I. Road to Progressivism
   A. Greenback Labor Party of 1870s sought to thwart power of "robber barons" and wanted inflationary monetary measures.
   B. Legacy of Populism
      1. Populism failed as a 3rd Party cause but had political influence for 25 years after it's failure in the 1896 election.
      2. Populist ideas that carry forward:
         a. railroad legislation (1903 & 1906)
         b. income tax (16th Amendment -- 1912)
         c. expanded currency and credit structure (1913, 1916))
         d. direct election of Senators (17th Amendment -- 1913)
         e. initiative, referendum and recall (early 1900s)
         f. postal savings banks (1910)
         g. subtreasury plan (1916)
      3. Though Populist ideas were geared to rural life, many of its ideas appealed to urban progressives who sought to regulate trusts, reduce the power of political machines, and remedy social injustice.

II. Rise of Progressivism
   A. Mugwumps (reform-minded Republicans of the late-19th century) desired a return to pre-monopoly America.
      1. Men of wealth and social standing lamented change in America’s political and social climate due to rise of industrialists: monopoly, plutocracy, oligarchy.
         a. Protestant/Victorian ideals of hard work = success were now threatened by the “nouveau riche”
         b. Earlier Mugwump leaders of local communities were now eclipsed by political machines catering to big business.
      2. 1884, Mugwumps were Republican reformers who bolted from the party to support Grover Cleveland in the 1884 election.
   B. Emerging middle class sympathized with Mugwump views and wanted return to equality of opportunity and moral reform (seen by some as a "3rd great awakening")
      1. Consisted of political reformers, intellectuals, women, journalists, social gospelites, and professionals.
      2. Saw themselves being unrepresented; meanwhile industrialists and immigrants were protected by bribery, labor unions, or political machines.
         -- Nearly 1 in 7 Americans foreign-born by 1900.
C The Progressives
1. Believed efficient gov’t could protect public interest and restore order to society.
   -- Government is an agency of human welfare
2. Specific issues for reform: (be able to explain each individually)
   a. The break-up or regulation of trusts
   b. Killing political machines
   c. Reduce the threat of socialism (by improving workers’ lives)
   d. Improve squalid conditions in the cities
   e. Improve working conditions for female labor and end child labor
   f. Consumer protection
   g. Voting reform
   h. Conservation
   i. banking reform
   j. labor reform (working conditions and unionization)
   k. Prohibition of alcohol
   i. Female suffrage
3. Thus, Progressive crusaders created a reform movement not seen since the 2nd Great Awakening

III. Major reform issues: trusts, political machines, living and working conditions in cities
A. Trusts
1. By 1910 the wealthiest 2% accounted for almost 20% of total income.
   -- Flaunting of wealth by nouveau riche angered many Americans.
2. Competition was being eliminated by an oligarchy; small businessmen no longer able to compete.
3. Plutocracy -- Large numbers of politicians were dominated by trusts in municipal, state, and federal government.

B. Political Machines
1. Bosses controlled districts or cities and regularly accepted bribes from special interests for favors. Taxpayers often paid the bill.
2. Immigrants were often enticed by bosses for their vote. Result: immigrants represented but WASPs weren’t.
3. Municipal politics now out of the hands of civic minded Americans.
   -- New York City’s Tammany Hall was the biggest example
C. Shame of the Cities

1. Urbanization
   a. Between 1880 and 1920, about 27 million immigrants entered the U.S., mostly from Eastern & Southern Europe (1/3 went back home)
   b. Many rural Americans came to the city looking for work due to increased opportunities.
   c. Cities offered entertainment, shopping, new technology (electricity, plumbing) and anonymity.

2. Results:
   a. Living conditions in many parts of the large cities were revolting.
      -- "Dumbell tenements" were inadequate and unhealthy for families
   b. City infrastructure ill-equipped to deal with the population explosion.
   c. Crime: violence, gambling, and prostitution became rampant.
   d. Working conditions were appalling; women & child labor exploited
      i. An estimated half million workers wounded and 30,000 killed in industrial accidents every year during early 20th century.
      ii. AFL discouraged labor legislation (except child labor) since previous pro-labor laws had been used against labor
         -- Favored gov’t out of labor issues so unions could bargain effectively.

IV. Progressive Analysts

A. Between 1870 and 1920, college enrollment increased 400%

B. Many colleges created separate social science departments: economics, political science, and sociology.
   1. Attempted to analyze human society with same objectivity that scientists used to study nature.
   2. Reflected growing faith in ability of people to analyze society and solve human problems.
   3. Rejected "survival of the fittest" ideology
   4. Many social science professors and their students became progressives.

C. John Dewey: "learning by doing" rather than just reading.
   1. Believed education for living and working played crucial role in democracy.
      a. "Education for life" should be primary goal of the teacher.
      b. Goal was to create socially useful adults.
   2. Number of 17-yr.-olds who finished high school almost doubled in the 1920s, to more than 25%.
D. Lester Frank Ward
1. Challenged "survival of the fittest" thought
2. Argued it was natural for people to control and change their social environment (laws, customs, and relationships among people) for their own benefit.
3. It was the role of gov’t to shape society’s destiny.
   -- e.g. legislation should address inadequate housing

E. Other notable social scientists
1. Richard Ely -- Professor at University of Madison, Wisconsin
   -- Economist of vanguard of Social Gospel
2. Charles Beard applied history to reform corrupt city governments.
3. Woodrow Wilson -- political scientist; later became president

F. Early progressive writers (and social critics)
1. Henry Demarest Lloyd -- *Wealth against Commonwealth* (1894)
   a. Criticized Standard Oil
   b. Beginning of investigative journalism.
2. Thorstein Veblen -- *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899)
   -- Criticized the *nouveau riche* for it’s flaunting of wealth
3. Jacob A. Riis -- *How the Other Half Lives* (1890)
   a. Photojournalist who exposed the dirt, disease, vice, and misery of the rat-infested New York slums
   b. Heavily influenced progressives such as Theodore Roosevelt
   a. Considered a classic masterwork of feminist literature.
   b. Called on women to abandon their dependent status and work outside the home.
   c. Advocated centralized nurseries and cooperative kitchens to facilitate women’s participation in the work force.
      -- Anticipated future day-care centers and convenience-food services.
5. Socialists criticized existing injustices
   a. Many were European immigrants who hated excesses of capitalism
   b. Many progressives, such as Woodrow Wilson, saw socialism as biggest threat to US.

