The Progressive Era, 1900-1920

I. Road to Progressivism

A. The Greenback Labor Party of the 1870s sought to thwart the power of the "robber barons," support organized labor, and institute inflationary monetary measures.
- Supported primarily by farmers

B. Legacy of Populism

1. Populism failed as a third-party cause but it had political influence for 25 years after its failure in the 1896 election.
2. Populist ideas that carried 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 in certain states)
   f. postal savings banks (1910)
   g. subtreasury plan (1916)
3. Though Populism was geared to rural life, many of its ideas appealed to urban progressives who sought to regulate trusts, reduce political machine influence, and remedy social injustice.

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<tr>
<th>POPULISM</th>
<th>PROGRESSIVISM</th>
<th>NEW DEAL</th>
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<td>(1890-1896)</td>
<td>(1900-1920)</td>
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II. Rise of Progressivism

A. Former Mugwumps (reform-minded Republicans of the late-19th century) desired a return to pre-monopoly America.
1. Men of wealth and social standing lamented the changes in America’s political and social climate due to the rise of industrialists: monopoly, plutocracy and oligarchy.
   a. Protestant/Victorian ideals of hard work and morality leading to success were now threatened by the “nouveau riche,” the super wealthy, who seemed to thrive on conspicuous consumption.
   b. Earlier Mugwump leaders of local communities were now eclipsed by political machines catering to big business and immigrants.
2. 1884, Mugwumps were Republican reformers who bolted from the party to support Democrat Grover Cleveland in the 1884 election.
B. The emerging middle class sympathized with Mugwump views and wanted a return to equality of opportunity and moral reform (seen by some historians today as a "3rd great awakening")
   1. Consisted of political reformers, intellectuals, women, journalists, Social Gospelites, and professionals.
   2. They felt unrepresented, while industrialists and immigrants were protected by bribery, labor unions, or political machines.
      - Nearly 1 in 7 Americans were foreign-born by 1900.

C. The Progressives
   1. They believed an efficient gov’t could protect the public interest and restore order to society.
      - They saw government is an agency of human welfare.
   2. Specific issues for reform: (be able to explain each individually)
      a. excessive power of trusts
      b. political machines
      c. threat of socialism
      d. squalid conditions in the cities
      e. working conditions for female labor and child labor
      f. consumer protection
      g. voting reform
      h. conservation
      i. banking reform
      j. labor reform (working conditions and unionization)
      k. prohibition of alcohol
      l. female suffrage
   3. Thus, progressive crusaders created a reform movement not seen since the Second Great Awakening
   4. Progressives also had a darker side.
      a. Many were strongly nativist.
         - Some even embraced eugenics, the belief that certain races were “superior” to others and that “inferior” peoples should be prevented from breeding.
      b. Many embraced the notion of racial segregation as part of the natural order to society.
      c. Some white-Anglo-Saxon-Protestants (WASPs) sought to enforce moral views on other groups in society through assimilation and moral reform.

III. Major reform issues: trusts, political machines, living and working conditions in cities
   A. Trusts dominated the economy and political power.
      1. Competition was being eliminated by an oligarchy; small businessmen were no longer able to compete.
      2. 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 machine bosses for their vote.
   • Result: immigrants were represented but WASPs weren’t.
3. Municipal politics were now out of the hands of civic minded Americans.
4. New York City’s Tammany Hall was the most notable example of powerful machine politics; controlled largely by Irish-Americans.

C. Challenges due to the enormous growth of cities
1. Urbanization
   a. Between 1880 and 1920, about 27 million immigrants entered the U.S., mostly from eastern and southern Europe (1/3 went back home).
   b. Many rural Americans came to the city looking for work as increased opportunities became available.
   c. Cities offered entertainment, shopping, new technology (electricity, plumbing) and anonymity.
2. Results:
   a. Living conditions in many parts of large cities were revolting.
      • "Dumbell tenements" were inadequate and unhealthy for families
   b. City infrastructure was ill-equipped to deal with the population explosion.
   c. Crime: violence, gambling, and prostitution were rampant.
   d. Working conditions were appalling; women and child labor were savagely exploited
      • An estimated half million workers were wounded and 30,000 were killed in industrial accidents every year during the early-20th century.
      • The American Federation of Labor (AF of L) actually discouraged labor legislation (except child labor) as previous pro-labor laws had been used against labor.
         o It wanted gov’t to stay out of labor issues so that unions could bargain effectively without gov’t intervention.

