

# The Spirit of Reform



## California Standards

### History–Social Science

**8.12** Students analyze the transformation of the American economy and the changing social and political conditions in the United States in response to the Industrial Revolution.

### Analysis Skills

**HI 2** Students understand and distinguish cause, effect, sequence, and correlation in historical events.

**HR 2** Students distinguish fact from opinion in historical narratives.

### English–Language Arts

**Speaking 8.2.4** Deliver persuasive presentations.

**Reading 8.2.0** Students read and understand grade-level appropriate material.

### FOCUS ON SPEAKING



**Campaign Promises** In this chapter you will read about the political corruption of the Gilded Age and the reform movements that followed. Then you will create and present a list of campaign promises that you would make if you were a politician running for office in the United States in the late 1800s. Serious problems face the nation, and you must convince voters that you should be the one to tackle those problems.



**1868**

Ulysses S. Grant is elected president.

**1865**

**1870**



**1871** The British Parliament legalizes labor unions.





**HOLT**

## History's Impact

### ▶ video series

Watch the video to understand the impact of immigration on the United States.



### What You Will Learn...

In this chapter you will learn about how reform movements swept across the United States in the late 1800s and early 1900s. These movements had a variety of aims, from ending government corruption to abolishing child labor. Ordinary citizens, like these women calling for their right to vote, participated in the movements.



**1881**

President Garfield is assassinated by Charles Guiteau, a frustrated federal job seeker.

**1880**

**1888**  
Brazil officially ends slavery.

**1890**

**1901**

President William McKinley is assassinated, and Vice President Theodore Roosevelt becomes president.

**1900**



**1920**

The Nineteenth Amendment is ratified, giving women the right to vote.

**1910**

**1912** The British luxury liner *Titanic* sinks after hitting an iceberg during its first voyage. About 1,500 passengers die.



**1917**

Mexico adopts a new constitution.

**1920**

Economics

Geography

Politics

Religion

Society  
and Culture

Science and  
Technology

**Focus on Themes** In this chapter, you will read about a time called the Gilded Age, which was a time marked by corrupt **politics**. You will learn about the people who worked to reform dishonest political practices, and see that they also worked to


improve other areas of society—for example, the working conditions that children and poor workers faced. Finally, you will read about several presidents of the early 1900s who supported ideas and initiatives that promoted **social** reform.

## Historical Fact and Historical Fiction

**Focus on Reading** When you read a book like *The Summer of My German Soldier* or see a movie about the civil war, do you ever wonder how much is fiction and how much is fact?

**Separating Fact from Fiction** Historical fiction gives readers a chance to meet real historical people and real historical events in the framework of a made-up story. Some of what you read in historical fiction could be verified in an encyclopedia, but other parts existed only in the author's mind until he or she put it on paper. As a good reader, you should know the difference between facts, which can be proved or verified, and fiction.

*Notice how one reader determined which details could be verified, or proved.*

Additional reading support can be found in the  **Interactive Reader and Study Guide**

That was a woman filling her pail by the hydrant you just bumped against. The sinks are in the hallway, that all the tenants may have access—and all be poisoned alike by their summer stench. Hear the pump squeak! It is the lullaby of tenement house babes. In summer, when a thousand thirsty throats pant for a cooling drink in this block, it is worked in vain. . . .

*From *How the Other Half Lives*, by Jacob Riis*

The woman filling her pail isn't a fact I can check. He's just using her as an example of what women did.

We could probably check city records to see whether the buildings really had sinks in the hallways.

The writer is generalizing here. We probably can't prove 1000 thirsty throats. We could find out whether the city's water pumps actually went dry in the summer. That's verifiable.





**ELA Analysis HR 2** Distinguish fact from opinion in historical narrative and stories.  
**ELA Analysis HR 3** Distinguish verifiable from unverifiable information.

# Key Terms and People

## You Try It!

The following passage is from a literature excerpt in the chapter you are about to read. Read the passage and then answer the questions below.

There was never the least attention paid to what was cut up for sausage; there would come back from Europe old sausage that had been rejected, and that was mouldy and white—it would be dosed with borax and glycerine, and dumped into hoppers, and made over again for home consumption. There would be meat that had tumbled out on the floor, in the dirt and sawdust, where the workers had tramped and spit uncounted billions of consumption 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.

From *The Jungle*, by Upton Sinclair

After you read the passage, answer the questions below:

1. Do you think the first sentence—the one beginning with *There* and ending with *consumption*—is factual? Why? Where could you look to verify your hunches or prove those facts?
2. Look at the last sentence. Do you think it is a fact that roofs leaked on the meat that was stored in these rooms? How could you prove or disprove that fact?
3. If there are details in historical fiction that you cannot verify, does that make the historical fiction weak? Why or why not?

As you read Chapter 19, ask yourself which details could be used to create an interesting historical fiction novel.

## Chapter 19

### Section 1

political machines (p. 606)  
 William Marcy Tweed (p. 607)  
 Rutherford B. Hayes (p. 607)  
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### Section 2

progressives (p. 610)  
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 John Dewey (p. 612)  
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### Section 4

Women's Christian Temperance Union (p. 623)  
 Eighteenth Amendment (p. 623)  
 National American Woman Suffrage Association (p. 623)  
 Alice Paul (p. 624)  
 National Woman's Party (p. 624)  
 Nineteenth Amendment (p. 624)  
 Booker T. Washington (p. 624)  
 Ida B. Wells (p. 624)  
 W. E. B. Du Bois (p. 624)  
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (p. 625)

### Section 5

See p. 627

### Academic Vocabulary

motive (p. 612)  
 various (p. 629)

# The Gilded Age

## What You Will Learn...

### Main Ideas

1. Political corruption was common during the Gilded Age.
2. Presidents during the Gilded Age confronted the issue of corruption.
3. In an effort to clean up political corruption, limits were put on the spoils system.

### The Big Idea

Politics during the Gilded Age was plagued by corruption.

## Key Terms and People

political machines, *p. 606*  
 William Marcy Tweed, *p. 607*  
 Rutherford B. Hayes, *p. 607*  
 James A. Garfield, *p. 607*  
 Chester A. Arthur, *p. 607*  
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 spoils system, *p. 608*  
 Pendleton Civil Service Act, *p. 608*



**HSS 8.12.5** Examine the location and effects of urbanization, renewed immigration, and industrialization (e.g., the effects on social fabric of cities, wealth and economic opportunity, the conservation movement).

## If YOU were there...

You live in a big-city neighborhood in the 1890s. You and your brother are both looking for jobs. You know that the man down the street is the “ward boss.” He can always get city jobs for his friends and neighbors. You are a hard worker and will do a good job if you get a chance. You will have to promise the boss your vote, but you might have chosen his candidate anyway.

## Would you ask the ward boss for a job?

**BUILDING BACKGROUND** The late 1800s were a time of contrasts in American life. Great wealth made in business existed alongside poverty and tenement life. In politics, money led to corruption and dishonesty. The period became known as the Gilded Age. The name came from a novel by Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner that ridiculed political life.

## Political Corruption

The last quarter of the nineteenth century in America is often called the Gilded Age. The authors Mark Twain and Charles Dudley coined this term for the era. The term highlights the inequality between wealthy business owners, who had profited from the Industrial Revolution, and workers, who often worked under terrible conditions for little pay. This condition occurred largely because of the laissez-faire economic policies of the federal government, which were based on the theory that the economy works best with as few regulations as possible.

Many people began to believe that the government should help fix the inequality. The first step was to get rid of corruption in politics.

## Political Machines

In the late 1800s city and county politics were strongly influenced by **political machines**—powerful organizations that used both legal and illegal methods to get their candidates elected to public office. For example, members of political machines at times stuffed ballot boxes with votes for their candidates. Political machines sometimes paid people for their votes or bribed vote counters. Through such actions, a political party could control local government.

Machines were run by leaders called bosses. The machine’s boss frequently traded favors for votes. In exchange for votes, the

boss might offer city jobs or allow an illegal business to operate. The bosses drew much of their support from immigrants. One Boston politician explained the role of the machine boss. “There’s got to be . . . somebody that any bloke [man] can come to . . . and get help.”

New York City’s political machine, Tammany Hall, was one of the most notorious. After winning city elections in 1888, members of Tammany Hall rewarded their supporters with about 12,000 jobs. As boss of Tammany Hall, **William Marcy Tweed** may have stolen up to \$200 million from the city.

### Corruption in Washington

Corruption was also common in the federal government at this time. Many people viewed the administration of Republican Ulysses S. Grant—who was elected in 1868 and re-elected in 1872—as corrupt. During Grant’s second term, federal officials were jailed for taking bribes from whiskey distillers in exchange for allowing the whiskey makers to avoid paying taxes. This scandal and others caused many Americans to question the honesty of national leaders.

#### READING CHECK Finding Main Ideas

How was political corruption a local and national problem during the Gilded Age?

## Presidents Confront Corruption

During the 1876 presidential campaign, Democrats called for government reform. Their candidate, Samuel J. Tilden, had reformed his own party. Tilden promised to run an honest administration in Washington, D.C.

The Republican Party chose Civil War hero **Rutherford B. Hayes**, who was known for his honesty. Hayes was also a reformer who promised “thorough, radical, and complete” changes in the government. In the disputed election that followed, a special electoral committee chose Hayes over Tilden by a narrow margin.

Republicans won another close presidential victory in 1880, when their candidates, reformer **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 then shot Garfield twice. The president died from his wounds in September, and Vice President Arthur became president.

In the 1884 election, Republicans nominated James Blaine. Many Republican

## Political Machines



Individuals promised to vote for machine candidates.

In exchange, the machine gave individuals government jobs.



#### ANALYSIS SKILL

#### ANALYZING VISUALS

How did political machines get people to vote for their candidates?

## Gilded Age Presidents



**Rutherford B. Hayes**  
Republican  
In office 1877–1881



**James A. Garfield**  
Republican  
In office 1881



**Chester A. Arthur**  
Republican  
In office 1881–1885

reformers associated Blaine with corruption. They left their party and backed the Democratic nominee, **Grover Cleveland**. Unlike Blaine, Cleveland was known for his honesty. After a campaign full of personal attacks, voters elected Cleveland as president. Cleveland involved himself in all the day-to-day details of the presidency. He worked hard to hire and fire government workers based on merit, not party loyalty.

Four years later, in 1888, Cleveland lost the election. The new president, Republican **Benjamin Harrison**, helped to control inflation and to pass the Sherman Antitrust Act, which regulated monopolies.

In 1892, having won both the popular and the electoral vote, Cleveland beat Harrison. In 1896 the next president, Republican candidate **William McKinley**, worked well enough with Congress to be re-elected in 1900. McKinley avoided scandals and helped win back public trust in the government.

### THE IMPACT TODAY

Tests are still required for many federal positions, including secretarial positions, air traffic control, and law enforcement.

**READING CHECK Sequencing** List the presidents between 1876 and 1900 in chronological order and state their years in office.

