

# 20

## The Spirit of Reform

(1868–1920)

This "Tammany Bank" reflects the political corruption of the 1870s. Place a coin in the politician's hand, and he puts it in his pocket.



Corrupt officials are shown weighing down President Grant's administration.



### UNITED STATES

**1868** Ulysses S. Grant is elected president.

**1872** The Crédit Mobilier scandal reveals corruption in Grant's administration.

**1873** The first public kindergarten in the United States opens in St. Louis, Missouri.

**1881** President Garfield is shot by Charles Guiteau, a mentally unstable federal-job seeker, and later dies from the wounds.

**1865**

**1871** The British Parliament makes labor unions legal.

**1870**

**1873** Slave markets and the exporting of slaves are abolished on the African island of Zanzibar.

**1875**

**1880**

**1888** Brazil officially outlaws slavery.

**1885**

**1890**

**1894** Alfred Dreyfus is arrested on questionable treason charges, leading to political upheaval in France.

### WORLD



French army captain Alfred Dreyfus had his sword broken as part of a ceremony intended to humiliate him.

### Build on What You Know

After the Civil War ended, increased immigration caused American cities to grow. As cities grew, however, new problems arose. Reformers swung into action in areas such as city government, politics, public schools, and the workplace. African Americans, American Indians, immigrants, and women also called for reforms.



Theodore Roosevelt hit the campaign trail for the Progressive Party in 1912.



Booker T. Washington established the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama.

**1895** Booker T. Washington gives his Atlanta Compromise speech, which calls for economic independence for African Americans.

**1895**

**1901** President William McKinley is killed and Vice President Theodore Roosevelt becomes president.

**1900**

**1905** The Industrial Workers of the World labor union is founded.

**1905**

**1911** The Triangle Shirtwaist Fire leads to calls for building-safety reforms.

**1910**

**1912** Theodore Roosevelt runs for president as the candidate of the Progressive Party but loses to Democrat Woodrow Wilson.

**1915**

**1916** Montana representative Jeannette Rankin is the first woman elected to Congress.

**1920** The Nineteenth Amendment, which gives women the vote, is ratified.

**1920**

**1901** The first Nobel Prizes are awarded.



The Nobel Prize bears the image of Swedish inventor Alfred Nobel, who created a fund for the awards.

**1903** Emmeline Pankhurst forms the Women's Social and Political Union to fight for women's suffrage in Great Britain.

**1912** The British luxury liner *Titanic* sinks after hitting an iceberg during its first voyage.

**1913** Norway gives women the right to vote.

**1917** Mexico adopts a new constitution.

If you were there . . .

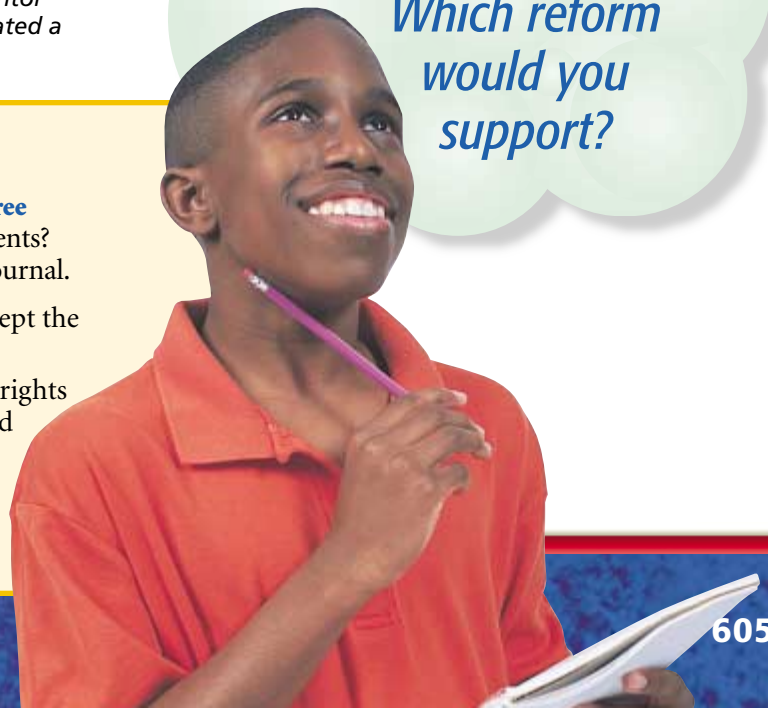
Which reform would you support?

## You Be the Historian



**What's Your Opinion?** Do you **agree** or **disagree** with the following statements? Support your point of view in your journal.

- **Citizenship** Citizens should accept the government they have.
- **Constitutional Heritage** The rights of workers can only be determined by the Supreme Court.
- **Economics** The government should not regulate the economy.





# The Gilded Age

## Read to Discover

1. In what ways did bosses control city politics?
2. How did scandals affect national politics during the Gilded Age?
3. How did the appointment of federal officials change during the late 1800s?

## Reading Strategy

**MAPPING CAUSE AND EFFECT** Draw a circle on a sheet of paper. Label the circle "Political Corruption/Cause." As you read the section, find effects of the political corruption. Write each effect inside of another circle and draw a line from it to the cause.

## Define

- political machines
- bosses
- mugwumps

## Identify

- William Marcy Tweed
- Rutherford B. Hayes
- James A. Garfield
- Chester A. Arthur
- Grover Cleveland
- Benjamin Harrison
- William McKinley
- Pendleton Civil Service Act



In the best-selling novel *The Gilded Age*, Mark Twain argued that the United States lived by the motto "Get rich; dishonestly if we can, honestly if we must."

## The Story Continues

In 1873 Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner published the best-selling novel *The Gilded Age*. Twain believed that American society looked golden from a distance but was merely gilded, or coated with cheap gold paint. According to Twain, despite its positive outward appearance, society was ugly and corrupt on the inside.



## Corruption in Politics

Politics at all levels experienced corruption during the Gilded Age. Powerful organizations called **political machines** influenced city and county politics. These groups used both legal and illegal means to get candidates elected to public office. For example, members of a political machine often printed election ballots listing only candidates from their party. They sometimes paid people for votes. If bribing voters did not work, the political machines might hire the people who counted the votes. Through such actions, a political party could control local government. During the late 1880s, Tammany Hall, the Democratic political machine in New York City, became widely known throughout the country for its power and corruption.

Political machines were run by powerful leaders known as **bosses**. The boss traded favors for votes. For example, a boss might need a certain number of votes to elect a candidate to office. In exchange for the votes he received, the boss might offer city jobs, order neighborhood improvements, or allow an illegal business to continue to operate.

The bosses drew much of their support from immigrants, who relied on them for jobs and social mobility. After winning city elections in 1888, Tammany Hall members rewarded supporters with some 12,000 jobs. Many jobs went to Irish immigrants. Some politicians saw nothing wrong with machines that exchanged money and jobs for working-class votes. However, once in power, bosses might use their control of the government to get rich. For example, Tammany Hall boss **William Marcy Tweed** may have stolen as much as \$200 million from the city treasury. He was later convicted, however, and died in jail.

Corruption was also common in the federal government at this time. Many people saw the administration of Republican Ulysses S. Grant—who was elected president in 1868 and re-elected in 1872—as corrupt. During Grant’s second term, for example, several government revenue officials were jailed for their part in the “Whiskey Ring.” These officials took bribes from whiskey distillers who wanted to avoid paying taxes.

In 1872 the *New York Sun* printed a story about corruption in the U.S. Congress. The owners of the Union Pacific Railroad had started a construction company called Crédit Mobilier of America. The owners gave or sold shares in Crédit Mobilier to members of Congress. In return, these congressmembers approved large federal land grants to Crédit Mobilier. Scandals like these led many Americans to question the honesty of national leaders.

✓ **Reading Check: Comparing** How was political corruption at the city level like corruption at the federal level of government during the Gilded Age?



### Interpreting Political Cartoons

**The Tweed Ring** Cartoonist Thomas Nast portrayed the political and business associates of Boss Tweed as crooks trying to blame each other for gaining money in questionable ways. **Why do you think Nast chose to show the Tammany Hall politicians standing in a circle?**



Republican reformers, known as mugwumps, supported Democratic presidential candidate Grover Cleveland instead of Republican James Blaine in the 1884 election.

### Analyzing Primary Sources

**Drawing Inferences and Conclusions** What did the crowds supporting Cleveland think would happen if he were elected?

## ★ Gilded Age Presidents

During the 1876 presidential campaign, Democrats called for government reform. Their candidate, Samuel J. Tilden, promised to run an honest administration. The Republicans chose **Rutherford B. Hayes**, a Civil War hero they believed to be honest. Hayes promised to reform the civil service. In the disputed election that followed, a special electoral commission chose Hayes over Tilden by one vote.

Republicans won another close presidential race in 1880 when **James A. Garfield** and his vice president, **Chester A. Arthur**, were elected. On July 2, 1881, Charles Guiteau, an angry and mentally unstable federal-job seeker, confronted President Garfield at a Washington railroad station. He shouted, “Arthur [is] President now,” and shot Garfield twice. The president died from his wounds in September, and Arthur became president.

In the 1884 election, Republicans chose James G. Blaine instead of another reform candidate. Many Republican reformers linked Blaine with corruption and did not want to back him. These Republican reformers came to be known as **mugwumps** (the Algonquian word for “big chiefs”). The dissatisfied mugwumps left the Republican Party and supported Democratic nominee **Grover Cleveland**. Unlike Blaine, Cleveland was known for his honesty. In a presidential race full of personal attacks, American voters chose Cleveland over Blaine. As president, Cleveland hired and fired government workers based on their merit, not on their party ties.

