In this chapter, you will learn how Americans adopted important reforms to meet the new problems posed by industrialization and urbanization. Progressive reformers sought to remedy the social problems caused by industrialization. Presidents Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Woodrow Wilson introduced Progressive reforms at the national level.
— IMPORTANT IDEAS —

A. Farmers faced problems in the late 19th century. New farm machinery and the opening of the Great Plains led to overproduction. Food prices fell, as farmers' expenses remained the same. Farmers fell into debt, while they were also charged excessive rates by railroads and grain storage operators.

B. Farmers organized in the Grange Movement to fight for their special interests. They passed laws regulating railroad rates. When the law was overturned by the Supreme Court, Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act (1887).

C. Farmers next combined with industrial workers and miners into the Populist Party. They advocated many reforms that were later adopted by the major political parties and enacted by Congress. Populists believed the shortage of currency was responsible for falling prices. In 1896 and 1900, William Jennings Bryan was the candidate for the Populists and Democrats. Bryan lost both elections.

D. The Progressive Movement flourished in 1900-1920. Like the Populists, Progressives sought reform. They were mainly educated members of the middle class. They sought to correct abuses of big business, such as exploiting workers. They also sought to reform the corrupt practices of government. The roots of the movement were with the Populists, muckrakers, and Social Gospel Movement. Muckrakers, like Upton Sinclair, were investigative reporters.

E. States passed political reforms and social legislation.

F. On the eve of the Progressive Era, the federal government was reformed by the Pendleton Act, which reduced the number of political appointments and replaced them with candidates who had passed a competitive examination.

G. Progressive reforms were introduced at the national level by Presidents Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Woodrow Wilson.

H. Theodore Roosevelt believed in a strong Presidency, and used his powers to safeguard the public interest. He used the anti-trust laws to curb the unfair practices of business. His Square Deal program passed laws protecting consumers.

J. William Howard Taft continued most of Roosevelt's policies. When Roosevelt decided to run as the Bull Moose candidate in 1912, he split the Republican Party, helping Woodrow Wilson, the Democratic candidate, to win the election.

K. Woodrow Wilson furthered Progressive reforms with his New Freedom program. He lowered tariff duties and introduced a graduated income tax, made possible by the 16th Amendment. He created the Federal Reserve System to control the nation's money supply. To control the unfair practices of big business, he passed the Clayton Anti-trust Act, creating the Federal Trade Commission.

L. In art and literature, realism was popular in the late 19th century. Realism attempted to show things as they were, and gave writers and artists a way to depict the hardships and abuses of the new industrial workers. Some of the greatest writers included Horatio Alger, Mark Twain, and Kate Chopin. Noted artists included James McNeil Whistler, Winslow Homer, and Thomas Eakins.
THE AGRARIAN MOVEMENT

Today, less than two percent of Americans live on farms. However, conditions were quite different in the 1870s, when a majority of Americans still lived on farms.

THE PROBLEMS OF FARMERS: 1870–1900

In the late nineteenth century, the extension of farming to the Great Plains and the greater use of machinery and fertilizer led to an abundance of corps. Farmers experienced increasing difficulties as food prices began to drop, while their own expenses remained high. For example, the price a farmer received for a bushel of corn went from 66 cents in 1866 to as low as ten cents in 1889.

### REASONS FOR FARMERS’ ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

- **Agricultural Overproduction.** The opening of the West greatly increased the amount of land cultivated. Machinery and improved farming techniques increased productivity per acre. As farmers produced more crops, food prices fell.

- **High Costs.** Farmers had to ship their crops to market and were forced to pay whatever railroads charged. Railroads often took advantage of the lack of competition on local routes by charging higher rates for shorter distances.

- **Farmer Indebtedness.** Farmers often borrowed to make improvements or to buy machinery. During a poor harvest, farmers also borrowed, using their farm as security. Banks viewed farmers as poor credit risks and charged them high interest rates.

- **Periodic Natural Disasters.** Farmers were subject to droughts, insect invasions, and floods. One bad year to their crops could wipe out a family’s savings from many good years.

### THE GRANGE MOVEMENT

In 1867, the Grange Movement was founded. Its original purpose was to serve as a social club for farmers to help them overcome rural isolation and to spread information about new farming techniques. Within ten years, the Grangers had a million and a half members and began urging economic and political reforms.
GRANGER COOPERATIVES

Grangers tried to eliminate middlemen by forming farmers’ cooperatives to buy machinery, fertilizers, and manufactured goods in large numbers at a discount. The cooperatives also sold their crops directly to city markets. Because of a lack of business experience, many of the Granger cooperatives failed.

THE GRANGER LAWS

Farmers mainly blamed the railroads for their difficulties. They felt they were being overcharged by railroads and by grain storage operators. In several Midwestern states, Grangers elected candidates to state legislatures who promised reforms. These states passed laws regulating railroad and grain storage rates. In *Munn v. Illinois* (1877), the Supreme Court upheld the right of a state to regulate businesses that affected the public interest within the state.

However, in 1886 the Supreme Court reversed itself in a case involving the state regulation of railroad rates. The Court ruled that only Congress could regulate rates on interstate commerce. This decision ended the state regulation of railroads. The Grangers then turned their attention to Congress for help. As you learned in the previous chapter, Congress then passed the *Interstate Commerce Act* (1887). This act prohibited railroads from charging more for short hauls than for long hauls over the same route. The *Interstate Commerce Commission*, created to investigate complaints and to enforce the act, was the first federal government agency to regulate unfair business practices. These new regulations marked a change from the *laissez-faire* economy of the past.

APPLYING WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNED

Create a graphic organizer showing the costs and benefits of the Interstate Commerce Act (1887).

THE POPULIST PARTY: 1891-1896

In 1892, farmers gave their support to the *Populist Party*, a new national political party representing the “common man” — farmers, industrial workers, and miners — in the battle against banking and railroad interests. Women played a prominent role in the Populist Movement as speakers and organizers.