## Efforts to Clean Up Political Corruption

Reacting to the corruption of the Gilded Age, many Americans called for changes in the civil service, or government jobs. They disliked the **spoils system**, the practice of giving jobs to supporters after a candidate wins an election. President Thomas Jefferson was the first to reward supporters with jobs. Subsequently, each time a new party took power, it replaced many current government officials. Most new employees were unqualified and untrained. By 1829 about 20 percent of officeholders were being replaced after presidential elections.

By the late 1800s government corruption was so widespread that reformers demanded that only qualified people be given government jobs. In response, President Hayes made minor reforms, such as firing a powerful member of the New York Republican political machine. President Garfield also attempted reforms before he was assassinated.

Finally, President Chester Arthur backed the **Pendleton Civil Service Act**. This law, passed in 1883, set up a merit system for awarding federal jobs. Under the Pendleton





**Grover Cleveland**

**Democrat**

In office 1885–1889, 1893–1897



**Benjamin Harrison**

**Republican**

In office 1889–1893



**William McKinley**

**Republican**

In office 1897–1901

Act, more than 10 percent of government job applicants had to pass an exam before they could be hired. It was a start to reforming the whole government.

**READING CHECK** Analyzing Information

What factors led to civil service reform?

**SUMMARY AND PREVIEW** Presidents and reformers worked to end corruption in government. In the next section you will read about how progressive reformers worked to improve the problems plaguing other parts of society.

**Section 1 Assessment**

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**Online Quiz**

KEYWORD: SS8 HP19

**Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People** HSS 8.12.5 **Critical Thinking**

1. **a. Recall** What was the main goal of **political machines** during the Gilded Age?  
**b. Elaborate** Why do you think corruption became so widespread during the Gilded Age?
2. **a. Identify** Who were **James A. Garfield** and **Chester A. Arthur**?  
**b. Draw Conclusions** Why did **Rutherford B. Hayes** appeal to voters in the election of 1876?  
**c. Evaluate** Do you think that presidents during the Gilded Age effectively dealt with government corruption? Explain your answer.
3. **a. Identify** What was the **Pendleton Civil Service Act**?  
**b. Predict** Do you think the system of testing created by the Pendleton Civil Service Act would work to reduce corruption in the spoils system? Why or why not?

4. **Categorizing** Copy the graphic organizer below onto your own sheet of paper. Use it to identify examples of government corruption that existed during the Gilded Age.



**FOCUS ON SPEAKING**

5. **Addressing Political Corruption** How would you address the problem of political corruption during the Gilded Age? Jot down notes about campaign promises you might make to convince people that you could handle the widespread political corruption of the day.



# The Progressive Movement

## What You Will Learn...

### Main Ideas

1. Progressives pushed for urban and social reforms to improve the quality of life.
2. Progressive reformers expanded the voting power of citizens and introduced reforms in local and state governments.

### The Big Idea

From the late 1800s through the early 1900s, the progressive movement addressed problems that faced American society.

### Key Terms and People

progressives, p. 610

muckrakers, p. 610

John Dewey, p. 612

Joseph McCormack, p. 612

direct primary, p. 613

Seventeenth Amendment, p. 613

recall, p. 613

initiative, p. 613

referendum, p. 613

Robert M. La Follette, p. 614

Wisconsin Idea, p. 614



**HSS 8.12.5** Examine the location and effects of urbanization, renewed immigration, and industrialization (e.g., the effects on social fabric of cities, wealth and economic opportunity, the conservation movement).

## If YOU were there...

You are a young journalist in Chicago in 1900. You work for a magazine whose editor believes strongly in social reform. He asks you for suggestions for an article about urban problems. You've lived in the city all your life and know that there are many problems—poor schools, dishonest politicians, terrible working conditions, bad housing. You have to choose where to begin.

**Which social problem would you write about?**

**BUILDING BACKGROUND** The so-called Gilded Age suffered political corruption at all levels of government. Great inequalities existed between wealthy business owners and most of the labor force. Cities had severe problems, too. In reaction to these conditions, a social reform movement began that tried to improve many areas of American life.

## Progressives Push for Reforms

**Progressives** were a group of reformers who worked to solve problems caused by the rapid industrial and urban growth of the late 1800s. These reformers fought problems such as crime, disease, and poverty by trying to eliminate their causes. Most progressives were part of the growing middle class. They fought for reforms ranging from education programs in poor neighborhoods to better working conditions.

Some journalists urged progressives to action by writing about corruption in business and politics. These journalists were soon nicknamed muckrakers because they “raked up” and exposed the muck, or filth, of society. **Muckrakers** wrote about troubling issues like child labor, racial discrimination, slum housing, and corruption in business. Lincoln Steffens exposed scandals in city politics through articles in *McClure's Magazine*. Another muckraker, Ida Tarbell, wrote a series of articles describing the unfair business practices of Standard Oil Company. Their articles angered many politicians and business leaders but helped to unite progressives.

Muckrakers influenced voters, causing them to question corrupt practices and to pressure politicians to call for reforms.

A major goal for progressive reformers was to help the urban poor. Many immigrants and native-born Americans had moved to U.S. cities looking for work. They often lived in crowded tenement buildings. As a result, thousands of families lived in unclean and unsafe conditions.

Lawrence Veiller was a progressive housing reformer who described the effects of tenement living on 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*, Vol. 2

## City Planning

Progressives addressed these problems in several ways. Veiller helped to get the 1901 New York State Tenement House Act passed. This law required new buildings to have better ventilation and running water. The act became a model for housing reform in other states.

Other progressives started settlement houses similar to Jane Addams’s Hull House in Chicago, usually located in poor areas where immigrants lived. They tried to improve education, housing, and sanitation.

The movement for urban reform led to new professions, such as city planning and civil engineering. City planners worked with local leaders to control urban growth. They passed zoning laws and safer building codes and opened new public parks. Civil engineers improved city transportation by paving streets and building bridges. Sanitation engineers tried to solve problems concerning pollution, waste disposal, and impure water supplies.

Death rates dropped a great deal in areas where planners and engineers addressed urban leadership, structures, and services. Gradually, progressive improvements gave American cities some of the best public services in the world.

## Tenement Life

QUICK  
FACTS

Overcrowding

Unsafe  
Buildings

Unsanitary  
Conditions

No Running  
Water

Poor  
Ventilation

ANALYSIS  
SKILL

ANALYZING VISUALS

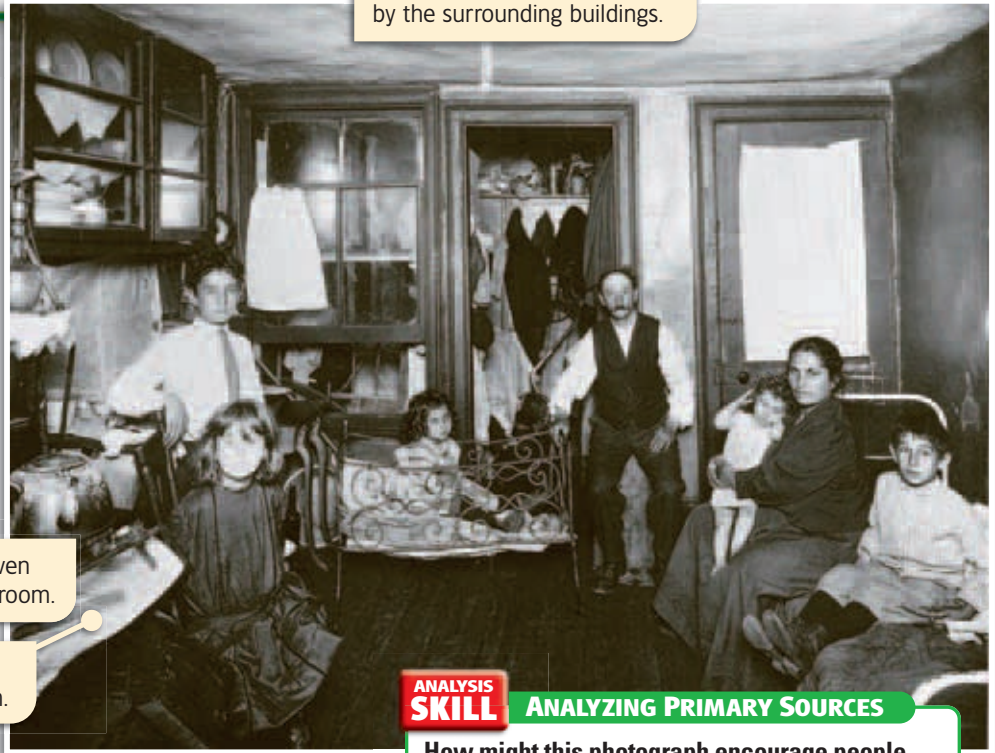
What impact did the conditions shown above have on people’s health?

## Primary Source

### PHOTOGRAPH

## The Other Half

In 1890 Jacob Riis published *How the Other Half Lives*. The book was a collection of photographs of residents of New York City tenement buildings, including families and immigrants. The conditions of life that were shown in the photographs shocked many wealthier Americans. The photograph to the right was taken by Riis.



Air and light were often cut off by the surrounding buildings.

This family of seven lived in this one room.

Furniture was placed wherever there was room.

ANALYSIS  
SKILL

### ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

How might this photograph encourage people to become reformers?

## Social Reforms

Progressive leaders also worked to reform education. Many more children began going to school in the late 1800s. States passed laws requiring children to attend school.

Reformers pushed for new public high schools to provide courses in citizenship, health, and job training. Progressives also started kindergarten programs to help poor city children. In 1873 reformer Susan Blow opened the first American public kindergarten in St. Louis, Missouri. Kindergartens taught basic social skills to children between the ages of three and seven. By 1898 more than 4,000 kindergartens had opened in the United States.

**John Dewey** was an important philosopher and a key supporter of early childhood education. His **motive** was to help children learn problem-solving skills, not just memorize facts. This, he thought, would help them in everyday life. Dewey's teaching methods

became a model for progressive education across the country.

Progressives also tried to improve the education of medical professionals. In the late 1800s the United States lacked well-trained and professionally organized doctors. Researchers knew the causes of diseases such as malaria, pneumonia, yellow fever, and tuberculosis. However, there were few medical organizations that could help spread this knowledge.

Under the leadership of **Joseph McCormack**, the American Medical Association (AMA) was reorganized in 1901 to bring together local medical organizations. The AMA also supported laws designed to protect public health. This group showed how progressives could unite professionals to help improve society. Other professional organizations followed.

**READING CHECK** **Finding Main Ideas** What urban and social reforms did progressives favor?

### THE IMPACT TODAY

In most states students must attend school until age 16. In recent years several states have raised or considered raising that age to 17 or 18.

### ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

**motive** a reason for doing something



## Expansion of Voting Power

Some progressives worked to change state and local governments in order to reduce the power of political machines. In many locations, reformers ended the use of ballots designed by political parties to list only one party's candidates. They replaced these corrupt ballots with government-prepared ballots listing all candidates. Under pressure from reformers, many states adopted secret ballots, giving every voter a private vote.

