As you study Unit 8, you will learn that progressive reforms affected many areas of American life during this era. You will also learn why the United States took a more active role in international affairs. The following resources offer more information about this period in American history.

Primary Sources Library
See pages 972–973 for primary source readings to accompany Unit 8.
Use the American history Primary Source Document Library CD-ROM to find additional primary sources about reform, expansion, and World War I.

World War I enlistment poster

Yosemite Valley
by Ansel Adams
“Suffrage is the pivotal right.”

—Susan B. Anthony, 1897
**Why It Matters**

The spirit of reform gained strength in the late 1800s and thrived during the early 1900s. The reformers, called progressives, were confident in their ability to improve government and the quality of life.

**The Impact Today**

Progressive reforms affected many areas of American life. Among these are government, consumers’ rights, and education.

**The American Journey Video** The chapter 21 video “The Progressive Movement,” studies the movement and how it gained strength over time.
The Lone Tenement by George Bellows, 1909  Bellows’s favorite themes, which include city scenes and athletic events, mark him as a uniquely American painter.

1906  • Sinclair’s The Jungle published

1909  • The NAACP is formed

1910  • Rutherford discovers structure of atom

1911  • Nineteenth Amendment grants woman suffrage

1919  • Eighteenth Amendment prohibits alcohol

1920  • Nineteenth Amendment grants woman suffrage

Reading and Writing  As you read, find and write answers to the four questions under the appropriate tab of your foldable.

WHAT was the Progressive movement?  HOW did it change the roles of women?  WHO were the Progressive presidents?  WHY were some groups excluded from reform?
The Progressive Movement

Main Idea
Many men and women became part of a widespread movement to bring about reform.

Key Terms
political machine, patronage, civil service, trust, muckraker, primary, initiative, referendum, recall

Reading Strategy
Organizing Information
As you read Section 1, re-create the diagram below and list two or more reforms for each category.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reforms</th>
<th>Government</th>
<th>Business</th>
<th>Voting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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</table>

Read to Learn
• how journalists helped shape the reform movement.
• how cities, states, and Congress answered the call for reform of the government.

Section Theme
Government and Democracy
Americans took action against corruption in business and government.

AN American Story
Newspaper reporter Jacob Riis shocked Americans in 1890 with his book How the Other Half Lives. With words and powerful photographs, Riis vividly portrayed immigrant life in New York City’s crowded tenements. Said Riis: “We used to go in the small hours of the morning into the worst tenements to count noses and see if the law against overcrowding was violated and the sights I saw there gripped my heart until I felt that I must tell of them, or burst.”

Fighting Corruption
Many Americans called for reform in the late 1800s. The reformers had many different goals. Progressive reformers focused on urban problems, government, and business. They claimed that government and big business were taking advantage of the American people rather than serving them.

Political machines—powerful organizations linked to political parties—controlled local government in many cities. In each ward, or political district within a city, a machine representative controlled jobs and services. This representative
was the political boss. The bosses gained votes for their parties by doing favors for people, such as offering turkey dinners and summer boat rides, providing jobs for immigrants, and helping needy families. A political boss was often a citizen’s closest link to local government. Although they did help people, many bosses were dishonest.

Corrupt politicians found numerous ways to make money. They accepted bribes from tenement landlords in return for overlooking violations of city housing codes. They received campaign contributions from contractors hoping to do business with the city. They also accepted kickbacks. A kickback is an arrangement in which contractors padded the amount of their bill for city work and paid, or “kicked back,” a percentage of that amount to the bosses.

Some politicians used their knowledge of city business for personal profit. A person who knew where the city planned to build a road could buy land there before the route became public knowledge. Later the land could be sold for a huge profit.

One of the most corrupt city bosses, William M. Tweed, known as Boss Tweed, headed New York City’s Democratic political machine in the 1860s and 1870s. Tweed and a network of city officials—the Tweed ring—controlled the police, the courts, and some newspapers. They collected millions of dollars in illegal payments from companies doing business with the city. Political cartoonist Thomas Nast exposed the Tweed ring’s operations in his cartoons for Harper’s Weekly. Tweed was convicted and sentenced to prison.

**Citizenship**

**New Ways to Govern Cities**

To break the power of political bosses, reformers founded organizations such as the National Municipal League in Philadelphia. These groups worked to make city governments more honest and efficient.

Cities troubled by poor management or corruption tried new forms of government. After a tidal wave devastated Galveston, Texas, in 1900, the task of rebuilding the city overwhelmed the mayor and city council. Galveston’s citizens persuaded the Texas state legislature to approve a new charter that placed the city government in the hands of five commissioners. The new commission efficiently rebuilt the city. By 1917...
commissions governed nearly 400 cities. Many other cities, mostly small ones, hired professional city managers.

One successful civic reformer was Tom Johnson, mayor of Cleveland, Ohio, from 1901 to 1909. He battled corporations and party bosses to lower streetcar fares, improve food inspections, and build parks. Because of Johnson’s reforms, Cleveland became known as the best-governed city in the United States.

Fighting the Spoils System

The spoils system—rewarding political supporters with jobs and favors—had been common practice since the time of Andrew Jackson. Whenever a new president came to power, job seekers flooded the nation’s capital.

The spoils system—also called patronage—existed at all levels of government and led to numerous abuses. Many who received government jobs were not qualified. Some were dishonest.

Presidents Rutherford B. Hayes (1877–1881) and James Garfield (1881) wanted to change the spoils system. Hayes tried to do this by reforming the civil service—the body of nonelected government workers—but neither the Democratic nor the Republican Party supported his efforts.

Garfield also hoped to reform the civil service. He believed that people should be appointed to government jobs not as a reward for political support but because of their qualifications. Garfield took office in 1881 but was assassinated by an unsuccessful office seeker before he could launch his reforms.