Four years later Cleveland again won the popular vote. This time, however, he lost the electoral vote to Republican **Benjamin Harrison**. Harrison supported passage of the Sherman Antitrust Act, which regulated monopolies. In addition, Harrison’s support helped in the passage of a pension act and passage of the McKinley Tariff. However, Cleveland remained popular, and in 1892 crowds sang their support for him.



“Grover, Grover, four more years of Grover—  
Out they go and in we come  
and we’ll be in the clover.”

—Grover Cleveland supporters, quoted in *The Gilded Age*, by Mark Wahlgren Summers

Cleveland won the presidential election of 1892, but the country’s economy entered a depression. Cleveland angered many fellow Democrats by opposing free coinage of silver and supporting a gold standard. In 1896 the Democrats chose William Jennings Bryan to run for president. He lost the election to Republican **William McKinley**. Practical and friendly, McKinley worked well with Congress and was re-elected in 1900.

✓ **Reading Check: Sequencing** List the winners of presidential elections between 1876 and 1900 in the order that the elections took place.



## ★ Civil Service Reform

Reacting to the corruption of the Gilded Age, many Americans called for changes in the civil service, or government jobs. Both major parties took advantage of the so-called spoils system when in power. Under the spoils system, government jobs were given to loyal party supporters, even if they were not qualified. Every time a new party took power, it fired many government employees to replace them with party members. Henry Adams, author and grandson of former president John Quincy Adams, remarked on this custom in 1870. “All my friends have been or are on the point of being driven out of the government.”

Reformers wanted those seeking government jobs to take examinations. It was believed that such a system would reward merit rather than political connections. Reformers believed that an examination system would help prevent people who were unfit or corrupt from getting government jobs. Some Americans also believed that the spoils system was to blame for President Garfield’s assassination. The *Nation*, a weekly newspaper, noted that “the crime seems to have acted on public opinion . . . like a spark on a powder-magazine [gunpowder storage].”

After Garfield was killed, President Chester A. Arthur addressed problems caused by the spoils system by supporting the **Pendleton Civil Service Act**. This law, passed in 1883, set up a merit system controlled by the Civil Service Commission. At first, the act affected only about 14,000 of 130,000 federal jobs. The act has since been expanded so that more than 90 percent of government jobs are covered by the Civil Service Commission.



A fellow official congratulates Senator George Pendleton on his plan for civil service reform.

✓ **Reading Check: Finding the Main Idea** How did the Pendleton Civil Service Act reform government?

## Section 1 Review

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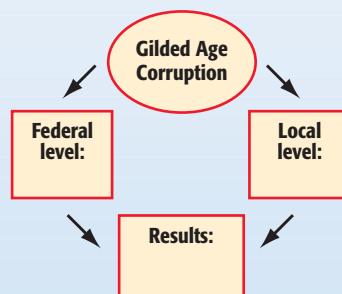
**1 Define** and explain:

- political machines
- bosses
- mugwumps

**2 Identify** and explain:

- William Marcy Tweed
- Rutherford B. Hayes
- James A. Garfield
- Chester A. Arthur
- Grover Cleveland
- Benjamin Harrison
- William McKinley
- Pendleton Civil Service Act

**3 Categorizing** Copy the graphic organizer below. Use it to identify the impact of government corruption at the local and federal levels during the Gilded Age, and the results of this corruption.



**4 Finding the Main Idea**

- How did bosses and political machines control city governments?
- What led to civil service reform, and how did the reform affect the appointment of federal officials?

**5 Writing and Critical Thinking**

**Supporting a Point of View** Imagine that you are a political adviser to President Arthur in 1883. Prepare a memorandum urging the president either to sign or veto the recently passed Pendleton Civil Service Act.

Consider the following:

- examples of political corruption in the Gilded Age
- the assassination of President Garfield
- the terms of the Pendleton Civil Service Act

# The Progressive Movement

## Read to Discover

1. What roles did middle-class reformers and muckrakers play in the progressive movement?
2. How did progressives change government?
3. How did progressives address the country's social problems?

## Reading Strategy

**MAPPING PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS** Make a four-column chart. Label the columns "Problem," "Cause of Problem," "Solution," and "Results of Solution." As you read the section, write details about the problems progressives tried to solve in the appropriate columns.

## Define

- progressives
- muckrakers
- direct primary
- recall
- initiative
- referendum

## Identify

- Ida Tarbell
- Seventeenth Amendment
- Robert M. La Follette
- Wisconsin Idea
- John Dewey
- Joseph McCormack



*Hull House, a settlement house in Chicago, gained a national reputation for its social work.*

## The Story Continues

One cold snowy morning in late December 1891, Florence Kelley and her three children arrived on the front steps of Hull House in Chicago. When she knocked on the door, Jane Addams answered. "We were welcomed as though we had been invited," Kelley later wrote. At Hull House, Kelley not only found refuge but also joined the growing movement for reform. She went on to become one of the country's leading social reformers.

## ★ The Progressive Movement

In the late 1800s reformers, who became known as **progressives**, began working to solve problems caused by rapid industrial and urban growth. Many progressives fought crime, disease, and poverty by trying to change the conditions that caused these problems. A large number of progressives were part of the growing middle class, which included professionals and small-business owners. These people were educated and often had the free time and training needed to start reform movements. Some working-class and wealthy Americans also worked for reforms.

Progressives did not always agree on which social problems were the most important. Even when they did agree, they might disagree on how to solve these problems. As a result, progressives worked for reforms in several areas. Some wanted health and education programs in poor neighborhoods as well as government reforms, while others fought for better working conditions. Many progressives did agree, however, that to reach these goals the federal government needed to step in. These progressives wanted the government and the public to solve social problems together.

Journalists moved progressives to action by writing about corruption in business and politics. Many journalists hoped their articles would lead to greater public awareness of problems. Eventually, reforms might follow. These journalists were soon nicknamed **muckrakers** because they “raked up” and exposed the muck, or filth, of society. Some muckrakers became well known for articles about the unfair business practices that accompanied the rise of corporations. **Ida Tarbell** wrote articles attacking John D. Rockefeller’s Standard Oil Company.



“Very often people who admit the facts, who are willing to see that Mr. Rockefeller has employed force and fraud to secure his ends, justify him by declaring, ‘It’s business’. That is, ‘it’s business’ has come to be a legitimate [acceptable] excuse for hard dealing, sly tricks, [and] special privileges.”

—Ida Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company*

Muckrakers also wrote about child labor, racial discrimination, and slum housing. Their articles angered many politicians and business leaders, but they helped unite progressives. Muckrakers influenced voters to question corrupt practices, and politicians to call for reforms.

✓ **Reading Check: Comparing and Contrasting** How were progressives and muckrakers alike, and how were they different?

## ★ Expanding Democracy

Worries about political corruption caused some progressives to work to change state and local governments and reduce the power of political machines. In many places, reformers replaced multiple ballots that political parties distributed with government-prepared ballots listing all candidates. Under pressure from reformers, many states adopted secret ballots that gave every voter a private vote.

Reformers also tried to give voters more power. For example, they fought for the **direct primary**. The direct primary let voters choose candidates for public office instead of allowing party leaders to select them. Progressives also favored the **Seventeenth Amendment**. Passed in 1913, the amendment allowed Americans to vote directly for U.S. senators. In the past, senators had been selected by state legislatures.

### Analyzing Primary Sources

#### Identifying Points of View

What is Tarbell’s opinion of Rockefeller’s defenders?

Ida Tarbell wrote many muckraking articles for McClure’s Magazine.





Other reform measures allowed voters to call for action on political issues. Some states and cities created a procedure known as the **recall**. This process allows voters to sign a petition asking for a special vote. The purpose is to recall, or remove, an elected official before the end of his or her term. If enough voters sign the petition, the vote takes place. If the majority votes to recall the official, then he or she is removed from office.

Progressives also pushed for reforms to give voters a direct voice in new legislation. The **initiative** allows voters to propose a new law by getting signatures on a petition. If enough people sign the petition, the proposed law is voted on at the next election. The **referendum** allows voters to approve or disapprove a law that has already been proposed or passed by state or local governments. This procedure gives voters a chance to overrule laws with which they disagree.

✓ **Reading Check: Summarizing** What types of reforms did progressives favor to change the ways that people took part in the political process?

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## ★ Reforming City and State Governments

In addition to increasing political participation, progressives worked to change the structure of local government. Businesspeople and professionals wanted to make government more efficient and responsive to citizens' needs. Some reformers wanted city government to be run more like a business. Several cities changed to a council-manager system where voters elect a city council, which then chooses a professional manager to run the city. Progressives also started the commission form of government. Under this system, a group of elected leaders run city government. Each official runs a major city agency, such as housing, sanitation, or transportation. These new forms of government were most popular in small to medium-sized cities.

State governments faced some of the same problems as cities. City bosses and other corrupt urban officials were often part of a statewide political machine. Progressive Republican **Robert M. La Follette** took on the power of the party bosses in Wisconsin. La Follette favored the direct primary, tax reform, and new state commissions that relied on professionals to manage social problems.