Reformers also hoped to expand voting power. For example, reformers favored the direct primary. **The direct primary allows voters to choose candidates for public office directly.** Previously, party leaders had selected candidates. Progressives also favored the **Seventeenth Amendment**, which allowed Americans to vote directly for U.S. senators. Before the constitutional amendment passed in 1913, state legislatures had elected senators.

Other reform measures allowed voters to take action against corrupt politicians. For example, some states and cities gave unhappy

voters the right to sign a petition asking for a special vote. The purpose of that vote was to **recall, or remove, an official before the end of his or her term.** If enough voters signed the petition, the vote took place. The official could then be removed from office if there was a majority of recall votes.

In California, Oregon and the Midwest, progressives worked on reforms to give voters direct influence over new laws. A procedure called the **initiative** allowed voters to **propose a new law by collecting signatures on a petition.** If enough signatures could be gathered, the proposed law was voted on at the next election.

Another procedure, called the **referendum**, permitted voters to approve or reject a law that had already been proposed or passed by government. This process gave voters a chance to overrule laws they opposed.

## Government Reforms

In addition to working for greater voter participation, progressives attempted to change the way city governments operated. Business

### THE IMPACT TODAY

In 2003 California voters recalled Governor Gray Davis. Arnold Schwarzenegger was elected to replace Davis as governor.



## Angels of Mercy

In the late 1800s, settlement houses set up visiting nurses programs. Trained nurses visited tenement houses to care for the sick, especially children. The nurses also taught tenement dwellers about the importance of sanitation in preventing the spread of disease. These compassionate women pioneered the idea of public health as we know it today.

*Why would someone want to work as a visiting nurse?*

## Expanding Democracy

QUICK  
FACTS

<b>Direct Primaries</b>	Voters choose candidates.
<b>Recall</b>	Voters can remove an official from office.
<b>Initiatives</b>	Voters can propose laws by petition.
<b>Referendum</b>	Voters can overrule a law.
<b>17th Amendment</b>	Senators are elected directly by voters.

leaders and other professionals led reforms to make local governments more efficient and responsive to citizens' needs.

Some reformers wanted governments to be run like a business. Several cities changed to council-manager governments. Under this system, voters elect a city council. The council then appoints a professional manager to run the city. Other business-minded reformers supported the commission form of government, which is headed by a group of elected officials. Each official manages a major city agency, such as housing, sanitation, or transportation. The council-manager and commission forms of government were most popular in small to medium-sized cities. These cities had fewer problems than large cities did.

State governments faced some of the same problems that cities experienced. Corrupt local officials were often part of statewide political machines. In Wisconsin, Republican **Robert M. La Follette** challenged the power of the party bosses. La Follette favored the direct primary, new state commissions made up of specialists in reform issues, and tax reform. He also wanted to use professionals to address social problems.

La Follette won the governor's race in 1900. He soon began a program of reforms. Called the **Wisconsin Idea**, the program aimed to decrease the power of political machines and to make state government more professional. This idea became a model for progressive reformers in other states.

**READING CHECK** **Evaluating** How did progressives work to change voting procedures and city and state governments?

**SUMMARY AND PREVIEW** Progressives worked to reform city life and government. In the next section you will learn about reforms in working conditions.

## Section 2 Assessment

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Online Quiz

KEYWORD: SS8 HP19

### Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People **HSS** 8.12.5 **Critical Thinking**

- Identify** Who were **muckrakers**, and what effect did they have on reform?
  - Explain** According to **progressives**, what was the cause of poor conditions in U.S. cities?
  - Evaluate** Which urban or social reform do you think was most important? Why?
- Describe** What new ideas and practices were introduced to give voters more power?
  - Draw Conclusions** How did progressive reforms limit the power of political machines?
  - Elaborate** Why do you think **Robert M. La Follette's Wisconsin Idea** was popular with voters?

- Categorizing** Copy the chart below. Use it to categorize the various progressive reforms that improved society, politics, and cities.

Progressive Reforms		
Social	Political	Urban

### FOCUS ON SPEAKING

- Addressing Social Problems** Rapid industrial and urban growth during the late 1800s caused serious social problems such as poverty and disease. How would you address such problems? What campaign promises would you make to assure voters that you could make the necessary reforms?

# Reforming the Workplace

## If YOU were there...

You have been working in a hat factory since 1900, when you were eight years old. Now you are experienced enough to run one of the sewing machines. You don't earn as much as older workers, but your family needs every penny you bring home. Still, the long hours make you very tired. One day you hear that people are trying to stop children from doing factory work.

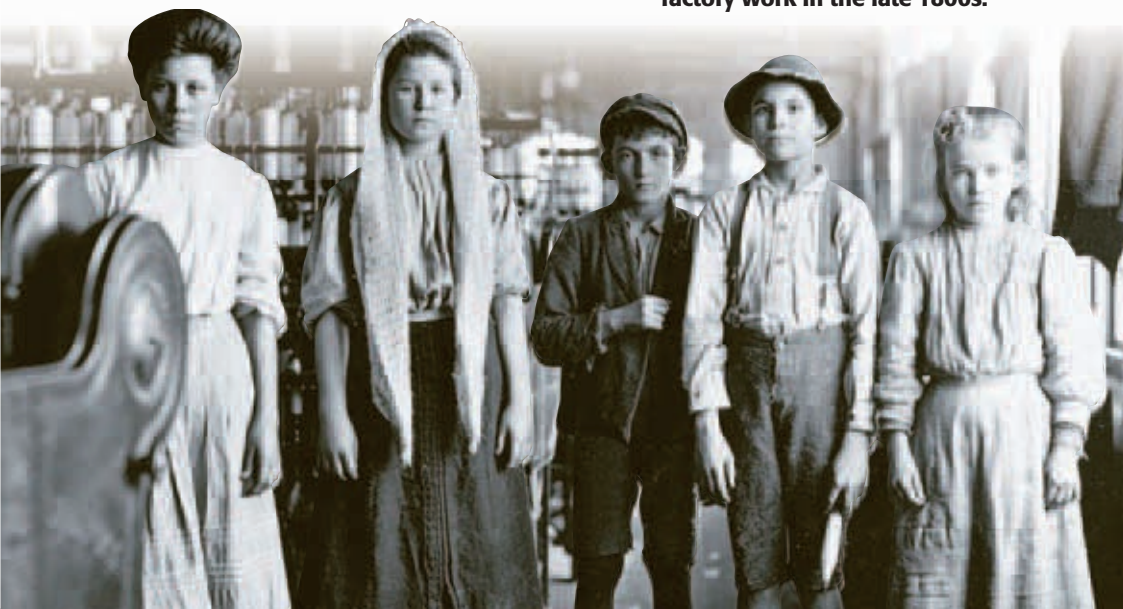
## How would you feel about this social reform?

**BUILDING BACKGROUND** Urged on by muckraking journalists and public support, progressive reformers worked in many areas. One important target was the workplace. Since the Second Industrial Revolution, more and more children and adults were working long hours in terrible conditions.

## Improving Conditions for Children

Progressives and other reformers began to focus their attention on working children. Low wages for unskilled workers in the late 1800s meant that many more children had to work to help support their families.

Young children did much of the factory work in the late 1800s.



## What You Will Learn...

### Main Ideas

1. Reformers attempted to improve conditions for child laborers.
2. Unions and reformers took steps to improve safety in the workplace and working hours.

### The Big Idea

In the early 1900s progressives and reformers focused on improving conditions for American workers.

## Key Terms and People

Florence Kelley, *p. 616*  
Triangle Shirtwaist Fire, *p. 618*  
workers' compensation laws, *p. 618*  
capitalism, *p. 619*  
socialism, *p. 619*  
William "Big Bill" Haywood, *p. 619*  
Industrial Workers of the World, *p. 619*



**HSS 8.12.6** Discuss child labor, working conditions, and laissez-faire policies toward big business and examine the labor movement, including its leaders (e.g., Samuel Gompers), its demand for collective bargaining, and its strikes and protests over labor conditions.



## Children at Work

Children sold newspapers or shined shoes on the streets. Girls often cooked and cleaned for boarders staying with their families. Girls also worked at home with their mothers, sewing clothes or making handcrafts.

Many children also worked outside the home in industry. In 1900 more than 1.75 million children age 15 and under worked in mines, mills, and factories. Businesses did not have to pay unskilled children high wages.

One wealthy reformer, Marie Van Vorst, posed as a poor woman to investigate child labor conditions. She saw children as young as seven years old working in a South Carolina textile mill. Some girls received as little as 40 cents per day for their work. Van Vorst described working with one young child:

“Through the looms I catch sight of ... my landlord’s little child. She is seven; so small that they have a box for her to stand on ... I can see only her fingers as they clutch at the flying spools.”

—Marie Van Vorst, quoted in  
*A History of Women in America*, edited by Carol Hymowitz

This girl—and other children like her—provided cheap labor for manufacturers and brought home only small amounts of money to help their families to survive.

## Calls for Reform

Reporters published accounts of working conditions for child laborers. Progressives and others then began to call for new reforms.

**Florence Kelley**, who was involved in Chicago’s Hull House, led the progressive fight against child labor. She traveled throughout the United States lobbying for labor laws to protect women and children. She served as a board member of the National Consumers’ League—the major lobbying group for women’s and children’s labor issues—and later founded the National Child Labor Committee to work for laws against child labor.

During the early 1900s, reformers finally succeeded in getting laws passed to ease the conditions of child labor. Their strategy was to