H. Social Gospel Movement (late 19th century)
1. Emphasized the role of the church in improving life on earth rather than in helping individuals get into heaven.
2. Walter Rauschenbusch and Washington Gladden were leading Preachers
3. Influenced reforms such as settlement house movement and the Salvation Army
V. **Muckrakers** (name coined by Theodore Roosevelt as criticism of their journalism)
   A. Journalists who attempted to expose the evils of society
      1. Popular magazines such as McClure’s, Cosmopolitan (owned by
         Hearst), Collier’s, and Everybody’s emerged.
         -- Fearing legal reprisals, muckraking magazines went to great
         pains and expense to verify their material (e.g. $3,000 to verify
         Tarbell article).
      2. Yellow press also played a role especially Pulitzer and Hearst

   B. **Lincoln Steffens** -- *Shame of the Cities* (1902)
      -- Detailed the corrupt alliance between big business and municipal
         gov’t

   C. **Ida M. Tarbell**: published devastating expose on Standard Oil Co.
      1. Detailed Rockefeller’s ruthless tactics to crush competition
         (including her father)

      2. In 1911, Standard Oil trust was broken up; seen as a “bad trust”

   D. **Upton Sinclair** -- *The Jungle* (1906)
      1. Graphic depictions of unsanitary conditions in packing plants
         sparked a reaction to the meat industry and led to eventual
         regulation under Theodore Roosevelt.
      2. **Inspired Meat Inspection Act and Pure Food and Drug Act (1906)**

   E. David G. Phillips: "The Treason of the State", articles in
      Cosmopolitan
      1. Charged that 75 of 90 senators were, in effect, agents of the trusts
         and the railroads. (Eventually shot)
      2. Provoked President Roosevelt to label this genre of journalism
         "muckraking"
         -- Fewer muckraking pieces appeared as editors became fearful of
         backlash.

   F. John Spargo: *The Bitter Cry of the Children* (1906)
      -- Exposed the abuses of child labor

   G. Ray Stannard Baker: *Following the Color Line* (1908)
      -- Attacked the subjugation of America’s 9 million blacks, & their
         illiteracy

   H. Frank Norris: *The Octopus* (1901) and *The Pit* (1903)
      -- Showed how railroads and corrupt politicians controlled
         California wheat ranchers.

   I. Theodore Dreisler: *The Financier* (1912) and *The Titan* (1914)
VI. Progressive Activists (Crusaders)
A. Sought improved living conditions in cities and labor reform for women & children.
B. City had new opportunities for women (over 1 million joined workforce in 1890s)
   1. Social workers and secretaries, store clerks and seamstresses, telephone operators and bookkeepers.
   2. Many still worked in deplorable conditions.
C. Jane Addams ("St. Jane")
   1. One of first generation of college-educated women
      -- Teaching or volunteer were almost the only permissible occupations for a young woman of her social class.
   2. Hull House in Chicago important in establishing Settlement House movement that became centers of women’s activism and social reform.
      -- Some historians see progressivism begin in 1889 with founding of Hull House
   3. Helped found the NAACP along with DuBois, Garrison, and Ida B. Wells.
   4. Condemned war and poverty; won Nobel Peace Prize in 1931.
D. Women & Child Labor Reform
   1. Child labor most successful of all Progressive social reforms
   2. Florence Kelley
      a. Investigated and reported on child labor while living at Hull House.
      b. Kelley championed welfare of women, blacks, and consumers.
         i. As leader of the National Consumers League, she helped organize consumer boycotts of goods made by children or by workers toiling in unsanitary or dangerous jobs.
         ii. As women were primary consumers, boycotts were often effective.
      c. Socialist views.
   2. Gains in women and child labor reform
      a. Muller v. Oregon, 1906: Supreme Court upheld Oregon law restricting women’s labor to 10-hour workday; case won by Louis Brandeis who argued that women were weaker than men (today, this argument would be considered chauvinistic).
         -- A number of other laws passed at the federal and state level.
      b. Many states passed safety and sanitation codes for industry and closed certain harmful trades to juveniles.
      c. Triangle Shirtwaist Co. fire in 1911 killed 146 women workers, mostly girls
         -- NYC and other legislatures passed laws regulating the hours and conditions in sweatshops.
d. By 1916, 32 states regulated the hours and ages at which children could work.
e. Some states adopted compulsory education up to the high school level.
f. Conservative Supreme Court eventually overturned many gains