THE POPULIST PLATFORM

Populists were convinced that rich industrialists and bankers had a stranglehold on government. Like the Grangers before them, the Populists wanted government to take a larger role, ending oppression, injustice, and poverty. In 1892, the Populists held a national convention at Omaha, Nebraska, where they chose a Presidential candidate. They also drew up a party platform that had several innovative proposals:
ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

With strong support in the South, the Northwest and the Mountain states, the Populists turned their attention to getting candidates elected to office.

★ Election of 1892. In 1892, the Populists elected five Senators and received over a million votes for their Presidential candidate. Soon afterwards, the economy collapsed in the Depression of 1893. Populists blamed the Depression on the scarcity of currency. They demanded the unlimited coinage of silver to raise prices.

★ Election of 1896. In 1896, the Democratic Party nominated William Jennings Bryan for President after he delivered a speech at the convention. His “Cross of Gold” Speech praised farmers and denounced bankers for “crucifying mankind on a cross of gold.” The Populist Party supported Bryan instead of running another candidate. Bryan’s sense of moral outrage, however, frightened many voters. He narrowly lost the election to Republican William McKinley, a pro-business candidate supported by wealthy Ohio businessman Mark Hanna. The country divided regionally: Bryan won the South and West but McKinley won the Northeast and Midwest, and with it the election.
**ACTING AS AN AMATEUR HISTORIAN**

In 1896, the Democratic Party held its National Convention to pick their Presidential candidate. William Jennings Bryan’s “Cross of Gold” Speech was so powerful that he won the nomination:

“My friends, the question we are to decide is: upon which side will the Democratic Party fight; upon the side of ‘the idle holders of idle capital’ or upon the side of ‘the struggling masses’? That question the party must answer. You tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard; we reply that the great cities rest upon our broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again as if by magic. But destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in the country.”

Which groups did Bryan appeal to in his speech to the Democratic Convention?

How did he try to show that farmers were superior?

**Election of 1900.** Four years later, Bryan ran against McKinley again. When McKinley won a second time, this virtually brought an end to the Populist Party. New gold discoveries, higher farm prices, and rural migration to the cities weakened national interest in a separate farmer’s party in later years.

**THE LEGACY OF POPULISM:**
**The Role of Third Parties**

The Populist Party appeared suddenly in the 1890s and disappeared just as fast. Yet it left its mark on American history. Third parties often have an impact on the political process. They provide an outlet for minorities to voice grievances and generate new ideas.
In this sense, the Populists were typical of third party movements in the United States. Many Populist proposals, such as a graduated income tax and the direct election of Senators, were later adopted by one of the larger political parties. If a third party attracts significant numbers of voters, one of the major parties will often adopt its ideas. The best evidence of the influence of third parties is that so many of their proposals have passed into law.

Complete the graphic organizer below by describing some of the significant events associated with the Granger and Populist Movements.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Farmer's Problems</th>
<th>Grangers and Granger Laws</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**THE RISE AND FALL OF CAPITALISM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Populist Platform of 1892</th>
<th>Presidential Elections of 1896 &amp; 1900</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Legacy of Populism as a Third Party**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Progressive Movement flourished between 1900 and the start of World War I. Progressives took their name from their belief in "progress." Although the Progressives borrowed ideas from the Populists and the labor movement, they differed in important ways. Progressives were mainly middle-class city dwellers, rather than farmers and workers. Their activities reflected the rising influence of the middle class. Writers, lawyers, ministers, and college professors provided their leadership.

The primary goal of the Progressives was to correct the political and economic injustices that had resulted from America's industrialization. Progressives were appalled at the increasing inequalities between the wealthy and the poor. They did not oppose industrialization, but they wanted to use the power of government to correct its evils so that all Americans, not just the wealthy, could enjoy better lives. To achieve this, the Progressives felt they also had to reform government itself— which had become corrupted by big business and political machines.

The Roots of the Progressive Movement

Progressivism arose out of a combination of Protestant Evangelicalism, the activities of journalists, Populism, and the reaction of the educated middle class to abuses in industry and government. Progressives often felt threatened by the rise of big business, large labor unions, and corrupt political bosses. They acted out of a sense of moral responsibility, often based on their religious beliefs. Progressives exalted science and placed great confidence in the ability of using a scientific approach to solve social problems. Rather than accept corruption and poverty, they believed the government should take positive steps to identify problems and promote progress.

The Social Gospel Movement

In the late nineteenth century, a new social movement emerged that was spearheaded by Protestant clergymen. Protestant ministers in the Social Gospel Movement called for social reforms—including the abolition of child labor and safer working conditions. They objected to the harsh realities of unregulated free enterprise and emphasized the ancient idea that each man was his brother's keeper. Instead of accepting the existence of social problems as God's will, groups like the Salvation Army emphasized the Christian duty to help those who were less fortunate.
Social Gospel leaders saw the horrible condition of workers and their families as evidence of the beginning of a new century in which Christians were called upon by God to perform acts of charity and goodness. They felt it would be sinful not to rise to the challenge of reducing such human suffering. The Social Gospel Movement also strongly supported the Temperance Movement, which aimed to ban alcoholic beverages.

SOCIALISM

The abuses of industrial society led some critics to demand an end to the free enterprise system, also known as capitalism. Socialists believed that government should take over basic industries, while Communists believed that workers should seize control by force and abolish all private property. Progressives rejected these extremes, but argued that some reforms were necessary if a social revolution was to be avoided.

THE MUCKRAKERS

With the expansion of cities, newspapers and magazines reached larger audiences. Investigative reporters, writers and social scientists exposed the abuses of industrial society and government corruption. The spread of newspapers and magazines made this new journalism popular.