IV. Progressive Analysts
A. Many colleges created separate social science departments:
   economics, political science, and sociology.
1. Social scientists sought to analyze human society with same the objectivity that scientists used to study nature.
2. Social science reflected a growing faith in the ability of people to analyze society and solve human problems.
3. They rejected "survival of the fittest" ideology.
4. Many social science professors and their students became
progressives.
5. Between 1870 and 1920, college enrollment increased 400%.

B. John Dewey: advocated "learning by doing" rather than just studying the classics
1. Believed education for living and working played a crucial role in democracy.
   a. "Education for life" should be the primary goal of the teacher.
   b. Goal was to create socially useful adults.
2. The number of 17-year-olds who finished high school almost doubled in the 1920s to more than 25%.

C. Lester Frank Ward
1. He challenged "survival of the fittest" ideology.
2. He 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.
   • For example legislation should address inadequate housing.

D. Other notable social scientists
1. Richard Ely: Professor at University of Madison, Wisconsin
   • Economist in the vanguard of the Social Gospel who had a profound impact on Governor Robert La Follette in Wisconsin
2. Charles Beard applied history to reform corrupt city governments.
3. Woodrow Wilson: political scientist; later became president

E. Early progressive writers (and social critics)
   a. He criticized Standard Oil and its monopolistic practices.
   b. Some saw this as the beginning of investigative journalism.
   • He criticized the nouveau riche for its flaunting of wealth.
   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
4. Socialists criticized existing injustices
   a. Many were European immigrants who hated the excesses of capitalism.
   b. Many progressives, such as Woodrow Wilson, saw socialism as the biggest threat to the U.S.

F. Social Gospel Movement (late 19th century)
1. Emphasized the role of Christianity in reforming urban society.
2. Josiah Strong, Walter Rauschenbusch and Washington Gladden
were the leading preachers of the movement.
3. It influenced reforms such as the settlement house movement and the Salvation Army.

V. Muckrakers
A. Journalists 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 Ida Tarbell’s article on John D. Rockefeller).
   2. The Yellow press also played a role, especially Pulitzer & Hearst
B. Lincoln Steffens, *Shame of the Cities* (1902): Detailed the corrupt alliance between big business and municipal (city) gov’t
C. Ida M. Tarbell
   1. She published a devastating exposé on the Standard Oil Co. in *McClure’s* magazine.
      • Rockefeller’s ruthless tactics to crush competition (including her father’s oil business) were carefully detailed.
   2. In 1911, the Standard Oil trust was broken up as it was 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 the Meat Inspection Act and the Pure Food and Drug Act
   1. He charged that 75 of 90 U.S. senators were, in effect, agents of the trusts and the railroads.
   2. He helped gain public support for the passage of the 17th Amendment for the direct election of senators.
   3. His articles provoked President Roosevelt to label this genre of journalism “muckraking.”
      • Henceforth, fewer muckraking pieces appeared as editors became fearful of a backlash.
F. John Spargo, *The Bitter Cry of the Children* (1906)
   1. He exposed the abuses of child labor and advocated government-sponsored feeding programs for children.
   2. Spargo was a member of the American Socialist Party.
G. Ray Stannard Baker, *Following the Color Line* (1908): he attacked the discrimination and subjugation of America’s 9 million African Americans and their illiteracy due to lack of opportunity.
VI. Progressive Activists (Crusaders)
A. Sought improved living conditions in cities and labor reform for women and children.