VII. Political Reforms
A. Robert La Follette & the "Wisconsin Experiment"
   1. Governor of Wisconsin, 1901: he helped destroy the political machine, take control away from lumber & railroad trusts & establish a progressive gov't.
      a. First of Republican "insurgents" to reach the Senate (stood against Republican "old guard" who favored laissez faire with gov't help).
      b. Worked closely with experts on the faculty of the state university at Madison including Richard Ely.
   2. Regulated public utilities by instituting public utilities commissions that created legislation for workers’ safety, railroads & regulation of public utilities.
   3. Direct primary: In 1903, La Follette pressured the legislature to institute an election open to all voters within a party.
   4. Introduced the initiative, referendum, and recall
      a. initiative -- allowed citizens to introduce a bill
      b. referendum: voters cast ballots for or against proposed laws.
      c. recall: gave citizens right to remove elected officials from office.
   5. Direct election of Senators (a favorite goal of progressives)
      a. Enacted to counter Senate corruption and control by trusts
      b. The people could now vote for their Senator; before, the state legislature chose their senator
      c. In 1913, approved as the 17th Amendment to the Constitution.
   6. Adopted a state income tax; first state to do so.
   7. Replaced the existing spoils system with state civil service
   8. Other states followed Wisconsin’s lead
      a. Republican governor in California Hiram Johnson broke the grip of the Southern Pacific Railroads on California.
         -- Like La Follette, set up a political machine of his own.
      b. Charles Evans Hughes, Republican governor of NY, earlier gained fame as investigator of malpractice by gas & insurance companies & by coal trust.
      c. Gov. Woodrow Wilson turned New Jersey into 1 of nation's most liberal states.
B. **Australian Ballot (secret ballot)**
   1. Became introduced more widely in states to counteract boss rule.
   2. Reduced bribery voting now done secretly and bribers unable to monitor voters.
   3. Unfortunately, ballot also eliminated illiterate voters as party workers could not help voters mark their ballots.
      -- Hundreds of thousands of black and white voters became disenfranchised.

C. **Galveston, Texas and the Commission System**
   1. In Sept., 1900, a tidal wave devastated the city.
   2. Commission system
      a. The city placed power into the hands of 5 commissioners, 2 elected & 3 appointed; a full-time city manager was hired.
      b. Commission system peaked in 1915 (later replaced by city manager system.)
   c. Within 20 years, 400 cities adopted Commission System
   d. Reduced the power of machine politics
      i. In some cases, these reforms valued efficiency more than democracy as civic control was further removed from the hands of the people.
      ii. Businessmen dominated; workingclass left out (no more political machine)

VIII. **President Theodore Roosevelt** -- 1st "modern" president
   A. 1st president in U.S. History to use gov't to directly help public interest.
      1. Saw the presidency as a "bully pulpit" to preach his ideas
   B. 1st president to play a significant role in world affairs
      1. "Speak softly but carry a big stick [and] you will go far"
IX. "Square Deal" (for Capital, labor, and the public at large)

TR’s program embraced “Three C’s”:

1. Regulation of Corporations
2. Consumer protection
3. Conservation of natural resources

A. Regulation of Corporations

1. Anthracite Coal Strike, 1902: (hard coal used to heat homes)
   a. 140,000 workers of United Mine Workers union in coal mines of PA went on strike: demanded 20% pay increase; reduction of work day from 10 to 9 hours.; fair weighing of coal; and better safety conditions.
   b. George F. Baer, president of company, assumed public would react against the miners thus refused to arbitrate or negotiate.
      -- Baer demanded TR prosecute union leader for violation of Sherman Antitrust Act, as President Cleveland had done in Pullman strike of 1894.
   c. TR threatened to seize mines and operate them with federal troops if owners refused compromise (unprecedented action by a president in U.S. history)
      -- TR rationalized that the public at large was in jeopardy of having no coal during winter so it was his duty to intervene.
   d. Owners consented to arbitration
      i. Miners received a 10% pay boost and 9-hour work day
      ii. Owners got assurances that union would not be officially recognized.
         -- Also, allowed 10% increase in price of coal.

2. Department of Commerce & Labor: created in 1903 to settle disputes between capital and labor. (10 years later, agency was split into two.)
   -- Bureau of Corporations (part of Dept. of Commerce & Labor)
      i. Authorized to monitor businesses in interstate commerce.
      ii. Helped break monopolies; paved the way for an era of "trust-busting."

3. 1902, Roosevelt attacked the Northern Securities Company
   b. Supreme Court upheld Roosevelt’s antitrust suit to dissolve it in 1904.
   c. Roosevelt now seen as a "trustbuster"
      i. 1905, Court declared beef trust illegal; and sugar, fertilizer, harvester trusts also regulated by anti-trust legislation.
      ii. TR later went after Du Pont, Standard Oil, and American Tobacco Co.
4. Elkins Act (1903)
   a. Aimed primarily at reducing abuse of rebates used by railroads.
   b. Heavy fines could now be imposed on both railroads and shippers for abusing rebates.

5. **Hepburn Act** (1906) (More effective than Elkins Act)
   a. Expanded the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission (created in 1887)
      i. Severely restricted railroad’s giving of free passes (bribery)
      ii. Could nullify existing rates and stipulate maximum rates if necessary.
   b. Concluded that there were "good trusts" and "bad trusts" which were greedy. "Bad Trusts" should be prosecuted but good trusts were healthy for the economy.