These writers became known as “muckrakers” because they raked up the “muck” or dirt of American life. The muckrakers examined the rise of industry and the abuses that had often led to the accumulation of large fortunes. They also examined business practices affecting consumers, and the lives of the very poor. Many historians consider the muckrakers as the first Progressives.

**FAMOUS MUCKRAKERS**

- Jacob Riis photographed conditions of the urban poor in *How the Other Half Lives*. His book examined the conditions of the poor in America's cities.
- Ida Tarbell, in her *History of the Standard Oil Company* (1902), showed how John D. Rockefeller's rise was based on ruthless business practices.
- Frank Norris wrote *The Octopus*, a fictional work that depicted the stranglehold of railroads over California farmers.
- Upton Sinclair, in his novel *The Jungle* (1906), described the unsanitary practices of the meat-packing industry.
Upton Sinclair's book *The Jungle* portrayed the new industrial economy as inhumane, destructive, and uncaring. One scene in the book described piles of rat-infested, rotting meat being used to make sausages:

"[T]he meat would be shoveled into carts, and the man who did the shoveling would not trouble to lift out a rat even when he saw one—there were things that went into the sausage in comparison with which a poisoned rat was a tidbit. There was no place for the men to wash their hands before they ate their dinner, and so they made a practice of washing them in the water that was to be ladled into the sausage.

How might a reader in 1906 have reacted to this passage? Explain your answer.

**THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE EARLY PROGRESSIVES**

The early Progressives identified political and social problems and made individual or local efforts to remedy them. The Progressives provide one of the best examples of Americans attempting to overcome problems through reform. The demand for reform has been a continuing theme throughout American history. Reform movements are usually based on the belief that society can be made better.

**THE SOCIAL REFORMERS**

Progressives were so shaken by the abuses of industrial society that some even made individual efforts at social reform. Settlement houses were started in slum neighborhoods by Progressives like Jane Addams.

A *settlement house* was an all-purpose community center for poor people living in crowded city neighborhoods. The settlement house provided child care, nursing services, and English lessons to immigrants. Most of the settlement houses were staffed by volunteers. Jane Addams and her volunteers actually lived at *Hull House* among the people they were trying to help. Addams once described the main purpose of a settlement house as being to "help the foreign-born conserve the value of their past life and to bring them into contact with a better class of Americans."
Another leading voice in the social reform movement was Ida B. Wells. Lynching (murder by hanging) was one of the main tactics used to terrorize African Americans, especially in the South. When three of Wells’ male friends were lynched for crimes they did not commit, Wells organized a national anti-lynching crusade. Her research revealed that 728 African American men and women had been lynched in the previous decade.

Other Progressives formed associations to promote social change. William Edward Burghardt (W.E.B.) DuBois was born in Massachusetts in 1868, shortly after the Civil War. He was the first African American to earn a Ph.D. from Harvard University and became a noted historian.

DuBois was one of the founders of the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) and the editor of its journal, The Crisis. Booker T. Washington, a prominent African-American leader, had argued that African Americans should seek gradual equality, focus on job training, and not be too demanding. DuBois disagreed: he toured the country delivering speeches in favor of achieving immediate racial equality. DuBois supported open protests and criticized Booker T. Washington for not being forceful enough in his goals.

Another voluntary organization formed during the Progressive era was the Anti-Defamation League, a Jewish organization opposed to religious prejudice. Progressives also organized charities, clubs, and other associations, such as the YMCA and the YWCA.

**APPLYING WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNED**

What was the impact of reformers like Addams, Wells, and DuBois on American society? Provide your answer in the form of an illustrated “Dictionary of National Biography,” or as a graphic organizer.

**MUNICIPAL REFORM**

Other Progressives focused their attention on correcting abuses found at the municipal (town or city) level of government. They sought to prevent corruption and to make local government more efficient. As you learned in the previous chapter, many city governments were controlled by “political machines.” Progressives replaced the rule of “bosses” and “machines” with public-minded mayors.
They also expanded city services to deal with urban overcrowding, fire hazards, and the lack of public services. Municipal governments often took direct ownership of utilities, such as water, electricity and gas. Some called this “gas and water” socialism. In some cities, Progressives even introduced new forms of municipal government to discourage corruption, such as governance by a city-manager or commission.

**THE REFORM OF STATE GOVERNMENT**

At the state level, Progressive governors like Robert LaFollette in Wisconsin and Theodore Roosevelt in New York similarly took steps to free their state governments from corruption and the influence of big business. LaFollette, for example, challenged political bosses and reduced the influence of railroad owners.

Progressives also introduced important political reforms to many states, such as the **initiative, referendum, and recall**. The purpose of these reforms was to end corruption and to make state government more directly accountable to the people. These reforms sought to raise the level of public participation in the political process and to give citizens more of a direct voice in state government by by-passing politicians. Many of these measures were borrowed from the Populists:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Secret Ballot. Voters were less subject to pressure and intimidation when they could vote in secret.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initiative. Voters could directly introduce bills in the state legislature and could vote on whether they wanted a bill passed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referendum. Voters could compel legislators to place a bill on the ballot for approval.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recall. Elected officials could be removed from office by voters in a special election.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct Party Primaries. Special elections were held to determine whom party members wanted to represent them as candidates in the general election.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct Election of Senators. Senators were elected directly by the people (17th Amendment) instead of being chosen by state legislatures.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**APPLYING WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNED**

★ How did the processes of initiative, referendum, and recall make state governments more responsive to the public?

★ Earlier voters had used an open ballot in which everyone could see their vote. Why was use of the secret ballot more democratic?

