty of 8 men and 22 women—accepted its first students in 1865. Smith and Wellesley colleges followed in 1875. Though Columbia, Brown, and Harvard colleges refused to admit women, each university established a separate college for women.

By the late 19th century, marriage was no longer a woman's only alternative. Many women entered the work force or sought higher education. In fact, almost half of all college-educated women in the late 19th century never married, retaining their own independence. Many of these educated women began to apply their skills to needed social reforms.

Document-Based Investigation Historical Source

Educational Opportunities

Although women were still expected to fulfill traditional domestic roles, women's colleges sought to grant women an excellent education. In her will, Smith College's founder, Sophia Smith, made her goals clear.

"[It is my desire] to furnish for my own sex means and facilities for education equal to those which are afforded now in our College to young men. . . . It is not my design to render my sex any the less feminine, but to develop as fully as may be the powers of womanhood & furnish women with means of usefulness, happiness, & honor now withheld from them."

—Sophia Smith, quoted in *Alma Mater*

Analyze Historical Sources

What do you think Sophia Smith hoped women would be able to accomplish through higher education?

WOMEN AND REFORM Uneducated laborers started efforts to reform workplace health and safety. The participation of educated women often strengthened existing reform groups and provided leadership for new ones. Because women were not allowed to vote or run for office, women reformers strove to improve conditions at work and home. Their “social housekeeping” targeted workplace reform, housing reform, educational improvement, and food and drug laws.

In 1896 African American women founded the National Association of Colored Women, or **NACW**, by merging two earlier organizations. Josephine Ruffin identified the mission of the African American women’s club movement as “the moral education of the race with which we are identified.” The NACW managed nurseries, reading rooms, and kindergartens.

After the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848, women split over the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. These amendments granted equal rights including the right to vote to African American men but excluded women.

Susan B. Anthony, a leading proponent of woman **suffrage**, the right to vote, said “[I] would sooner cut off my right hand than ask the ballot for the black man and not for women.” Anthony felt that she could not support suffrage for African American men while women were still denied their voting rights.

In 1869 Anthony and **Elizabeth Cady Stanton** had founded the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA). This group united with another group in 1890 to become the National American Woman Suffrage Association, or **NAWSA**. Other prominent leaders included Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howe, the author of “The Battle Hymn of the Republic.” Unlike Anthony, Lucy Stone supported the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. She saw the passage of these amendments as a positive sign that suffrage would eventually be extended to women as well.

Woman suffrage faced constant opposition. The liquor industry feared that women would vote in support of prohibition. The textile industry worried that women would vote for restrictions on child labor. Many men simply feared the changing role of women in society.

A THREE-PART STRATEGY FOR SUFFRAGE Suffragist leaders tried three approaches to achieve their objective. First, they tried to convince state legislatures to grant women the right to vote. They achieved a victory in the

Suffragists recruit supporters for a march.



Susan B. Anthony (1820–1906)

Born to a strict Quaker family, Susan B. Anthony was not allowed to enjoy typical childhood entertainment such as music, games, and toys. Her father insisted on self-discipline, education, and a strong belief system for all of his eight children. Anthony developed a positive view of womanhood from teacher Mary Perkins, who educated the children in their home.

After voting illegally in the presidential election of 1872, Anthony was fined \$100 at her trial. “Not a penny shall go to this unjust claim,” she defiantly declared. She never paid the fine.



territory of Wyoming in 1869. By the 1890s Utah, Colorado, and Idaho had also granted voting rights to women. After 1896 efforts in other states failed.

Second, women pursued court cases to test the Fourteenth Amendment, which declared that states denying male citizens the right to vote would lose congressional representation. Weren’t women citizens, too? Susan B. Anthony and other women tested that question by attempting to vote at least 150 times in ten states. The Supreme Court ruled in 1875 that women were indeed citizens but then denied that citizenship automatically conferred the right to vote.

Third, women pushed for a national constitutional amendment to grant women the vote. Stanton succeeded in having the amendment introduced in California, but it was killed later. For the next 41 years, women lobbied to have it reintroduced, only to see it continually voted down.

Before the turn of the century, the campaign for suffrage achieved only modest success. Later, however, women’s reform efforts paid off in improvements in the treatment of workers and in safer food and drug products. President Theodore Roosevelt supported these efforts, along with his own plans for reforming business, labor, and the environment.

Reading Check

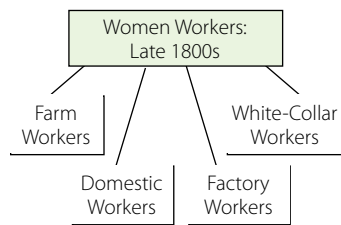
Make Inferences

Why did suffragist leaders employ a three-part strategy for gaining the right to vote?

Lesson 4 Assessment

- Organize Information** Use a chart to list details about working women in the late 1800s.

What generalizations can you make about women workers at this time?



- Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Synthesize** What women and movements during the Progressive Era helped dispel the stereotype that women were submissive and nonpolitical?

- Make Inferences** Why do you think some colleges refused to accept women in the late 19th century?

- Analyze Issues** Imagine you are a woman during the Progressive Era. Explain how you might recruit other women to support the following causes: improving education, housing reform, food and drug laws, the right to vote.

Think About:

- the problems that each movement was trying to remedy
- how women benefited from each cause

Teddy Roosevelt's Square Deal

The Big Idea

As president, Theodore Roosevelt worked to give citizens a Square Deal through progressive reforms.

Why It Matters Now

As part of his Square Deal, Roosevelt's conservation efforts made a permanent impact on environmental resources.

Key Terms and People

Upton Sinclair

The Jungle

Theodore Roosevelt

Square Deal

Meat Inspection Act

Pure Food and Drug Act

conservation

NAACP

One American's Story

When muckraking journalist **Upton Sinclair** began research for a novel in 1904, his focus was the human condition in the stockyards of Chicago. Sinclair intended his novel to reveal "the breaking of human hearts by a system [that] exploits the labor of men and women for profits." What most shocked readers in Sinclair's book ***The Jungle*** (1906), however, was the sickening conditions of the meatpacking industry.

"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 thousands of rats would race about on it. . . . 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."



Upton Sinclair poses with his son at the time of the writing of *The Jungle*.

—Upton Sinclair, from *The Jungle*

President **Theodore Roosevelt**, like many other readers, was nauseated by Sinclair's account. The president invited the author to visit him at the White House. Roosevelt promised Sinclair that "the specific evils you point out shall, if their existence be proved, and if I have the power, be eradicated."

A Rough-Riding President

Theodore Roosevelt was not supposed to be president. Although born into a wealthy New York family in 1858, he was a sickly child. Young Teddy, however, drove himself to accomplish demanding physical feats. As a teenager, he mastered marksmanship and horseback riding. At Harvard College, Roosevelt boxed and wrestled.

ROOSEVELT'S RISE At an early age, the ambitious Roosevelt became a leader in New York politics. After serving three terms in the New York State Assembly, he became New York City's police commissioner. He later served as assistant secretary of the U.S. Navy. The aspiring politician grabbed national attention, advocating war against Spain in 1898. His volunteer cavalry brigade, the Rough Riders, won fame for its role in the battle at San Juan Hill in Cuba. Roosevelt returned a hero. He was soon elected governor of New York and then later won the vice-presidency. As vice-president, Roosevelt stood a heartbeat away from becoming president. Indeed, President McKinley had served barely six months of his second term before he was assassinated.