6. Roosevelt as a "trustbuster"
   a. Reputation inflated as TR exaggerated his anti-trust activities to gain political popularity.
      i. Actions more symbolic to prove gov’t, not private business, was in control.
      ii. Threat of dissolution might make business more open to regulation.
   b. TR did not consider wholesale trust-busting economically sound policy.
      i. Realized combination and integration was common practice.
      ii. Big business not necessarily bad; why punish success?
   c. Believed in regulating, not fragmenting trusts.
   d. In reality, trusts healthier at end of TR’s reign than before.
      -- Perhaps, more tame due to regulation.
   e. President Taft busted up more trusts than TR.
      i. TR even gave blessing in 1907 for J. P. Morgan’s plan to have US Steel absorb the Tennessee Coal and Iron Co. without fear of antitrust reprisals.
      ii. When Taft launched suit against USX in 1911, TR furious

B. Consumer Protection
1. Impulse for meat protection
   a. European markets threatened to ban American meat since some meat from small packinghouses was found to be tainted.
   b. **Upton Sinclair: The Jungle** (1906)
      i. Public was sickened by his description of unsanitary food products.
      -- Detailed accounts of filth, disease, and putrefaction in Chicago’s damp and ill-ventilated slaughterhouses.
      ii. TR moved to appoint special investigating commission whose report almost out-did Sinclair’s novel.
2. **Meat Inspection Act** (1906)
   a. Induced by TR, Congress passed the bill
   b. Preparation of meat shipped over state lines would be subject to federal inspection throughout the meat making process.
   c. Though largest packers resisted certain features of the act, they accepted it as a means to drive out smaller businesses.
      -- Also, received government’s seal of approval on their exports

3. **Pure Food & Drug Act** (1906)
   a. Prevented adulteration and mislabeling of foods and drugs.
   b. Hitherto, many patent medicines laced with alcohol while labels misrepresented the contents of their containers.

C. Conservation (most significant and long-lasting of Roosevelt’s legacies)
   1. Roosevelt and conservation
      a. TR, an outdoorsman, appalled at destruction of timber & mineral resources.
      b. **Gifford Pinchot**, head of federal Division of Forestry, had made significant contributions before TR.
      c. Conservation Roosevelt’s most tangible enduring achievement.
         i. Aroused public opinion vis-à-vis conservation.
   2. **Newlands Reclamation Act** of 1902
      a. Gov’t authorized to collect money from sale of public lands in western states and use funds for development of irrigation projects.
      b. Settlers repaid cost of reclamation by building successful farms.
      c. Money put into revolving account to finance more such projects.
      d. Dozens of dams constructed on virtually every major western river in subsequent decades.
   3. Saving the forests
      a. TR set aside 125 acres of forests in federal reserves.
         -- About 3X as much as his 3 predecessors.
      b. Also earmarked millions of acres of coal deposits, as well as water resources useful for irrigation and power.

D. Roosevelt wins reelection in 1904
   1. Elected "in his own right" by large electoral margin over Democrats.
   2. Eugene Debs, Socialist candidate; Prohibition party also ran.
   3. Made himself a "lame duck" president by announcing after his election that he would not run for a third term.
X. Panic of 1907
   A. Wall Street suffered a short but brutal panic in 1907
      1. "Runs" on banks, suicides, and criminal indictments against speculators.
         a. TR cooperated with Morgan banks and other large banks to prevent banking collapse by transferring millions of Treasury funds from one bank to another.
         b. Causes: speculation and mismanagement in Wall Street banks and trust companies as well as overextension of credit caused the panic.
      2. Business leaders assailed Roosevelt for causing the panic due to his anti-business tactics and called the financial setback the "Roosevelt Panic".
      3. Roosevelt felt wounded by criticism, accused Wall Street of engineering the panic.
         a. Embarked on a second wave of trustbusting.
         b. Reform now became acceptable (especially the lower tariff).
         c. Insurgent Republicans and Democrats took on Republican "Old Guard."
   B. Results
      1. Panic showed the acute need for elastic money supply.
         a. During panic, banks unable to increase volume of currency in circulation.
         b. Those with money reluctant to loan money to fellow banks.
         c. This apparent weakness paved way for Federal Reserve Act of 1913.
      2. Labor and local reformers gained important middle-class allies.
         a. TR began incorporating Bryan’s ideas.
         b. Progressives finally embraced reforms put forth reformers of early 1900s, Socialists, strikers and marchers of 1894, People’s party, Knights of Labor, Farmers’ Alliancemem, and Greenbackers.

XI. President William H. Taft
   A. Election of 1908
      1. Taft d. Bryan 321-162
         -- Third time Bryan defeated in 12 years.
      2. Socialist party under Eugene Debs and Prohibition party received just a fraction of the popular vote.
   B. Style
      1. Taft lacked the fire or guts of TR.
         a. Content to keep status quo rather than rocking the boat.
         b. Adopted attitude of passivity toward Congress (insurgent Republicans and Democrats opposed him).
         c. Taft became an ally of the old guard Republicans by default.
      2. Cabinet did not contain one member of TR’s reformist wing.
C. Dollar Diplomacy (see Imperialism notes)

D. Taft as trustbuster
   1. Brought 90 suits against trusts during four years in office; 2X that of TR
      a. 1911, United States v. American Tobacco Company
         i. Supreme Court ordered the company to reorganize based on the "rule of reason" but did not order its dissolution.
         ii. "Rule of reason": only reasonable restraints of trade were authorized.
             -- Severely impaired government's anti-trust activities.
      b. 1911, Court ordered dissolution of Standard Oil Company
         -- Judged to be a combination in restraint of trade in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890.

E. Progressive Legislation under Taft
   1. Conservation: Taft's contributions equaled or out-did TR’s.
      a. Bureau of Mines established to control mineral resources
         -- Rescued millions of acres of western coal lands from exploitation
      b. Protected water-power sites from private development.
   2. Mann-Elkins Act (1910) – Telegraph, telephone, & cable corporations put under ICC jurisdiction
   3. Postal Savings Bank System (1910) – Post Office Department authorized to receive savings deposits from individuals and pay interest of 2% per year.
      -- This had been a major Populist idea.