## History Close-up

### Working Conditions in Factories



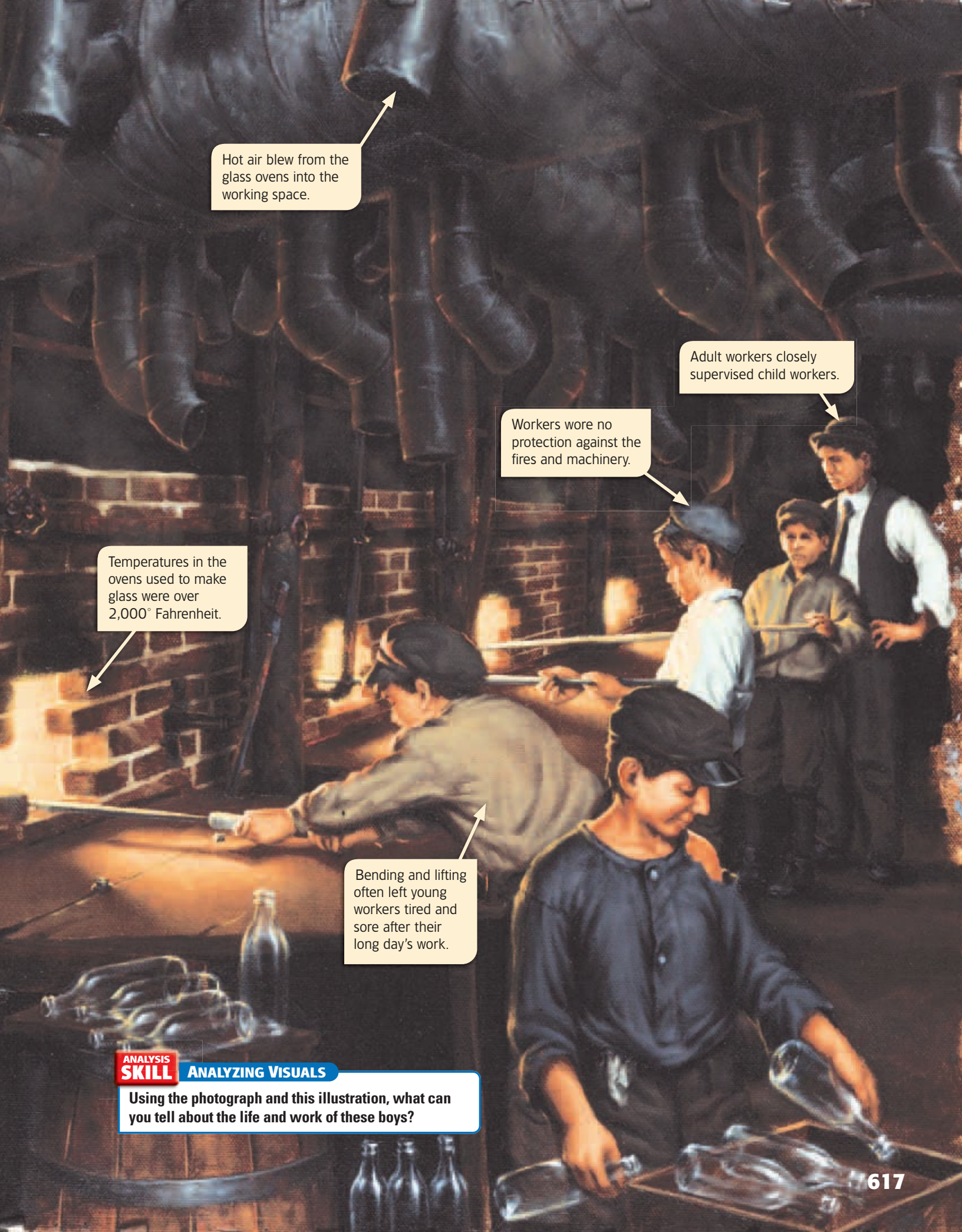
In the early 1900s photographer Lewis Hine began to document the hardships endured by child laborers. Hine took this photograph and hundreds more like it. He labeled this one: “A typical glass works boy, night shift. Said he was 16 years old. 1 A.M. Indiana, 08/19/08.” Such photographs, which company owners did not want the public to see, helped lead to the passage of child labor laws, which improved conditions for workers like this boy and those in the glass works factory illustration at right.

“investigate, educate, legislate, and enforce.” In 1912 the state of Massachusetts passed the first minimum wage law, and a commission was created to establish rates for child workers.

In 1916 and 1919 Congress passed federal child labor laws. The laws banned child-labor products from interstate commerce. The Supreme Court, however, ruled that the laws were unconstitutional. It argued that the laws went beyond the purpose for federal regulation of interstate commerce.

**READING CHECK** **Finding Main Ideas** How did reformers try to improve child labor conditions?





Hot air blew from the glass ovens into the working space.

Adult workers closely supervised child workers.

Workers wore no protection against the fires and machinery.

Temperatures in the ovens used to make glass were over 2,000° Fahrenheit.

Bending and lifting often left young workers tired and sore after their long day's work.

**ANALYSIS SKILL** ANALYZING VISUALS

Using the photograph and this illustration, what can you tell about the life and work of these boys?



## Primary Source

### TRIAL TRANSCRIPT

## Triangle Shirtwaist Fire

Ethel Monick was one of the teenaged factory workers who survived the fire at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company. In the trial that followed the disaster, she described her experience in the fire.



*I seen the fire and then I seen all the girls rushing down to the place to escape. So I tried to go through the Greene Street door, and there were quick girls there and I seen I can't get out there, so I went to the elevator, and then I heard the elevator fall down, so I ran through to the Washington Place side, and I went over to the Washington Place side and there wasn't any girls there, so I ran over the doors and none was over there. So I went over to the door. I tried the door and I could not open it, so I thought I was not strong enough to open it, so I hollered girls here is a door, and they all rushed over and they tried to open it, but it was locked and they hollered "the door is locked and we can't open it!"*

#### ANALYSIS SKILL

#### ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

How does Ethel Monick describe her escape?

### FOCUS ON READING

Read the excerpt from the trial transcript on this page. Is a first-person account of an event considered historical fact?

## Safety and Working Hours

Child labor reform was only part of the progressive effort to help American workers. Many progressives also favored laws to ensure workers' safety, regulations limiting work hours, and other protections of workers' rights.

## Workplace Safety

Tragic accidents in workplaces led reformers to call for laws protecting workers from unsafe conditions. In 1900 some 35,000 people were killed in industrial accidents. About 500,000 suffered injuries.

In 1911 a shocking accident took place at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company, a clothing factory that employed mostly immigrant women in New York City. As about 500 workers, mostly women and girls, prepared to leave the clothing factory one day, a fire broke out. The workers tried to escape through exit doors but found them locked. Owners had locked the factory doors to reduce theft of materials. By the time firefighters brought the fire under control, 146 workers had died. At a memorial service for the fire victims, union leader Rose Schneiderman called for action. "It is up to the working people to save themselves." **The Triangle Shirtwaist Fire** and similar accidents led to laws that improved factory safety standards.

Labor leaders and reformers also fought for **workers' compensation laws**, which would guarantee a portion of lost wages to workers injured on the job. In 1902 Maryland became the first of many states to pass a workers' compensation law. However, workplace laws were not always strictly enforced. Working conditions therefore remained poor in many places.

## The Courts and Labor

Some business leaders opposed workplace regulations. They believed that the economy should operate without any government interference. State and federal courts began using the Fourteenth Amendment to support these views. The courts argued that this amendment protected businesses against laws that took their property without due process of law.

In 1897 the state of New York passed a law that limited bakers to a 10-hour workday. But a bakery owner named Joseph Lochner challenged the law. He claimed that it interfered



with his right to run his business. The case eventually went to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1905. In *Lochner v. New York* the Court ruled that states could not restrict the rights of employers and workers to enter into any type of labor agreement. The New York law was declared unconstitutional.

The Supreme Court did uphold some limits on working hours for women and children. In the 1908 *Muller v. Oregon* case, the Court upheld laws restricting women's work hours. The justices stated that a woman's health is of public concern. *Muller v. Oregon* was the first case that progressives had won using arguments based on economic, scientific, and social evidence. Such victories encouraged progressives and labor leaders to attempt more reforms.

### Labor Organizations

Labor unions also tried to improve working conditions. Union membership rose from more than 800,000 in 1900 to about 5 million in 1920. Led by Samuel Gompers, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) remained one of the strongest labor unions. The AFL focused on better working conditions and pay for skilled workers. Gompers supported **capitalism**, an economic system in which

private businesses run most industries, and competition determines how much goods cost.

Some union members, however, supported **socialism**—a system in which the government owns and operates a country's means of production. Socialists hoped that the government would protect workers.

In 1905 a group of socialists and union leaders founded a union that welcomed immigrants, women, African Americans, and others not welcome in the AFL. Led by **William "Big Bill" Haywood**, this socialist union was called the **Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)** and wanted to organize all workers into one large union that would overthrow capitalism. Staging strikes across the country, the IWW frightened business leaders and many other Americans. Strong opposition weakened the IWW, and by 1920 the union had almost disappeared.

**READING CHECK Analyzing** How did reforms change the workplace?

**SUMMARY AND PREVIEW** Reformers worried about working conditions in factories. In the next section you will learn about how women and minorities struggled for their rights.

## Section 3 Assessment

go.hrw.com  
**Online Quiz**  
KEYWORD: SS8 HP19

### Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People **HSS** 8.12.6

- a. **Recall** What jobs did child laborers often hold?

b. **Explain** Why did businesses employ children in factories?

c. **Elaborate** Why do you think reformers began to demand improvements to child labor conditions?
- a. **Identify** What events led to the movement to improve workplace safety?

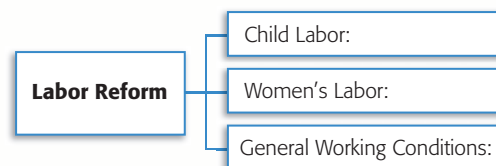
b. **Make Inferences** Why did the **Industrial Workers of the World** union frighten some people?

c. **Predict** What conflicts might arise between supporters of **capitalism** and **socialism**?

### Critical Thinking

- Analyzing** Copy the graphic organizer shown at right. Use it to describe how progressives tried to

reform child labor, women's labor, and workplace conditions.



### FOCUS ON SPEAKING

- Addressing Problems in the Workplace** How would you address problems in the workplace? Make notes on campaign promises you might make to assure voters that you would address issues of child labor and workplace safety.

# Reform Literature

## GUIDED READING

### WORD HELP

- cuffs** punches
- utter** complete
- close** stuffy
- sole** only
- access** right to use
- stenches** bad smells
- in vain** without success
- galling** causing pain; irritating
- fetters** chains
- heaves** rises and falls

**1** *The writer wants you to imagine that he is taking you on a tour of the building. Why do you think he chooses this way to describe the place?*

**2** *Find one detail that appeals to each sense: sight, sound, smell, taste, and touch. How would you sum up, in one sentence, the place that Riis describes?*



**ELA Reading 8.3.7** Analyze a work of literature, showing how it reflects the heritage, traditions, attitudes, and beliefs of its author.

## from *How the Other Half Lives*

by Jacob Riis (1849–1914)

**About the Reading** *How the Other Half Lives* describes the overcrowded houses where immigrants lived in New York City. Its author, Jacob Riis, was a newspaper reporter. His nonfiction book made Americans aware of the extremes of poverty suffered by working people. Riis believed that every human being deserved a decent, safe place to live. *How the Other Half Lives* led to reforms and new laws that improved housing conditions.

**AS YOU READ** Look for details that help you see, hear, and smell Cherry Street.

Cherry Street. Be a little careful, please! **1** The hall is dark and you might stumble over the children pitching pennies back there. Not that it would hurt them; kicks and cuffs are their daily diet. They have little else. Here where the hall turns and dives into utter darkness is a step, and another, another. A flight of stairs. You can feel your way, if you cannot see it. Close? Yes! What would you have? All the fresh air that ever enters these stairs comes from the hall door that is forever slamming, and from the windows of dark bedrooms that in turn receive from the stairs their sole supply of the elements God meant to be free . . . That was a woman filling her pail by the hydrant you just bumped against. The sinks are in the hallway, that all the tenants may have access—and all be poisoned alike by their summer stench. Hear the pump squeak! It is the lullaby of tenement house babes. In summer, when a thousand thirsty throats pant for a cooling drink in this block, it is worked in vain . . . **2**

The sea of a mighty population, held in galling fetters, heaves uneasily in the tenements . . . If it rise once more, no human power may avail to check it. The gap between the classes in which it surges, unseen, unsuspected by the thoughtless, is widening day by day . . . I know of but one bridge that will carry us over safe, a bridge founded upon justice and built of human hearts.