Theodore Roosevelt enjoyed an active lifestyle, as this 1902 photo reveals.

THE MODERN PRESIDENCY When Roosevelt was thrust into the presidency in 1901, he became the youngest president ever at 42 years old. Unlike previous presidents, Roosevelt soon dominated the news with his many exploits. While in office, Roosevelt enjoyed boxing, although one of his opponents blinded him in the left eye. On another day, he galloped 100 miles on horseback, merely to prove the feat possible.

In politics, as in sports, Roosevelt acted boldly. He used his personality and popularity to advance his programs. His leadership and publicity campaigns helped create the modern presidency. He became a model by which all future presidents would be measured. Roosevelt thought the federal government should assume control whenever states proved incapable of dealing with problems. He explained, "It is the duty of the president to act upon the theory that he is the steward of the people, and . . . to assume that he has the legal right to do whatever the needs of the people demand, unless the Constitution or the laws explicitly forbid him to do it."

Roosevelt saw the presidency as a "bully pulpit," from which he could influence the news media and shape legislation. If big business victimized workers, then President Roosevelt would see to it that the common people received what he called a **Square Deal**. This term was used to describe the various progressive reforms sponsored by his administration.

Using Federal Power

Roosevelt's study of history convinced him that modern America required a powerful federal government. "A simple and poor society can exist as a democracy on the basis of sheer individualism," Roosevelt declared, "but a rich and complex industrial society cannot so exist." The young president soon met several challenges to his assertion of federal power.

Reading Check

Synthesize

What actions and characteristics of Teddy Roosevelt contributed to his reputation as the first modern president?

TRUSTBUSTING By 1900 trusts—legal bodies created to hold stock in many companies—controlled about four-fifths of the industries in the United States. Some trusts, like Standard Oil, had earned poor reputations with the public by the use of unfair business practices. Many trusts lowered their prices to drive competitors out of the market. They then took advantage of the lack of competition to jack prices up even higher. Congress had passed the Sherman Antitrust Act in 1890, but the act’s vague language made enforcement difficult. As a result, nearly all the suits filed against the trusts under the Sherman Act were ineffective.

President Roosevelt did not believe that all trusts were harmful. But he did seek to curb the actions of those that hurt the public interest. The president concentrated his efforts on filing suits under the Sherman Antitrust Act. In 1902 Roosevelt made newspaper headlines as a trustbuster. That year he ordered the Justice Department to sue the Northern Securities Company. This company had established a monopoly over northwestern railroads. In 1904 the Supreme Court, ruling in favor of the government in *Northern Securities Co. v. United States*, dissolved the company. Although the Roosevelt administration filed 44 antitrust suits, winning a number of them, it was unable to slow the merger movement in business.

1902 COAL STRIKE In 1902, 140,000 coal miners in Pennsylvania went on strike and demanded a 20 percent raise and a nine-hour workday. They also wanted the right to organize a union. The mine operators, however, refused to bargain. Five months into the strike, coal reserves ran low. Roosevelt called both sides to the White House to talk and eventually settled the strike. The president was irked by the “extraordinary stupidity and bad temper” of the mine operators. He later confessed that only the dignity of the presidency had kept him from taking one owner “by the seat of the breeches” and tossing him out of the window.

Document-Based Investigation Historical Source

“The Lion-Tamer”

As part of his Square Deal, President Roosevelt aggressively used the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 to attack big businesses engaging in unfair practices. His victory over the Northern Securities Company earned him a reputation as a hard-hitting trustbuster committed to protecting the public interest. This cartoon shows Roosevelt trying to tame the wild lions that symbolize the great and powerful companies of 1904.

Analyze Historical Sources

1. What do the lions stand for, and why are they coming out of a door labeled “Wall St.”?
2. What do you think the cartoonist thinks about trustbusting? Cite details from the cartoon that support your interpretation.



Vocabulary

collude to act together secretly to achieve an illegal or deceitful purpose

Reading Check

Analyze Effects
What was significant about the way the 1902 coal strike was settled?

Faced with Roosevelt's threat to take over the mines, the opposing sides finally agreed to submit their differences to an arbitration commission. This commission acted as a third party that would work to mediate the dispute. In 1903 the commission issued its compromise settlement. The miners won a 10 percent pay hike and a nine-hour workday. With this, however, they had to give up their demand for a closed shop—in which all workers must belong to the union—and their right to strike during the next three years.

President Roosevelt's actions had demonstrated a new principle. From then on, when a strike threatened the public welfare, the federal government was expected to intervene. In addition, Roosevelt's actions reflected the progressive belief that disputes could be settled in an orderly way with the help of experts. Members of the arbitration commission were examples of such experts.

RAILROAD REGULATION Roosevelt's real goal was federal regulation. In 1887 Congress had passed the Interstate Commerce Act. This law prohibited wealthy railroad owners from colluding to fix high prices. The Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) was set up to enforce the new law but had little power. With Roosevelt's urging, Congress passed the Elkins Act in 1903. This law made it illegal for railroad officials to give, and shippers to receive, rebates for using particular railroads. The act also specified that railroads could not change set rates without notifying the public.

The Hepburn Act of 1906 strictly limited the distribution of free railroad passes, a common form of bribery. It also gave the ICC power to set maximum railroad rates. Although Roosevelt had to compromise with conservative senators who opposed the act, its passage boosted the government's power to regulate the railroads.

Health and the Environment

President Roosevelt's enthusiasm and his skill at compromise led to laws and policies that benefited both public health and the environment. He wrote, "We recognize and are bound to war against the evils of today. The remedies are partly economic and partly spiritual, partly to be obtained by laws, and in greater part to be obtained by individual and associated effort."

REGULATING FOODS AND DRUGS After reading *The Jungle* by Upton Sinclair, Roosevelt responded to the public's clamor for action. He appointed a commission of experts to investigate the meatpacking industry. The commission issued a scathing report backing up Sinclair's account of the disgusting conditions in the industry. True to his word, Roosevelt pushed for passage of the **Meat Inspection Act** in 1906. This law dictated cleanliness requirements for meatpackers and created the program of federal meat inspection. The program continued until replaced by more sophisticated techniques in the 1990s.

The compromise that won the act's passage, however, left the government paying for the inspections. The act also did not require companies to label their canned goods with date-of-processing information. The compromise moreover granted meatpackers the right to appeal negative decisions in court.



Government workers inspect meat as it moves through the packinghouse.

PURE FOOD AND DRUG ACT Before any federal regulations were established for advertising food and drugs, manufacturers made wild claims about their products. These ranged from curing cancer to growing hair. In addition, popular children's medicines often contained opium, cocaine, or alcohol. In a series of lectures across the country, Dr. Harvey Washington Wiley, chief chemist at the Department of Agriculture, criticized manufacturers for adding harmful preservatives to food. He brought needed attention to this issue.

In response to concerns about these practices, Congress passed the **Pure Food and Drug Act** in 1906. This law halted the sale of contaminated foods and medicines and called for truth in labeling. The act did not ban harmful products outright. But its requirement of truthful labels reflected the progressive belief that given accurate information, people would act wisely.