La Follette failed to win his party's nomination for governor in 1896 and in 1898. He finally won the governor's race in 1900. As governor, La Follette developed the **Wisconsin Idea**, a program of reforms. The program set out to reduce the influence of political machines and to make state government more efficient in meeting the people's needs. This idea became a model for progressive reformers in other states.

✓ **Reading Check: Analyzing Information** What reforms did progressives back to reduce the power of political machines and make governments more responsive to the needs of the people?

*Progressive leader Robert M. La Follette served as governor of Wisconsin from 1900 to 1906 and as U.S. senator from 1906 to 1925.*



## ★ City Planning

Many native-born Americans and immigrants moved to U.S. cities looking for work. As cities grew, many people crowded into tenements, or poorly built, overcrowded apartments. The tenement owners often failed to make needed repairs to improve living conditions. As a result, thousands of poor families lived in dirty and dangerous buildings. Progressive Lawrence Veiller described the way tenement living hurt children and society.



“A child living its early years in dark rooms, without sunlight or fresh air, does not grow up to be a normal, healthy person. . . . It is not of such material that strong nations are made.”

—Lawrence Veiller, quoted in *Readings in American History*, edited by Robert C. Cotner et al.

Progressives called on state and local governments to address these problems. Veiller helped get the New York State Tenement House Act passed in 1901. This act made it illegal to build poorly lit and airless tenements. The law also required new buildings to have better ventilation, running water, and toilets. New York’s law became a model for housing reform in other states. Many progressives also started settlement houses like Jane Addams’s Hull House in Chicago. These organizations worked to improve education, housing, and sanitation in immigrant and poor communities.

Urban reforms led to new professions such as city planning and civil engineering. City planners worked with local officials to control city growth. They passed zoning laws, created building-safety codes, and developed public parks. Civil engineers planned street-paving and bridge-building projects. Sanitation engineers tried to solve the problems of water supply, waste disposal, and pollution. Where these problems were attacked, death rates dropped dramatically. Many of these improvements gave urban Americans some of the best public services in the world.

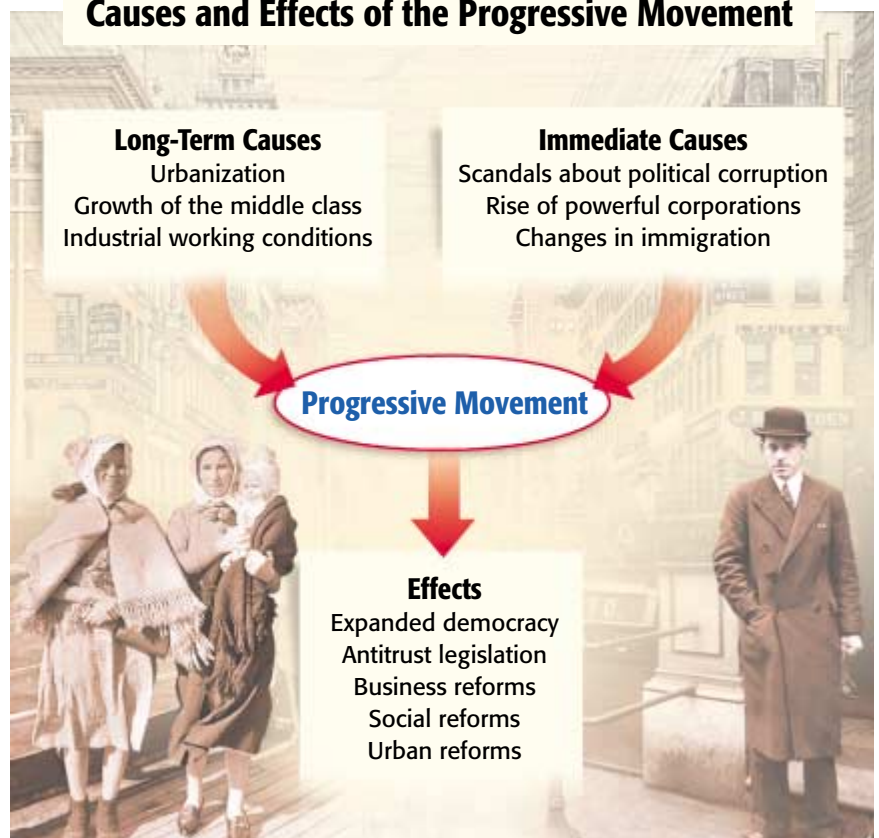
✓ **Reading Check: Identifying Cause and Effect** What led to the rise of new professions such as city planning and civil engineering, and how did they change life in urban America?

### Analyzing Primary sources

#### Identifying Points of View

According to Veiller, what happens to children who grow up in poor living conditions?

### Causes and Effects of the Progressive Movement



## That's Interesting!

**Learning to Play** Did you know that the progressive movement led to some of the first playgrounds in the United States? It's true! In the early 1900s some progressives noticed that many urban children played in parking lots and other vacant areas. As a result, they formed the Playground Association of America (PAA) in 1906. The PAA built playgrounds with safe equipment in U.S. cities. The group even published a magazine called *Playground*. The PAA later merged with other playground groups to form the National Recreation and Park Association (NRPA). The NRPA continues to support park and recreation efforts today.

## Social Reforms

Progressives also worked to improve education. School enrollment increased greatly in the late 1800s as states passed laws requiring children to attend school. Reformers pushed for new public high schools with courses in citizenship, health, and job training. Many progressives also opened kindergartens to teach basic social skills to poor children between the ages of three and seven. In 1873 reformer Susan Blow opened the first American public kindergarten in St. Louis, Missouri. By 1898, more than 4,000 kindergartens had opened in the United States. **John Dewey** was an important philosopher and educator who changed American education. His goal was to help children learn critical-thinking skills to aid them in everyday life. Dewey wanted children to learn problem-solving skills, not just to memorize their lessons. His teaching methods became the model for progressive education across the country.

Progressives also tried to improve the education of medical professionals. In the late 1800s the United States had few well-trained and professionally organized doctors. Researchers knew the causes of diseases such as malaria, pneumonia, tuberculosis, and yellow fever. However, there were few medical organizations to help spread this knowledge. Under the leadership of **Joseph McCormack**, the American Medical Association (AMA) was reorganized in 1901. The AMA brought local medical organizations together and supported laws protecting public health. The group's work showed how progressives could unite professionals to help improve society.

✓ **Reading Check: Summarizing** What educational reforms did progressives favor?

## Section 2 Review

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### 1 Define and explain:

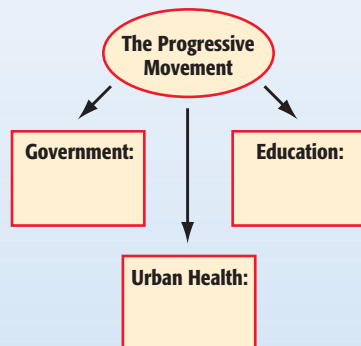
- progressives
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- recall
- initiative
- referendum

### 2 Identify and explain:

- Ida Tarbell
- Seventeenth Amendment
- Robert M. La Follette
- Wisconsin Idea
- John Dewey
- Joseph McCormack

### 3 Categorizing

Copy the diagram below. Use it to identify ways that progressives supported each type of reform.



### 4 Finding the Main Idea

- What contributions did middle-class reformers and muckrakers make to the progressive movement?
- What caused progressives to fight corruption in local and state governments, and what effects did their efforts have?

### 5 Writing and Critical Thinking

**Analyzing Information** Imagine that you are a muckraker for *McClure's Magazine*. Write a short article explaining how progressives have addressed social and political problems in U.S. cities in the early 1900s.

Consider the following:

- urban problems
- the work of other muckrakers
- new professions related to urban planning



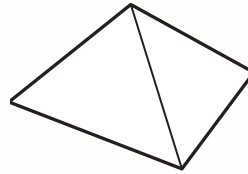
# Reforming the Workplace

## Read to Discover

1. What laws did progressives want to pass to protect workers?
2. How did the courts react to labor legislation?
3. How did labor organize to help improve working conditions?

## Reading Strategy

**PYRAMID** Create the "Pyramid" FoldNote described in the Appendix. Label the sides of the pyramid "Child Labor Reform," "Working Conditions," and "Labor Organizations." Write the main ideas about each topic on the appropriate pyramid side.



## Define

- socialism

## Identify

- Florence Kelley
- Triangle Shirtwaist Fire
- Industrial Workers of the World
- William "Big Bill" Haywood

## The Story Continues

Sadie Frowne was 15 years old. She worked in a garment factory in Brooklyn, New York. Every day at 7:00 A.M. she sat down at her machine. "The machines go like mad all day, because the faster you work the more money you get," she explained. "Sometimes in my haste I get my finger caught and the needle goes right through it." One of the progressives' main goals was to establish better working conditions for people like Sadie.



Many children, such as these young textile workers, labored in potentially dangerous jobs.

## ★ Child Labor Reform

Low wages for unskilled workers in the late 1800s meant that a growing number of children had to work to help support their families. Boys and some girls sold newspapers or shined shoes on the streets. Girls often cooked and cleaned for boarders staying with their families. Some girls worked at home, sewing garments with their mothers.

In addition, more than 1.75 million children, age 15 and under, worked in mines, mills, and factories by 1900. One wealthy reformer, Marie Van Vorst, posed as a poor woman so that she could investigate child labor conditions. She saw children as young as five years old working in a South Carolina textile mill.