## from *The Jungle*

by Upton Sinclair (1878–1968)

**About the Reading** *The Jungle* focused the nation's attention on immigrant workers in the meatpacking industry. Upton Sinclair's novel showed bosses forcing human beings to live and work like jungle animals. He also described, in shocking detail, how meat was handled. Sinclair published his book in 1906. Later that same year, the government passed the Pure Food and Drug Act and the Meat Inspection Act. Many Americans even gave up eating meat for a while.

**AS YOU READ** Look for details that create one overwhelming effect.

There was never the least attention paid to what was cut up for sausage; ❶ there would come back from Europe old sausage that had been rejected, and that was mouldy and white—it would be dosed with borax and glycerine, and dumped into hoppers, and made over again for home consumption. There would be meat that had tumbled out on the floor, in the dirt and sawdust, where the workers had tramped and spit uncounted billions of consumption germs. ❷ 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. It was too dark in these storage places to see well, but a man would run his hand over these piles of meat and sweep off handfuls of the dried dung of rats. ❸ These rats were nuisances, and the packers would put poisoned bread out for them and they would die, and then rats, bread, and meat would go into the hoppers together . . . ❹ 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.

## GUIDED READING

### WORD HELP

**borax** white powder used in manufacturing and cleaning  
**glycerine** sweet, sticky liquid  
**hoppers** containers  
**consumption** eating; tuberculosis, a lung disease that was fatal at that time  
**ladled** added with a large spoon

❶ *What overall effect or mood does Sinclair create?*

❷ *Based on the details in this passage, what were the packers most concerned about?*

❸ *Why do you think rats were considered nuisances?*

❹ *Find details that reveal how one improvement in working conditions might have resulted in healthier sausage.*

## CONNECTING LITERATURE TO HISTORY

- ❶ **Identify Cause and Effect** Jacob Riis and Upton Sinclair were both muckraking journalists. Why do you think so much muck existed in the tenements and in the meatpacking business? Why had people ignored those terrible conditions for so long?
- ❷ **Identify Cause and Effect** Both Riis and Sinclair believed that improving conditions for immigrants would benefit all of society. Explain how one specific change in the

tenements might have a favorable effect on everyone. Then explain how one specific change in meat handling might affect everyone.

- ❸ **Compare and Contrast** Both *How the Other Half Lives* and *The Jungle* inspired progressives to work for reform. Which work do you think had the greater effect on its readers? Use details from each passage to explain your answer.



## What You Will Learn...

## Main Ideas

1. Female progressives fought for temperance and the right to vote.
2. African American reformers challenged discrimination and called for equality.
3. Progressive reform did not benefit all minorities.

## The Big Idea

The progressive movement made advances for the rights of women and some other minorities.

## Key Terms and People

Woman's Christian Temperance Union, *p. 623*  
 Eighteenth Amendment, *p. 623*  
 National American Woman Suffrage Association, *p. 623*  
 Alice Paul, *p. 624*  
 National Woman's Party, *p. 624*  
 Nineteenth Amendment, *p. 624*  
 Booker T. Washington, *p. 624*  
 Ida B. Wells, *p. 624*  
 W. E. B. Du Bois, *p. 624*  
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, *p. 625*



**HSS 8.12.5** Examine the location and effects of urbanization, renewed immigration, and industrialization (e.g., the effects on social fabric of cities, wealth and economic opportunity, the conservation movement).

# The Rights of Women and Minorities

## If YOU were there...

You are a member of the graduating class of 1912 from an excellent women's college. You have always been interested in science, especially biology. You would like to be a doctor, but you know that medical schools accept very few women. The easiest career path for you is to go into teaching or perhaps social work. Yet it's not really what you want to do.

## How would you want to use your education?

**BUILDING BACKGROUND** The progressives had a wide variety of goals. Besides attacking social problems such as child labor, they tried to reform government and make it more democratic. Changes in women's education affected the movement, as college-educated women became leaders in working for reforms.

## Women Fight for Temperance and Voting Rights

New educational opportunities drew more women into the progressive movement. In the late 1800s women began attending colleges like Smith and Vassar in record numbers. In 1870 only about 20 percent of college students were women. By 1910 that number had doubled. The goal of female students was "to develop as fully as may be the powers of womanhood," said Sophia Smith, founder of Smith College.

Many female graduates entered fields such as social work and teaching. They found it much harder to enter professions such as law and medicine, which were dominated by men. Denied access to such professions, women played a major role in reform movements. Women's clubs campaigned for dozens of causes, including temperance, women's suffrage, child welfare, and political reform.

Two causes that women's reform groups took up were temperance, or avoidance of alcohol, and women's right to vote. Since the 1840s temperance reformers had blamed alcohol for society's problems. By the 1870s more than 1,000 saloons had been forced to shut down by these reformers. One radical temperance fighter was Carry Nation. In the 1890s Nation became famous for storming into saloons with a hatchet, smashing bottles.

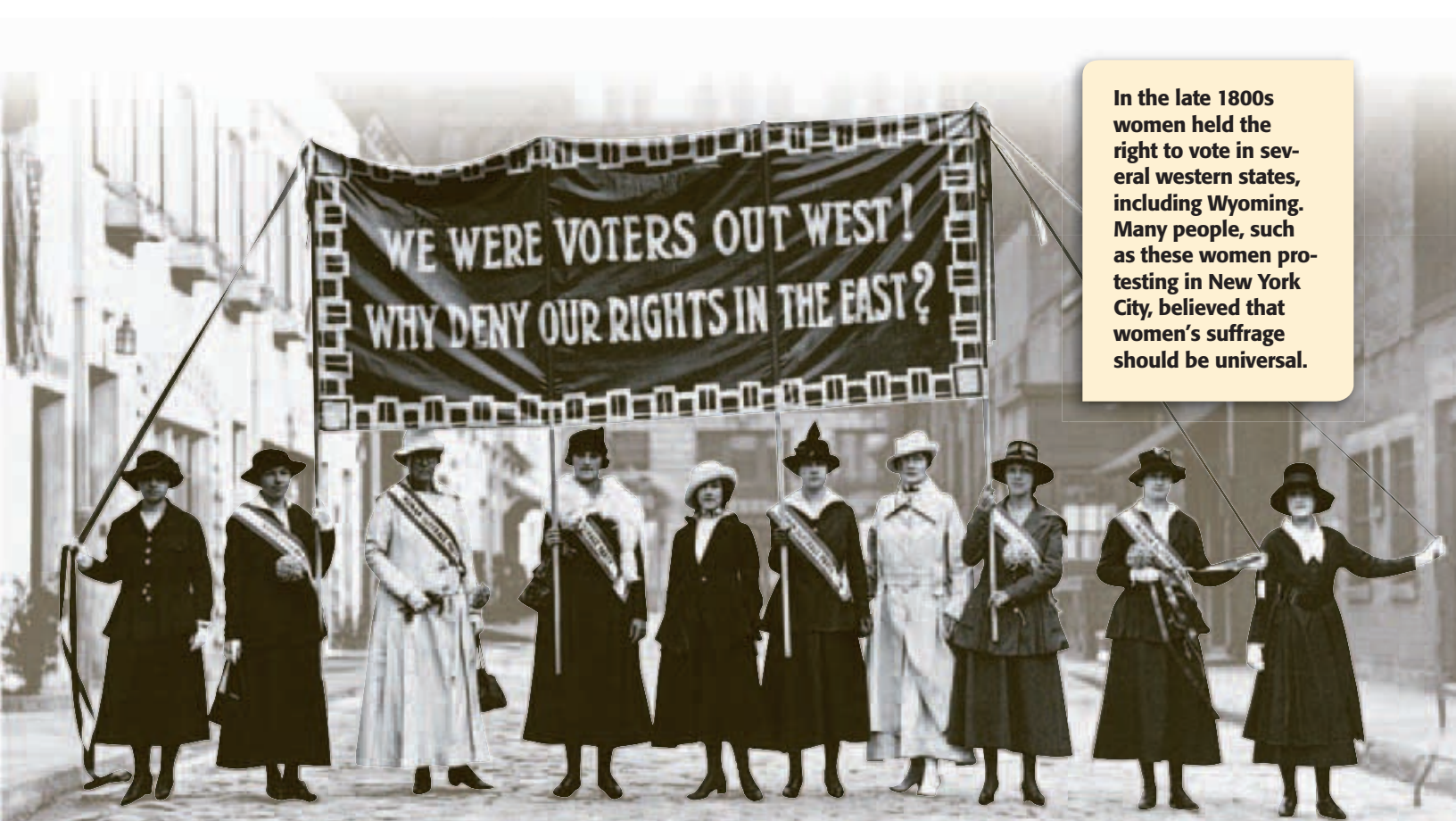
In 1874 reformers from many different backgrounds formed the **Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)**, which fought for adoption of local and state laws restricting the sale of alcohol. Under the leadership of Frances Willard, the organization started 10,000 branches. In 1919 temperance efforts eventually led to the passage of the **Eighteenth Amendment**, banning the production, sale, and transportation of alcoholic beverages throughout the United States.

Women reformers also fought for the right to vote, or suffrage. Many people,

however, opposed giving women the vote. Political bosses worried about the anti-corruption efforts of women. Some businesspeople worried that women voters would support child labor laws and minimum wage laws. Some people believed that women should only be homemakers and mothers and not politically active citizens.

**Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony** founded the **National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA)** in 1890 to get women the vote. 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, she mobilized more than 1 million volunteers for the movement. She argued that women should have a voice in creating laws that affected them.



In the late 1800s women held the right to vote in several western states, including Wyoming. Many people, such as these women protesting in New York City, believed that women's suffrage should be universal.



However, some women believed that the NAWSA did not go far enough. In 1913 **Alice Paul** founded what would become the **National Woman's Party (NWP)**. The NWP was a powerful and controversial alternative to the NAWSA that used parades and public demonstrations, picketing, hunger strikes, and other means of protest to draw attention to the suffrage cause. Paul and other NWP leaders were even jailed for their actions.

Suffragists finally succeeded in gaining the vote. The **Nineteenth Amendment** was declared ratified by the U.S. Congress in 1920 and gave American women the right to vote.

**READING CHECK Analyzing** What methods did reformers use to draw attention to the temperance and women's suffrage movements?

## African Americans Challenge Discrimination

White reformers often overlooked issues such as racial discrimination and segregation. Some African American leaders such as **Booker T. Washington** did not. Born into slavery, Washington became a respected educator while in his twenties. He encouraged African Americans to improve their educational and economic well-being rather than fight discrimination.

Other African Americans, such as journalist **Ida B. Wells**, spoke out against discrimination. In her Memphis newspaper called *Free Speech*, she drew attention to the lynching of African American men. Because of death threats, she was forced to move to the North, where she continued campaigning for change.

**W. E. B. Du Bois** also took a direct approach to fighting racial injustice. Born in Massachusetts, Du Bois was a college

### Primary Source

#### POINTS OF VIEW

### Fighting Discrimination

*Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois had very different views on how African Americans should handle discrimination.*

“Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labour and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life ... It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top.”