Along with the Meat Inspection Act, the Pure Food and Drug Act reflected the changing relationship between the federal government and private businesses during this period. This act marked the first general pure food and drug law at the federal level. The government's Bureau of Chemistry, which later became the Food and Drug Administration, took responsibility for enforcement of the law. Unfortunately, enforcement met with mixed results. On the whole, the law helped to protect consumers by improving product standards. It also reduced confusion about the benefits and dangers of various products. However, some critics point out that the law reduced marketplace competition by forcing out smaller producers. Also, efforts to regulate the patent medicine industry were largely unsuccessful until Congress passed new laws in 1938.

CONSERVATION AND NATURAL RESOURCES Before Roosevelt's presidency, the federal government had paid very little attention to the nation's natural resources. Despite the establishment of the U.S. Forest Bureau in 1887, the government stood by while private interests gobbled up the shrinking wilderness.

In the late 19th century, Americans had shortsightedly exploited their natural environment. Pioneer farmers leveled the forests and plowed up

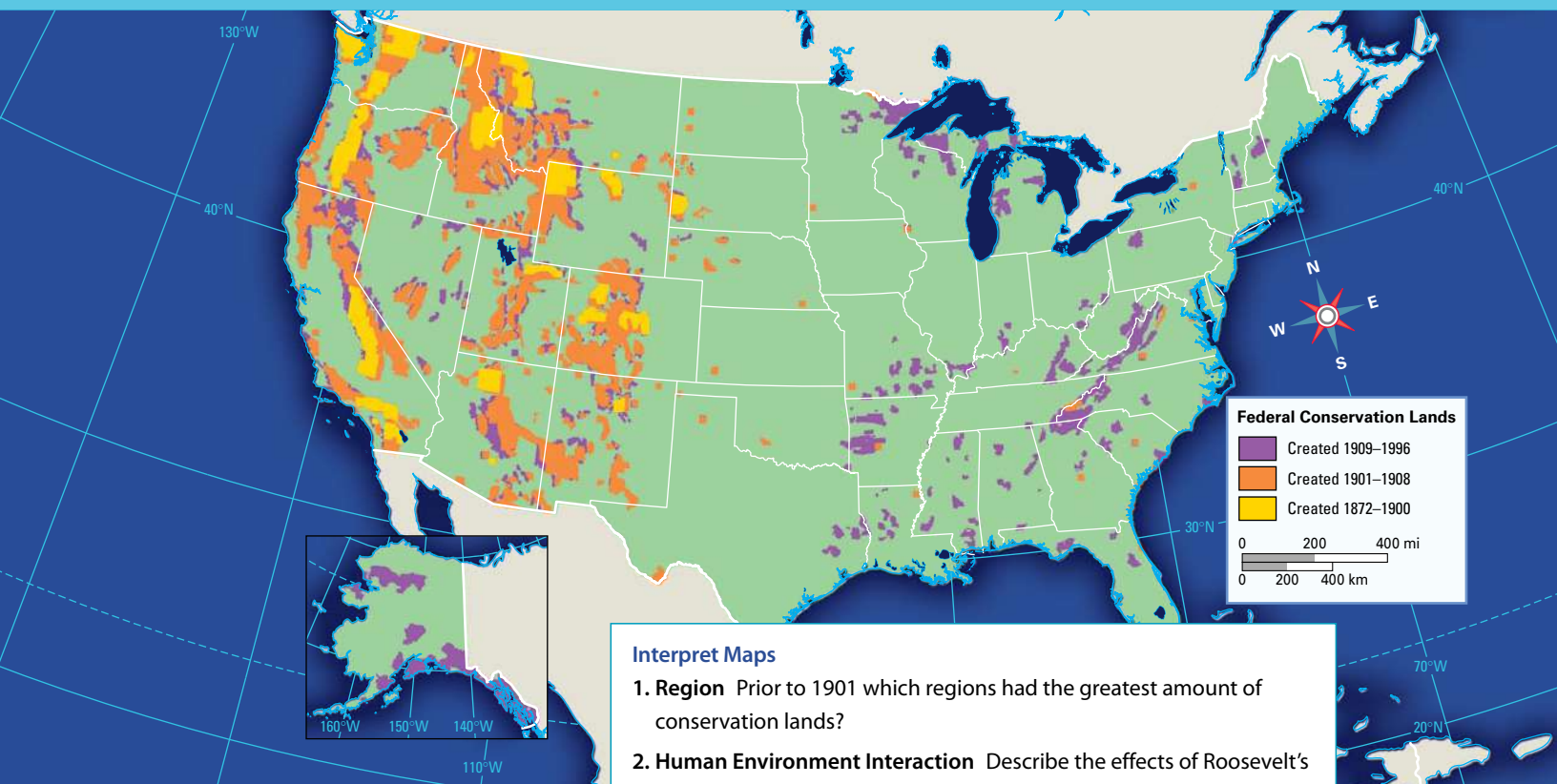
the prairies. Ranchers allowed their cattle to overgraze the Great Plains. Coal companies cluttered the land with refuse from mines. Lumber companies ignored the effect of their logging operations on flood control. They also neglected to plant trees to replace those they had cut down. Cities dumped untreated sewage and industrial wastes into rivers, poisoning streams and creating health hazards.

CONSERVATION MEASURES Roosevelt condemned the view that America's resources were endless. He made conservation a primary concern. John Muir, a naturalist and writer with whom Roosevelt camped in California's Yosemite National Park in 1903, persuaded the president to set aside 148 million acres of forest. Roosevelt also set aside 1.5 million acres of water-power sites and another 80 million acres of land that experts from the U.S. Geological Survey would explore for mineral and water resources. Roosevelt also established more than 50 wildlife sanctuaries and several national parks and monuments, including the Grand Canyon, Muir Woods, Crater Lake, and Mesa Verde National Park.

True to the progressive belief in using experts, in 1905 the president named Gifford Pinchot as head of the U.S. Forest Service. A professional conservationist, Pinchot had administrative skills as well as the latest scientific and technical information. He advised Roosevelt to conserve forest and grazing lands by exempting large tracts of federal land from private sale.

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Federal Conservation Lands



Interpret Maps

- 1. Region** Prior to 1901 which regions had the greatest amount of conservation lands?
- 2. Human Environment Interaction** Describe the effects of Roosevelt's conservation efforts and the impact he had on the environment.

Reading Check

Analyze Causes

What caused President Roosevelt to enact measures to conserve the natural environment?

Conservationists like Roosevelt and Pinchot, however, did not share the views of Muir, who advocated complete preservation of the wilderness. Instead, **conservation** to them meant that some wilderness areas would be preserved while others would be developed for the common good. Indeed, Roosevelt's federal water projects transformed some dry wilderness areas to make agriculture possible. Under the National Reclamation Act of 1902, known as the Newlands Act, the sale of public lands in the West funded large-scale irrigation projects such as the Roosevelt Dam in Arizona and the Shoshone Dam in Wyoming. The Newlands Act established the precedent that the federal government would manage the water resources of the West.

Roosevelt and Civil Rights

Roosevelt's concern for the land and its inhabitants was not matched in the area of civil rights. Though Roosevelt's father had supported the North, his mother, Martha, was a model southern belle. As president, Roosevelt—like most other Progressives—failed to support civil rights for African Americans. He did, however, support a few individual African Americans.