B. Cities had new opportunities for women (over 1million joined the work force in the 1890s)
   1. Women became social workers and secretaries, store clerks and seamstresses, telephone operators and bookkeepers.
   2. Millions still worked in deplorable conditions (e.g. sweatshops)

C. Jane Addams
   1. She was one of the first generation of college-educated women.
   2. She grew up in an era where teaching or volunteer work were almost the only permissible occupations for a young woman of the middle class.
   3. Her founding of Hull House in Chicago (1889) was important in establishing the Settlement House movement that became a center of women’s activism and social reform.
   4. She also helped found the NAACP along with W. E. B. Du Bois, Oswald Garrison Villard, and Ida B. Wells-Barnett.
   5. She was a pacifist who condemned war and poverty; won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931.
      • Her feminist and pacifist views led to her being labeled by Theodore Roosevelt in 1917 one of the “most dangerous people in America.”

D. Women and child labor reform
   1. Child labor was the most successful of all progressive social reforms.
   2. Florence Kelley
      a. She investigated and reported on child labor while living at Hull House.
      b. Kelley championed the welfare of women, African Americans, and consumers.
         • 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.
         • As women were the primary consumers in families, boycotts were often effective.
      c. She held socialist views.
   3. Gains for women and child labor reform
         • The case was won by Louis Brandeis who argued with economic and social science evidence that women were often exploited but weaker than men (today, this argument would
be considered chauvinistic).

- A number of other laws passed at the federal and state level.
  
  b. The 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.
  
  - Many states passed safety and sanitation codes for industry and closed certain harmful trades to juveniles.
  
    
    - This is the first time Congress regulated labor within a state using interstate commerce power.
    
    - The law was invalidated by the Supreme Court in 1918 on the grounds that it interfered with states’ powers.
  
  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. A conservative Supreme Court eventually overturned many of the gains for women and child labor in the 1910s and 1920s.
    
    - Child Labor Act of 1916
    
    - Adkins v. Children’s Hospital (1923) overturned Muller v. Oregon (1908)

VII. Political Reforms

A. Robert La Follette and the "Wisconsin Experiment"

  1. As governor of Wisconsin, he was the nation’s first progressive governor.
    
    a. In 1901 he helped destroy a political machine, took control away from lumber and railroad trusts and established a progressive gov’t.
    
    b. He worked closely with experts on the faculty of the state university at Madison including Richard Ely.
    
    c. He regulated public utilities by instituting public utilities commissions that created legislation for workers’ safety, railroads and regulation of public utilities.
    
    d. Direct primary: In 1903, La Follette pressured the legislature to institute an election open to all voters within a party.
    
    e. He introduced the initiative, referendum, and recall.
      
      - Initiative: allowed citizens to introduce a bill
      
      - Referendum: voters cast ballots for or against proposed laws
      
      - Recall: gave citizens right to remove elected officials from office
    
    f. Direct election of senators (a favorite goal of progressives)
      
      - Enacted to counter senate corruption and control by trusts
      
      - The people could now vote for their senator; hitherto, the
state legislature had selected state senators.

- In 1913, a similar measure was approved as the 17th Amendment to the Constitution.
- State income tax adopted in Wisconsin, the first state to do so.
- The existing spoils system was replaced with a state civil service.

2. Other states followed Wisconsin’s lead.
   a. Republican California governor, Hiram Johnson, broke the grip of the Southern Pacific Railroad on California.
      - Like La Follette, he set up a political machine of his own.
   b. Charles Evans Hughes, Republican governor of NY, earlier gained fame as an investigator of malpractice by gas and insurance companies and by the coal trust.
   c. Gov. Woodrow Wilson turned New Jersey into one of the nation’s most liberal states.

3. La Follette became the first of the Republican "insurgents" to reach the Senate (where he stood against the Republican "old guard" who favored laissez faire with gov’t help).

### Memory Aid for La Follette’s Wisconsin Experiment: “DIG CID”

- Direct election of Senators
- Initiative, referendum & recall
- Gov’t regulation of business
- Civil service reform
- Income tax (state)
- Direct primary

### B. Australian Ballot (secret ballot)

1. Introduced more widely in states to counteract machine politics.
2. Reduced bribery as voting was now done secretly and the machines were unable to effectively monitor voters.
3. Unfortunately, the secret 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 1900, a tidal wave devastated the city.