## Daily Life

**Child factory workers** In the early 1900s, many children labored in textile factories. Among their tasks was the responsibility of watching the bobbins, or cylinders that held thread. When the thread broke, children had to quickly tie the two ends together. Other children replaced bobbins that were full of thread with empty ones. Such jobs forced children to stand all day and risk injury by climbing on equipment. One little girl earned 4 cents for every 36 buttons she sewed. Many of the children who worked in factories did not go to school. One reformer noted that children who did attend school often fell asleep in class because they had been up late working. **How does the image show the difficult working conditions that these children faced?**



As more progressives learned about child labor, they began to take action. **Florence Kelley**, who had raised her three children at Chicago's Hull House, led the progressive fight against child labor. Kelley's plan was to "investigate, educate, legislate, and enforce." She was also a board member of the National Consumers' League, a group that spoke out on labor issues involving women and children. Kelley started about 60 local consumer leagues throughout the United States. The National Child Labor Committee worked for laws against child labor in many states. Congress passed federal child labor laws in 1916 and 1919. The Supreme Court, however, ruled that they were unconstitutional. A later attempt to pass a constitutional amendment limiting child labor failed.

✓ **Reading Check: Finding the Main Idea** How did reformers try to improve child labor conditions?

## ★ Safety in the Workplace

Child labor reform was only part of the progressive effort to help workers. Many progressives worked with labor unions to fight for the eight-hour workday. The National Consumers' League favored legislation for higher wages and fewer working hours. As a result, many states passed minimum-wage laws and maximum-hour laws for women.

Tragic accidents in the workplace led reformers to call for laws protecting workers from dangerous conditions. In 1900 some 35,000 people were killed by industrial accidents. About 500,000 others were hurt. One shocking incident took place in 1911 at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company in New York City. As some 500 workers, most of whom were immigrant women, prepared to leave the clothing factory, a fire broke out. They tried to escape through exit doors of the 10-story building but found the doors locked. By the time firefighters brought the **Triangle Shirtwaist Fire** under control, 146 workers had died. At a memorial service for the fire victims, union leader Rose Schneiderman called for action.



“This is not the first time girls have been burned alive in the city. Each week I must learn of the untimely death of one of my sister workers. . . . The life of men and women is so cheap and property is so sacred. . . . It is up to the working people to save themselves.”

—Rose Schneiderman, *All for One*

Incidents such as the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire led to laws that improved factory safety standards and working conditions.

Labor leaders and progressives also fought for laws to pay workers injured on the job. In 1902, Maryland became the first state to adopt a workers’ compensation law. But because workplace laws were not strictly enforced, working conditions remained poor in many places.

✓ **Reading Check: Summarizing** What types of laws did progressives and labor leaders support in order to improve working conditions?



## The Courts and the Workplace

Some business leaders opposed workforce regulations, arguing that the government should not interfere with the economy. State and federal courts often upheld this view and ruled against progressive reform laws. Courts ruled that the Fourteenth Amendment protected businesses against laws that would take their property without due process of law.

In 1898 the Supreme Court ruled that states could limit workers’ hours in dangerous jobs. The state of New York later passed a law that limited bakers to a 10-hour workday because of the unhealthy working conditions. But a bakery owner, Joseph Lochner, challenged the law. He claimed that this law interfered with his right to run his business. The case made its way to the Supreme Court. In *Lochner v. New York* the Supreme Court ruled that states could not restrict the rights of employers and workers to sign any type of labor agreement that they wished. The Court ruled that the New York law was unconstitutional. According to the Court, workers should be free to accept any conditions of employment that business owners required—even if that meant working 14 to 16 hours a day.

The Supreme Court did uphold some laws limiting the working hours of women and children. In *Muller v. Oregon* (1908) the Court upheld laws limiting women’s working hours. According to the Court, the differences between women and men made the health and safety of women a matter of public interest. The Court then ruled that these differences meant laws regulating working conditions for women were constitutional. For the progressives, this was a key decision. It was the first case successfully argued from social evidence rather than precedent, or prior legal principle. Progressives continued to work to extend legal protections in the workplace to men.

✓ **Reading Check: Analyzing Information** How did the Supreme Court address labor laws in the late 1800s and early 1900s?

## Analyzing Primary Sources

### Identifying Points of View

Why does Schneiderman say that life had become so cheap?

GLOBAL

CONNECTIONS



## Worker Reforms

Like American laborers, European workers also formed unions. The labor movement was strongest in Great Britain, where there were about 4 million union members in 1913. As their standard of living dropped during the early 1900s, British workers staged several protests. Transportation strikes paralyzed the country in 1911.

In the early 1900s, British workers won retirement pensions and miners gained an eight-hour workday. In 1911 Parliament passed the British National Insurance Act, which gave some workers unemployment insurance.

**What gains did British workers make?**





This pamphlet contained labor songs for members of the Industrial Workers of the World.

## ★ Labor Organizations

Unions fought for better working conditions and higher pay by bargaining with employers. Union membership rose from more than 800,000 in 1900 to about 5 million in 1920. Because most unions discouraged women from joining, some female workers formed their own unions. Reformers started the national Women’s Trade Union League in 1903.

The American Federation of Labor (AFL) remained one of the most powerful labor unions, organizing workers in skilled trades. The goals of the AFL were better working conditions, higher pay, and union recognition. AFL president Samuel Gompers and others like him favored the economic system called capitalism. In this system, privately owned businesses run most industries, and competition determines prices and wages.

More radical unions claimed that capitalism itself was unfair. They supported **socialism**—an economic system in which the government owns and operates a country’s means of production. Socialists hoped that the government would be more responsive to workers’ needs. Some socialists and union leaders started the **Industrial Workers of the World** (IWW) in 1905. The IWW brought together many workers who were not welcome in the AFL. The union took in African Americans, immigrants, migrant workers, unskilled laborers, and women.

Led by **William “Big Bill” Haywood**, the IWW’s goal was to organize all workers into one large union that eventually would try to overthrow capitalism. The IWW organized strikes across the country, but business leaders and many other Americans were alarmed by the IWW. Arrests of union leaders, government investigations, and political opposition weakened the IWW, and by 1920 the union had almost disappeared.

✓ **Reading Check: Comparing and Contrasting** How were the goals of the AFL and the IWW similar, and how were they different?

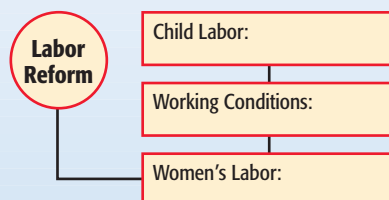
## Section 3 Review

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keyword: SC5 HP20

1 **Define** and explain:  
• socialism

2 **Identify** and explain:  
• Florence Kelley  
• Triangle Shirtwaist Fire  
• Industrial Workers of the World  
• William “Big Bill” Haywood

3 **Analyzing Information**  
Copy the diagram below. Use it to identify how progressives tried to reform child labor, working conditions, and women’s labor.



4 **Finding the Main Idea**

- What working conditions led unions and progressives to call for laws to protect laborers?
- What were the major goals of most unions?

5 **Writing and Critical Thinking**

**Summarizing** Imagine that you are a news reporter covering the Supreme Court in the early 1900s. Write a feature article about cases in which the Court has made rulings about laws involving workers’ hours.

Consider the following:

- working conditions for women and children
- the case of *Lochner v. New York*
- the case of *Muller v. Oregon*

# The Rights of Women and Minorities

## Read to Discover

1. Why did many women participate in the progressive movement, and what were their goals?
2. How did African American leaders try to improve conditions for African Americans?
3. What groups did not benefit from the progressive movement?

## Reading Strategy

**USING SIGNAL WORDS** Preview each subsection and look for compare and contrast signal words, such as *however*, *but*, and *although*. Use the signal words to help you predict the main ideas of each subsection. Record your predictions. As you read the section, check your predictions and confirm or revise them.

## Identify

- Woman's Christian Temperance Union
- Frances Willard
- Eighteenth Amendment
- National American Woman Suffrage Association
- Carrie Chapman Catt
- Alice Paul
- National Woman's Party
- Nineteenth Amendment
- Booker T. Washington
- Atlanta Compromise
- Ida B. Wells
- W. E. B. Du Bois
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

## The Story Continues

During the summer of 1910, a campaign tour for women's right to vote stopped in Warren, Illinois. Tour participants told the local crowd that greeted them that their state representative had opposed the woman suffrage bill. The crowd brought the representative forward. They demanded to know if he would support the bill the next time. "It looks as if I would have to," he responded. To the delight of the crowd, he shouted, "I can't fight against a woman's campaign. I'm for you."



This women's suffrage supporter marched in front of the White House.