Despite opposition from whites, Roosevelt appointed an African American as head of the Charleston, South Carolina, customhouse. In another instance some whites in Mississippi refused to accept the black postmistress he had appointed. The president closed the station rather than give in. In 1906, however, Roosevelt angered many African Americans when he dismissed without question an entire regiment of African American soldiers accused of conspiracy in protecting others charged with murder in Brownsville, Texas.

As a symbolic gesture, Roosevelt invited Booker T. Washington to dinner at the White House. Washington—head of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute—was then the African American leader most respected by powerful whites. Washington faced opposition, however, from other African Americans for his accommodation of segregationists and for blaming black poverty on blacks and urging them to accept discrimination.

Vocabulary

accommodation
adapting or making adjustments in order to satisfy someone else

— BIOGRAPHY —

W.E.B. Du Bois (1868–1963)

In 1909 W.E.B. Du Bois helped to establish the NAACP and entered into the forefront of the early U.S. civil rights movement. However, in the 1920s he faced a power struggle with the NAACP's executive secretary, Walter White.

Ironically, Du Bois had retreated to a position others saw as dangerously close to that of Booker T. Washington. Arguing for a separate economy for African Americans, Du Bois made a distinction, which White rejected, between enforced and voluntary segregation. By mid-century, Du Bois was outside the mainstream of the civil rights movement. His work remained largely ignored until after his death in 1963.



Persistent in his criticism of Washington's ideas, W.E.B. Du Bois renewed his demands for immediate social and economic equality for African Americans. In his 1903 book *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois wrote of his opposition to Washington's position.

"So far as Mr. Washington preaches Thrift, Patience, and Industrial Training for the masses, we must hold up his hands and strive with him. . . . But so far as Mr. Washington apologizes for injustice, North or South, does not rightly value the privilege and duty of voting, belittles the emasculating effects of caste distinctions, and opposes the higher training and ambition of our brighter minds,—so far as he, the South, or the Nation, does this,—we must unceasingly and firmly oppose them."

— W.E.B. Du Bois, from *The Souls of Black Folk*

Du Bois and other advocates of equality for African Americans were deeply upset by the apparent progressive indifference to racial injustice. In 1905 they held a civil rights conference in Niagara Falls. In 1909 a number of African Americans joined with prominent white reformers in New York to found the **NAACP**—the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The next year, Du Bois founded *The Crisis*—the NAACP's magazine. As chief editor, Du Bois used *The Crisis* to highlight issues of race and inequality. He wrote, "We refuse to surrender . . . leadership . . . to cowards and trucklers. We are men; we will be treated as men." Within ten years of its founding, *The Crisis* reached a national audience with about 100,000 readers.

The NAACP, which had over 6,000 members by 1914, aimed for nothing less than full equality among the races. That goal, however, found little support in the Progressive movement. Progressives mostly focused on the needs of middle-class whites. The two presidents who followed Roosevelt also did little to advance the goal of racial equality.

Reading Check

Analyze Motives

Why did W.E.B. Du Bois found *The Crisis* magazine?

Lesson 5 Assessment

1. **Organize Information** Create five problem-solution diagrams to show how the following problems were addressed during Roosevelt's presidency: (a) 1902 coal strike, (b) Northern Securities Company monopoly, (c) unsafe meat processing, (d) exploitation of the environment, and (e) racial injustice.

Write headlines announcing the solutions.



2. **Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
3. **Evaluate** Research the coal strike of 1902. Do you think Roosevelt's intervention was in favor of the strikers or of the mine operators? Why?

4. **Analyze Issues** Why did W.E.B. Du Bois oppose Booker T. Washington's views on racial discrimination?

5. **Form Generalizations** In what ways do you think the progressive belief in using experts played a role in shaping Roosevelt's reforms? Refer to details from the text.

Think About:

- Roosevelt's use of experts to help him tackle political, economic, and environmental problems
- how experts' findings affected legislative actions

Progressivism Under Taft

The Big Idea

Taft's ambivalent approach to progressive reform led to a split in the Republican Party and the loss of the presidency to the Democrats.

Why It Matters Now

Third-party candidates continue to wrestle with how to become viable candidates.

Key Terms and People

Gifford Pinchot

William Howard Taft

Payne-Aldrich Tariff

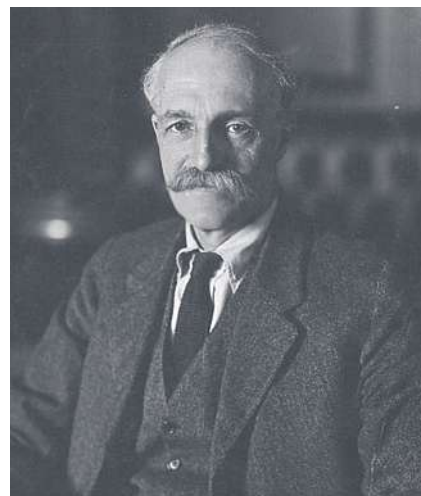
Bull Moose Party

Woodrow Wilson

One American's Story

Early in the 20th century, Americans' interest in the preservation of the country's wilderness areas intensified. Writers proclaimed the beauty of the landscape. New groups like the Girl Scouts gave city children the chance to experience a different environment. The desire for preservation clashed with business interests that favored unrestricted development. **Gifford Pinchot** (pĭn'shō'), head of the U.S. Forest Service under President Roosevelt, took a middle ground. He believed that wilderness areas could be scientifically managed to yield public enjoyment while allowing private development.

"The American people have evidently made up their minds that our natural resources must be conserved. That is good. But it settles only half the question. For whose benefit shall they be conserved—for the benefit of the many, or for the use and profit of the few? . . . There is no other question before us that begins to be so important, or that will be so difficult to straddle, as the great question between special interest and equal opportunity, between the privileges of the few and the rights of the many, between government by men for human welfare and government by money for profit."



Gifford Pinchot

—Gifford Pinchot, from *The Fight for Conservation*

President Roosevelt favored Pinchot's multi-use land program. However, when he left office in 1909, this approach came under increasing pressure from business people who favored unrestricted commercial development.

Taft Becomes President

After winning the election in 1904, Roosevelt pledged not to run for reelection in 1908. He handpicked his secretary of war, **William Howard Taft**, to run against William Jennings Bryan, who had been nominated by the Democrats for the third time. Under the slogan “Vote for Taft this time, You can vote for Bryan any time,” Taft and the Republicans won an easy victory.

TAFT STUMBLES As president, Taft pursued a cautiously progressive agenda, seeking to consolidate rather than to expand Roosevelt’s reforms. He received little credit for his accomplishments, however. His legal victories, such as busting 90 trusts in a four-year term, did not bolster his popularity. Indeed, the new president confessed in a letter to Roosevelt that he never felt like the president. “When I am addressed as ‘Mr. President,’” Taft wrote, “I turn to see whether you are not at my elbow.”

The cautious Taft hesitated to use the presidential bully pulpit to arouse public opinion. Nor could he subdue troublesome members of his own party. Tariffs and conservation posed his first problems.

THE PAYNE-ALDRICH TARIFF Taft had campaigned on a platform of lowering tariffs, a staple of the progressive agenda. When the House passed the Payne Bill, which lowered rates on imported manufactured goods, the Senate proposed an alternative bill. The Aldrich Bill, proposed by the Senate, made fewer cuts and increased many rates. Amid cries of betrayal from the progressive wing of his party, Taft signed the **Payne-Aldrich Tariff**, a compromise that only moderated the high rates of the Aldrich Bill. This angered Progressives, who believed Taft had abandoned progressivism. The president made his difficulties worse by clumsily attempting to defend the tariff. He called it “the best [tariff] bill the Republican party ever passed.”