—Booker T. Washington

“Is it possible, and probable, that nine millions of men can make effective progress in economic lines if they are deprived of political rights, made a servile caste,\* and allowed only the most meager chance for developing their exceptional men? If history and reason give any distinct answer to these questions, it is an emphatic No.”

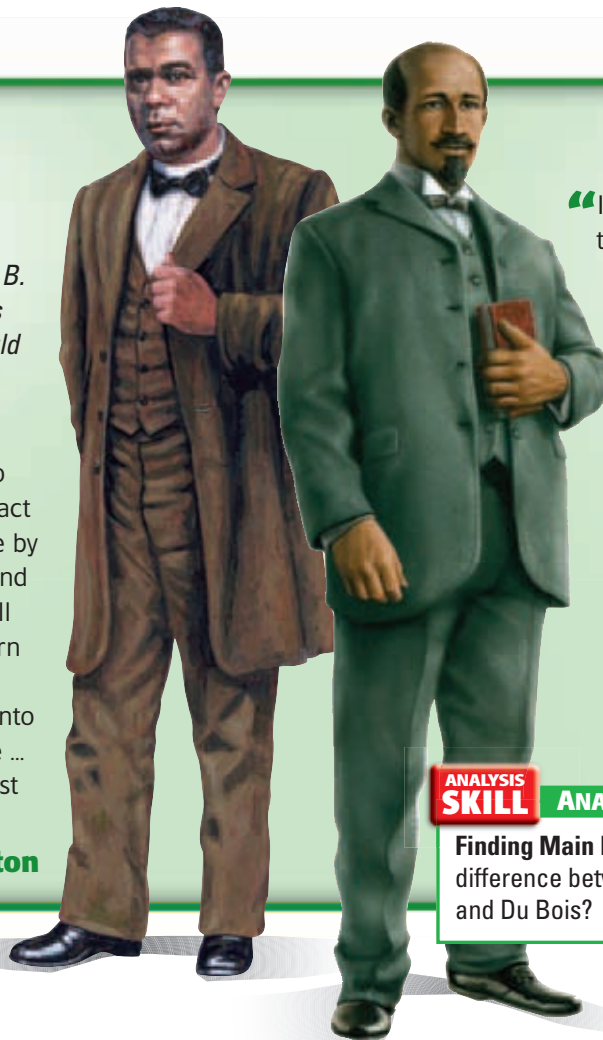
\*lower social rank

—W. E. B. Du Bois

#### ANALYSIS SKILL

#### ANALYZING POINTS OF VIEW

**Finding Main Ideas** What is the primary difference between the views of Washington and Du Bois?







## Left Behind

Unfortunately, progressive reforms did not help everyone. Non-European immigrants received much less attention than their European counterparts. Immigrants from Mexico, who faced some of the worst working conditions, were largely ignored. Many Mexican immigrants, like these migrant farm workers living in California, worked from sunup to sundown for little pay. Progressive reforms did nothing to improve their situation.

*Why do you think progressive reforms did not help all groups?*

graduate who earned a doctorate from Harvard University. He publicized cases of racial prejudice.

In 1909 Du Bois and other reformers founded the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)**, an organization that called for economic and educational equality for African Americans. The NAACP attacked discrimination by using the courts. In 1915 it won the important case of *Guinn v. United States*, which outlawed so-called grandfather clauses. These were used in the South to keep African Americans from voting. Those clauses imposed qualifications on African American 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 by helping them to find jobs and housing.

**READING CHECK** **Contrasting** What was the purpose of the NAACP?

## Progressive Reform Failures

The progressive movement left behind members of other minority groups. In the 1890s the Native American population in the United States had declined to fewer than 250,000, its lowest point ever. To deal with poverty among Native Americans, the Society of American Indians was started in 1911. Society members wanted Native Americans to adopt the ways of white society. They believed this might end widespread poverty.

Many Native Americans, however, wanted to preserve their traditional culture. Despite their poverty, by 1912 some 2,000 Cherokee had refused to accept nonreservation lands granted to them. Eventually, new laws let Native Americans stay on reservations.

Some immigrant groups were also ignored by white progressives. For example, many Chinese immigrants who came to the United States for gold mining and railroad jobs had hard lives. With the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, immigration

### THE IMPACT TODAY

Today the NAACP has around 2,200 adult branches and 1,700 branches for young people.



Chinese Americans built strong communities in the face of discrimination and violence. Here, Chinese children study in an American classroom.

slowed. The law 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 anti-Chinese riots in several western states and territories during the late 1800s. For protection, many Chinese Americans formed their own communities in cities such as San Francisco.

While Chinese immigration dropped, Mexican immigration rose. During this time, immigrants could move fairly easily across the U.S. borders with both Mexico and Canada. Most Mexican immigrants moved to areas that had once been part of Mexico. Mexican immigrants became a key part of the southwestern and western economies.

**READING CHECK** Summarizing What were the limitations of progressive reforms?

**SUMMARY AND PREVIEW** Citizens worked for progressive reforms. In the next section you will read about the progressive presidents and their goals.

## Section 4 Assessment

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Online Quiz

KEYWORD: SS8 HP19

### Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People **HSS** 8.12.5

- a. Identify** What did the **Eighteenth** and **Nineteenth Amendments** accomplish?

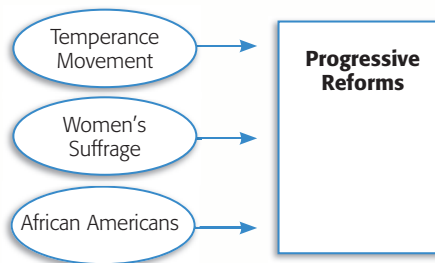
**b. Summarize** How did **Alice Paul** and the **National Woman's Party** try to draw attention to the issue of women's suffrage?
- a. Identify** What role did **Ida B. Wells** play in reform efforts for African Americans?

**b. Contrast** How did **Booker T. Washington** differ from other African American leaders?

**c. Evaluate** Do you think the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** was successful in fighting discrimination? Explain.
- a. Describe** What discrimination did Chinese Americans face?

**b. Summarize** How were some minority groups overlooked by the progressive movement?

temperance movement, the women's suffrage movement, and by African Americans.



### FOCUS ON SPEAKING

- Addressing the Rights of Women and Minorities** Consider your positions on education for women, women's suffrage, temperance, discrimination, and segregation. What promises would you make in regard to these issues? Think about how you would make your ideas acceptable to the American public. Would you be willing to compromise your ideals?



# The Progressive Presidents

SECTION

5

## If YOU were there...

It is 1912 and you're voting in your first presidential election! This election is unusual—there are three major candidates. One is the popular former president Theodore Roosevelt, who is running as a third-party candidate. He thinks the Republican candidate will not make enough progressive reforms. But the Democratic candidate is a progressive reformer, too.

## Who would you vote for? Why?

**BUILDING BACKGROUND** Political corruption was one early target of the progressive reformers. Some politicians themselves joined the progressives. They believed that government—local, state, and national—had a role in improving society and people's lives.

## Roosevelt's Progressive Reforms

During a summer tour after his second inauguration in 1901, President William McKinley met a friendly crowd in Buffalo, New York. Suddenly, anarchist Leon Czolgosz stepped forward and shot the president. A little more than a week later, McKinley died. After the assassination, Vice President **Theodore Roosevelt** took office.

## Roosevelt's Square Deal

Roosevelt believed the interests of businesspeople, laborers, and consumers should be balanced for the public good. He used this policy—known as the Square Deal—in the coal miners' strike in 1902. Roosevelt knew the strike might leave the country without heating fuel for the coming winter. He therefore threatened to take over the mines unless managers agreed to **arbitration**, a formal process to settle disputes, with the strikers.

“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

The strike ended after Roosevelt's intervention.

## What You Will Learn...

### Main Ideas

1. Theodore Roosevelt's progressive reforms tried to balance the interests of business, consumers, and laborers.
2. William Howard Taft angered progressives with his cautious reforms.
3. Woodrow Wilson enacted banking and antitrust reforms.

### The Big Idea

American presidents in the early 1900s did a great deal to promote progressive reform.

## Key Terms and People

Theodore Roosevelt, p. 627  
arbitration, p. 627  
Pure Food and Drug Act, p. 628  
conservation, p. 628  
William Howard Taft, p. 629  
Progressive Party, p. 629  
Woodrow Wilson, p. 629  
Sixteenth Amendment, p. 630  
Federal Reserve Act, p. 630  
Clayton Antitrust Act, p. 630  
Federal Trade Commission, p. 630



**HSS 8.12.5** Examine the location and effects of urbanization, renewed immigration, and industrialization (e.g., the effects on social fabric of cities, wealth and economic opportunity, the conservation movement).

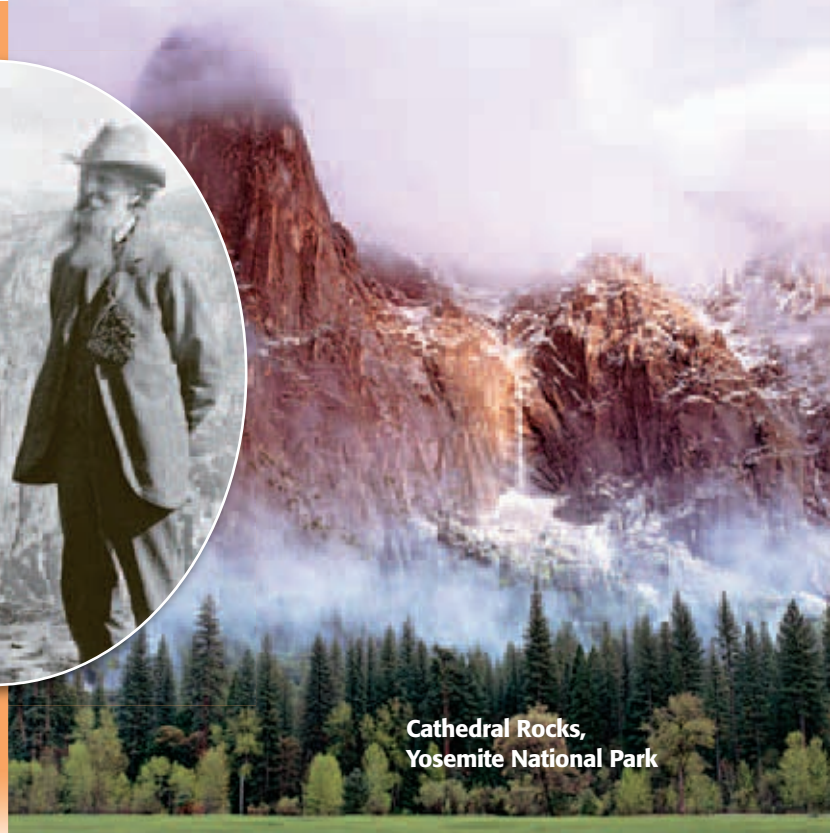


## The National Park System

In 1872 Yellowstone National Park, located mostly in Wyoming, became the first national park in the United States—and the world. Today there are 55 national parks in the country. They are managed by the National Park Service (NPS), an agency of the federal government established in 1916. The NPS also oversees national seashores, lakeshores, rivers, trails, and historic sites and monuments.