★ The Seventeenth Amendment allowed voters to elect their own Senators directly. Would you have supported this change? Explain your answer.
SOCIAL LEGISLATION
States also enacted their own laws to overcome some of the worst effects of industrialization. These laws regulated conditions in urban housing and abolished child labor. They also regulated safety and health conditions in factories, limiting the number of hours women could work and forcing employers to give compensation to workers injured on the job. Still other state laws passed by the Progressives conserved state natural resources and created wildlife preserves.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM
Throughout much of the late 19th century, corruption had been widespread in the federal as well as state governments. Much of this corruption could be traced back to the "spoils system," in which government jobs were used to reward people who made contributions to politicians or who helped in their campaigns. As the federal government grew larger, there was a need for a more qualified group of permanent civil servants. When President Garfield was assassinated by a disappointed office-seeker in 1882, Congress decided it was time to act.

In 1883, Congress passed the Pendleton Act, which created a Civil Service Commission. The commission gave competitive exams and selected appointees based on merit. When the act first passed, only ten percent of the federal civilian employees were part of the civil service. Today, the proportions are reversed: ninety percent are covered by the merit system.

In 1889, Theodore Roosevelt became U.S. Civil Service Commissioner. He sought to reform the civil service system to attract the best people. He believed that appointments to federal jobs should be based on merit, not on party views.

ACTING AS AN AMATEUR HISTORIAN

In 1889, six years after the Pendleton Act was passed, Theodore Roosevelt gave this speech on The Duties of American Citizenship:

"Government jobs belong to the American people, not politicians, and should be filled only with regard to public service. Against nothing is fearless and specific criticism more urgently needed than against the 'spoils system,' which is the [disgrace] of American politics. What more irrelevant question could there be than that of the politician who asks a job seeker for his political favor, 'Whom did you vote for in the last election?' Certainly reform is needed when you think of the New York City treasurer who acknowledges his annual fees to be $85,000, and who pays a deputy $1,500 to do his work. Note the corruption in the New York legislature, where one man says that you should never allow the Constitution to come between friends!"

★ Why did Roosevelt feel it was inappropriate to ask a job-seeker whom he or she had voted for?
★ Why did Roosevelt think civil service reform would help eliminate corruption?
Complete the graphic organizer below by describing some of the factors that contributed to the rise of the Progressive Movement.

**ROOTS OF THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT**

- Social Gospel Movement
- Middle Class Professionals
- Muckrakers

Complete the graphic organizer below by describing some of the significant accomplishments of the early Progressives.

**ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE EARLY PROGRESSIVES**

- Individual Social Reformers
- Municipal Reforms
- State Political Reforms
- State Social Reforms
Between 1901 and 1919, three Presidents — Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft and Woodrow Wilson — launched a series of Progressive reforms from the White House that affected the entire nation.

**THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND THE SQUARE DEAL, 1901–1909**

In the late nineteenth century, the Presidency had been relatively weak, leaving direction of the country’s affairs mainly to Congress. Theodore Roosevelt reversed this trend. Roosevelt came from a wealthy New York family. Sickly as a child, he built up his strength through active sports like hunting. Later, he was the Police Commissioner of New York City, a rancher in Dakota, a cavalry commander, and the Governor of New York. He became President after President William McKinley was assassinated in Buffalo, New York.

**ROOSEVELT’S VIEWS ON THE PRESIDENCY**

Roosevelt believed that the President was the one official who represented all Americans, and that the President should therefore exercise vigorous leadership in their interest. Above all, Roosevelt believed in being a man of action. In Roosevelt’s view, the President acted as the “steward,” or manager, of the people’s interests. He put his view of the Presidency to the test when the Coal Miners’ Strike of 1902 threatened the nation with a winter without coal. Roosevelt acted to protect the public interest. He brought representatives to the White House from both sides to the dispute. When mine-owners refused to negotiate, Roosevelt threatened to use federal troops to run the mines. This convinced the owners to compromise. The main victory went to Roosevelt, who showed he meant to protect the public interest.

**ROOSEVELT AS TRUST-BUSTER**

Roosevelt was suspicious of big business. He revived the use of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act against some business consolidations, known as trusts. What Roosevelt stood for was “fair play.” He opposed unfair, anti-competitive practices. A large business, for example, might lower its prices to put smaller competitors out of business. Then, when it had a monopoly, it raised it prices again. Consumers could no longer buy the product elsewhere. Another unfair practice was when a group of businesses raised their prices together.

Roosevelt tried to stop these practices. He did not attack all trusts. Instead, he distinguished “good trusts” from “bad trusts” that acted against the public interest. For example, he broke up Rockefeller’s Standard Oil Company, which he saw as a “bad trust.”
APPLYING WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNED

★ Are all monopolies bad? A copyright or patent, for example, gives its owner a monopoly for a limited number of years. In your opinion is that fair? Explain.
★ What were the costs and benefits of using the anti-trust laws to break up large business consolidations?

ROOSEVELT’S SQUARE DEAL

Before the Progressive Era, manufacturers could make wild and unsupported claims for medicines. There were no government agencies to check the purity and safety of food products. In the laissez-faire economy, consumers were supposed to look out for themselves. Roosevelt promised Americans a “Square Deal.” He launched new laws to protect consumer health and prevent false advertising. This Progressive legislation limited the operation of the laissez-faire economy. Roosevelt also worked to preserve the nation’s natural resources.

Protecting the Public Health. Upton Sinclair’s account of the meat-packing industry shocked the nation. Congress passed the Meat Inspection Act (1906), providing for government inspection of meat. The Pure Food and Drug Act (1906) regulated the preparation of foods and the sale of medicines.

SQUARE DEAL LEGISLATION

Regulating Transportation and Communication. Roosevelt increased the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate railroads, and gave it authority over the telegraph and telephone.

Conserving the Nation’s Resources. Roosevelt drew attention to the need to conserve forests, wildlife, and natural resources. He stopped the practice of selling public lands for development and added millions of acres to the national forests and parks. He formed the National Conservation Commission to protect the nation’s natural resources.