DISPUTING PUBLIC LANDS Next, Taft angered conservationists by appointing lawyer Richard A. Ballinger as his secretary of the interior. Ballinger, who disapproved of conservationist controls on western lands, removed 1 million acres of forest and mining lands from the reserved list and returned it to the public domain.

DIFFICULT DECISIONS

Controlling Resources

Historically, conservationists such as Gifford Pinchot have stood for the balanced use of natural resources, preserving some and using others for private industry. Free-market advocates like Richard Ballinger pressed for the private development of wilderness areas. Preservationists such as John Muir advocated preserving all remaining wilderness.

1. Examine the pros and cons of each position. With which do you agree? What factors do you think should influence decisions about America’s wilderness areas?
2. If you were asked today to decide whether to develop or preserve America’s remaining wilderness areas, what would you decide? Why? Use the views of Ballinger, Pinchot, or Muir to back up your point of view.

Reading Check

Analyze Issues

How did Taft's appointee Richard Ballinger anger conservationists?

When a Department of the Interior official was fired for protesting Ballinger's actions, the fired worker published a muckraking article against Ballinger in *Collier's Weekly* magazine. Pinchot added his voice. In congressional testimony, he accused Ballinger of letting commercial interests exploit the natural resources that rightfully belonged to the public. President Taft sided with Ballinger and fired Pinchot from the U.S. Forest Service.

The Republican Party Splits

Taft's cautious nature made it impossible for him to hold together the two wings of the Republican Party: Progressives who sought change and conservatives who did not. The Republican Party began to fragment.

PROBLEMS WITHIN THE PARTY Republican conservatives and Progressives split over Taft's support of the political boss Joseph Cannon, House Speaker from Illinois. A rough-talking, tobacco-chewing politician, "Uncle Joe" often disregarded seniority in filling committee slots. As chairman of the House Rules Committee, which decides what bills Congress considers, Cannon often weakened or ignored progressive bills.

Reform-minded Republicans decided that their only alternative was to strip Cannon of his power. With the help of Democrats, they succeeded in March 1910. A new resolution called for the entire House to elect the Committee on Rules, and it also excluded the Speaker from membership in the committee.

By the midterm elections of 1910, however, the Republican Party was in shambles. The Progressives were on one side and the "old guard" was on the other. Voters voiced concern over the rising cost of living, which they blamed on the Payne-Aldrich Tariff. They also believed Taft to be against conservation. The Republicans lost many seats. The Democrats gained control of the House of Representatives for the first time in 18 years.

Vocabulary

"old guard"

conservative members of a group

— BIOGRAPHY —

William Howard Taft (1857–1930)

William Howard Taft never wanted to be president. After serving one term, Taft left the White House, which he called "the loneliest place in the world." He then taught constitutional law at Yale for eight years.

In 1921 President Harding named Taft chief justice of the Supreme Court. The man whose family had nicknamed him "Big Lub" called this appointment the highest honor he had ever received. As chief justice, Taft wrote that "in my present life I don't remember that I ever was President."

However, Americans remember Taft for, among many other things, initiating in 1910 the popular presidential custom of throwing out the first ball of the Major League Baseball season.



THE BULL MOOSE PARTY After leaving office, Roosevelt headed to Africa to shoot big game. He returned in 1910 to a hero's welcome. He responded with a rousing speech proposing a "New Nationalism," under which the federal government would exert its power for "the welfare of the people." As he stated in a speech delivered in 1910, "I stand for the square deal. . . . I stand for having . . . rules changed so as to work for . . . equality of opportunity and of reward . . . our government, national and state, must be freed from the sinister influence or control of special interests."

By 1912 Roosevelt had decided to run for a third term as president. The primary elections showed that Republicans wanted Roosevelt. But Taft had the advantage of being the incumbent—that is, the holder of the office. At the Republican convention in June 1912, Taft supporters maneuvered to replace Roosevelt delegates with Taft delegates. Republican Progressives refused to vote and formed a new third party, the Progressive Party. They nominated Roosevelt for president.

The Progressive Party became known as the **Bull Moose Party**, after Roosevelt's boast that he was "as strong as a bull moose." Their platform called for the direct election of senators and the adoption in all states of the initiative, referendum, and recall. It also advocated woman suffrage, workmen's compensation, an eight-hour workday, a minimum wage for women, a federal law against child labor, and a federal trade commission to regulate business.

The split in the Republican ranks handed the Democrats their first real chance at the White House since the election of Grover Cleveland in 1892. In the 1912 presidential election, they put forward as their candidate a reform governor of New Jersey named **Woodrow Wilson**.

Reading Check

Contrast What were the differences between Taft's and Roosevelt's campaign platforms?



Woodrow Wilson

Democrats Win in 1912

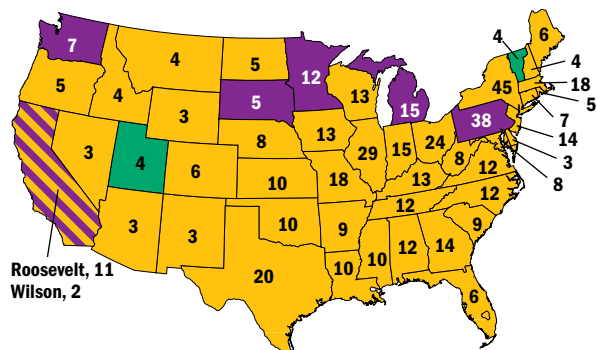
Under Governor Woodrow Wilson's leadership, the previously conservative New Jersey legislature had passed a host of reforms. Now, as the Democratic presidential nominee, Wilson endorsed a progressive platform called the New Freedom. It demanded even stronger antitrust legislation, banking reform, and reduced tariffs.

The split between Taft and Roosevelt, former Republican allies, turned nasty during the fall campaign. Taft labeled Roosevelt a "dangerous egotist." Roosevelt branded Taft a "fathead" with the brain of a "guinea pig." Wilson distanced himself, quietly gloating, "Don't interfere when your enemy is destroying himself."

The election offered voters several choices: Wilson's New Freedom, Taft's conservatism, Roosevelt's progressivism, or the Socialist Party policies of Eugene V. Debs. Both Roosevelt and Wilson supported a stronger government role in economic affairs, but they differed over strategies. Roosevelt supported government action to supervise big business, but he did not oppose all monopolies. Debs called for an end to capitalism. Wilson supported small business and free-market competition. He characterized monopolies as evil.

Presidential Election of 1912

Party	Candidate	Electoral Votes	Popular Vote
Democratic	Woodrow Wilson	435	6,296,547
Progressive	Theodore Roosevelt	88	4,118,571
Republican	William H. Taft	8	3,486,720
Socialist	Eugene V. Debs	0	900,672



Reading Check

Make Inferences

What might be one of Wilson's first issues to address as president?

In a speech, Wilson explained why he felt that all business monopolies were a threat.