When Vice President Chester A. Arthur succeeded Garfield, he tried to end the spoils system. In 1883 Congress passed the Pendleton Act, which established the Civil Service Commission to set up competitive examinations for federal jobs. Applicants had to demonstrate their abilities in this examination. By 1900 the commission controlled the hiring of many federal employees.

Economics

Controlling Business

During the late 1800s, many Americans came to believe that trusts, or combinations of companies, were becoming too large. They believed these trusts had too much control over the economy and the government. This public concern led to new laws regulating big business.

In 1890 Congress passed the Sherman Antitrust Act, the first federal law to control trusts and monopolies. Supporters of the law hoped it would keep trusts from limiting competition. During the 1890s, however, the government rarely used the Sherman Act to curb business. Instead, it applied the act against labor unions, claiming that union strikes interfered with trade. Not until the early 1900s did the government win cases against trusts by using the Sherman Act.

Reining in the Railroads

The railroads functioned as an oligopoly—a market structure in which a few large companies control the prices of the industry. Reformers called for regulations on railroad rates, but the Supreme Court ruled that only Congress could enact legislation to regulate commerce that crossed state lines.

So in 1887 Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act, which required railroads to charge “reasonable and just” rates and to publish those rates. The act also created the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) to supervise the railroad industry and, later, the trucking industry.

Lowering Tariffs

Reformers also wanted to lower tariffs. Many people believed that high tariffs led to higher prices for goods. In 1890 the Republicans raised tariffs sharply to protect American businesses from international competition. Voters showed their opposition to high tariffs by sending many Democrats to Congress. Grover Cleveland, who became president in 1893, also supported lower tariffs.
The New Reformers

In the early 1900s, new ideas for correcting injustice and solving social problems emerged among American reformers. Socialism and progressivism were two such ideas.

Socialists believed a nation’s resources and major industries should be owned and operated by the government on behalf of all the people—not by individuals and private companies for their own profit. Eugene V. Debs helped found the American Socialist Party in 1898. Under Debs’s leadership the party won some support in the early 1900s. Debs ran for president five times but never received more than 6 percent of the popular vote.

During the same period, progressives brought new energy to the reform movement. Like the socialists, many progressives were alarmed by the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a few. Progressives rejected the socialist idea of government ownership of industries. Instead, they supported government efforts to regulate industry.

They also sought to reform government, to make it more efficient and better able to resist the influence of powerful business interests. Progressives also believed that society had an obligation to protect and help all its members. Many progressive reforms aimed to help those who lacked wealth and influence.

Muckrakers Expose Problems

Journalists aided the reformers by exposing injustices and corruption. Investigative reporters wrote newspaper and magazine stories that brought problems to the attention of the public—and gained readers. These journalists were called muckrakers because they “raked” (brought to light) the “muck” (dirt and corruption) underlying society.

One of the most effective muckrakers, Lincoln Steffens, reported for McClure’s Magazine. Steffens exposed corrupt machine politics in New York, Chicago, and other cities. His articles, collected in a book called The Shame of the Cities (1904), strengthened the demand for urban reform.

Ida Tarbell, also writing for McClure’s, described the unfair practices of the oil trust. Her articles led to public pressure for more government control over big business. In her 1904 book, The History of the Standard Oil Company, she warned of the giant corporation’s power.

In his novel The Jungle (1906), Upton Sinclair described the horrors of the meatpacking industry in Chicago. Although Sinclair’s aim was to arouse sympathy for the workers, his vivid descriptions shocked Americans. The uproar caused by Sinclair’s book helped persuade Congress to pass the Meat Inspection Act in 1906. That same year Congress also passed the Pure Food and Drug Act, requiring accurate labeling of food and medicine and banning the sale of harmful food.

Identifying Who wrote about unfair practices in the oil industry?

Citizenship Expanding Democracy

In the early 1900s, progressives backed a number of reforms designed to increase the people’s direct control of the government. Robert La Follette led Wisconsin’s reform-minded Republicans. “Fighting Bob,” as he was called, won the support of farmers and workers with his fiery attacks on big business and the railroads. While governor, La Follette brought
Checking for Understanding

1. Key Terms Use each of these terms in a complete sentence that will help explain its meaning: political machine, patronage, civil service, trust, muckraker, primary, initiative, referendum, recall.

2. Reviewing Facts Explain how the Civil Service Commission helped to eliminate the spoils system.

Reviewing Themes

3. Government and Democracy Identify and describe three reforms that gave the American people more direct control of the government.

Critical Thinking

4. Comparing Compare socialist and progressive views on industry.

5. Organizing Information Re-create the diagram below and show how the Seventeenth Amendment reformed the political process.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seventh Amendment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Policy before</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analyzing Visuals

6. Analyzing Political Cartoons Examine the political cartoon on page 611. Why are the individuals pointing to someone else? What statement is cartoonist Thomas Nast making about the extent of political corruption in New York City?

Civics Citizens must prepare to vote. Create a pamphlet describing the kinds of things voters should know in order to make their ballots meaningful.
Women worked for the right to vote, for improved working conditions, and for temperance.

Key Terms
suffragist, prohibition

Reading Strategy
Organizing Information As you read the section, re-create the diagram below and describe the role of each individual.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>Role in Progressive movement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mary Church Terrell</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susan B. Anthony</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frances Willard</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Main Idea
Women worked for the right to vote, for improved working conditions, and for temperance.

Reading Strategy
Organizing Information As you read the section, re-create the diagram below and describe the role of each individual.

<table>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Read to Learn
• how the role of American women changed during the Progressive Era.
• how women fought for the right to vote.

Section Theme
Groups and Institutions Many women worked for a constitutional amendment to gain suffrage.