THE TAFT PRESIDENCY, 1909–1912

Although Roosevelt was young and popular, no President had ever run for more than two terms. In 1908, Roosevelt refused to break with tradition to run again. Instead, he helped his friend William Howard Taft win the Republican nomination.

A conservative Progressive, Taft was elected President with Roosevelt’s endorsement. Taft continued many of Roosevelt’s policies, such as trust-busting. However, Taft was not a skilled politician and alienated Progressives. He promised a lower tariff but was unable to get it passed. He returned to public sale some of the federal lands Roosevelt had withdrawn to protect the environment.
Roosevelt became infuriated with Taft’s performance. He decided to challenge Taft for the Republican nomination in 1912, but Taft won his party’s nomination. Roosevelt decided to accept the nomination of a new third party, known as the Bull Moose Party. This split within the Republican Party helped Democratic nominee Woodrow Wilson — a professor of government, President of Princeton University, and Governor of New Jersey — to win the election.

WILSON’S NEW FREEDOM

While Roosevelt was emotional and enthusiastic, Wilson was cool and logical. Wilson shared Roosevelt’s belief in a strong Presidency. In the election campaign, Wilson promised Americans a “New Freedom”: taming big business, encouraging greater competition, and eliminating special privileges. Wilson especially focused his attention on attacking the tariff, the banking system, and trusts. Once elected, Wilson quickly pushed several major reforms through Congress:

**Underwood Tariff (1913).** Wilson believed that high tariffs benefited rich monopolists but hurt average Americans. He enacted a law lowering tariffs by 25%. To make up for the lost revenue, he introduced the nation’s first income tax.

**Graduated Income Tax (1913).** In a graduated income tax, rich taxpayers are taxed at a higher rate than less well-off taxpayers. The original Constitution did not permit Congress to tax individuals on their income. The Sixteenth Amendment, ratified in 1913, gave Congress the power to tax personal income.

**The Federal Reserve Act (1913).** The act reformed the banking industry by establishing 12 regional Federal Reserve Banks to serve as “banker’s banks.” The act further allowed the Federal Reserve to regulate the money in circulation by controlling the amount of money that banks could lend.

**Antitrust Legislation.** In 1914, Congress passed the Clayton Antitrust Act, increasing the federal government’s power to prevent unfair business practices. In addition, the Federal Trade Commission Act was created to further protect consumers against unfair business practices by corporations.

**NATIONAL PARKS**

Wilson was a strong believer in protecting America’s natural wonders. One of his most important pieces of legislation was the establishment of the National Park Service in 1916. The measure immediately brought 40 existing parks and monuments under federal protection. The purpose of the National Park Service was to conserve the natural scenery, historic objects, and wildlife for the enjoyment of the American people.
LABOR

During the Progressive Era, public attitudes towards unions began to change. One event that contributed to this change was the fire at the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory in 1911, which killed 146 garment workers. Public sympathy for the workers grew when it was learned that the factory doors had been bolted shut from the outside, that the building lacked a sprinkler system, and that it had only one inadequate fire escape. Soon after this tragedy, Congress passed legislation sympathetic to unions.

★ Department of Labor (1913). Congress created a separate Cabinet post to study the problems of labor, collect statistics and enforce federal labor laws. The Department of Labor was the direct result of a campaign by organized labor for a “Voice in the Cabinet,” and a goal of the Progressive Movement. The purpose of the department was “to promote and develop the welfare of working people, and to improve their working conditions.”

★ Clayton Anti-Trust Act (1914). A provision of this act prevented courts from applying anti-trust laws to restrict unions. The act also banned the use of federal injunctions (court orders) to prohibit strikes in labor disputes.

★ Child Labor Act (1916). Wilson passed a law prohibiting the sale of goods created by child labor in interstate commerce. However, this law was overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court two years later.

ACTING AS AN AMATEUR HISTORIAN

The Federal Reserve Act created the Federal Reserve Board, a government agency that controls monetary policy. The Federal Reserve sets the interest rates at which it lends money to banks. It also decides how much of their money banks can lend, and buys government bonds to affect the amount of money in circulation.

★ Research the Internet or your school library to learn more about the Federal Reserve.

★ Then write a report describing how the Federal Reserve affects the American economy. What role does it play in the economy today?

★ Make a cause-and-effect diagram showing how different actions taken by the Federal Reserve affect the American economy. For example, what is the effect on the economy when the Federal Reserve lowers its interest rate?
Complete the graphic organizer below by describing the achievements of both Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson.

### Theodore Roosevelt’s Square Deal

- [ ]
- [ ]
- [ ]
- [ ]

### Woodrow Wilson’s New Freedom

- [ ]
- [ ]
- [ ]
- [ ]
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

The Progressive Movement was accompanied by significant gains in women's rights, for which women had been fighting for nearly a century.

THE TRADITIONAL ROLE OF WOMEN

In the early nineteenth century, the United States was a patriarchal society — men held positions of authority and women were considered to be inferior. Women lacked the right to vote, to serve on juries, or to hold public office. They were excluded from public life and were left in charge of the home and children. In most states, once a woman married, she lost control of her property and wages to her husband.

By the mid-nineteenth century, some women began to organize. In 1848, they held a convention in Seneca Falls, New York. The convention passed a resolution paraphrasing the Declaration of Independence. It proclaimed that women were equal to men and deserved the right to vote.

After the Civil War, women reformers hoped that freed slaves and women would be enfranchised at the same time. Women reformers were bitterly disappointed when the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments gave citizenship and the right to vote, or suffrage, to male freedmen, but not to women.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY

In 1872, Susan B. Anthony, a prominent reformer, attempted to vote in Rochester, New York, on the grounds that she was citizen and had that right under the Fourteenth Amendment. However, a judge refused to grant her the right to vote. In 1874, the Supreme Court then ruled that although women were citizens, they could not vote. Voting, according to the court, was not necessarily a “privilege” of citizenship.