President Theodore Roosevelt and conservationist John Muir in Yosemite National Park in California



Cathedral Rocks, Yosemite National Park

### Regulating Big Business

Roosevelt also made regulating big business a top goal of his first administration. Muckrakers helped build public support for more regulation. For instance, Upton Sinclair's account of the meat-processing industry in his 1906 novel, *The Jungle*, shocked the public. Roosevelt opened an investigation and later got Congress to pass a meat inspection law.

In 1906 Congress also passed the **Pure Food and Drug Act**. This law stopped the manufacture, sale, or transport of mislabeled or contaminated food and drugs sold in interstate commerce.

Finally, Roosevelt persuaded Congress to regulate railroad shipping rates. His actions to break up trusts earned him a reputation as a “trust-buster.”

### Conservation

Roosevelt strongly supported **conservation, or protection of nature and its resources**. Supporters of conservation had differing reasons for supporting the cause. Preservationists, for example, believed that nature should be preserved because of its beauty. Many

preservationists, such as John Muir, wanted to protect the remaining ancient forests from logging. Other conservationists wanted to save the natural resources of the United States. For example, Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot valued forests because of the resources they provide to build “prosperous homes.”

These views came into conflict in the Hetch Hetchy Valley controversy of 1913. Muir wanted the valley to remain part of Yosemite National Park, but Pinchot wanted it to become a water source for nearby San Francisco. Pinchot's victory in the controversy encouraged preservationists to found the National Park Service.

By 1870, tens of millions of acres of federal lands had been sold or given to private mining, logging, and railroad companies. Such companies opposed efforts to conserve federal land. But while Roosevelt was in office, the Forest Service gained control over 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** Summarizing What reforms did Roosevelt support?

## Taft Angers Progressives

Theodore Roosevelt hoped that his secretary of war, **William Howard Taft**, would take his place 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.

### Taft's Administration

Despite their friendship, Roosevelt and Taft held different ideas about how a president should act. Taft thought Roosevelt had claimed more power than a president was constitutionally allowed.

Therefore, Taft chose to move more cautiously as president toward reform and regulation. This upset progressives who wanted to destroy trusts entirely. Although Taft's administration started twice as many antitrust suits as Roosevelt's had, progressives were still not satisfied.

Taft angered progressives further by signing the Payne-Aldrich Tariff of 1909. Progressives wanted reductions in tariffs to lower prices for consumers. Although the Payne-Aldrich Tariff reduced some rates, it raised others.

Taft's battle with Roosevelt's close friend and ally Gifford Pinchot also proved to be

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 **various** other progressives, including Roosevelt.

Taft transferred more land into government reserves than Roosevelt had. However, he continued to lose progressive support.

### ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

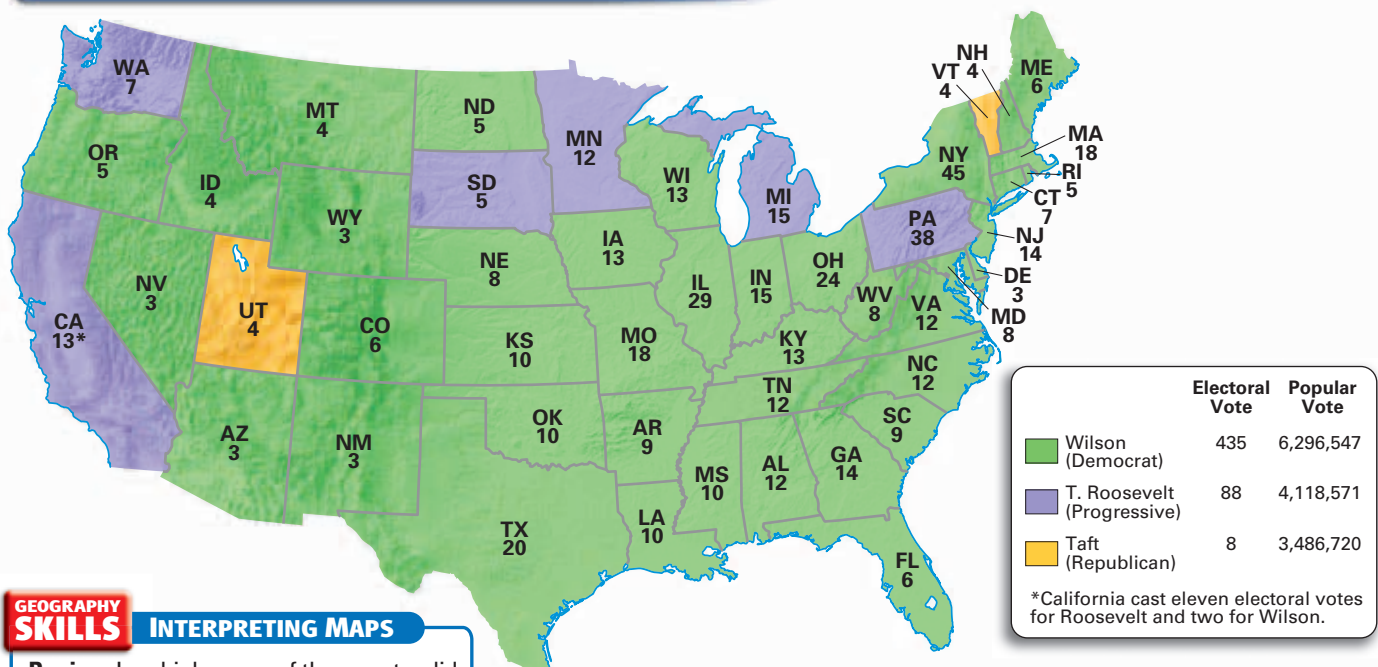
**various** of many types

### Election of 1912

Roosevelt, furious with Taft, decided to run for president again in 1912. Taft won the Republican nomination. **Roosevelt and his followers then formed the Progressive Party, 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 New Nationalism, a plan he developed in 1910 for more regulation and social welfare programs.

The Democratic Party chose **Woodrow Wilson**, the former president of Princeton University. In 1910 Wilson was elected governor of New Jersey. With his New Freedom program, Wilson called for government action against monopolies in order to allow free competition. He also wanted to lower tariffs and expand small businesses.

## Election of 1912



### GEOGRAPHY SKILLS

#### INTERPRETING MAPS

**Region** In which areas of the country did Wilson win?



## Primary Source

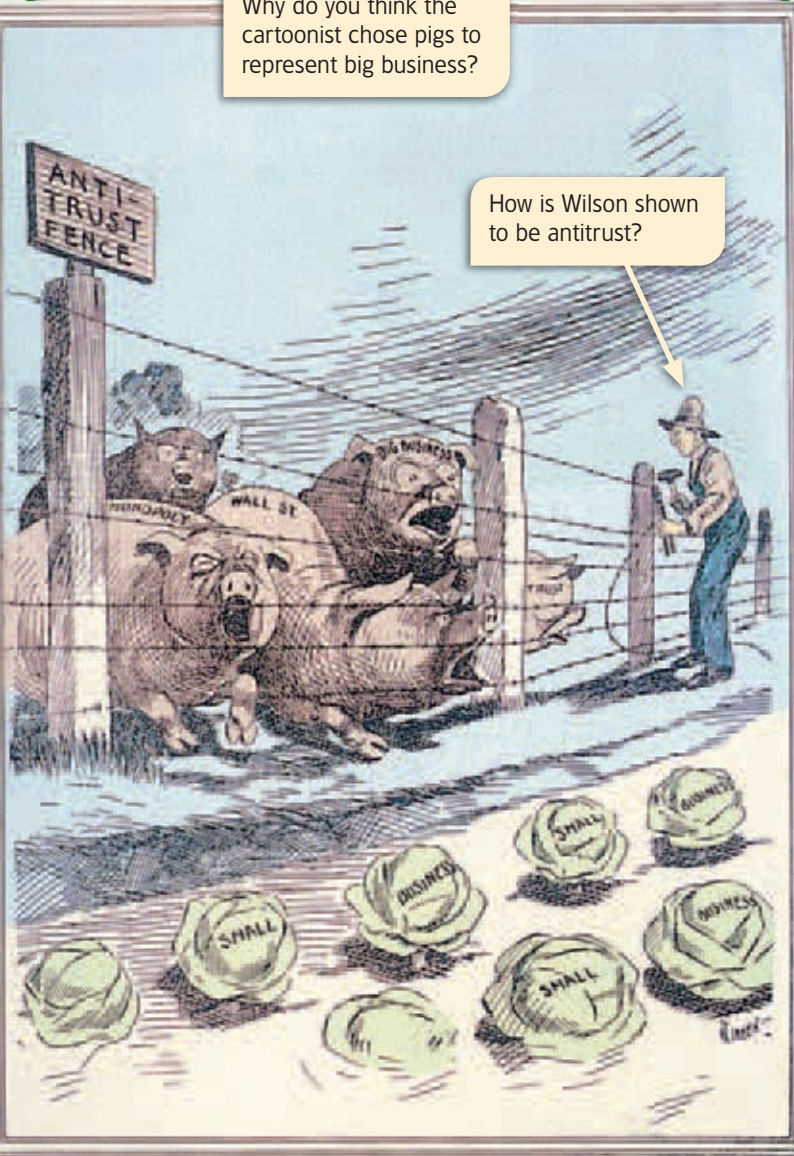
### POLITICAL CARTOON

## Wilson and Big Business

Cartoons like this one showed big business as greedy. President Wilson is the farmer, who is protecting his crop of lettuce.

Why do you think the cartoonist chose pigs to represent big business?

How is Wilson shown to be antitrust?



### ANALYSIS SKILL

#### ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

Do you think this is a useful description of trusts and big business?

Wilson, Roosevelt, Taft, and Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist Party candidate, all were reformers. They disagreed, however, on specific reforms and on how to achieve them. The split between Taft and Roosevelt divided the Republican vote. Wilson won the electoral vote by a wide margin.

**READING CHECK** Analyzing Which of Taft's actions angered Roosevelt and other progressives?

## 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, quoted in *America Enters the World*, by Page Smith

Reform legislation was Wilson's top goal. He pushed for two measures soon after taking office: tariff revision and banking reform.

Wilson backed the Underwood Tariff Act of 1913, which lowered tariff rates. The act also introduced a version of the modern income tax on personal earnings. In February 1913, this new tax was made possible by ratification of the **Sixteenth Amendment**. This amendment allows the federal government to impose direct taxes on citizens' incomes.

President Wilson next addressed banking reform with the 1913 **Federal Reserve Act**. The act created a national banking system called the Federal Reserve to regulate the economy.