Preview of Events
1890 National American Woman Suffrage Association emerges
1896 National Association of Colored Women is formed
1919 The Eighteenth Amendment is ratified
1920 The Nineteenth Amendment is ratified

AN American Story
Nurse Lillian Wald followed a young girl up a rickety staircase in a filthy tenement house on New York City’s Lower East Side. The girl had begged Wald to help her mother who had just given birth to a baby. A doctor had refused to treat the girl’s mother because she could not pay his fee. The sight of the desperate mother and her baby was a turning point in Wald’s life. Wald dedicated herself to helping poor people and educating them about health care. Eventually Wald became a national reform leader who was known to say, “The whole world is my neighborhood.”

Women’s Roles Change
Many leaders of the urban reform movement, including Lillian Wald, were middle-class women. The situation of middle-class women changed during the late 1800s. Their responsibilities at home lessened as families became smaller, more children spent the day at school, and men worked away from home. Women also gained more free time as technology made housework easier.
Many more middle-class women were gaining higher education. About 40 percent of all college students in 1910 were women. Women were also starting professional careers—mostly in teaching but also in nursing, medicine, and other fields. Between 1890 and 1910, the number of women working outside the home increased from 4 million to nearly 7.5 million.

These changes created the “new woman”—a popular term for educated, up-to-date women who pursued interests outside their homes. Many such women became role models.

As you read in Chapter 20, Jane Addams established Hull House, a settlement house, in Chicago. Working there gave Addams an outlet for her energy and intelligence, as well as a sense of satisfaction with helping poor people. (See page 972 for an account of settlement houses.)

Settlement workers such as Addams gained notice as writers, public speakers, fund-raisers, and reformers. Many young women followed the example of these talented public figures. Others found inspiration in the life of Mother Cabrini, an Italian nun who came to the United States to work with the poor.

Women's Clubs

Women found another outlet for their talent and energy in women’s clubs, which rapidly increased in number. At first the clubs focused on such cultural activities as music and painting. Many clubs gradually became more concerned with social problems.

When some clubs refused to admit African Americans, African American women established their own network of clubs. Clubs such as the Phyllis Wheatley Club of New Orleans organized classes, recreational activities, and social services. In 1896 women from these clubs formed the National Association of Colored Women. Its first president, Mary Church Terrell, was an active leader for women’s rights. The association established homes for orphans, founded hospitals, and worked for woman suffrage, fulfilling its motto “Lifting As We Climb.”

Reading Check Identifying Who was Mary Church Terrell?

The Fight for Suffrage

At the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848, women had called for the right to vote. After the Civil War, Congress passed the Fifteenth Amendment, giving voting rights to freed men—but not to women. Some leading abolitionists became suffragists, men and women who fought for woman suffrage, or women’s right to vote.

Like other reformers, the suffragists formed organizations to promote their cause. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony founded the National Woman Suffrage Association, which called for a constitutional amendment allowing women to vote in national elections. A second organization, the American Woman Suffrage Association, focused on winning woman suffrage in state elections.

In 1890 the two groups merged to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Led by Anna Howard Shaw, a minister and doctor, and Carrie Chapman Catt, an educator and newspaper editor, this organization grew to more than two million members by 1917. In a speech to the association in 1902, Catt declared:

“The whole aim of the [women's] movement has been to destroy the idea that obedience is necessary to women; to train women to such self-respect that they would not grant obedience and to train men to such comprehension of equity [fairness] they would not exact [demand] it.”

Opposition to Woman Suffrage

Groups formed to protest the idea of giving women the vote. These organizations—supported by some women as well as by men—claimed that woman suffrage would upset society’s “natural” balance and lead to divorce and neglected children.
The suffrage movement gained strength, however, when respected public figures such as Jane Addams spoke out in support of the vote for women. Alice Duer Miller brought humor to the struggle for the right to vote:

“Said Mr. Jones in 1910:
‘Women, subject yourselves to men.’
Nineteen-Eleven heard him quote:
‘They rule the world without the vote.’

By Nineteen-Thirteen, looking glum,
He said that it was bound to come.

By Nineteen-Fifteen, he’ll insist
He’s always been a suffragist.”

The suffragists won their early victories in the West. First as a territory in 1869 and then as a state in 1890, Wyoming led the nation in giving women the vote. Between 1910 and 1913, five other states adopted woman suffrage. By 1919 women could vote in at least some elections in most of the 48 states.

Continuing the Fight
In the meantime suffragists continued their struggle to win the vote everywhere. Alice Paul, a Quaker who founded the National Woman’s Party in 1916, was a forceful leader of the suffragist movement. She sought greater economic and legal equality as well as suffrage for women.

During a visit to Great Britain, Paul saw suffragists use protest marches and hunger strikes...
to call attention to their cause. When she returned to the United States, she, too, used these methods in the fight for suffrage.

In 1917 Alice Paul met with President Woodrow Wilson but failed to win his support for woman suffrage. Paul responded by leading women protestors in front of the White House. Day after day they marched carrying banners demanding votes for women. When Paul and other protestors were arrested for blocking the sidewalk, they started a much-publicized hunger strike. Alva Belmont, one of the protestors, proudly declared that all the women had done was to stand there “quietly, peacefully, lawfully, and gloriously.”

**Women Vote Nationally**

By 1917 the national tide was turning in favor of woman suffrage. New York and, a year later, South Dakota and Oklahoma granted equal suffrage. Meanwhile Congress began debating the issue, and President Wilson agreed to support an amendment to the Constitution.

In 1919 the Senate voted in favor of the Nineteenth Amendment, which allowed woman suffrage. The amendment was ratified in 1920, in time for women to vote in that year’s presidential election. For the first time, American women were able to participate in the election of their national leaders.

**Women and Social Reform**

During the Progressive Era, women involved themselves in many reform movements besides woman suffrage. In 1912, for example, pressure from women’s clubs helped persuade Congress to create the Children’s Bureau in the Labor Department. The bureau’s task was to develop federal policies that would protect children.