The fact that women did not have suffrage continued to be seen as a symbol of their inferior status and a violation of basic democratic principles. Anthony and other women reformers were able to obtain suffrage in a number of Western states, but they could not succeed in introducing a constitutional amendment requiring all states to give women the vote.

By 1890, the failure to achieve women’s suffrage led several women’s groups to merge together into the National American Woman Suffrage Association, under the leadership of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony.
During World War I, as men went off to Europe to fight for democracy, millions of women took their places working in factories, mills and mines. It seemed odd to many to fight for democracy in other countries but to oppose it at home. During World War I, it became hard for opponents of women’s suffrage to deny that women were the equals of men. As a result, shortly after America’s entry into the war, a proposed amendment was introduced in Congress. This amendment established that no state could deny a citizen the right to vote on the basis of sex. It was ratified as the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1920.

ACTING AS AN AMATEUR HISTORIAN

Below is an editorial from the Hearst Newspapers by Arthur Brisbane entitled, “Why Women Should Vote.” Although undated, it was probably written in 1917:

“When women shall vote, the political influence of the good men in the community will be greatly increased. Men can deceive each other much more easily than they can deceive women — the latter being provided with the X-ray of intuitional perception. The blustering politician, preaching what he does not practice, may hold forth on the street corner or in a saloon, and influence the votes of others as worthless as himself. But among women his home life will more than offset his political influence. The bad husband may occasionally get the vote of a deluded or frightened wife, but he will surely lose the votes of the wives and daughters next door. Voting by women will improve humanity, because IT WILL COMPEL MEN TO SEEK AND EARN THE APPROVAL OF WOMEN.”

What arguments does Brisbane make to give women the vote?

IMPACT OF THE NINETEENTH AMENDMENT

The Nineteenth Amendment was a step forward in making the United States a true democracy — a system of government by the people. It did not lead to the dramatic changes to our political system that many of its opponents had predicted. The fear that men would be swept out of office and replaced by women did not materialize. In fact, few women — then and even now — were elected to political office. The amendment also failed to bring about the equality of economic opportunity between the sexes that some of its sponsors had hoped for. Most women continued to face discrimination and were paid less for the same work than their male counterparts.
THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT COMES TO AN END

The passage of women’s suffrage was the last notable reform of the Progressive Era. By 1920, the force of the Progressive Movement had spent itself. Americans had met many of the challenges posed by industrialization and were once again poised for economic growth.

AMERICAN LITERATURE AND ART

The late nineteenth century was one of the most fertile periods of American literature. As the nation grew, the increasing rates of literacy, the rapid growth in urbanization, a rising population, and an increase in middle-class affluence provided a fertile environment for readers interested in understanding these rapid shifts in culture. The prevalence of newspapers and magazines, as well as cheap "dime novels," created a market for literary works. Improvements in transportation and communications made it easier to travel and to share experiences. American writers were also deeply influenced by European novelists.

During these years, realism — defined as "nothing more or less than the truthful treatment of material" — was the leading literary fashion. Realists described life with as much detail as they could. Realism provided an opportunity to show the impact of industrialization and social change on people.

Just after the Civil War, the novels of Horatio Alger (1834–1899) praised hard work and discipline, and saw wealth as a sign of divine favor. His first novel, *Ragged Dick* (1868), was his most popular, and remained in print for the next forty years. The story of each novel was simple — a poor boy with few prospects significantly improves his position in life due to hard work and help from adults.

The novels of Mark Twain (1835–1910) reflected the differences between pre-Civil War society and afterwards. Twain associated the Old South with romanticism and the present with realism. *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876) described his childhood adventures in fictional form. *The Gilded Age* (1873) depicted the boom times after the Civil War, and gave a name to a historical period. His greatest work, *Huckleberry Finn*, treated the moral conflicts created by slavery. Twain’s use of regional accents gave his works a sense of realism.

William Dean Howells (1837–1920) was an important magazine editor who promoted realism. His novel, *The Rise of Silas Lapham*, described the struggles of the new rich to find acceptance in established society.

The greatest master of the psychological novel was Henry James (1843–1916). Each of his novels usually unfolds through the consciousness of the main character. His stories often depicted America’s wealthy upper classes. James also focused on the differences between America and Europe. For example, *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881) is about a penniless orphan taken to England by a rich aunt. She marries the wrong man and has to accept the consequences of her decision.

Katie Chopin (1851–1904) was a notable woman novelist. *The Awakening* (1899) depicts the conflict between our inward and outward lives. The main character is a respected wife and mother who leads a routine life. Suddenly, she “awakens” one summer when she falls in love and discovers passion, before committing suicide. The book caused a scandal and was banned from many libraries across the nation.

**ART IN AMERICA**

As in literature, realism was the main style in the visual arts in these years. Among the best known American artists of this period were Whistler, Eakins, and Homer.

James McNeill Whistler (1835–1933) moved to Europe where he was influenced by modern French painters. He created some of the finest paintings in American art, such as his portrait of his mother. Winslow Homer (1836–1910) is known for paintings featuring scenes of the sea, boats, and coastlines.

Thomas Eakins (1844–1916) was another realist painter who made portraits of friends, family, and people in the arts, sciences, and medicine. *The Gross Clinic* is often considered his finest painting. It shows Dr. Gross performing surgery on a young man, while the patient’s mother woman cringes in the corner. Depicted in a surgical amphitheater, the viewer appears to occupy a seat alongside Gross’ students. Eakins’ student, Henry Ossawa Tanner (1859–1937), was one of the most important African-American painters in this period. His paintings focused on everyday scenes, like a banjo lesson.