2. **Commission system**
   a. The city placed power into the hands of 5 commissioners: 2 were elected and 3 were appointed
   b. The commission system peaked in 1915 (later replaced by a city manager system with a full-time city manager).
   c. Within 20 years, 400 cities adopted the commission system.
d. It reduced the power of machine politics.
   - In some cases, these reforms valued efficiency more than democracy as civic control was further removed from the hands of the people.
   - Businessmen often dominated the commissions while the working class was not represented (due to the decline in political machines).

VIII. President Theodore Roosevelt – the first "modern" president
A. First president in U.S. History to use gov't to directly help the public interest.
   1. He saw the presidency as a "bully pulpit" to preach his ideas.
   2. He supported progressive reform with strong rhetoric but in reality he was more moderate (and even conservative at times) -- a “middle of the road" politician.
   3. He often bypassed congressional opposition (like Jackson).
   4. Enormously popular among a large percentage of Americans

B. First president to play a significant role in world affairs (Unit 7.1)

Roosevelt sought a "Square Deal" (for Capital, Labor, and the Public)

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<th>TR’s program embraced “Three C’s”:</th>
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<td>1. Corporate regulation</td>
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<td>2. Consumer protection</td>
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<td>3. Conservation of natural resources</td>
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C. Regulation of Corporations
   1. Anthracite Coal Strike, 1902: (hard coal was used to heat homes)
      a. 140,000 workers of United Mine Workers union in coal mines of Pennsylvania went on strike.
         • The UMW demanded a 20% pay increase, reduction of the work day from 10 to 9 hours, fair weighing of coal, and better safety conditions.
      b. George F. Baer, president of the company, assumed the public would oppose the miners and thus refused to arbitrate or negotiate.
         • Baer demanded Roosevelt prosecute the union leader for violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act (as President Cleveland had done in the Pullman Strike of 1894).
      c. Roosevelt threatened to seize the mines and operate them with federal troops if the owners refused to compromise (unprecedented action by a U.S. president).
         • TR rationalized that the public at large was in jeopardy of having no coal during winter so it was his duty to intervene.
d. The mine owners consented to arbitration
   - Miners received a 10% pay boost and 9-hour work day.
   - Owners got assurances that the UMW would not be officially recognized.
   - Owners were also allowed to increase the price of coal by 10%.

2. **Department of Commerce and Labor**
   a. Created in 1903 to settle disputes between capital and labor. (10 years later, agency was split in two.)
   b. **Bureau of Corporations** was created (as part of the Dept. of Commerce and Labor)
      - It monitored businesses in interstate commerce.
      - It helped break monopolies; paved the way for an era of "trust-busting."

3. 1902. Roosevelt attacked the **Northern Securities Company**
   a. The holding company, owned by J. P. Morgan and James G. Hill had achieved a monopoly of railroads in the northwest.
   b. The Supreme Court upheld Roosevelt’s antitrust suit to dissolve it in 1904.
   c. Roosevelt was now seen by the public as a "trustbuster."
      - In 1905, the Court declared the beef trust as illegal; sugar, fertilizer, and harvester trusts also came to be regulated by anti-trust legislation.
      - TR later went after Du Pont, Standard Oil, and the American Tobacco Co.

4. **Hepburn Act** (1906)
   a. Expanded the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission (which had been created in 1887)
      - Severely restricted railroad’s giving of free passes (bribery)
      - ICC could nullify existing rates and stipulate maximum rates if necessary.
   b. Stipulated that there were "good trusts" and "bad trusts" (which were seen as greedy).
      - "Bad Trusts" should be prosecuted but good trusts were healthy for the economy.

5. Roosevelt as a "trustbuster"
   a. His reputation was inflated as TR exaggerated his anti-trust activities to gain political popularity.
      - His actions were more symbolic to prove gov’t, not private business, was in control.
      - The threat of dissolution might make business more open to government regulation.
   b. TR did not consider wholesale trust-busting economically sound policy.
      - He realized that combination and integration was common practice in the business world.
• He felt big business was not necessarily bad; why punish success?
  c. In reality, trusts were healthier at the end of TR’s presidency than before.
  • Perhaps, more tame due to regulation.
  d. President Taft later busted up more trusts than TR.
  • TR even gave his 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.
  • When Taft launched suit against Morgan’s U.S. Steel Corporation in 1911, Roosevelt was furious.