## Progressive Women

New educational opportunities drew more women into the progressive movement. In the late 1800s, women began attending colleges like Smith, Vassar, and Wellesley in record numbers. Their goal was "to develop as

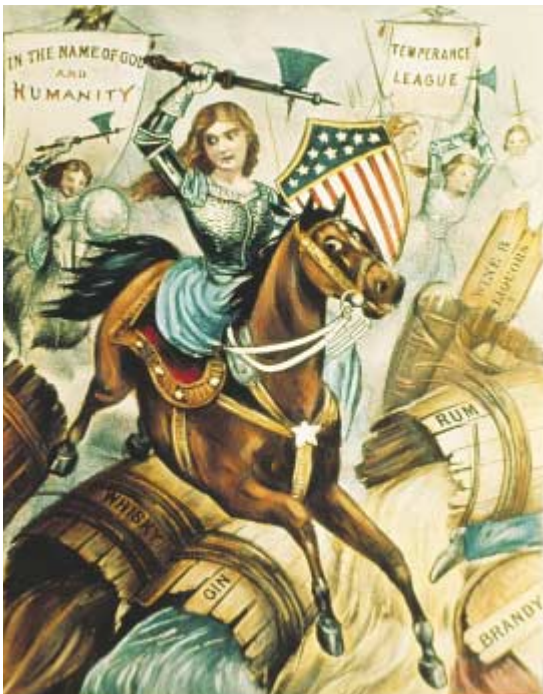
fully as may be the powers of womanhood,” said Sophia Smith, founder of Smith College. New state universities also began to admit women. Educators like Professor Edward Clarke of Harvard Medical School opposed the admission of women, however. In 1872, Clarke argued that the physical and mental strain of too much thinking would harm a woman’s health.

Despite such views, women seized the opportunities to improve their educations. In 1870 only some 20 percent of college students were women. By 1910 that number had doubled. However, many female graduates found few jobs open to them. Jane Addams explained that she could “not understand this apparent waste of herself, this elaborate [complex] preparation, if no work is provided for her.” Many female graduates did enter fields such as teaching, social work, and library management. Yet they found it much harder to enter professions such as law and medicine, which were dominated by men. Denied such careers, women found that they could play active roles in reform movements. Women’s clubs campaigned for dozens of causes, including child welfare, political reform, temperance, and women’s suffrage.

✓ **Reading Check: Finding the Main Idea** What problem did college-trained women face after graduation?

### Interpreting Political Cartoons

**Carry Nation** Cartoons often showed temperance leader Carry Nation as a warrior attacking alcohol. **How does this cartoon illustrate women’s role in the temperance movement?**



## ★ The Temperance Movement

Progressive women played a vital role in the temperance movement. Since the 1840s temperance reformers had blamed alcohol for many of society’s problems. By the 1870s the movement had spread to hundreds of small towns. More than 1,000 saloons were forced to shut down by these reformers. Some temperance activists followed the example of Carry Nation. In the 1890s Nation would storm into saloons with an ax, chopping bars and smashing liquor bottles and glasses.

In 1874, reformers formed the **Woman’s Christian Temperance Union** (WCTU). Women from many different backgrounds united in the fight against alcohol abuse. **Frances Willard** served as president of the organization from 1879 to 1898. Under her leadership, the WCTU started 10,000 local branches that represented every state, territory, and major city in the United States. As a result of such pressure, many state and local governments passed laws restricting the sale of alcohol. Temperance efforts eventually led to the passage of the **Eighteenth Amendment** in 1919. This amendment outlawed the production and sale of alcoholic beverages in the United States.

✓ **Reading Check: Identifying Cause and Effect** Why did the WCTU fight for prohibition, and what effects did their crusade have?





Susan B. Anthony

### Susan B. Anthony

## WOMEN'S RIGHT TO THE SUFFRAGE

After women's rights activist Susan B. Anthony was arrested for voting, she defended herself before a U.S. district court in New York in 1873. The following is an excerpt from a speech she gave to her supporters.

"Friends and fellow citizens: I stand before you to-night under indictment for the alleged crime [accusation] of having voted at the last presidential election, without having a lawful right to vote. It shall be my work this evening to prove to you that in thus voting, I not only committed no crime, but, instead, simply exercised my citizen's rights, guaranteed to me and all United States citizens by the National Constitution. . . . It was we, the people, not we, the white male citizens; nor yet we, the male citizens; but we, the whole people, who formed the Union. And we formed it, not to give the blessings of liberty, but to secure them; not to the half of ourselves and the half of our posterity, but to the whole people—women as well as men."

#### Analyzing Primary Sources

1. What crime was Susan B. Anthony accused of committing?
2. Why does Anthony believe that women should have the vote?

## ★ Women's Suffrage

The WCTU also started to fight for women's suffrage, but this movement had many opponents. Some people worried about what women might do if they had the vote. Political bosses were troubled by the anticorruption efforts of women. Many businesspeople believed that women voters would support child labor laws and minimum-wage laws. Some people simply believed that women belonged in the home, not in politics.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony began the **National American Woman Suffrage Association** (NAWSA) in 1890 to help get the vote for women. That same year, women gained the right to vote in Wyoming. Colorado, Idaho, and Utah followed in the 1890s.

**Carrie Chapman Catt** had fought successfully for women's suffrage in the West. After becoming president of the NAWSA in 1900, Catt mobilized more than 1 million volunteers. She argued that female voters were needed to help bring about progressive reforms. Catt insisted that women should have a voice in creating the laws that affected them.

However, some women believed that the efforts of the NAWSA did not go far enough. In 1913 NAWSA member **Alice Paul** left the organization and founded what would become the **National Woman's Party** (NWP). The NWP used parades, public demonstrations, and more controversial methods to draw attention to its cause. The party used hunger strikes,

### Interpreting the Visual Record

**Suffrage marchers** These women are marching in a suffragette parade in New York City in 1912. How do you think the public would react to such a parade?



pickets, and various forms of civil disobedience to build support. Paul and other NWP leaders were jailed several times for their actions.

The efforts of the NAWSA and the NWP helped lead to success. In 1919, 26 state legislatures asked Congress to pass a women's suffrage amendment. In 1920 the **Nineteenth Amendment** gave the vote to women in the United States.

✓ **Reading Check: Comparing and Contrasting** How were the NAWSA and the NWP alike, and how were they different?

## ★ African Americans Fight for Change

White progressive reformers often ignored issues such as discrimination and segregation. Some African American leaders like **Booker T. Washington** tried to improve the conditions of African Americans. Born into slavery, Washington became a respected educator while in his twenties. In 1881 he founded the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama for African Americans. He encouraged African Americans to improve their own educational and economic well-being rather than fight discrimination and segregation. Washington explained his philosophy in his **Atlanta Compromise** speech of 1895.



“In all things that are purely social we [whites and African Americans] can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual [shared] progress.”

—Booker T. Washington, Atlanta Compromise speech

Other African Americans, such as journalist **Ida B. Wells**, (later Wells-Barnett) were more outspoken about discrimination. Editorials in her Memphis newspaper, *Free Speech*, drew attention to the mob lynching, or violent killing, of black men. Her work gained her many

### Analyzing Primary Sources

**Drawing Inferences and Conclusions** What social relationship between African Americans and whites does Washington seem to support?

enemies. Eventually, she had to move to the North because of death threats. In 1895 she published *Red Record*, which reported lynching statistics for a three-year period. Wells-Barnett later helped start an international crusade against lynching.

**W. E. B. Du Bois** also took a direct approach to fighting racial injustice. Born in Massachusetts, Du Bois attended Fisk University. He later went on to earn a doctoral degree from Harvard. Du Bois disagreed with Washington's focus on job training and downplaying of liberal arts education. Du Bois publicized cases of racial prejudice and wrote dozens of articles and speeches.

In 1905 Du Bois and other African Americans who wanted faster change met at Niagara Falls, Canada. Calling themselves the Niagara Movement, the group called for economic and educational equality, as well as an end to segregation and discrimination. The movement's Declaration of Principles said that "to ignore, overlook, or apologize for these wrongs is to prove ourselves unworthy of freedom."

Du Bois and other reformers founded the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP) in 1909. Among the new organization's members were many well-known progressives such as Jane Addams and John Dewey. Du Bois acted as the director of publications and research and edited the NAACP journal, *The Crisis*. Opposing Washington's views, the NAACP worked to bring racial inequality to the attention of white Americans. The organization also attacked racial discrimination through the court system. In 1915 the NAACP won the important case of *Guinn v. United States*, which outlawed the grandfather clause. This type of law had been widely used in the South to keep African Americans from voting. It imposed qualifications on voters, unless the voters' grandfathers had been allowed to vote.

Another important organization, the National Urban League, was formed in 1911. This organization aided many African Americans moving from the South to northern cities. It helped them find jobs and housing and get used to life in the city.

✓ **Reading Check: Comparing and Contrasting** How were the views of Washington like and unlike those of Du Bois?

## ★ The Limits of Progressive Reform

The progressive movement left behind members of other minority groups. In the 1890s the American Indian population in the United States had declined to less than 250,000, its lowest point ever. To deal with poverty among American Indians, the Society of American Indians was started in 1911. Society members wanted Indians to obey the Dawes Act and adopt the ways of white society. The Society believed this would help solve the problems of poverty and unemployment, but most of its members did not understand the views of American Indians who lived

Research on the **ROM**

**Free Find:**

**Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois**

After reading about Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois on the **Holt Researcher CD-ROM**, imagine that you are hosting the two leaders on a talk show. Write a short transcript of a conversation that the two leaders might have.



W. E. B. Du Bois wrote many influential essays on race relations.





### Interpreting the Visual Record

**Immigrant communities** As Chinese immigrants arrived in the United States, they established communities, like this one in San Francisco, to maintain their culture. **How do you think immigrant communities changed the makeup of U.S. cities?**

on the reservations. Many of these American Indians wanted to preserve their traditional culture. They thought the breakup of reservations under the Dawes Act would bring an end to their way of life. Despite their poverty, some 2,000 Cherokee by 1912 had refused to accept lands granted to them by the government. Other Indians wanted to slow down the allotment process and allow people to stay on reservations. Eventually, new laws let Indians stay on reservations if they wanted to.