**Working for a Better Life**

While they struggled to gain rights for themselves, many middle-class women also worked to improve the lives of working-class people, immigrants, and society as a whole. They supported and staffed libraries, schools, and settlement houses and raised money for charities.

Some women promoted other causes. They challenged business interests by sponsoring laws to regulate the labor of women and children and to require government inspection of workplaces. Women also played an important role in the movement to reform and regulate the food and medicine industries.

In many states across the country, women pressured state legislatures to provide pensions for widows and abandoned mothers with children. These pensions later became part of the Social Security system.

**Labor Movement**

Reform efforts brought upper-class women reformers into alliance with working women. In 1903 women’s groups joined with working-class union women to form the Women’s Trade Union League (WTUL).

The WTUL encouraged working women to form women’s labor unions. It also supported laws to protect the rights of women factory workers. WTUL members raised money to help striking workers and to pay bail for women who were arrested for participating in strikes.
The Temperance Crusade

A crusade against the use of alcohol had begun in New England and the Midwest in the early 1800s. The movement continued throughout the late 1800s. Protestant churches strongly supported the anti-alcohol movement.

Two driving forces in the crusade were the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), established in 1874, and the Anti-Saloon League, founded 20 years later. They called for temperance, urging individuals to stop drinking, and prohibition, the passing of laws to prohibit the making or selling of alcohol.

In 1879 Frances Willard became head of the WCTU. Willard led a campaign to educate the public about the links between alcohol abuse and violence, poverty, and unemployment. She turned the WCTU into a powerful organization with chapters in every state.

The WCTU’s main goal was prohibition. However, the WCTU also supported other causes, including prison reform, woman suffrage, improved working conditions, and world peace. Through WCTU chapters, thousands of women combined their traditional role as guardians of the family and home with social activism.

Carry Nation was an especially colorful crusader for temperance. Her most dramatic protests occurred when she pushed her way into saloons and broke bottles and kegs with an ax.

The Prohibition Amendment

The anti-alcohol movement grew during the early 1900s. Progressive reformers who wanted to ban alcohol for social reasons were joined by Americans who opposed alcohol for religious or moral reasons. In 1917 they persuaded Congress to pass a constitutional amendment making it illegal to make, transport, or sell alcohol in the United States. The Eighteenth Amendment, known as the Prohibition Law, was ratified in 1919. (See page 249 for the text of the Eighteenth Amendment.)

Reading Check Describing What was the goal of the temperance movement?
Progressive Presidents

Main Idea
Presidents during the Progressive Era worked to control big business and to deal with labor problems.

Key Terms
trustbuster, arbitration, square deal, laissez-faire, conservation

Reading Strategy
Taking Notes As you read Section 3, re-create the diagram below and explain why each of these acts of legislation is important.

Read to Learn
- how President Theodore Roosevelt took on big business.
- why the progressives formed their own political party.

Section Theme
Economic Factors Government tried various means to regulate big business.

AN American Story
“We were still under a heavy fire and I got together a mixed lot of men and pushed on from the trenches and ranch houses which we had just taken, driving the Spaniards through a line of palm-trees, and over the crest of a chain of hills. . . .” With these words, a young lieutenant colonel named Theodore Roosevelt described his military adventures in Cuba during the Spanish-American War. Known for his vigor, enthusiasm, and a colorful personality, Roosevelt became president in 1901 upon the assassination of President William McKinley.

Theodore Roosevelt
When Theodore Roosevelt received the Republican vice-presidential nomination in 1900, the powerful Republican leader Mark Hanna warned that there would be only one life between “that cowboy” and the White House. When the election resulted in a Republican victory, Hanna turned to McKinley and said, “Now it is up to you to live.” Less than a year later, President McKinley was
assassinated. Suddenly, 42-year-old Theodore Roosevelt became president—the youngest president in the nation’s history. When Roosevelt moved into the White House in 1901, he brought progressivism with him.

**The “Trustbuster”**

President McKinley had favored big business, but President Roosevelt was known to support business regulation and other progressive reforms. In 1902 Roosevelt ordered the Justice Department to take legal action against certain trusts that had violated the Sherman Antitrust Act. His first target was the **Northern Securities Company**, a railroad monopoly formed by financiers J.P. Morgan and James J. Hill to control transportation in the Northwest. Northern Securities fought the government’s accusations of illegal activity all the way to the Supreme Court. Finally, in 1904 the Justice Department won its case. The Supreme Court decided that Northern Securities had illegally limited trade and ordered the trust to be taken apart.

During the rest of Roosevelt’s term as president, he obtained a total of 25 indictments (legal charges) against trusts in the beef, oil, and tobacco industries. Although hailed as a **trustbuster**, Roosevelt did not want to break up all trusts. As he saw it, trusts should be regulated, not destroyed. He distinguished between “good trusts,” which were concerned with public welfare, and “bad trusts,” which were not.

**Labor Crisis**

In 1902 Roosevelt faced a major labor crisis. More than 100,000 Pennsylvania coal miners, members of the **United Mine Workers**, went on strike. They demanded better pay, an eight-hour workday, and recognition of the union’s right to represent its members in discussions with mine owners.

The mine owners refused to negotiate with the workers. The **coal strike** dragged on for months. As winter approached, coal supplies dwindled. Public opinion began to turn against the owners. As public pressure mounted, Roosevelt invited representatives of the owners and miners to a meeting at the White House. Roosevelt was outraged when the owners refused to negotiate. He threatened to send federal troops to work in the mines and produce the coal. The owners finally agreed to **arbitration**—settling the dispute by agreeing to accept the decision of an impartial outsider. Mine workers won a pay increase and a reduction in hours, but they did not gain recognition for the union.

Roosevelt’s action marked a departure from normal patterns of labor relations at the time. Earlier presidents had used troops against strikers, but Roosevelt had used the power of the federal government to force the company owners to negotiate. In other labor actions, however, Roosevelt supported employers in disputes with workers.