Other painters in this period focused on the American West. Frederick Remington (1861–1909) and Charles Russell (1864–1926) painted and sculpted cowboys, Native American Indians and landscapes in romanticized scenes of life in the American West.
## The Agrarian Movement

**Problems of farmers: 1870–1900.**
- Increased farm production led to more crops per acre but falling food prices.
- Farmers had to ship goods to market and were at the mercy of railroad rates.
- Farmers were constantly in debt, and a poor harvest could throw them into chaos.

**Grange Movement (1876).**
- Original goal was to reduce rural isolation.
- Soon turned into a group demanding economic and political reforms.
- Helped get the **Interstate Commerce Act** of 1887 passed to regulate railroad rates.

## Populist Party: 1891–1896

- A national third party representing laborers, farmers, and industrial workers.

**Populist Platform (1892).** Supported **William Jennings Bryan** for President.
- Unlimited coinage of silver.
- Direct election of Senators.
- Term limits for President. Secret ballots.
- Immigration restrictions.
- A graduated income tax.

## The Progressive Movement (1900–1920)

**Goals.** Sought to correct political and economic injustices from industrialization.

**Roots of Progressives** were in the **Social Gospel Movement**:
- Spearheaded by Protestant clergymen.
- Called on Christians to rise to the challenge of helping their fellow man.

**Impact of Progressives:** Social Reforms.
- Brought many social reforms to society.
- **Jane Addams:** Leader in the settlement house movement; Hull House.
- **W.E.B. DuBois.** African-American leader who helped found the NAACP.

## Theodore Roosevelt: Square Deal

- Helped break up "bad trusts."

**Square Deal.**
- Passed laws to protect consumer health.
  - **Meat Inspection Act (1906).**
  - **Pure Food and Drug Act (1906).**
- Increased the power of the **Interstate Commerce Commission** to help regulate certain industries.
- Worked to conserve the nation’s natural resources by drawing attention to the need to conserve forests, parks, and wildlife.
- Withheld federal lands from public sale.

## Woodrow Wilson: New Freedom

The **New Freedom** program sought to control business practices, promote greater competition, and lower tariff rates.

**National Park Service:** Protected public parks and monuments.

**Sixteenth Amendment:** Gave Congress the power to tax personal income.

**Federal Reserve Act:** Created to regulate the amount of money in circulation.

**Anti-Trust Legislation:** **Clayton Antitrust Act** increased the federal government's power to prevent unfair business practices.
Women's Rights Movement

★ Traditional Role of Women.
- Women were treated as subservient.
- Patriarchal society: men were superior.

★ Seneca Falls Convention (1848).
- Birth of Women's Rights Movement.

★ Susan B. Anthony. Women's suffrage.
- Voted in 1872 election but was arrested.
- Supreme Court (1874) ruled citizenship does not include the "privilege of voting."

★ Nineteenth Amendment (1920).
- After World War I, amendment stated that no state could deny a citizen the vote on the basis of their sex.

Literature and Art in America

★ Realism. Art and literature was based on realism — depicting things as they really are.

★ Literature.
- Horatio Alger. Wrote rags to riches stories.
- Mark Twain. Wrote adventure stories.
- Kate Chopin. The Awakening.

★ Art.
- Thomas Eakins. The Gross Clinic.
- Winslow Homer. Painted sea, boats, coasts.
CHECKING YOUR UNDERSTANDING

Directions: Put a circle around the letter that best answers the question.

Use the information in the passage and your knowledge of social studies to answer the following question.

“In slave times, the Negro was kept subservient and submissive by the frequency and severity of the scourging [whipping], but with freedom, a new system of intimidation came into vogue; the Negro was not only scourged; he was lynched.”

1  The above quotation most closely represents the views held by —
   A  William Jennings Bryan  
   B  Ida B. Wells  
   C  Upton Sinclair  
   D  Susan B. Anthony

Examine the question. This question tests your ability to identify a view characteristic of a particular person. Recall what you know. You should recall that a leader in the movement to expose the barbarity of lynchings, especially those against African Americans in the South, was Ida B. Wells. She systematically attacked lynching and violent crimes carried out against African Americans. She went on speaking tours in the United States and England to encourage people to oppose lynchings. Apply what you know. The best answer is Choice B. Although William Jennings Bryan, Upton Sinclair and Susan B. Anthony would most likely have opposed lynchings, it was Ida B. Wells who devoted her life to ending this practice.

Now try answering some additional questions on your own.

2  Books such as The Octopus by Frank Norris, How the Other Half Lives by Jacob Riis, and The Jungle by Upton Sinclair exposed problems that resulted from —
   F  the naturalization of immigrants  
   G  environmental conservation  
   H  westward expansion  
   J  rapid industrialization

3  Members of the Progressive Movement generally supported the idea that the federal government should —
   A  prevent unfair business practices  
   B  restrict immigration to the United States  
   C  reduce the number of small farms  
   D  abolish private property ownership
Use the information in the table and your knowledge of social studies to answer questions 4 and 5.

**UNITED STATES CROP PRICES, 1878–1897**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Wheat (per bushel)</th>
<th>Corn (per bushel)</th>
<th>Cotton (per pound)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1878–1881</td>
<td>$1.00</td>
<td>$.43</td>
<td>$.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882–1885</td>
<td>$.80</td>
<td>$.39</td>
<td>$.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886–1889</td>
<td>$.74</td>
<td>$.35</td>
<td>$.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890–1893</td>
<td>$.70</td>
<td>$.41</td>
<td>$.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894–1897</td>
<td>$.63</td>
<td>$.29</td>
<td>$.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 Which development was a major cause of the change in grain prices shown in the table?
- F continuous droughts
- G increased demand for farm foods
- H government regulation of prices
- J overproduction by farmers

5 To prevent the price changes shown in the table, Populists demanded the government —
- A impose greater regulation of railroads
- B issue more silver coinage
- C buy farmers’ crop yields
- D raise tariff rates on foreign goods

6 In the early 1900s, Progressive Era reformers sought to increase public participation in government by supporting the —
- F expansion of the “spoils” system
- G direct election of U.S. Senators
- H creation of the Electoral College
- J formation of the Federal Reserve system

7 Which goal, set at a women’s convention in Seneca Falls in 1848, was finally achieved during the Progressive Era?
- A passage of the Food and Drug Act
- B creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission
- C adoption of a graduated income tax
- D ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment

8 During the Progressive Era, public demands for direct consumer protection resulted in passage of the —
- F Pure Food and Drug Act
- G Interstate Commerce Commission
- H Pendleton Act
- J Federal Reserve Act
Use the information in the cartoon and your knowledge of social studies to answer the following question.