XII. Split in the Republican party
A. Payne-Aldrich Tariff, 1909: most important cause for split of Republican Party.
   1. Reducing tariff high on the list for progressive reformers.
      -- Taft's campaign had pledge to deal with tariff issue
   2. House passed moderately reductive bill (with inheritance tax provision) but Senate tacked on hundreds of upward tariff revisions (tariff avg. about 37%)
   3. Taft signed the Payne-Aldrich Tariff thus betraying his campaign promises.
      a. Claimed: "the best bill that the Republican party ever passed."
      b. Progressive wing of Republican party, especially in Midwest, outraged.
      c. Taft vetoed tariff bills passed by "insurgent Republicans" and Democrats.
B. **Ballinger-Pinchot controversy** (1910)
   1. Overshadowed Taft’s conservation successes.
   2. Secretary of Interior Ballinger opened public lands in WY, MT, and Alaska to corporate development—did not share Pinchot’s desire to reduce mining.
   3. Ballinger sharply criticized by Gifford Pinchot, chief of Agriculture Department's Division of Forestry and a strong TR supporter.
   4. Taft dismissed Pinchot on narrow ground of insubordination.
   5. Storm of protest arose from conservationists and Roosevelt’s friends.
      -- A congressional committee exonerated Pinchot.
   6. Contributed to growing split between Taft and TR.

C. Split in GOP complete when Taft deserted progressives in their attack on “Old Guard” Speaker of the House, "Uncle Joe" Cannon.

D. Roosevelt’s **“New Nationalism”**, 1910
   1. Roosevelt had been out of country during 1909 and first half of 1910 but tariff and conservation issues galvanized him to become more active.
      -- Gave important speech in Osawatomie, Kansas in 1910
   2. Shocked Old Guard Republicans with new doctrine: "New Nationalism"
      a. Urged federal gov’t to increase its power to remedy economic & social abuses.
      b. Regulation of large corporations, tariff reform, graduated income & inheritance taxes; currency reform; sale of public lands only in small parcels to true settlers; labor reforms; strict accounting of campaign funds; and initiative, referendum & recall.
      c. "The object of government is the welfare of the people. The material progress and prosperity of a nation are desirable chiefly so far as they lead to the moral and material welfare of all good citizens."
   3. Marked new era in politics where Old Guard Republican were now on defensive.

E. Republicans lost badly in congressional elections of 1910.
   -- First time in 20th century Democrats controlled House of Representatives.

F. 1911, Taft pressed an anti-trust suit against U.S. Steel Corp.
   -- TR infuriated as he had been involved in helping J. P. Morgan acquire Tennessee Coal and Oil Co. in 1907.
G. Taft-Roosevelt split
   1. Early 1911, National Progressive Republican League formed
      a. Robert La Follette of Wisconsin its leading candidate for Republican presidential nominee but eventually elbowed aside by TR.
      b. TR reasoned that the 3rd-term tradition applied to three consecutive terms.
         -- "My hat is in the ring!"
   2. Roosevelt became the progressive candidate.
      a. 1912 Republican convention in Chicago gave Taft nomination although Roosevelt clearly had a majority of Republican votes.
      b. Progressives left the party to form a third party: TR’s "Bull Moose Party"
         -- Republican Old Guard controlled Republican party with the progressives gone.

XIII. Election of 1912
   A. Woodrow Wilson nominated by Democrats
      1. Platform: antitrust legislation, monetary changes, and tariff reductions.
      2. Wilson’s "New Freedom": Favored small enterprise, entrepreneurship, and a return to a free competitive economy without monopoly; strong states’ rights
         a. As with TR, favored more active gov’t role in economic and social affairs but differed in strategy.
         b. Persuaded by Louis Brandeis to make trustbusting centerpiece of campaign.
         c. Shunned social-welfare proposals; emphasized competition
            i. Rejected stronger role for gov’t in human affairs
            ii. Regarded social issues as state issues e.g. suffrage, child labor
   B. Progressive-Republican party (Bull Moose party)
      1. Pro-Roosevelt convention met in Chicago in August, 1912 and nominated TR
         a. Party consisted largely of cultured, middle-class people: journalists, social workers, settlement house workers, young lawyers.
         b. "New Nationalism": Sought continued consolidation of trusts and labor unions, paralleled by growth of powerful regulatory agencies in Washington; more efficient government
            i. Quintessential Progressive platform: set liberal agenda for the next 50 years.
            ii. As with Wilson, favored active gov’t role in economic affairs but favored both trusts and regulation.
c. TR influenced by Herbert Croly: *The Promise of American Life* (1910):
   -- Women’s suffrage, graduated income tax, lower tariffs, campaign spending limits, currency reform; and broad program of social welfare: minimum-wage laws, abolition of child labor, and workers' compensation.

2. TR shot in chest in Milwaukee before giving campaign speech
   -- Other candidates suspended campaigning until TR recovered.

C. Republicans nominated Taft who did no campaigning; dominated by "Old Guard"

D. Results
      a. Wilson got only 41% of popular vote; smaller than Bryan’s 3 previous efforts.
      b. Democrats won a majority in Congress for the next 6 years.
      c. TR & Taft combined for over 1.25 million popular votes more than Wilson.
      d. Thus, progressivism clearly won out (Wilson & TR)
      e. TR’s party fatally split the Republican vote, thus giving Wilson the victory.