Wilson also pushed for laws to regulate big business. The **Clayton Antitrust Act** of 1914 strengthened federal laws against monopolies. The **Federal Trade Commission**, created in 1914, had the power to investigate and punish unfair trade practices. To support his policies, Wilson appointed reformist lawyer Louis Brandeis to the Supreme Court in 1916.



## The Progressive Amendments, 1909–1920

QUICK  
FACTS

Number	Description	Proposed by Congress	Ratified by States
16th	Federal income tax	1909	1913
17th	Senators elected by people rather than state legislatures	1912	1913
18th	Manufacture, sale, and transport of alcohol prohibited	1917	1919
19th	Women's suffrage	1919	1920

Preparing to run for re-election in 1916, Wilson helped pass the Keating-Owen Child Labor Act. The act limited the hours of child workers and prevented the sale across state lines of goods made with child labor. He also granted workers' compensation, or the payment of benefits to a worker injured on or made ill by the job, to federal employees. In addition, he supported the Adamson Act, which limited the workday on the nation's railroads to eight hours.

Wilson's actions helped him to win the people's support and the 1916 election. He

had showed great skill and determination in guiding his reform programs through Congress.

**READING CHECK** **Summarizing** What major reforms were carried out under President Wilson?

**SUMMARY AND PREVIEW** The progressive presidents tried to change American society for the better. In the next chapter you will learn about how the United States became a world power.

## Section 5 Assessment

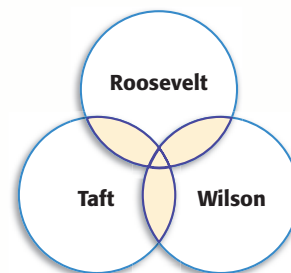
go.hrw.com

Online Quiz

KEYWORD: SS8 HP19

### Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People **HSS** 8.12.5 **Critical Thinking**

- Describe** What progressive reforms did **Theodore Roosevelt** support?
  - Analyze** Why were some Americans concerned about the use of natural resources?
  - Evaluate** Do you think Roosevelt's reforms benefited the nation? Why or why not?
- Identify** What was the **Progressive Party**? Why was it created?
  - Compare and Contrast** How were the administrations of **William Howard Taft** and Roosevelt similar and different?
  - Elaborate** Do you think progressives were justified in their opposition to Taft? Explain your answer.
- Recall** What was **Woodrow Wilson's** top goal as president?
  - Analyze** How did Wilson reform the banking industry?
  - Evaluate** Which president do you think had the biggest effect on progressive reform—Roosevelt, Taft, or Wilson? Explain your choice.
- Comparing and Contrasting** Copy the diagram below onto your own sheet of paper. Use it to compare and contrast the reforms of the progressive presidents.



### FOCUS ON SPEAKING

- Addressing the Ideas of Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson** Do you agree or disagree with Presidents Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson? Take notes on any of their ideas that you would include in your campaign promises.

# Social Studies Skills

Analysis

Critical Thinking

Participation

Study



**HSS HI 2** Students understand and distinguish long- and short-term causal relations.

## Short- and Long-term Causal Patterns

### Define the Skill

Most historical events are the result of other events. When something happens as a result of other things that occur, it is an effect of those things. Some events take place soon after the things that cause them. Such events are called *short-term effects*. In contrast, *long-term effects* can occur years, decades, or even hundreds of years after the events that caused them. Being able to recognize short-term and long-term cause-and-effect relationships will help you to better understand historical events.

### Learn the Skill

As you learned in the Reading Social Studies for Chapter 11, “clue words” can sometimes reveal a cause-and-effect relationship between events. Often, however, such language clues may not be present. Therefore, when you study history, you should always look for other clues that might explain why an action or event occurred.

Short-term effects are usually fairly easy to identify. In historical writing they are often closely linked to the event that caused them. For example, consider this passage.

“In 1872 the *New York Sun* printed a story about corruption involving Congress. The owners of the Union Pacific Railroad had started a construction company called Crédit Mobilier. The owners gave or sold shares in Crédit Mobilier to members of Congress. In return, these Congressmen approved large federal land grants to Crédit Mobilier. Many Americans questioned the honesty of national leaders.”

This passage contains no “clue words.” Yet it is clear that cause-and-effect relationships exist.

Congress’s action in giving large amounts of land to Crédit Mobilier was caused by the payoffs its members received from the company. And an effect of this scandal was that Americans questioned their leaders’ honesty.

Recognizing long-term causal relationships is often more difficult. Since long-term effects take place well after the event that caused them, they may not be discussed at the same time as their cause. This is why you should always question why an event occurred as you learn about it. For example, in 1971 Congress passed the first federal law to protect the health and safety of all workers. This law was a long-term result of efforts begun years earlier by the progressives you read about in this chapter.

Many long-term effects result from major forces running through history that make things happen. They include economics, science and technology, expansion, conflict and cooperation among people, cultural clashes and differences, and moral and religious issues. Ask yourself if one of these forces is involved in the event being studied. If so, the event may have long-term effects that you should be on the lookout for when studying later events.

### Practice and Apply the Skill

Review the information in Chapter 19 and answer these questions to practice recognizing short- and long-term causal relationships.

1. All packaged food today must have its contents listed on the container. This requirement is a long-term effect of what progressive reform?
2. Write a paragraph explaining the effects of the “muckrakers” on the news media today.

## Visual Summary

Use the visual summary below to help you review the main ideas of the chapter.

QUICK FACTS

### Progressives hoped to improve society through reform. Their goals included:

- Temperance
- Women's suffrage
- Big-business regulation
- Conservation
- Tariff and banking reform



## Reviewing Vocabulary, Terms, and People

Complete each sentence by filling in the blank with the correct term or person from the chapter.

1. Some Americans supported the system of \_\_\_\_\_, which proposed government ownership of the country's means of production.
2. Republican \_\_\_\_\_ began a program to reform state politics in Wisconsin.
3. The \_\_\_\_\_ granted women in the United States the right to vote.
4. Created under President Woodrow Wilson, the \_\_\_\_\_ was established to investigate businesses accused of unfair business practices.
5. During the Gilded Age, \_\_\_\_\_ often dominated local politics and used corruption to get their candidates elected.
6. \_\_\_\_\_ were journalists who wrote about troubling issues like child labor, slum housing, and corruption.

## Comprehension and Critical Thinking

### SECTION 1 (Pages 606–609) HSS 8.12.5

7. a. **Describe** What tactics did bosses and political machines use to gain control of local governments?
- b. **Draw Conclusions** What effect did President Garfield's assassination have on reform efforts?
- c. **Evaluate** Do you think the reforms made by presidents during the Gilded Age helped cut back on government corruption? Explain.

### SECTION 2 (Pages 610–614) HSS 8.12.5

8. a. **Recall** What led to the creation of the progressive movement?
- b. **Analyze** What changes did progressives make to urban life, education, and government?
- c. **Elaborate** Which progressive reform do you think had the greatest effect on Americans? Explain.



### SECTION 3 (Pages 615–619) **HSS** 8.12.6

- 9. a. Identify** What reforms were made to improve working conditions, and who was affected by these reforms?
- b. Contrast** What are the differences between capitalism and socialism?
- c. Elaborate** If you were a business owner, would you have supported the progressive workplace reforms? Explain your answer.

### SECTION 4 (Pages 622–626) **HSS** 8.12.5

- 10. a. Recall** What minority groups were overlooked by progressive reform efforts?
- b. Analyze** How did women’s involvement in the progressive movement lead to constitutional change?
- c. Elaborate** Do you agree with Booker T. Washington’s approach to improving life for African Americans? Explain your answer.

### SECTION 5 (Pages 627–631) **HSS** 8.12.5

- 11. a. Describe** How did William Howard Taft disappoint progressives?
- b. Compare** In what ways were the reforms of Presidents Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson similar?
- c. Elaborate** Would you have supported progressive reforms? Explain your answer.

## Reviewing Themes

- 12. Politics** What role did political machines play in local politics during the Gilded Age?
- 13. Society and Culture** How were children affected by the movement for workplace reforms?

## Reading Skills

**Historical Fact and Historical Fiction** Use the Reading Skills taught in this chapter to answer the question about the reading selection below.

The sea of a mighty population, held in galling fetters [heavy chains], heaves uneasily in the tenements . . . If it rise once more, no human power may avail to check it. (p. 620)  
—Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*

- 14.** Which statement below is an example of historical fact from the selection at the bottom of column one?
  - a.** New York had a large population.
  - b.** New York’s population was held in fetters.
  - c.** Nothing could stop New York’s population from unrest.
  - d.** Tenements were built to house immigrants.

## Social Studies Skill

**Short- and Long-term Causal Patterns** Use the Social Studies Skills taught in this chapter to answer the questions about the reading selection below.

Under the leadership of Joseph McCormack, the American Medical Association (AMA) was reorganized in 1901 to bring together local medical organizations. The AMA also supported laws designed to protect public health. This group showed how progressives could unite professionals to help improve society. (p. 612)

- 15.** According to the passage above, what was a short-term effect of the reorganization of the AMA?
  - a.** Laws protecting the public health were passed.
  - b.** Doctors learned from each other.
  - c.** National medical standards were created.
  - d.** Joseph McCormack was elected president of the AMA.
- 16.** After reading the rest of the chapter, what do you think might be a long-term effect of the reorganization of the AMA?

## FOCUS ON SPEAKING

- 17. Share Your Campaign Promises** Review your notes about possible campaign promises. Which promises will be most helpful to get you elected? Look at your promises to see whether they focus on issues important to voters. Then write a speech including your campaign promises that you can deliver to your class.

# Standards Assessment

**DIRECTIONS:** Read each question and write the letter of the best response.

1



Which progressive reformer would have been most interested in this photograph?

- A Theodore Roosevelt
  - B Woodrow Wilson
  - C Carrie Chapman Catt
  - D Florence Kelley
- 2 One direct result of immigration and urban growth was the rise of
- A political machines.
  - B the civil service system.
  - C the spoils system.
  - D primary elections.
- 3 What was the *main* idea behind the creation of the civil service system in the late 1800s?
- A Government jobs should be rewarded to persons who support the party in power.
  - B Government workers should be required to support the elected officials who hire them.
  - C Government employees should be qualified to do the jobs for which they were hired.
  - D Government jobs should not be filled with employees who serve in those jobs for life.

4 The Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution increased democracy in the United States by

- A granting women the right to vote.
- B allowing the people of each state to elect their senators.
- C establishing direct primary elections.
- D enabling voters to remove elected officials from office before the end of their terms.

5 Progressive reformers were *least* successful in achieving which of the following reforms?

- A women's suffrage
- B expanded voting rights
- C improved safety standards for workers
- D a ban on child labor

## Connecting with Past Learning

6 Earlier in this course you learned about the reforms accomplished by educator Horace Mann. Which reformer made a similar contribution to society in the late 1800s?

- A Jane Addams
- B John Dewey
- C Robert M. La Follette
- D Alice Paul

7 In this chapter you learned about W. E. B. Du Bois's struggle to fight racial injustice. Which other American made a similar contribution to society?

- A William Tecumseh Sherman
- B Samuel Gompers
- C Frederick Douglass
- D Henry David Thoreau