"If the government is to tell big business men how to run their business, then don't you see that big business men have to get closer to the government even than they are now? Don't you see that they must capture the government, in order not to be restrained too much by it? . . . I don't care how benevolent the master is going to be, I will not live under a master. That is not what America was created for. America was created in order that every man should have the same chance as every other man to exercise mastery over his own fortunes."

—Woodrow Wilson, quoted in *The New Freedom*

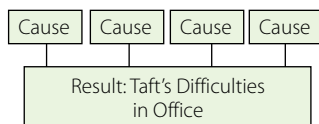
Although Wilson captured only 42 percent of the popular vote, he won an overwhelming electoral victory and a Democratic majority in Congress. Because Taft and Roosevelt split the Republican votes, Wilson

was able to win the electoral votes of 40 states without winning even half of the popular vote. As a third-party candidate, Roosevelt defeated Taft in both popular and electoral votes.

But reform claimed the real victory. More than 75 percent of the vote went to reform candidates—Wilson, Roosevelt, and Debs. Americans clearly wanted change. In victory, Wilson could claim a mandate to break up trusts and to expand the government's role in social reform.

Lesson 6 Assessment

- Organize Information** Create a chart to organize information about the causes Taft supported that made people question his leadership.



Which causes do you think would upset most people today? Explain.

- Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Evaluate** Both Roosevelt and Taft resorted to mudslinging during the 1912 presidential campaign. Do you approve or disapprove of negative campaign tactics? Support your opinion.
- Predict** What if Roosevelt had won another term in office in 1912? Speculate on how this might have affected the future of progressive reforms. Support your answer.

Think About:

- Roosevelt's policies that Taft did not support
- the power struggles within the Republican Party
- Roosevelt's perception of what is required of a president

Wilson's New Freedom

The Big Idea

Woodrow Wilson established a strong reform agenda as a progressive leader.

Why It Matters Now

The passage of the Nineteenth Amendment during Wilson's administration granted women the right to vote.

Key Terms and People

Carrie Chapman Catt

Clayton Antitrust Act

Federal Trade Commission (FTC)

Federal Reserve System

Nineteenth Amendment

One American's Story

On March 3, 1913, the day of Woodrow Wilson's inauguration, 5,000 woman suffragists marched through hostile crowds in Washington, DC. Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, the parade's organizers, were members of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). As police failed to restrain the rowdy gathering and congressmen demanded an investigation, Paul and Burns could see the momentum building for suffrage.

By the time Wilson began his campaign for a second term in 1916, the NAWSA's president, **Carrie Chapman Catt**, saw victory on the horizon. Catt expressed her optimism in a speech on September 7 of that year.

"I believe our victory hangs within our grasp, inviting us to pluck it out of the clouds and establish it among the good things of the world. . . . If this be true, the time is past when we should say: 'Men and women of America, look upon that wonderful idea up there; see, one day it will come down.' Instead, the time has come to shout aloud in every city, village and hamlet, and in tones so clear and jubilant that they will reverberate from every mountain peak and echo from shore to shore: 'The woman's Hour has struck.'"

—Carrie Chapman Catt, quoted in *The Crisis*



Carrie Chapman Catt

Catt called an emergency suffrage convention in September 1916. She invited President Wilson, who cautiously supported suffrage. He told those gathered at the convention, "There has been a force behind you that will . . . be triumphant and for which you can afford . . . to wait." They did have to wait. But within four years, the passage of the suffrage amendment became the capstone of the progressive movement.

Wilson Wins Financial Reforms

Like Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson claimed progressive ideals. But he had a different idea for the federal government. He believed in attacking large concentrations of power to give greater freedom to average citizens. The prejudices of his southern background, however, prevented him from using federal power to promote civil rights for African Americans.

WILSON'S BACKGROUND Wilson spent his youth in the South during the Civil War and Reconstruction. The son, grandson, and nephew of Presbyterian ministers, he received a strict upbringing. Before entering politics, Wilson worked as a lawyer, a history professor, and later as president of Princeton University. In 1910 Wilson became the governor of New Jersey. As governor, he supported progressive legislation programs. These included a direct primary, workers' compensation, and the regulation of public utilities and railroads.

As America's newly elected president, Wilson moved to enact his program, the "New Freedom." He planned his attack on what he called the triple wall of privilege: the trusts, tariffs, and high finance.

TWO KEY ANTITRUST MEASURES "Without the watchful . . . resolute interference of the government," Wilson said, "there can be no fair play between individuals and such powerful institutions as the trusts. Freedom today is something more than being let alone." During Wilson's administration, Congress enacted two key antitrust measures. The first, the **Clayton Antitrust Act** of 1914, sought to strengthen the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890. The Clayton Act prohibited corporations from acquiring the stock of another if doing so would create a monopoly. If a company violated the law, its officers could be prosecuted.

The Clayton Act also specified that labor unions and farm organizations had a right to exist. They also would no longer be subject to antitrust laws. Therefore, strikes, peaceful picketing, boycotts, and the collection of strike benefits became legal. In addition, injunctions against strikers were prohibited unless the strikers threatened damage that could not be remedied. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), saw great value to workers in the Clayton Act. He called it a Magna Carta for labor. The statement referred to an English document, signed in 1215, in which the English king recognized that he was bound by the law and that the law granted rights to his subjects.

The second major antitrust measure, the Federal Trade Commission Act of 1914, set up the **Federal Trade Commission (FTC)**. This "watchdog" agency was given the power to investigate possible violations of regulatory statutes. It could also require periodic reports from corporations and put an end to a number of unfair business practices. Under Wilson, the FTC administered almost 400 cease-and-desist orders to companies engaged in illegal activity.

Critics of antitrust laws contend that the federal government should not regulate private businesses. They argue that such regulation punishes the businesses that have been most successful in outperforming their

Vocabulary

injunction a court order prohibiting a party from a specific course of action

competition. This leads to inefficiency. These critics believe such regulation also needlessly consumes government resources. Supporters argue that such regulation is necessary to ensure that markets stay competitive.

A NEW TAX SYSTEM In an effort to curb the power of big business, Wilson worked to lower tariff rates. He knew that supporters of big business hadn't allowed such a reduction under Taft.

Wilson lobbied hard in 1913 for the Underwood Act. This law would substantially reduce tariff rates for the first time since the Civil War. He summoned Congress to a special session to plead his case and established a precedent of delivering the State of the Union message in person. Businesses lobbied too, looking to block tariff reductions. When manufacturing lobbyists—people hired by manufacturers to present their case to government officials—descended on the capital to urge senators to vote no, passage seemed unlikely. Wilson denounced the lobbyists and urged voters to monitor their senators' votes. Because of the new president's use of the bully pulpit, the Senate voted to cut tariff rates even more deeply than the House had done.

FEDERAL INCOME TAX With lower tariff rates, the federal government had to replace the revenue that tariffs had previously supplied. Ratified in 1913, the Sixteenth Amendment legalized a federal income tax. This provided revenue by taxing individual earnings and corporate profits.