Some immigrant groups were also ignored by white progressives. Many Chinese immigrants who came to the United States to mine gold and build railroads had hard lives. Chinese immigration slowed sharply because of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which prohibited Chinese people from immigrating to the United States for 10 years. Congress later extended the ban, attempting to make immigration from China permanently illegal. Chinese immigrants also faced violence as well as discrimination. Anti-Chinese riots took place in several western states and territories during the late 1800s. As a result, many Chinese Americans formed their own communities in cities such as San Francisco.

While Chinese immigration dropped, Mexican immigration rose between 1901 and 1930. During this time, immigrants could move fairly easily across the U.S. borders with Mexico and Canada. Most Mexican immigrants moved to areas that had once been part of Mexico. Immigrants then invited their family and friends to move to the United States. Although Mexican immigrants were a key part of the Southwest economy, they faced discrimination and harsh labor conditions.

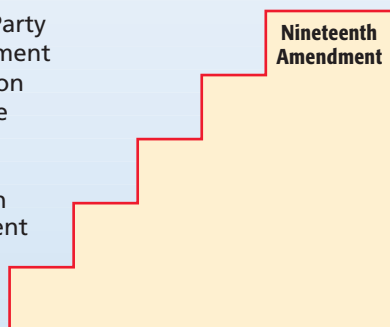
✓ **Reading Check: Summarizing** What groups received few benefits from the efforts of progressive reformers?

## Section 4 Review

Go **hrw** **.com** Homework Practice Online  
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- Identify** and explain:
  - Woman's Christian Temperance Union
  - Frances Willard
  - Eighteenth Amendment
  - National American Woman Suffrage Association
  - Carrie Chapman Catt
  - Alice Paul
  - National Woman's Party
  - Nineteenth Amendment
  - Booker T. Washington
  - Atlanta Compromise
  - Ida B. Wells
  - W. E. B. Du Bois
  - National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

- Sequencing** Copy the graphic organizer below. Use it to list the events that led to the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in the order that they occurred.



- Finding the Main Idea**
  - What caused women to join the progressive movement, and what did they hope to achieve?
  - What groups in the United States were not helped by progressive reformers?

- Writing and Critical Thinking**  
**Analyzing Information** Imagine that you are a muckraking magazine writer. Write an article that compares and contrasts the ways African Americans and women tried to reach their goals during the Progressive Era. Consider the following:
  - discrimination against African Americans and women
  - the similarities and differences between Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois
  - the similarities and differences between the NAWSA and the NWP

# The Progressive Presidents

## Read to Discover

1. What were the major points of President Roosevelt's progressive policy?
2. Why did progressives turn against President Taft?
3. What reforms did Woodrow Wilson accomplish during his presidency?

## Reading Strategy

**BUILDING BACKGROUND INFORMATION** Use the Read to Discover questions, vocabulary, and visuals in this section to make predictions about the text. Write questions about the text based on your predictions. Look for answers to your questions as you read.

## Define

- arbitration
- conservation

## Identify

- Theodore Roosevelt
- Pure Food and Drug Act
- William Howard Taft
- Bull Moose Party
- Woodrow Wilson
- Underwood Tariff Act
- Sixteenth Amendment
- Federal Reserve Act
- Clayton Antitrust Act
- Federal Trade Commission
- Louis Brandeis

## The Story Continues

On the tour following his second inauguration in 1901, President William McKinley was met by friendly people eager to shake his hand. As McKinley greeted a crowd in Buffalo, New York, however, anarchist Leon Czolgosz pulled out a pistol and shot the president at point-blank range. As he lay mortally wounded, the president whispered, “My wife, be careful how you tell her—oh be careful!” Just eight days later, McKinley was dead.



President William McKinley was assassinated in 1901.

## ★ President Theodore Roosevelt

After the assassination of McKinley in 1901, Vice President **Theodore Roosevelt** took office. Most Gilded Age presidents had seen themselves as administrators. However Roosevelt believed the president should be an active leader. He believed the interests of businesspeople, laborers, and consumers should be balanced for the public good. Roosevelt used this policy—known as the Square Deal—in the coal miners' strike in 1902. The strike lasted several months, causing coal shortages and rising

## Analyzing Primary Sources

**Drawing Inferences and Conclusions** What does Roosevelt mean by the word *square*?



“The labor unions shall have a square deal, and the corporations shall have a square deal, and in addition all private citizens shall have a square deal.”

—President Theodore Roosevelt, quoted in *The Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt*, by Lewis L. Gould

coal prices. The country was in danger of having no heating fuel for the winter. Roosevelt declared that the coal shortages had “become a matter of vital concern to the whole nation.” Roosevelt threatened to take over the mines unless managers agreed to **arbitration**, a formal process to settle disputes, with the strikers. Unlike previous presidents, Roosevelt helped labor to bargain with management. In 1903 he gave a promise.

Roosevelt used the Square Deal as a slogan in his successful presidential campaign in 1904.

President Roosevelt made regulating trusts the top goal of his first administration. He thought there were “good” trusts, which helped society, and “bad” trusts, which hurt the public. Roosevelt took on the Northern Securities Company, a big railroad trust in the Northwest. In 1904 the Supreme Court found that the Northern Securities Company had violated the Sherman Antitrust Act. The Court’s ruling sent a warning to large corporations. The public was pleased, and Roosevelt gained a public reputation as a trustbuster. Business leaders, on the other hand, were outraged. They feared growing government interference in the country’s economy and thus in their businesses.

In some cases, public pressure forced President Roosevelt to seek reform. Muckrakers helped build popular support for a larger government role in addressing problems. The American Medical Association also called for better food standards and proper labeling. Yet Congress would not pass reforms. Then Upton Sinclair’s account of the meat-processing industry in his 1906 novel, *The Jungle*, shocked the public. Roosevelt responded by opening an investigation.

Roosevelt persuaded Congress to pass the **Pure Food and Drug Act** in 1906. The new law stopped the manufacture, sale, or transportation of mislabeled or contaminated food and drugs sold in interstate commerce. Congress also passed the Meat Inspection Act, which required inspections of meatpacking plants. Finally, Roosevelt got Congress to regulate railroad shipping rates. The public supported this expansion of federal regulatory powers. Roosevelt’s activism set a standard for later progressive presidents.

Because of his love of the outdoors, Roosevelt became the first president to strongly favor **conservation**, or protection of nature and its resources. There were two different points of view among supporters of conservation. Preservationists believed that nature should be preserved because of its beauty. Many preservationists, such as John Muir, wanted to protect the remaining ancient forests of the West from logging. Other members of the conservation movement were known as conservationists.



## Theodore Roosevelt

### Character Trait: Citizenship

Theodore Roosevelt was born into a wealthy family in New York City in 1858. Despite his privileged upbringing, Roosevelt believed that his success came as a result of his hard work.

As a boy, he suffered from severe asthma and poor eyesight. At the age of 11, however, he began improving his health through exercise and outdoor activities. His asthma got better, and he became a strong and confident young man.

Reporter Lincoln Steffens once wrote about Roosevelt, “He took joy in everything he did, in hunting, camping, in ranching, in politics, in reforming the police or the civil service.” **What qualities made Roosevelt a strong leader?**



These people wanted to save the natural resources of the United States. For example, Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot (PIN-shoh) valued forests because they produced the materials needed to build “prosperous homes.”

By 1870, tens of millions of acres of federal land had been sold or given to private mining, logging, and railroad companies. These companies were against efforts to conserve federal land. Yet, while Roosevelt was in office, the forest service gained control of nearly 150 million acres of public land. Roosevelt doubled the number of national parks, created 16 national monuments, and started 51 wildlife refuges.

✓ **Reading Check: Analyzing Information** What reforms did President Roosevelt introduce when he was in office?

## ★ Taft Angers the Progressives

Theodore Roosevelt hoped that his secretary of war, **William Howard Taft**, would succeed him as president in 1908. Like Roosevelt, Taft opposed socialism and favored business regulation. With Roosevelt’s help, Taft beat William Jennings Bryan in the election of 1908. However, despite their friendship, Roosevelt and Taft held different ideas about how a president should act. Taft thought Roosevelt had claimed more power than the executive branch was constitutionally allowed. Therefore, Taft chose to move more cautiously toward reform and regulation, which upset many progressives. Although he started twice as many antitrust suits as Roosevelt had, this was not enough to please progressives like Bryan and Robert M. La Follette, who wanted to destroy the trusts entirely. Taft angered progressives further when he signed the Payne-Aldrich Tariff of 1909. Although the Payne-Aldrich Tariff did reduce some rates, it raised others. The result was that tariffs were not reduced as much as many progressives wanted.

Taft’s battle with Roosevelt’s close friend and ally Gifford Pinchot also proved politically costly. In 1909 Pinchot accused Secretary of the Interior Richard Ballinger of hurting conservation efforts by leasing public lands to big business. Taft decided to fire Pinchot, which upset conservationists and many other progressives, including Roosevelt. Taft actually transferred more land into government reserves than Roosevelt had. However, he could not win back progressive support.

✓ **Reading Check: Summarizing** What actions did Taft take that angered Roosevelt and other progressives?



### Interpreting Political Cartoons

**Trustbusting** Roosevelt responds to public concerns by trying to break up trusts. **What roles are Roosevelt and the trusts assigned in this 1904 cartoon entitled “Jack the Giant Killer”?**

### Research on the ROM

Free Find:

**Pure Food and Drug Act**

After reading about the Pure Food and Drug Act on the **Holt Researcher CD-ROM**, write a short essay that explains the role of this law in protecting public health.