   2. Socialist party’s Eugene V. Debs got nearly 1 million votes (6%)
      a. Height of American socialist movement: doubled 1908 votes
      b. A growing number of Americans believed Socialists as a last alternative to the corrupt 2-party system before revolution.
      c. Socialists part of progressive movement (though not accepted by progressives)
         i. Not Marxist in orientation and welcomed all socialists.
         ii. Main demand was gov’t ownership of railroads and utilities, also demanded efficient gov’t, equalize tax burden, better housing, factory inspections, and recreational facilities for all Americans.
      d. Socialists supported by IWW (*Industrial Workers of the World*), a radical diverse group of militant unionists and socialists who advocated strikes and sabotage over politics.
         i. Leaders included William Haywood of the Western Federation of Miners and Daniel DeLeon.
         ii. Hoped to organize all workers under "one big union" as Terence Powderly had tried to do with the Knights of Labor.
         iii. Their radicalism hurt the Socialist cause

3. Why did Progressive-Republican party fail?
   a. Fatally centered around one leader: TR.
   b. Elected few candidates to state & local offices; no patronage to give followers
   c. Yet, 3rd party impact spurred Wilsonian Democrats to enact their ideas.
WILSON’S PRESIDENCY

I. Wilson as president
   A. Background
      1. Born in Virginia, 1st president since Taylor to come from one of seceded states.
      2. Serious student of gov’t; professor; later, president of Princeton University
      3. White-supremacist: didn’t support efforts to improve rights for blacks.
      4. Believed president should play a dynamic role in gov’t
         a. Congress could not function properly unless president provided leadership
         b. Gov’ts responsibility was to pass good laws and let the courts enforce them.
      5. Very successful as governor and president in bypassing legislators and appealing directly to the people.
      6. Not willing to go as far as TR in government activism.
      7. Unlike TR, Wilson lacked common touch
      8. Moral righteousness made him often uncompromising

   B. Wilson came to office with a clear plan few presidents have rivaled.
      1. First four years: more positive legislation at any time since Alexander Hamilton.
      2. Attacked the "triple wall of privilege": the tariff, the banks, and the trusts.

   C. Underwood Tariff Bill -- 1913 (Underwood-Simmons Tariff)
      1. In unprecedented move, called Congress into special session in early 1913 and read message in person rather than by a clerk (custom since Jefferson’s day).
      2. Underwood Tariff Bill passed by House
      3. Wilson appealed to the people to demand their Senators pass the bill.
      4. Provisions:
         a. Substantially reduced tariff to 29% from 37-40% under Payne-Aldrich Tariff.
         b. Enacted a graduated income tax, under authority granted by recently ratified 16th Amendment. (Landmark provision)
            i. Rate of 1% on incomes over $4,000; 7% on incomes over $500,000
            ii. By 1917, revenue from income tax exceeded tariff revenues. -- Gap has widened since then.
D. Federal Reserve Act (1913) – created Federal Reserve System
1. Nation’s existing National Banking Act, enacted during Civil War, showed its weakness during Panic of 1907 with its inelasticity of money.
   -- Reserves concentrated in NY and a few other large cities and could not be mobilized in times of financial stress to areas who were hurting.
2. Republican solution: a huge national bank (in effect, a “third BUS”)
   -- Owned and run by bankers & central bank would issue its own currency.
3. Pujo Committee & the Democratic solution
   a. Committee stated the money monopolies’ power rested in hidden vaults of American banking and business, especially Wall Street.
   b. Conservative Democrats favored a decentralized system privately owned and controlled but free from Wall Street.
   c. Louis Brandeis: Other People’s Money and How the Bankers Use It (1913)
      i. Further inspired reform of the banking industry.
      ii. Drew heavily on Pujo Committee findings.
   d. June 1913, Wilson appeared dramatically for second time in Congress pushing for a sweeping reform of the banking system.
      -- Endorsed Democratic proposals for a decentralized bank in gov’t hands instead of huge private bank with 15 branches (Republican idea)
   a. Most significant economic legislation between Civil War and New Deal.
      i. Carried U.S. through financial crises of WWI.
      ii. Without it, nation’s progress toward the modern economic age would have been seriously compromised.
      iii. Yet it failed in its most central purpose: preventing economic depressions (Great Depression occurred less than 20 years later)
   b. Provisions:
      i. Federal Reserve Board appointed by the president oversaw nationwide system of 12 regional reserve districts, each with its own central bank.
         -- Regional banks actually bankers’ banks owned by member financial institutions.
         -- Yet, final authority of Federal Reserve Board guaranteed a substantial measure of public control.
      ii. Board empowered to issue paper money "Federal Reserve Notes"
D. Attacking the trusts
   1. **Federal Trade Commission Act** of 1914
      a. Early 1914, Wilson again went to Congress to appeal for regulation of trusts.
         --9 mos. later, Congress passed the bill to crush monopoly at the source.
      b. Provisions:
         i. Empowered presidential-appointed commission to monitor industries in interstate commerce (e.g. meat packers)
         ii. **cease and desist orders**: Commissioners could end unfair trade practices: unlawful competition, false advertising, mislabeling, adulteration, & bribery.
      c. Lacked enforcement powers; Gov't didn't vigorously regulate trusts.
   2. **Clayton Anti-Trust Act** of 1914
      a. Purpose: Implement Sherman Anti-Trust by increasing list of business practices deemed objectionable including price discrimination & interlocking directorates.
         -- Interlocking directorates provision not enforced and eventually dropped.
      b. Exempted labor and agricultural organizations from antitrust prosecution while explicitly legalizing strikes and peaceful picketing.
         i. Union leader Samuel Gompers hailed act as the "Magna Carta of labor"
            -- Provision was weak because it did not explicitly state what was and what wasn't legal union activity; Wilson refused to go further.
         ii. Sought to prevent repeat of Danbury Hatters case 1908 that had assessed over $250,000 on striking hat makers alleging they'd violated the Sherman Anti-Trust Act
         iii. By 1917, AFL membership more than 3 million.
            -- In 1910, had only been 1.5 million, down from 2 million in 1904