Under this graduated tax, larger incomes were taxed at higher rates than smaller incomes. The new income tax was limited to a modest tax on family incomes over \$4,000. It ranged from 1 percent to a maximum of 6 percent on incomes over \$500,000. Initially, few congressmen realized the potential of

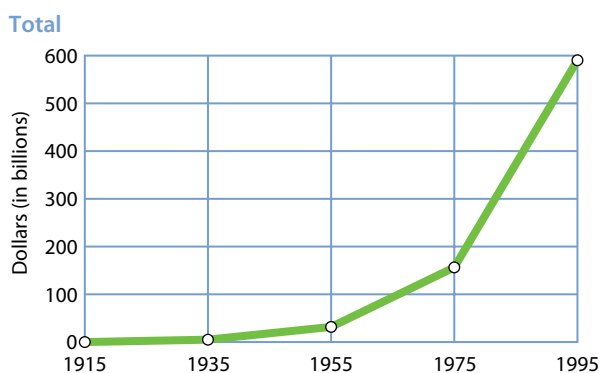
the income tax. By 1917, however, the government was receiving more money from the income tax than it had ever gained from tariffs. Today, income taxes on corporations and individuals represent the federal government's main source of revenue.

FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM Next, Wilson turned his attention to financial reform. The nation needed a way to strengthen the ways in which banks were run. Also needed was a way to quickly adjust the money supply, or the amount of money in circulation. Both credit availability and money supply had to keep pace with the economy.

Wilson's solution was to establish a decentralized private banking system under federal control. The Federal Reserve Act of 1913 divided the nation into 12 districts and established a regional central bank in each district. These "banker's banks" then served the other banks within the district.

The federal reserve banks could issue new paper currency in emergency situations.

Revenue from Individual Federal Income Tax, 1915-1995



Sources: *Historical Statistics of the United States; Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1987, 1995, 1999*

Interpret Graphs

1. About what year did income tax revenues first begin to rise sharply?
2. About how much revenue did the income tax bring in 1995?

Vocabulary

interest rate the percentage of a loan that a borrower must pay back in addition to the amount borrowed

Reading Check

Summarize What was the impact of the two antitrust measures?

Member banks could use the new currency to make loans to their customers. Federal reserve banks could transfer funds to member banks in trouble. This would save the banks from closing and protect customers' savings. In this way, the federal reserve banks could help the country avoid periods of financial panic by maintaining a steady and stable economy. Through its lending to other banks, the Federal Reserve could also influence interest rates to help "heat up" or "cool down" the economy. For example, low interest rates would encourage borrowing and spending to put more money into the economy. High interest rates would have the opposite effect, discouraging borrowing and taking money out of the economy. The Federal Reserve might raise interest rates to combat inflation, or sharply rising prices.

By 1923 roughly 70 percent of the nation's banking resources were part of the **Federal Reserve System**. This system still serves as the basis of the nation's banking system.

Women Win Suffrage

While Wilson pushed hard for his reforms, determined women intensified their push for the vote. The middle-class women who had been active in progressive movements had grown increasingly impatient about not being allowed to vote. As of 1910 women had federal voting rights only in Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, Washington, and Idaho.

Determined suffragists pushed on, however. They finally saw success come within reach as a result of three developments. These included the increased activism of local groups, the use of bold new strategies to build enthusiasm for the movement, and the rebirth of the national movement under Carrie Chapman Catt.

LOCAL SUFFRAGE BATTLES The suffrage movement was given new strength by growing numbers of college-educated women. Two Massachusetts organizations, the Boston Equal Suffrage Association for Good Government and the College Equal Suffrage League, used door-to-door campaigns to reach potential supporters. Founded by Radcliffe graduate Maud Wood Park, the Boston group spread the message of suffrage to poor and working-class women. Members also took trolley tours where, at each stop, crowds would gather to watch the unusual sight of a woman speaking in public.

Many wealthy young women who visited Europe as part of their education became involved in the suffrage movement in Britain. Led by Emmeline Pankhurst, British suffragists used increasingly bold tactics to advance their cause. They heckled government officials, endured hunger strikes, and even spat on policemen who tried to quiet them. For their activities, British suffragists were sometimes imprisoned. Inspired by their activism, American women returned to the United States armed with similar approaches in their suffrage campaigns.

CATT AND THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT Susan B. Anthony's successor as president of NAWSA was Carrie Chapman Catt. She served from 1900 to 1904 and resumed the presidency in 1915. When Catt returned to NAWSA



Some suffragists favored stronger forms of protest, which sometimes landed them in jail. This young woman is protesting the rough treatment received by these suffragists at the hands of the police and other government officials.

Reading Check
Analyze Events Why do you think women won the right to vote in 1920, after earlier efforts had failed?

Vocabulary
appease pacify by granting concessions

after organizing New York's Woman Suffrage Party, she concentrated on five tactics. These tactics were: (1) painstaking organization; (2) close ties between local, state, and national workers; (3) establishing a wide base of support; (4) cautious lobbying; and (5) gracious, ladylike behavior.

Although suffragists saw victories, the greater number of failures led some suffragists to try more radical tactics. Lucy Burns and Alice Paul formed their own more radical organization, the Congressional Union, and its successor, the National Woman's Party. They pressured the federal government to pass a suffrage amendment. By 1917 Paul had organized her followers to mount a round-the-clock picket line around the White House. Some of the picketers were arrested, jailed, and even force-fed when they attempted a hunger strike.

These efforts, and America's involvement in World War I, finally made suffrage inevitable. Patriotic American women who headed committees, knitted socks for soldiers, and sold Liberty Bonds now claimed their overdue reward for supporting the war effort. In 1919 Congress passed the **Nineteenth Amendment**, granting women the right to vote. The amendment won final ratification in August 1920. This was 72 years after women had first convened and demanded the vote at the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848.

The Limits of Progressivism

Despite Wilson's economic and political reforms, he disappointed Progressives, who favored social reform. In particular, on racial matters Wilson appeased conservative southern Democratic voters. This disappointed his northern white and black supporters. Wilson placed segregationists in charge of federal agencies, thereby expanding racial segregation in the federal government, the military, and Washington, DC.

WILSON AND CIVIL RIGHTS Like Roosevelt and Taft, Wilson retreated on civil rights once in office. During the campaign of 1912, he won the support of black intellectuals and white liberals by promising to treat blacks equally and to speak out against lynching.

As president, however, Wilson opposed federal anti-lynching legislation. He argued that these crimes fell under state jurisdiction. In addition, the Capitol and the federal offices in Washington, DC, which had been earlier desegregated, resumed the practice of segregation shortly after Wilson's election.

Wilson appointed to his cabinet fellow white southerners who extended segregation. Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, for example, proposed at a cabinet meeting to do away with common drinking fountains and towels in his department. According to an entry in Daniels's diary, President Wilson agreed because he had "made no promises in particular to negroes, except to do them justice." Segregated facilities, in the president's mind, were just.

African Americans and their liberal white supporters in the NAACP felt betrayed. Oswald Garrison Villard, a grandson of the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, wrote to Wilson in dismay, "The colored men who voted and worked for you in the belief that their status as American citizens was safe in your hands are deeply cast down." Wilson's response—that he had acted

“in the interest of the negroes” and “with the approval of some of the most influential negroes I know”—only widened the rift between the president and some of his former supporters.

On November 12, 1914, the president’s reception of an African American delegation brought the confrontation to a bitter climax. William Monroe Trotter, editor-in-chief of the *Guardian*, an African American Boston newspaper, led the delegation. Trotter complained that African Americans from 38 states had asked the president to reverse the segregation of government employees. Instead, segregation had since increased. Trotter then commented on Wilson’s inaction.