**Square Deal**

Roosevelt ran for the presidency in 1904, promising the people a **square deal**—fair and equal treatment for all. He was elected with more than 57 percent of the popular vote.

Roosevelt’s “square deal” called for a considerable amount of government regulation of business. This contrasted with an attitude toward business that dated back to the presidency of Thomas Jefferson, which was summed up in the phrase **laissez-faire** (léh-say FEHR). This French term generally means, “let people do as they choose.”
Roosevelt introduced a new era of government regulation. He supported the Meat Inspection and Pure Food and Drug Acts; these acts gave the Department of Agriculture and the Food and Drug Administration the power to visit businesses and inspect their products.

Conserving the Wilderness
Roosevelt held a lifelong enthusiasm for the great outdoors and the wilderness. He believed in the need for conservation, the protection and preservation of natural resources.

As president, Roosevelt took steps to conserve the country’s forests, mineral deposits, and water resources. In 1905 he proposed the U.S. Forest Service. He pressured Congress to set aside millions of acres of national forests and created the nation’s first wildlife sanctuaries. Roosevelt also formed the National Conservation Commission, which produced the first survey of the country’s natural resources.

Roosevelt has been called America’s first environmental president. While he made conservation an important public issue, Roosevelt also recognized the need for economic growth and development. He tried to strike a balance between business interests and conservation.

William Howard Taft
No president before had ever served more than two terms. In keeping with that tradition, Roosevelt decided not to run for reelection in 1908. Instead Roosevelt chose William Howard Taft, an experienced diplomat, to run for president. In the election of 1908, Taft easily defeated Democrat William Jennings Bryan.

Although he had none of Roosevelt’s flair, Taft carried out—and went beyond—many of Roosevelt’s policies. The Taft administration won more antitrust cases in four years than Roosevelt had won in seven. Taft also favored the introduction of safety standards for mines and railroads.

Taft supported the Sixteenth Amendment, which gave Congress the power to tax people’s incomes to generate revenue for the federal government. Progressives hoped the income tax would enable the government to lower tariffs. In their view high tariffs led to higher prices for goods, which caused hardship for the poor. Progressives believed that taxes based on income were fairer. The Sixteenth Amendment, added to the Constitution in 1913, did not specify how income would be taxed. Congress passed additional laws so that higher incomes were taxed at a higher rate than lower incomes.

Despite his progressive reforms, President Taft disappointed progressives in two important areas—tariffs and conservation. He failed to fight for a lower tariff, and he modified some conservation policies so that they favored businesses.
CHAPTER 21 Progressive Reforms

Roosevelt Challenges Taft

By 1912 Roosevelt had become completely disappointed in Taft. With a new presidential election on the horizon, Roosevelt decided to challenge Taft for the Republican presidential nomination. Roosevelt claimed that Taft had “completely twisted around” his own policies.

The showdown between Roosevelt and Taft came at the Republican national convention in Chicago in June. Although Roosevelt won every primary and had many supporters, Taft had the backing of Republican Party leaders and influential business interests who controlled the party machinery. When Taft received the nomination on the first ballot, Roosevelt charged the Republican party leaders with stealing the presidential nomination from him.

A fiery Roosevelt led his supporters out of the convention hall. He and his followers formed a new party, the Progressive Party. In August the Progressives held their own convention in Chicago and nominated Roosevelt for president.

When a reporter asked Roosevelt about his health, the candidate thumped himself on the chest and declared, “I feel as strong as a bull moose!” From then on, the Progressive Party was known as the Bull Moose Party.

The Election of 1912

The split in the Republican Party hurt both Taft and Roosevelt. While Republicans and Progressives battled each other at the polls, Democrat Woodrow Wilson gathered enough support to defeat them in the election. Wilson had

Some third parties have presented a strong challenge to the major parties. The Republican Party was itself a third party in 1856. Four years later it captured the White House.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presidential Election Year</th>
<th>Candidate/party</th>
<th>% of popular vote</th>
<th>Electoral votes</th>
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<td>1848</td>
<td>Martin Van Buren, Free Soil</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>John C. Fremont, Republican</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>114</td>
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<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>James Weaver, Populist</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Theodore Roosevelt, Progressive</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Robert La Follette, Progressive</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>1948</td>
<td>Strom Thurmond, States Rights</td>
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<td>1968</td>
<td>George Wallace, Am. Independent</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>46</td>
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<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Ross Perot, Reform</td>
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<td>2000</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

A former President Theodore Roosevelt left the Republican Party to form the Progressive, or “Bull Moose,” Party.
acquired a reputation as a progressive reformer while serving as president of Princeton University and governor of New Jersey.

Wilson gained only 42 percent of the popular vote, with Roosevelt receiving 27 percent and Taft 23 percent. However, Wilson won the presidency by the largest electoral majority up to that time, sweeping 435 of the 531 electoral votes.

**Wilson in the White House**

During his campaign Woodrow Wilson had criticized big government as well as big business. Wilson called his program the “New Freedom.”

In 1913 Wilson achieved a long-awaited progressive goal—tariff reform. He persuaded the Democrat-controlled Congress to adopt a lower tariff on imported goods such as sugar, wool, steel, and farm equipment. Wilson believed that the pressure of foreign competition would lead American manufacturers to improve their products and lower their prices. The government income lost by lowering tariffs would be replaced by the new income tax.

That same year Congress also passed the **Federal Reserve Act** to regulate banking. By creating 12 regional banks supervised by a central board in Washington, D.C., the act gave the government more control over banking activities. Banks that operated nationally were required to join the Federal Reserve System and abide by its regulations.