## Conservation Debates

Just as people in 1909 were concerned about the leasing of public lands to big business, people today are concerned about the same issue. Energy companies, for example, would like to open up public lands to fossil fuel exploration. Supporters of these proposals argue that it is important to find more energy sources in the United States in order to decrease the dependence on foreign oil. Some environmentalists argue that a better way to become less dependent on foreign oil would be to raise the miles-per-gallon (mpg) standards for cars, trucks, and sport utility vehicles to 40 mpg. This, they say, could save millions of barrels of oil a day and also reduce air pollution. Automobile manufacturers argue that this change would be too costly to them. **What is your opinion about this issue?**

## The Election of 1912

Roosevelt was among the many progressives who believed that Taft was not running the government effectively. Explaining that “the bulk of the people wanted a given job done, and . . . wanted me to do that job,” Roosevelt decided to run for president again. When he lost the Republican nomination to Taft, Roosevelt and his followers formed the Progressive Party. The party was nicknamed the **Bull Moose Party** after Roosevelt said he was “as strong as a bull moose.” The party’s platform was based on Roosevelt’s progressive plan, the New Nationalism, which he proposed in August 1910. Roosevelt’s plan called for more active regulation, increased social welfare measures, and a stronger executive.

The Democratic Party chose **Woodrow Wilson**. Born in Virginia, Wilson earned a doctoral degree in history, became a professor, and served as president of Princeton University. In 1910 he was elected governor of New Jersey. Wilson based his presidential campaign on a program called the New Freedom, which called for government action against monopolies as well as lower tariffs.

Wilson, Roosevelt, Taft, and Eugene V. Debs, the candidate of the Socialist Party, all were reformers in some fashion. Taft, however, represented more conservative views. All of the candidates disagreed on specific reforms and on how to achieve them. The split between Taft and Roosevelt divided the Republican Party and the Republican vote. Although no one received a majority of the popular vote, Wilson won the electoral vote by a wide margin and became the next president.

✓ **Reading Check: Summarizing** In 1912 who were the four candidates for the presidency, and what parties did each represent?

### Interpreting Political Cartoons

**Taft’s presidency** Many Americans thought that President Taft struggled with issues that Theodore Roosevelt had handled with ease. *Whom do you think the man looking in the window represents, and what do you think he is doing?*





## ★ Woodrow Wilson's Reforms

In his inaugural address, Wilson spoke of the terrible social conditions under which many working-class Americans lived.



“We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto [yet] stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human cost, . . . the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the . . . burden of it all has fallen.”

—Woodrow Wilson, First Inaugural Address

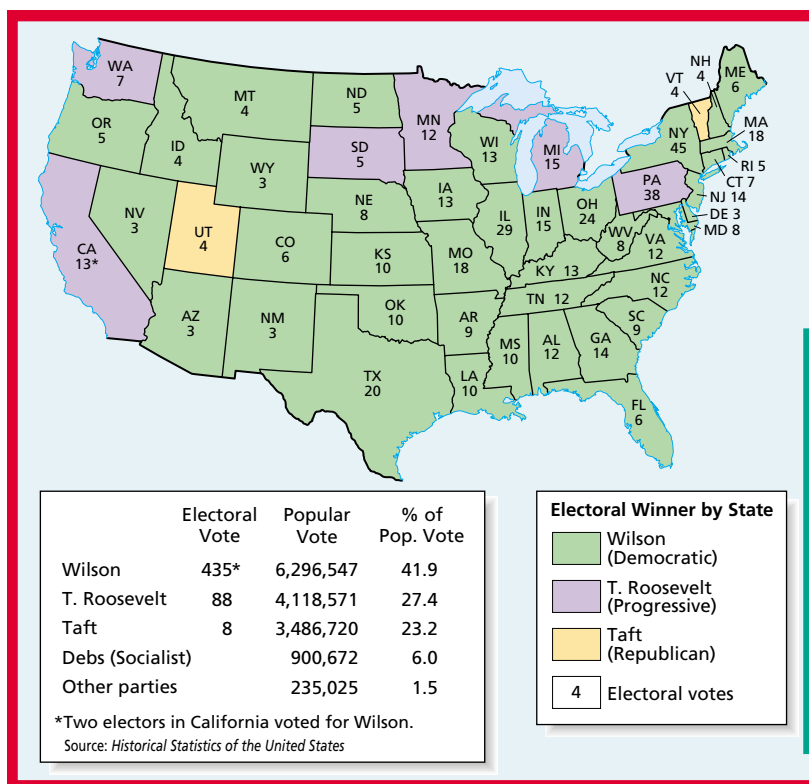
Reform legislation was Wilson's top goal, and he pushed for two measures soon after taking office: tariff revision and banking reform. Wilson backed the **Underwood Tariff Act** of 1913, which brought the lowest tariff rates in many years. The act also introduced a version of the modern income tax on personal earnings. This new tax on earnings was made possible when the **Sixteenth Amendment** was ratified in February 1913. This amendment allows the federal government to impose direct taxes on people's incomes.

President Wilson knew that banking reform would be much more difficult to pass than the tariff legislation. Some legislators favored a centralized banking system, while others wanted a decentralized system. The result was a compromise called the **Federal Reserve Act**. Passed in December 1913, the act created a national banking system called the Federal Reserve. This system is made up of 12 regional Federal Reserve

### Analyzing Primary Sources

**Making Generalizations and Predictions** What policy would you expect Wilson to follow during his presidency?

*A button and bull moose pendant from Roosevelt's 1912 presidential campaign*



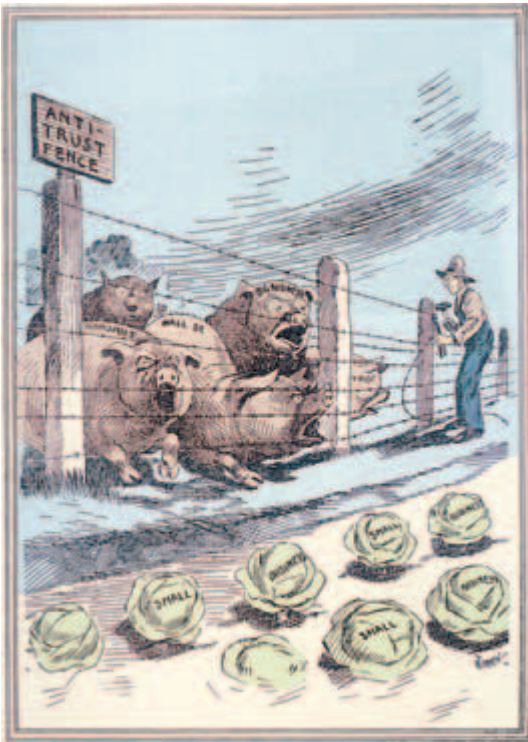
### The Election of 1912

**Interpreting Maps** Wilson's strength was in the South. Although he won the electoral vote by a landslide, the only states outside the former Confederacy where he won at least half the popular votes were Kentucky, Maryland, and Oklahoma.

#### Skills Assessment

**Places and Regions** Which state split its electoral vote?





This 1913 cartoon depicts President Wilson's antitrust legislation as a fence protecting small businesses.

banks as well as many privately owned banks. An independent decision-making board oversees the Federal Reserve. This new banking system enabled the government to try to prevent sudden changes between boom and bust in the economy. Wilson also pushed for laws to regulate big business. The **Clayton Antitrust Act** of 1914 strengthened earlier federal laws against monopolies. The new **Federal Trade Commission**, created in 1914, had the power to stop unfair trade practices by investigating corporations and issuing restraining orders.

As Wilson ran for re-election in 1916, he began to give more attention to farmers, businesspeople, and workers. He appointed **Louis Brandeis**, a progressive lawyer with a reputation for helping people, to the Supreme Court. Brandeis was the first Jewish Supreme Court justice. Wilson also helped pass the Keating-Owen Child Labor Act. In addition, he backed a law providing workers' compensation for federal employees. He also supported the Adamson Act, which limited the workday for railroad workers to eight hours. Wilson's actions

helped him win a higher percentage of the vote in the 1916 election.

President Wilson showed great skill and determination in guiding his reform programs through Congress. He told a friend in 1913 that legislators followed his lead because "I do know how to put my mind at the service of others for the accomplishment of a common purpose."

✓ **Reading Check: Summarizing** What major reforms were carried out under President Wilson?

## Section 5 Review

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### 1 Define and explain:

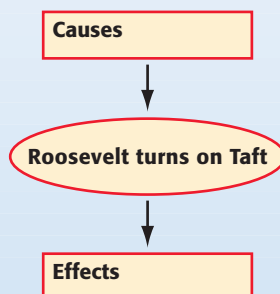
- arbitration
- conservation

### 2 Identify and explain:

- Theodore Roosevelt
- Pure Food and Drug Act
- William Howard Taft
- Bull Moose Party
- Woodrow Wilson
- Underwood Tariff Act
- Sixteenth Amendment
- Federal Reserve Act
- Clayton Antitrust Act
- Federal Trade Commission
- Louis Brandeis

### 3 Identifying Cause and Effect

Copy the graphic organizer below. Use it to show what caused Roosevelt and other progressives to turn against Taft and the effects this change had on the Republican Party in 1912.



### 4 Finding the Main Idea

- What progressive actions did President Roosevelt take against large corporations and railroads?
- What reforms did President Wilson guide through Congress?