Next!

Source: Udo J. Keppler, *Pack*, September 7, 1904 (adapted)

9 The main message of this cartoon is that the Standard Oil Company —
A used its size to lower its prices  
B protected Americans from foreign competitors  
C used its economic power to sway government decisions  
D employed violence to gain unfair advantages for its workers

10 Progressive reformers attacked “political machines” because they often —
F denied voting rights to the poor  
G stole public money through overpriced contracts  
H wasted money on military spending  
J discriminated against migrant workers

11 To guarantee an adequate money supply in the national economy, President Wilson introduced —
A limits on foreign investments  
B insurance for all bank deposits  
C an end to the gold standard  
D the Federal Reserve System

12 During the Progressive Era, many state and local governments adopted the initiative, referendum, and recall. Together these procedures —
F extended the right to vote to 18-year-old citizens  
G gave citizens a more direct voice in government  
H let registered voters select each state’s Presidential electors  
J allowed a state’s residents to bring lawsuits against another state

13 During the early 1900s, the term “muckrakers” was used to describe —
A people who demonstrated against war  
B writers who exposed the evils in American society  
C newspaper columnists who reported on celebrities  
D politicians who criticized Progressive Era Presidents
14 What was the goal of those who supported the Seventeenth Amendment, providing for direct election of U.S. Senators?

F expanding the power of the legislative branch
G providing equal voting rights to minority groups
H making the Senate more responsive to the people
J basing Senate representation on state population

Use the information in the chart and your knowledge of social studies to answer the following question.

15 Which conclusion is supported by the information in the chart?

A Congress allowed women to vote in all elections.
B Before 1920, many Western states had granted women the right to vote.
C The U.S. Supreme Court had to approve a woman’s right to vote in each state.
D Women were permitted to vote in all state elections.

16 The national income tax, free and unlimited coinage of silver, and the direct election of U.S. Senators were proposals included in the —

F Declaration of Sentiments
G Federal Reserve System Act
H Populist Party platform
J Sixteenth Amendment

17 In the late 1800s, the principles of Social Gospel Movement were most consistent with the ideas of —

A the Populists
B laissez-faire economics
C the Progressives
D trust-busting

18 In the late 1800s, free and unlimited coinage of silver was supported by farmers primarily because they hoped this policy would —

F make foreign crop prices less competitive
G allow farmers to grow a greater variety of crops
H increase crop prices and make it easier to repay loans
J bring about political equality between rural and urban residents
19 When Susan B. Anthony refused to pay a fine for her actions in the election of 1872, she stated: “Not a penny shall go to this unjust claim.” Her statement was made in support of—
A the Sixteenth Amendment C judicial review
B settlement houses D women’s suffrage

Use the information in the passage and your knowledge of social studies to answer the following question.

“Today three-fourths of the people of New York City live in tenements, and the nineteenth century drift of the population to the cities is sending ever-increasing multitudes to crowd them. The fifteen thousand tenant houses that were the despair of the sanitarian in the past generation have swelled into thirty-seven thousand, and more than twelve hundred thousand persons call them home.”
— Jacob Riis, How the Other Half Lives, 1890

20 The main idea of this excerpt from Jacob Riis’ book is that —
F cities are unable to handle the flow of new arrivals  
G the treatment of African Americans remains almost as bad as under slavery
H farmers can find a higher living standard if they leave the farm and move to the city
J certain laws are needed to protect consumers from deceptive practices

21 Progressive Era reformers sought to expand voter participation in government by adopting—
A the initiative and referendum C tougher literacy tests
B additional poll taxes D a civil service system

Use this flier and your knowledge of social studies to answer the following question.

22 Which reformer was a leader in support of the ideas expressed in this flier?
F W.E.B. DuBois  
G Theodore Roosevelt
H Susan B. Anthony  
J William Jennings Bryan

23 The publication of The Jungle by Upton Sinclair in 1906 was instrumental in getting the members of Congress to—
A enact stronger anti-trust laws
B support conservation of public lands
C establish a system for meat inspection
D legalize strikes by labor unions

Source: Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association
Which idea led to the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Food and Drug Administration?

F An economy works best without government regulation.

G Business practices must be regulated in the public interest.

H Workers should be allowed to bargain collectively with owners.

J Domestic industry should be protected from foreign competition.

Use the information in the table and your knowledge of social studies to answer the following question.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Legislation</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Meat Inspection Act</td>
<td>Regulate meat processing to ensure cleanliness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Pure Food and Drug Act</td>
<td>Outlaw false labeling of food and drugs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Department of Labor established</td>
<td>Promote the interests of working people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>National Park Service Act</td>
<td>Manage the nation's parks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What was the common purpose of all of these legislative acts?

A to promote the general welfare of Americans

B to protect the nation's water and timber resources

C to improve conditions for recent immigrants to America

D to promote the growth of big business in America

The ideas expressed in this resolution were made into reality by the passage of the —

F Sixteenth Amendment

G Nineteenth Amendment

H Sherman Antitrust Act

J Federal Reserve Act

Which goal was shared by both the Populists and the Progressives?

A the free coinage of silver

B expansion of opportunities for immigrants

C equality for African Americans

D greater control of the government by the people