Wilson also worked to strengthen government control over business. In 1914 Congress established the **Federal Trade Commission (FTC)** to investigate corporations for unfair trade practices. Wilson also supported the **Clayton Antitrust Act** of 1914, which joined the Sherman Antitrust Act as one of the government’s chief weapons against trusts. The government also tried to regulate child labor. The Keating-Owen Act of 1916 banned goods produced by child labor from being sold in interstate commerce. The act was struck down as unconstitutional just two years later.

By the end of Wilson’s first term, progressives had won many victories. The Progressive movement lost some of its momentum as Americans turned their attention to world affairs—especially the war that had broken out in Europe in 1914.

**Reading Check**

Analyzing How did Roosevelt’s run for the presidency affect the election of 1912?
Interpreting a Political Cartoon

Why Learn This Skill?
You’ve probably heard the saying, “A picture is worth a thousand words.” For more than 200 years, political cartoonists have drawn pictures to present their opinions about a person or event. Learning to interpret political cartoons can help you understand issues of both the past and present.

Learning the Skill
Political cartoons state opinions about particular subjects. To illustrate those opinions, cartoonists provide clues, using several different techniques. They often exaggerate a person’s physical features or appearance in a special effect called “caricature.” A caricature can be positive or negative, depending on the artist’s point of view.

Cartoonists also use symbols to represent something else. The bald eagle is often shown in political cartoons as a symbol of the United States. Sometimes cartoonists help readers interpret their message by adding labels or captions.

To interpret a political cartoon, follow these steps:
• Read the caption and any other words printed in the cartoon.
• Analyze each element in the cartoon.
• Identify the clues: What is happening in the cartoon? Who or what is represented by each part of the drawing? What or whom do the figures represent? To what do the symbols refer?
• Study all these elements to decide the point the cartoonist is making.

Practicing the Skill
The cartoon on this page shows Theodore Roosevelt looking in a window at President Taft. Analyze the cartoon, and then answer the following questions.
1 What is going on in this picture?
2 What caricatures are included in this cartoon?
3 What symbols are shown in the cartoon? What do these symbols represent?
4 What point is the cartoonist making?

Applying the Skill
Interpreting a Political Cartoon Bring to class a copy of a political cartoon from a recent newspaper or magazine. Explain the cartoonist’s point of view and the tools used to express it.

Glencoe’s Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook CD-ROM, Level 1, provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.
GRIZZLY BEARS, WOLVES, MOOSE, CARIBOU, DALL’S SHEEP and many other animals roam Alaska’s Denali National Park and Preserve. Larger than Massachusetts, the six-million-acre park includes the highest mountain in North America.

The Alaskan wilderness area set aside as Mount McKinley National Park in 1917 was renamed Denali in 1980 when Congress tripled the size of the park. Denali was the peak’s Native American name, meaning “the High One.”

The idea of setting aside areas of natural beauty and historic importance for the benefit of the people dates back to the mid-1800s. Before then Americans had viewed wild places either as obstacles or as a source of natural resources for people to use.

The conservation movement gained popularity in the early 1900s when President Theodore Roosevelt and other conservationists urged Americans to protect natural resources.

Today conservation continues to be an important issue. Although many of us enjoy visiting national parks such as Denali, the parks also serve as refuges for wildlife. Scientists study the plants and animals so that they can protect them. With 430 species of flowering plants, 37 species of mammals, and 156 species of birds, Denali stands as one of America’s great areas of unspoiled wilderness.

LEARNING from GEOGRAPHY

1. Which peaks are higher than 15,000 feet?
2. Do you think it is necessary for the government to aid environmental programs? Explain.
Mt. McKinley (Denali)
20,320 ft. (6,194 m)

The Mooses Tooth
10,335 ft. (3,150 m)

Sheldon Amphitheater

Growth of the National Park System

- National Parks
- Other sites managed by National Park Service

Yellowstone NP 1872
National Park Service Act 1916
National Forest Service 1905
Historic Sites Act 1934
Wild and Scenic Rivers Act 1968
National Trails Systems Act 1968
Denali National Park 1980
Main Idea
Progressive reform did little to expand the rights and opportunities for minorities.

Key Terms
discrimination, barrio

Reading Strategy
Taking Notes As you read Section 4, re-create the diagram below and describe each person’s accomplishments.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>Accomplishments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Booker T. Washington</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ida Wells</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.E.B. Du Bois</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlos Montezuma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Read to Learn
• why progressive reforms did not include all Americans.
• how minorities worked to move toward greater equality.

Section Theme
Civic Rights and Responsibilities
Minorities discovered that progressive reforms often did not advance their own rights and responsibilities.

Preview of Events
1880
1887 American Protective Association targets Catholics

1900
1907 Gentlemen’s Agreement restricts Japanese immigration

1909 W.E.B. Du Bois helps form the NAACP

1915 Ku Klux Klan reappears

AN American Story
Like many seeking their fortunes, 16-year-old Lee Chew left his farm in China and booked passage on a steamer. When he and other Chinese immigrants arrived in San Francisco, they confronted a great wave of anti-Asian feeling. In the city’s Chinese quarter, immigrants ran markets, laundries, and other small shops. Chew worked for an American family. “Chinese laundrymen [like me] were taught by American women,” he said. “There are no laundries in China.”

Prejudice and Discrimination
During the 1800s the overwhelming majority of Americans were white and Protestant and had been born in the United States. Many Americans believed that the United States should remain a white, Protestant nation. Nonwhite, non-Protestant, and non-native residents often faced discrimination—unequal treatment because of their race, religion, ethnic background, or place of birth. The government rarely interfered with this discrimination.
In 1908 violence erupted in Springfield, Illinois, when a white woman claimed to have been attacked by an African American man. Authorities jailed the man, but by that time, white townspeople had formed an angry mob. Armed with axes and guns, the mob stormed through African American neighborhoods, destroying businesses and driving people from their homes. Rioters lynched two African American men and injured dozens more. Yet no one was ever punished for these violent crimes. Later, the woman who claimed she was attacked admitted that her accusation was untrue.