| Wilson: opposed to “Triple Wall of Privilege” the “3 Ts”: | Wilson’s Program: “CUFF”:
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<tr>
<td><strong>T</strong> Tariffs</td>
<td><strong>C</strong> Clayton Anti-trust Act</td>
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<td><strong>T</strong> banks (money monopoly)</td>
<td><strong>U</strong> Underwood Tariff Bill</td>
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<td><strong>T</strong> trusts</td>
<td><strong>F</strong> Federal Reserve Act</td>
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<td><strong>F</strong> Federal Trade Commission</td>
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E. Other progressive reforms during Wilson's presidency.
   1. In order to win election of 1916, Wilson signed other reforms
      (some which he had earlier blocked believing they were state
      matters)
      a. Embraced some of Roosevelt’s New Nationalism ideas to
         attract progressives.
      b. Appointed Louis Brandeis, the "people’s lawyer" to the
         Supreme Court
   2. Federal Farm Loan Act of 1916: low-interest credit for
      Farmers (Populist idea)
   3. Warehouse Act of 1916: authorized loans on the security of staple
      crops. (Populist subtreasury plan idea))
   4. Federal Highway Act of 1916 provided highway construction in
      rural areas
   5. Smith-Levee Act: Established agricultural extension work in the
      state colleges.
   6. La Follette Seamen’s Act of 1915 required decent treatment and
      living wages on U.S. merchant ships.
   7. Workingmen’s Compensation Act of 1916
      -- Gave assistance to federal civil-service employees during
      periods of disability.
   8. Child Labor Act, 1916 restricted child labor on products in
      interstate commerce
      a. 1st time Congress regulated labor with a state using interstate
         commerce power
      b. Invalidated by Court in 1918 on grounds that it interfered with
         states’ powers.
   9. Adamson Act of 1916 established an 8-hr day for all employees
      on trains in interstate commerce, with extra pay for overtime, &
      maximum 16-hr shifts.
   10. Minimum wages.
   11. Prisons and "reform" schools forced to shift from punishment to
       rehabilitation.

II. The Supreme Court during the Progressive Era.
   A. Conservative; overturned many progressive gains in Congress and
      in the states
   1. *Lochner v. New York*, 1905, represented a setback for 10-hr/day
      movement as the Court invalidated a New York 10-hr law for
      bakers.
      -- 1917 – Court reversed its decision: upheld a 10-hr law for
      factory workers.
   2. 1918, overturned Child Labor Act of 1916
   3. *Adkins v. Children’s Hospital* (1923): overturned a 1918
      minimum-wage law in Washington, D.C. for women.
B. **Schenck v. U.S. (1919)**

-- Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., stated Congress could limit free speech when words represented a "clear and present danger... that ... will bring about ... evils that Congress has the right to prevent."

a. "A person could not cry "fire" in an empty theater."

b. Believed in importance of protecting "the principle of free thought -- not free thought for those who agree with us but freedom for the thought that we hate."

C. Wilson appointed **Louis D. Brandeis** as the first Jew to Supreme Court in 1916.

1. Had national reputation as the "People’s Attorney" for his then-unique trait of defending public causes without a fee.

2. In *Muller v. Oregon* (1908), he pioneered a new type of appellate legal brief, emphasizing economic and social evidence rather than legal precedents.
   i. Thus, the "Brandeis brief" became prototype for later reform litigation.
   ii. Case upheld a ten-hour maximum work day set by the state of Oregon.

3. Served 23 years; reputation as greatest legal thinker of his era.
   -- Although often dissenting, his carefully argued opinions were in practically every instance eventually adopted by later courts.

III. Prohibition of alcohol

A. **Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)** led by **Francis Willard** in late 19th century

-- One of most powerful interest groups after Civil War; urged women’s suffrage.

B. **Anti-Saloon League** allied with WCTU in 1893: well-organized, & well-financed

C. Several states and numerous counties passed "dry" laws which controlled, restricted, or abolished alcohol during late 19th and early 20th century.

1. By 1914, 1/2 U.S. population lived in "dry" territory

2. 3/4 total area had outlawed the saloon.

3. Big cities remained went "wet"; large immigrant populations drank traditionally.

D. Attitude of sacrifice during WWI made alcohol drinking unpatriotic

1. Gov’t passed laws limiting production of alcoholic beverages.

2. Ingredients could be used for industrial uses; feeding armies or those dislocated.
E. **18th Amendment** (1919) banned sale, transport, manufacturing, or consumption of alcohol.
   -- **Volstead Act** passed in 1919 to enforce 18th Amendment

F. Eventually, one of great failures of Progressive era—Progressives had probably gone too far in trying to regulate society and personal behavior.

IV. Women’s Suffrage
A. **Seneca Falls**, NY, 1848, led by **Elizabeth Cady Stanton** and **Lucretia Mott** (movement later joined by **Susan B. Anthony**): beginning of women’s suffrage movement

B. By late 19th century, women’s movement had split into two factions:
   1. National Women’s Suffrage Association led by Stanton & Anthony forbade men in the organization.
   3. The organizations merged in 1893: **National American Women’s Suffrage Association**.

C. By 1890, women had partial suffrage in 19 states.
   -- By 1910, full suffrage in some states, esp. more liberal western states.