“Only two years ago you were heralded as perhaps the second Lincoln, and now the Afro-American leaders who supported you are hounded as false leaders and traitors to their race. . . . As equal citizens and by virtue of your public promises we are entitled at your hands to freedom from discrimination, restriction, imputation, and insult in government employ. Have you a ‘new freedom’ for white Americans and a new slavery for your ‘Afro-American fellow citizens’? God forbid!”

—William Monroe Trotter, from an address to President Wilson,
November 12, 1914

Historical Source

American Architecture

The progressive movement impacted the world of American architecture. One of the most prominent architects of the time was Frank Lloyd Wright, who studied under the renowned designer Louis Sullivan. In the spirit of progressivism, Wright sought to design buildings that were orderly, efficient, and in harmony with the world around them.



Wright’s “prairie style” design features a low, horizontal, and well-defined structure made predominantly of wood, concrete, brick, and other simple materials.



Architecture of the Gilded Age featured ornate decoration and detail, as seen here in this Victorian-style house that was built between 1884 and 1886. Wright rejected these showy and decorative styles in favor of more simplistic designs.

Analyze Historical Sources

1. What are the most striking differences between the two houses? Cite examples that contrast the two buildings.
2. How does Wright’s style reflect the progressive spirit?

Wilson found Trotter's tone infuriating. After an angry Trotter shook his finger at the president to emphasize a point, the furious Wilson demanded that the delegation leave. Wilson's refusal to extend civil rights to African Americans pointed to the limits of progressivism under his administration. America's involvement in the war that was raging in Europe would soon reveal other weaknesses.

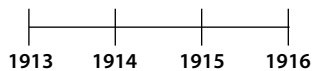
THE TWILIGHT OF PROGRESSIVISM After taking office in 1913, Wilson had said, "There's no chance of progress and reform in an administration in which war plays the principal part." Yet he found that the outbreak of World War I in Europe in 1914 demanded America's involvement. Meanwhile, distracted Americans and their legislators allowed reform efforts to stall. As the pacifist and reformer Jane Addams mournfully reflected, "The spirit of fighting burns away all those impulses . . . which foster the will to justice."

International conflict was destined to be part of Wilson's presidency. During the early years of his administration, Wilson had dealt with issues of imperialism that had roots in the late 19th century. However, World War I dominated most of his second term as president. The Progressive Era had come to an end.

Reading Check
Analyze Effects
What actions of
Wilson disappointed
civil rights advocates?

Lesson 7 Assessment

1. **Organize Information** Create a timeline of key events relating to progressivism during Wilson's first term, from 1913 to 1916.



Write a paragraph explaining which event you think best demonstrates progressive reform.

2. **Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
3. **Analyze Motives** Why do you think Wilson failed to push for equality for African Americans, despite his progressive reforms?

4. **Analyze Primary Sources** Wilson said, "Without the watchful . . . resolute interference of the government, there can be no fair play between individuals and . . . the trusts." How does this statement reflect Wilson's approach to reform? Support your answer.

Think About:

- the government's responsibility to the public
- the passage of two key antitrust measures

Module 14 Assessment

Key Terms and People

For each key term or person below, write a sentence explaining its connection to late 19th-century American life.

1. progressive movement
2. muckraker
3. Niagara Movement
4. Ida B. Wells
5. Jim Crow laws
6. debt peonage
7. suffrage
8. NAACP
9. Carrie Chapman Catt
10. Federal Reserve System

Main Ideas

Use your notes and the information in the module to answer the following questions.

The Origins of Progressivism

1. What were the four goals that various progressive reform movements struggled to achieve?
2. Why did the prohibition movement appeal to so many women?
3. How did Henry Ford embrace progressive ideas?
4. What kind of state labor laws resulted from progressives lobbying to protect workers?
5. How did government change during the Progressive Era? How were these changes important?

Education Reform

6. How did late 19th-century public schools change?
7. What institutions encouraged European immigrants to become assimilated?
8. Why did some immigrants oppose sending their children to public schools?

Segregation and Discrimination

9. In what ways was racial discrimination reinforced by the federal government's actions and policies?

10. How did conditions for African Americans in the North differ from their circumstances in the South?
11. How did Mexicans help make the Southwest prosperous in the late 19th century?

Women in Public Life

12. In the late 1890s what job opportunities were available to uneducated women without industrial skills?
13. What social and economic effects did higher education have on women?
14. How did the views of Susan B. Anthony and Lucy Stone differ on the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments?
15. Give two examples of national women's organizations committed to social activism. Briefly describe their progressive missions.

Teddy Roosevelt's Square Deal

16. What scandalous practices did Upton Sinclair expose in his novel *The Jungle*? How did the American public, Roosevelt, and Congress respond?
17. How did Roosevelt earn his reputation as a trustbuster?
18. How did Muir's views on conservation differ from those of Roosevelt and Pinchot?

Progressivism Under Taft

19. As a Progressive, how did Taft compare with Roosevelt?
20. Why did the Republican Party split during Taft's administration?
21. What progressive reforms did the platform of the Bull Moose Party support?

Wilson's New Freedom

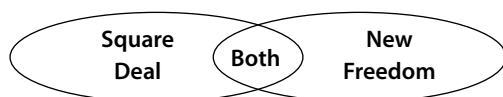
22. How did the Clayton Antitrust Act benefit labor?
23. Why did Congress ratify the Sixteenth Amendment?

Module 14 Assessment, continued

24. How did the Federal Reserve System help keep the 1920's economy stable?
25. How did the tactics of Alice Paul and Lucy Burns differ from those of other suffragists?
26. Cite two examples of social welfare legislation that Wilson opposed during his presidency and the arguments he used to defend his position.

Critical Thinking

1. **Compare and Contrast** Create a Venn diagram to show some of the similarities and differences between Roosevelt's Square Deal and Wilson's New Freedom.



2. **Develop Historical Perspective** What social, political, and economic trends in American life do you think caused the reform impulse during the Progressive Era? Support your answer with details from the text.
3. **Draw Conclusions** How did the work of photojournalist Lewis Hines help lead to the passage of child labor laws?
4. **Evaluate** How effective do you think the muckrakers were in helping reform American society?
5. **Synthesize** Populists demanded that people have a greater say in government and sought to advance the interests of farmers and laborers over those of industrialists. How did the goals of Populists overlap with those of Progressives?
6. **Analyze Motives** Recall what you know about how democracy works in the United States. Why do you think suffrage was so important to many American women? What were the consequences for women of not gaining the right to vote?

7. **Compare and Contrast** In the 1900s there were two competing views about the environment that often pitted industrialist and conservationist against one another. How were these two competing views demonstrated by the environmental policies of President Roosevelt and President Taft?
8. **Compare** Compare the women's suffrage movement to the progressive movement. What were the limitations and accomplishments of each?

Engage with History

As a class, discuss what progressive reformers did to bring about changes in government and society. Consider what else they might have done to be more effective. Rank their efforts in order of effectiveness and offer suggestions for improvement.

Focus on Writing

Imagine you are a newspaper editor in 1896. Write an editorial explaining what you think of the Supreme Court ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Be sure to address the "separate but equal" argument.

Multimedia Activity

Imagine you are a reporter covering a 1912 congressional hearing investigating labor conditions in a textile mill. Work with a partner to write two newspaper articles—one that shows bias in favor of the mill workers, and one that shows bias in favor of the mill. Share the articles with the class, and analyze how language can affect the reporting of information.