The Springfield riot shocked the nation and highlighted the deep racial divisions in American life. The riot took place in the hometown of Abraham Lincoln, the president who signed the Emancipation Proclamation. African Americans were no longer enslaved—but they were still pursued by prejudice and racial hatred.

### More About...

**Immigration**

Immigration rose during the period of rapid industrialization at the turn of the century. Then, immigration decreased when Congress imposed immigration restrictions. Towards the end of the century, a dramatic increase took place after the restrictions were relaxed.

**Anti-Catholicism**

Some Americans faced discrimination because of their religion. America’s largely Protestant population feared that Catholic immigrants threatened the “American” way of life. Anti-Catholic Iowans formed the American Protective Association (APA) in 1887. By the mid-1890s, the APA claimed a membership of two million across the nation. Among other activities, the APA spread rumors that Catholics were preparing to take over the country.

### Anti-Semitism

Many Jewish immigrants came to the United States to escape prejudice in their homelands. Some of them found the same anti-Semitic attitudes in America. Landlords, employers, and schools discriminated against Jews. Eastern European Jews faced prejudice both as Jews and as eastern Europeans, whom many Americans regarded as more “foreign” than western Europeans.
Anti-Asian Policies

Discrimination was also based on race. In California and other western states, Asians struggled against prejudice and resentment. White Americans claimed that Chinese immigrants, who worked for lower wages, took away jobs. Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 to prevent Chinese immigrants from entering the United States.

America’s westward expansion created opportunities for thousands of Japanese immigrants who came to the United States to work as railroad or farm laborers. Like the Chinese before them, Japanese immigrants encountered prejudice. California would not allow them to become citizens. In 1906 in San Francisco, the school board tried to make Japanese children attend a separate school for Asians until President Roosevelt stepped in to prevent such segregation.

Roosevelt yielded to a rising tide of anti-Japanese feeling, however, and authorized the Gentlemen’s Agreement with Japan in 1907. This accord restricted Japanese immigration to the United States, but it did not bring an end to anti-Japanese feeling. In 1913 California made it illegal for Japanese immigrants to buy land. Other Western states passed similar laws.

A Ku Klux Klan pamphlet (right) promotes the Klan’s hate campaign. Meanwhile, opponents of lynching called for an end to racial murders. What two groups experienced the terror of lynching?

Discrimination Against African Americans

African Americans faced discrimination in both the North and the South. Although officially free, African Americans were systematically denied basic rights and restricted to second-class citizenship.

Four-fifths of the nation’s African Americans lived in the South. Most worked as rural sharecroppers or in low-paying jobs in the cities. They were separated from white society in their own neighborhoods, schools, parks, restaurants, theaters, and even cemeteries. In 1896 the Supreme Court legalized segregation in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson, which recognized “separate but equal” facilities.

The Ku Klux Klan, which had terrorized African Americans during Reconstruction, was reborn in Georgia in 1915. The new Klan wanted to restore white, Protestant America. The Klan lashed out against minorities—Catholics, Jews, and immigrants, as well as African Americans. Calling for “100 percent Americanism,” the Klan kept growing and claimed more than two million members by 1924, many of them in Northern cities and towns.
Racial Violence

People who lost their jobs during the economic depressions of 1893 and 1907 sometimes unleashed their anger against African Americans and other minorities. More than 2,600 African Americans were lynched between 1886 and 1916, mostly in the South. Lynchings were also used to terrorize Chinese immigrants in the West.

Progressivism and Prejudice

In the late 1800s and the early 1900s, many Americans held biased views. They believed that white, male, native-born Americans had the right to make decisions for all of society.

Most of the progressive reformers came from the middle and upper classes. They saw themselves as moral leaders working to improve the lives of people less fortunate than themselves. Nevertheless, the reforms they supported often discriminated against one group as they tried to help another group.

Trade unions often prohibited African Americans, women, and immigrants from joining. Skilled laborers, these unions argued, could obtain better working conditions for themselves if they did not demand improved conditions for all workers.

Sometimes reforms instituted by the progressives were efforts to control a particular group. The temperance movement, for example, was partly an attempt to control the behavior of Irish Catholic immigrants. Civil service reforms required job applicants to be educated—this reduced the political influence that immigrants had begun to have in some cities. In spite of their contradictions, progressive reforms did succeed in improving conditions for many Americans.

Struggle for Equal Opportunity

Often excluded from progressive organizations because of prejudice, minorities battled for justice and opportunity on their own. African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans took steps to improve their lives.

African Americans rose to the challenge of achieving equality. Booker T. Washington, who had been born enslaved and taught himself to read, founded the Tuskegee Institute in 1881. The institute taught African Americans farming and industrial skills.
Washington believed that if African Americans had more economic power they would be in a better position to demand social equality and civil rights. Washington founded the National Negro Business League to promote business development among African Americans. In Washington’s autobiography, *Up from Slavery*, he counseled African Americans to work patiently toward equality. Washington argued that equality would be achieved when African Americans gained the education and skills to become valuable members of their community.

Some African Americans thought that they would be better off in separate societies, either in the United States or in Africa. They founded organizations to establish African American towns and promoted a back-to-Africa movement. These movements were not popular, however, and their goals gained few supporters.

**African American Women Take Action**

African American women worked together through groups such as the National Association of Colored Women to fight the practice of lynching and other forms of racial violence. Ida B. Wells, the editor of an African American newspaper in Memphis, Tennessee, was forced to leave town after publishing the names of people involved in a lynching. The incident started Wells on a national crusade against the terrible practice of lynching.

In her 1895 book, *A Red Record*, Wells showed that lynching was used primarily against African Americans who had become prosperous or who competed with white businesses. “Can you remain silent and inactive when such things are done in your own community and country?” she asked.