D. National American Woman Suffrage Association grew from 13K in 1893 to 75,000 in 1910 led by **Carrie Chapman Catt**.
   1. Most effective leader of the new generation of women suffrage proponents.
   2. Deemphasized argument that women deserved the vote as a matter of right because they were in all respects the equals of men.
   3. Stressed desirability of suffrage so women could continue to discharge their traditional duties as homemakers and mothers in the increasingly public world of the city (e.g. boards of public health, police commissions, & school boards).
      -- As a result, suffragists gained
      a. Publicized women’s contributions to the war effort which President Wilson used in urging Congress to approve suffrage.
         -- Initially, he did not support female suffrage but Catt’s efforts as well as those of Alice Paul forced his hand.
      b. With prohibition imminent as a result of WWI, liquor lobby eased its opposition to female suffrage.
E. Alice Paul’s Congressional Union used militant tactics to gain attention: picketing the White House in 1916 and hunger strikes.
1. Led most militant women out of NAWSA to form the Congressional Union.
2. Put forth Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) after 1920 (readopted in 1960s but eventually killed in 1982 when three-fourths of states did not ratify)

F. 19th Amendment passed in 1920 granting women full suffrage.
-- Bill put forth in the House by Jeannette Rankin: first women in Congress.

V. African Americans made few gains during the Progressive era
A. TR criticized by southerners for allowing Booker T. Washington to dine in the White House.
-- TR never again publicly supported blacks.
B. Great African American migration northward resulted in violence
1. By 1920, 2 million blacks lived in the North (out of 11 million)
   -- Hoped to escape poverty and discrimination of the South.
2. Race riots – due largely to large migrations of blacks out of the south into predominantly white northern cities, especially during and after WWI.
   -- Chicago Race Riot: Lasted 5 days as black workers and returning WWI veterans clashed; 23 blacks & 15 whites dead; 520 seriously injured; over 1,000 left homeless; federal troops called in.
C. Large numbers of lynchings continued between 1890 and 1920
1. Ida B. Wells-Barnett
   a. Influential leader of the antilynching movement
   b. 25% decrease in lynchings within 3 years during the 1890s.
   c. Helped found NAACP.
D. Organizing for increased rights
1. W.E.B. Du Bois opposed Booker T. Washington’s accommodation policies and demanded immediate social and economic equality for blacks; was raised in Massachusetts in contrast with Booker T. Washington, an ex-slave from the South.
   a. Called Washington an "Uncle Tom" for condemning blacks to manual labor and perpetual inferiority.
   b. His opposition to Washington led to formation of the Niagara Movement (1905-1909)
      i. Demanded immediate end to segregation and discrimination in labor unions, courts, and public accommodations.
      ii. Demanded equality of economic & educational opportunity.
   c. Du Bois demanded that the "talented tenth" of the black community be given full and immediate access to the mainstream of American life.
2. **NAACP** formed
   a. After Springfield Race Riots in 1909, a group of white progressives including Jane Addams, John Dewey, William Dean Howells, and editor Oswald Garrison Villard formed the NAACP in 1910.
      -- Du Bois: director of publicity & research; editor of their journal, *Crisis*.
   b. NAACP adopted many of the goals of the Niagara movement
   c. By 1914, the organization had 50 branches and 6,000 members.
   d. By the 1930s it was a predominantly black organization

3. Activism of Washington, Du Bois and others led to some advances.
   a. Black illiteracy rate cut in half between 1900 and 1910.
   b. Black ownership of land increased 10%.

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**E. Wilson and African Americans**

1. White-supremacist tendencies (his wife was even more so)
   a. His two-volume history of the U.S. is now notorious for its racist view of Reconstruction.
   b. Wilson greatly admired D.W. Griffith’s *Birth of a Nation* (who based some historical material on Wilson’s two-volume history. (Movie gloried the KKK)
   c. Congress would not pass several pieces of legislation that Wilson proposed to limit civil rights for African Americans.

2. Wilson presided over accelerated segregation in federal bureaucracy
   -- African Americans remained segregated in the federal gov’t until the 1960s.

3. African Americans effectively left out of the Democratic party until the 1930s.
   -- Wilson appointed southern whites to offices traditionally reserved for blacks.

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**VI. The darker side of Progressivism**

A. Progressives have been criticized for attempting to impose their middle-class WASP values on all of society.
   1. Took Native American children from their families and placed them in boarding schools to assimilate them.
   2. Spoke out against "hyphenated-Americans" who strongly valued the culture of their origin.

B. Progressives often supported segregation of blacks to prevent social tensions.
   -- WCTU president Frances Willard claimed drunkenness justified segregating its meetings.
C. Progressives became increasingly nativist, and supported harsh anti-immigration laws in the 1920s.

D. Progressive attempt to legislate morality led to the disastrous “prohibition experiment” in the 1920s.

E. Progressive trust in science led to extreme practice of eugenics: attempt to eliminate crime, insanity and other defects through selective breeding.
   -- Gave white supremacy the endorsement of science (e.g. IQ tests)

F. Progressives presided over the "Red Scare" of 1919-1920: one of ugliest instances of violations of civil liberties in U.S. history.

G. Due to World War I, the progressives under Wilson got much of their programs passed.
   1. The over-reaching of progressives led to their defeat in the 1920 elections and the return to power of the Republican "Old Guard"
   2. Millions of Americans had become tired of progressivism

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**Memory Aid for Progressive Reforms:**

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<td>C</td>
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**Questions for Review:**

1. Identify major reform goals of Progressives. To what extent were they successful in achieving their goals between 1900 and 1920?

2. Compare and contrast the views and actions of Populists and Progressives.

3. Analyze the policies of Robert La Follette, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. To what extent was each of these leaders successful in achieving their progressive goals?
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