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.



W.E.B. DuBois (1868–1963)

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.

MUNICIPAL REFORM

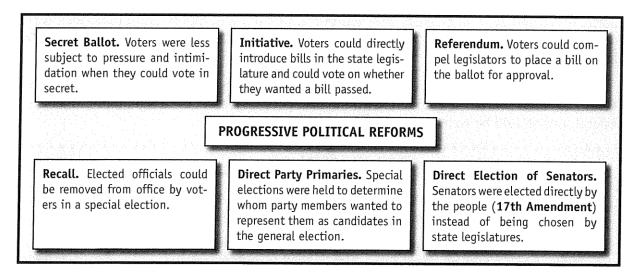
Other Progressives focused their attention on correcting abuses found at the **municipal** (*town* or *city*) level of government. They sought to prevent corruption and to make local government more efficient. As you learned in the previous chapter, many city governments were controlled by "political 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:



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.

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THE PROGRESSIVE PRESIDENTS

Between 1901 and 1919, three Presidents — Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taf 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.



Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919)

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."

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.

WILSON AND THE NEW FREEDOM, 1913-1921

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



Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924)

"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.

WILSON'S LEGISLATIVE RECORD

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.



Witnesses thought owners were tossing fabric out of windows, but soon realized it was workers jumping to their deaths.

- ★ 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.

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.



Susan B. Anthony (1820-1906)

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.

NINETEENTH AMENDMENT (1920)

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.



During World War I, women sought President Wilson's support for women's suffrage.

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 — ther 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.

CHAPTER STUDY CARDS

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 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.
- **Third Parties** in American Politics.
 - Help to educate voters on special issues.
 - Provide an outlet for minority grievances.
 - Pressure major parties to adopt their ideas.

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 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.

The Progressive Movement (Continued)

- ★ Ida B. Wells. African-American leader who worked to end lynching.
- ★ Muckrakers. Group of investigative reporters, writers, and social scientists.
 - They worked to expose the abuses of industrial society and expose corruption that existed in all levels of government.
 - **Upton Sinclair:** *The Jungle* revealed many abuses of the meat-packing industry.
 - Frank Norris: The Octopus depicted the stranglehold railroads held over farmers.
 - **Jacob Riis:** *How the Other Half Lives.* His photographs showed poverty in urban areas.

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 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.
- Henry James. The Portrait of a Lady.
- Jack London. *The Call of the Wild*.
- Kate Chopin. The Awakening.

🏚 Art.

- James McNeil Whistler. Whistler's Mother.
- Thomas Eakins. The Gross Clinic.
- Henry Ossawa Tanner. Painted everyday life.
- Winslow Homer. Painted sea, boats, coasts.

CHAPTER 7 CONCEPT MAP