### 5 Writing and Critical Thinking

**Analyzing Information** Imagine that you are a political adviser working for Theodore Roosevelt during the 1912 presidential campaign. Prepare a brochure that explains to the people why they should vote for Roosevelt, instead of the other candidates.

Consider the following:

- Roosevelt's record as president from 1901 to 1909
- Roosevelt's conflict with Taft and the Republican Party
- Roosevelt's New Nationalism program

# CONNECTING TO *Literature*

## **The Jungle**

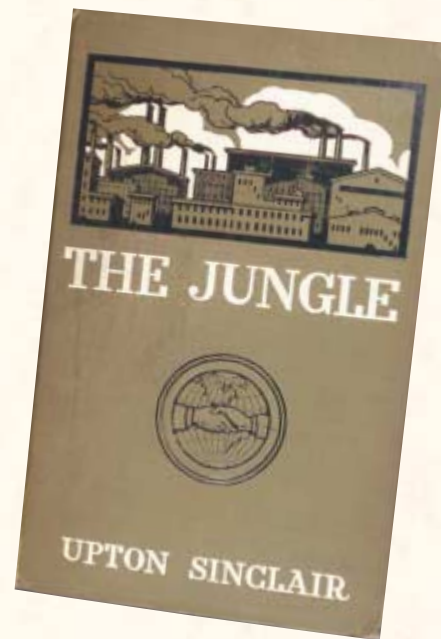
Upton Sinclair

*Upton Sinclair wrote The Jungle to create sympathy for immigrants, who lived and worked under difficult conditions. Readers were shocked by his descriptions of the unsanitary practices in the meatpacking industry. Sinclair later said about Americans' reaction, "I aimed at the public's heart, and by accident I hit it in the stomach." In the following excerpt from The Jungle, Jurgis Rudkus describes conditions at a Chicago meatpacking plant.*

The family had a first-hand knowledge of the great majority of Packingtown swindles. For it was the custom, as they found, whenever meat was so spoiled that it could not be used for anything else, either to can it or else to chop it up into sausage. With what had been told them by Jonas, who had worked in the **pickle**<sup>1</sup> rooms, they could now study the whole of the spoiled-meat industry on the inside, and read a new and grim meaning into that old Packingtown jest—that they use everything of the pig except the squeal.

Jonas had told them how the meat that was taken out of pickle would often be found sour, and how they would rub it up with soda to take away the smell, and sell it to be eaten on free-lunch counters; also of all the miracles of chemistry which they performed, giving to any sort of meat, fresh or salted, whole or chopped, any color and any flavor and any odor they chose. . . .

It was only when the whole ham was spoiled that it came into the department of Elzbieta. . . . Mixed with half a ton of other meat, no odor that ever was in a ham could make any difference. There was never the least attention paid to what was cut up for sausage; there would come all the way back from Europe old sausage that had been rejected. . . . There would be meat that had tumbled out on the floor, in the dirt and sawdust, where the workers had tramped and



*Meat sales dropped after The Jungle was published.*

spit uncounted billions of . . . germs. There would be meat stored in great piles in rooms; and the water from leaky roofs would drip over it, and thousands of rats would race about on it. . . . 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**<sup>2</sup> together. This is no fairy story and no joke.

<sup>1</sup>**pickle**: vinegar solution

<sup>2</sup>**hoppers**: containers for the temporary storage of material

### Understanding What You Read

- Literature and History** Why do you think the descriptions in *The Jungle* led to new health laws? Use examples from the excerpt to support your answer.
- Literature and You** Conduct research to find out how consumers today can tell that their meats are safe to eat.

# Chapter 20 Review

## The Chapter at a Glance

Examine the visual summary of the chapter below. Create an outline of the major parts of the chapter, and compare your outline to a classmate's.

Progressive Reforms			
			
<b>Gilded Age</b> Political machines contributed to widespread political corruption, leading to civil service reform.	<b>Progressive Era</b> Progressives supported democratic reforms such as the initiative, recall, and referendum. They also tried to improve government efficiency and workplace safety and worked to end child labor.	<b>Progressive Presidents</b> Presidents Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Woodrow Wilson regulated trusts. Progressive presidents also concentrated on banking reform and conservation and called for new laws regulating food and drugs.	<b>Women's and Minorities' Rights</b> Women's rights groups won the right to vote for women and addressed other social issues. Organizations such as the NAACP fought for fairer treatment for minorities.

## Identifying People and Ideas

Use the following terms or people in historically significant sentences.

1. political machines
2. John Dewey
3. Industrial Workers of the World
4. Frances Willard
5. Carrie Chapman Catt
6. Nineteenth Amendment
7. Booker T. Washington
8. Atlanta Compromise
9. Theodore Roosevelt
10. Underwood Tariff Act

## Understanding Main Ideas

### Section 1 (Pages 606–609)

1. How did bosses use political machines to control local and city governments?

### Section 2 (Pages 610–614)

2. Why did progressives want to reform local and state governments, and what did they achieve?

### Section 3 (Pages 615–618)

3. What were working conditions like for children and other factory workers in the late 1800s, and what changes did reformers try to make?

### Section 4 (Pages 619–624)

4. What caused some women to form the Woman's Christian Temperance Union?

### Section 5 (Pages 625–630)

5. What was President Roosevelt's attitude toward trusts?
6. What reforms did President Wilson pass during his presidency?

## You Be the Historian— Reviewing Themes

1. **Citizenship** Why did women form the National American Woman Suffrage Association?
2. **Constitutional Heritage** What was the significance of the Supreme Court's ruling in *Lochner v. New York*, and how did its decision in *Muller v. Oregon* partially reverse the earlier ruling?
3. **Economics** What role did Roosevelt believe government should play in the economy?

## Thinking Critically

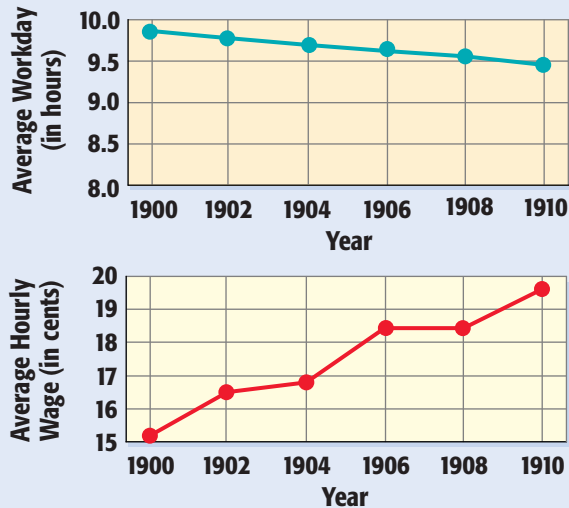
1. **Comparing and Contrasting** How were progressives and earlier reformers alike and different?
2. **Evaluating** Which of the progressive presidents do you think was most successful in reforming American society? Explain your answer.
3. **Identifying Cause and Effect** What led to the growth of the conservation movement, and what effects did it have on natural resources in the United States?



### Interpreting Graphs

Study the graphs below. Then use the information on the graphs to help you answer the questions that follow.

#### Labor and Wages, 1900–1910



Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States*

- About how long was the average workday, and about how much was the average hourly wage in 1900?
  - 15 hours per day and 10 cents per hour
  - 10 hours per day and 15 cents per hour
  - 8 hours per day and 20 cents per hour
  - 9.5 hours per day and 20 cents per hour
- What was the general trend in the length of the workday and the hourly wage between 1900 and 1910?

### Analyzing Primary Sources

Read the following quotation by reformer Jacob Riis, from his book *How the Other Half Lives*. Then answer the following questions.

“Suppose we look into [a tenement on] Cherry Street. Be a little careful, please! The hall is dark and you might stumble. . . . A flight of stairs. You can feel your way, if you cannot see it. . . . all the fresh air that ever enters these stairs comes from the hall door. . . . Here is a door. Listen! That short hacking cough, that tiny, helpless wail—what do they mean? . . . Oh! a sadly familiar story—before the day is at an end. The child is dying with measles. With half a chance it might have lived; but it had none. That dark bedroom killed it.”

- Which of the following best expresses Riis’s view of tenement conditions?
  - Landlords should lower tenement rents to help people with families.
  - The lack of light and air is unhealthy, particularly for children.
  - Mostly poor people live in tenements.
  - There should be better medical care for people living in tenements.
- Why do you think Riis uses the language he does to describe the tenement?
  - He could not see things very clearly on his visit.
  - He wants to create sympathy by helping the reader feel what the conditions are really like.
  - He was frightened while in the tenement.
  - He wants to reassure people that the tenements are not that bad.
- Based on your knowledge of this period, how do you think people might have responded to Riis’s description of tenement life?

### Alternative Assessment

#### Building Your Portfolio

##### Cooperative Learning

Complete the following activity in small groups. If muckrakers were investigating problems in American society today, what do you think would be the top five problems they would address? Find newspaper and magazine articles and images related to these topics. Use this information to create a bulletin board display titled Important Issues Today.

#### Internet connect

**Internet Activity:** [go.hrw.com](http://go.hrw.com)  
keyword: SC5 CF20

Choose an activity on the Spirit of Reform to:

- Learn about the role of the Tammany Hall political machine in the lives of citizens of New York City.
- Write a report on city planning in the early 1900s.
- Learn how the Federal Reserve system works today.