**Other Successes**

During the early 1900s African Americans achieved success in a variety of professions. Chemist George Washington Carver, director of agricultural research at Tuskegee Institute, helped improve the economy of the South through his discoveries of plant products. Maggie Lena founded the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank in Richmond, Virginia. She was the first American woman to serve as a bank president.

**Native Americans Seek Justice**

The federal government’s efforts to assimilate Native Americans into white society threatened to break down traditional native cultures. In 1911 Native American leaders from around...
the country formed the Society of American Indians to seek justice for Native Americans, to improve their living conditions, and to educate white Americans about different Native American cultures.

One of the society’s founding members was Dr. Carlos Montezuma, an Apache who had been raised by whites. Convinced that federal policies were hurting Native Americans, Montezuma became an activist, exposing government abuse of Native American rights. Montezuma believed that Native Americans should leave the reservations and make their own way in white society.

Mexican Americans Work Together

Immigrants from Mexico had long come to the United States as laborers, especially in the West and Southwest. Between 1900 and 1914, the Mexican American population grew dramatically as people crossed the border to escape revolution and economic troubles in Mexico.

Like the Japanese and other immigrant groups, Mexican Americans encountered discrimination and violence. Relying on themselves to solve their problems, they formed mutualistas—self-defense associations—to raise money for insurance and legal help. One of the first mutualistas was the Alianza Hispano Americano (Hispanic American Alliance), formed in Tucson, Arizona, in 1894. Another mutualista, the Orden Hijos de America (Order of Sons of America), formed in San Antonio, Texas, in 1921 to work for equality and raise awareness of Mexican Americans’ rights as U.S. citizens. In labor camps and Mexican neighborhoods called barrios, mutualistas organized self-help groups to deal with overcrowding, poor sanitation, and inadequate public services.

Widespread prejudice excluded Mexican Americans from many reform groups. Yet Mexican Americans produced dynamic leaders and created organizations to improve their circumstances and fight for justice.

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**Reading Check**

Describing: Against what type of violence did Ida B. Wells speak out?

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**SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT**

**Checking for Understanding**

1. **Key Terms** Define discrimination and barrio.
2. **Reviewing Facts** What were the results of the Gentlemen’s Agreement with Japan, authorized by Theodore Roosevelt?

**Reviewing Themes**

3. **Civic Rights and Responsibilities** Give an example of a progressive reform that resulted in discrimination.

**Critical Thinking**

4. **Comparing** How did the views of Booker T. Washington differ from those of W.E.B. Du Bois?
5. **Analyzing Information** Re-create the diagram below and list the actions these groups took to battle prejudice and discrimination.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>Actions taken</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native Americans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican Americans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Americans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Analyzing Visuals**

6. **Graph Skills** Study the graphs on page 629. What was the percentage of foreign-born people in 1900? In 2000? Did Latin American people make up a larger percentage of the foreign-born population in 2000 or in 1900? Explain.

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**Interdisciplinary Activity**

Art: Create a title and cover design for a book about discrimination that might have been written during this time.

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**Is there no redress, no peace, no justice in this land for us? Tell the world the facts.”**

—Ida B. Wells

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**CHAPTER 21 Progressive Reforms**

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Reviewing Key Terms

You are a journalist writing about the impact of progressive reforms. Write an article in which you use at least three of the following key terms.

1. political machine
2. civil service
3. primary
4. referendum
5. initiative
6. recall

Reviewing Key Facts

7. How did corrupt political bosses get voters for their parties?
8. Why were journalists important to the reform movement?
9. What amendment provided for the direct election of senators?
10. What amendment provided for woman suffrage?
11. What is arbitration?
12. Why did progressives form their own political party?
13. What was the purpose of the Federal Reserve Act?
14. What is discrimination?
15. What did Dr. Carlos Montezuma think about Native American reservations?
16. Why did Mexican Americans organize mutualistas?

Critical Thinking

17. Analyzing Themes: Government and Democracy
   How did the Seventeenth Amendment give people a greater voice in government?

18. Determining Cause and Effect
   Why was the railroad industry subject to so many government regulations?

19. Analyzing Themes: Civic Rights and Responsibilities
   Re-create the diagram below and identify how these laws promote justice and insure citizens’ rights.
Citizenship Cooperative Activity

27. Consumer Rights Working with a partner, contact a local consumer league to learn about consumer rights. Then prepare a pamphlet on consumer rights. List the various rights consumers have and provide the names, addresses, and phone numbers of consumer groups to contact with problems. Distribute this pamphlet to people in your neighborhood.

Alternative Assessment

28. Portfolio Activity Scan the chapter and make a list of the constitutional amendments that were passed during the Progressive Era. Make a cause-and-effect chart to show what needs, actions, or abuses led to the passage of each. Save your work for your portfolio.

20. Who are the people grouped on the left of the cartoon?
21. What is the meaning of the comment made by the person on the right?
22. How does the cartoonist define “illegal immigrants?”

Geography and History Activity

Examine the map on voting rights for women on page 617 and answer the questions that follow.
23. Which state was the first to provide equal suffrage?
24. By 1919 how many states allowed equal suffrage?
25. Making Generalizations Why do you think the percentage of states allowing woman suffrage was much higher in the West than in the East?

Technology Activity

26. Using E-Mail Research the names of five modern organizations that have some of the same goals as the progressive reformers of the late 1800s and early 1900s. Choose one organization that interests you and make contact through E-mail to get more information about the group.

Standardized Test Practice

Directions: Choose the best answer to the following question.
The main goal of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union was to pass laws to ban the making or selling of alcohol. Which of the following was a secondary goal?

A prison reform  
B limit immigration  
C promote the Square Deal  
D pass the Gentlemen’s Agreement

Test-Taking Tip

This question requires you to remember a fact about the WCTU. By reading the question carefully, you can find clues about the organization. It worked for reform. Which answer fits best with this information?