D. 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)
      • The public was sickened by his description of unsanitary food products.
      • He detailed numerous accounts of filth, disease, and putrefaction in Chicago’s damp and ill-ventilated slaughterhouses.
      • In response, TR appointed a 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 the largest packers resisted certain features of the act, they accepted it as a means to drive out smaller businesses.
    d. Packers also received the government’s seal of approval on their exports.
  3. **Pure Food and Drug Act** (1906)
    a. Prevented adulteration and mislabeling of foods and drugs.
    b. Hitherto, many patent medicines were laced with alcohol while labels misrepresented the contents of their containers.
    c. The law can be seen as a first step in the direction of nutritional labels that are required on all packaged foods sold today.

E. Conservation (most significant and long-lasting of Roosevelt’s legacies)
  1. Pre-1900 conservation
    a. The continued growth of the logging and mining industries after the Civil War prompted the growth of a conservation movement to protect wilderness areas.
    b. Some notable examples of conservation include the creation
of Yellowstone as the nation’s first national park in 1872 and designation of Yosemite as a National Park in 1890 (a smaller portion had been designated a state park in 1864).

c. **John Muir**, the most influential conservationist in U.S. history, led the effort to protect Yosemite and later, co-founded the **Sierra Club** in 1892.
   - The Sierra Club worked initially to create Glacier and Rainier National Parks as well as preserving California’s coastal redwoods.

d. The Hetch-Hetchy Valley issue in the 1910s and 1920s illustrates the struggle between resource use and preservation.
   - The Sierra Club fought against damming the valley, considered by some to rival the beauty of Yosemite valley.
   - The people of San Francisco sought to dam the valley to ensure a stable water supply to the city.
   - Eventually, the people of San Francisco, with the support of President Woodrow Wilson, won passage of a congressional bill to dam the valley in 1913.

2. Roosevelt and conservation
   a. TR, an outdoorsman, was appalled at the destruction of timber and mineral resources in some of the nation’s forests.
   b. **Gifford Pinchot**, head of federal Division of Forestry, had made significant contributions before TR became president.
   c. TR aroused public opinion vis-à-vis conservation.
   d. He sought a “wise use” policy of resources; not just preservation (a position held by naturalist John Muir).
   - An expanse of federal land would be used for recreation, sustain-yield logging, watershed protection and stock grazing.

3. **Newlands Reclamation Act** of 1902
   a. The federal gov’t was authorized to collect money from the sale of public lands in western states and use those funds for the development of irrigation projects.
   b. Settlers would repay the cost of reclamation by building successful farms.
   c. Dams were constructed on virtually every major western river in subsequent decades, totaling in the dozens.
   d. Critics argue the dams destroyed natural river habitats.

4. Saving the forests
   a. **TR** set aside 125 million acres of forests in federal reserves.
      - Constituted 3 times as much as his 3 predecessors combined.
   b. Millions of acres of coal deposits and water resources useful for irrigation and power were also earmarked by the gov’t.
F. **Roosevelt was reelected in 1904.**
   1. He was elected "in his own right" by a large electoral margin over the Democratic nominee, Alton B. Parker.
   2. Eugene Debs ran as the Socialist candidate.
   3. The Prohibition party also ran a candidate.
   4. **TR made himself a "lame duck" president** by announcing after his election that he would not run for a third term.

IX. **Panic of 1907**
   A. Wall Street suffered a short but brutal panic in 1907
      1. "Runs" on banks, suicides, and criminal indictments against speculators occurred.
      2. Business leaders assailed Roosevelt for causing the panic due to his anti-business tactics and called the financial setback the "Roosevelt Panic."
      3. TR felt wounded by the criticism and he accused Wall Street of engineering the panic.
         a. He then embarked on a second wave of trustbusting.
         b. Reform now became even more acceptable (especially the lower tariff).
         c. The “Insurgent” Republicans and Democrats took on the Republican "Old Guard" (with its Gilded Age views).

   B. Results
      1. **The Panic demonstrated the real need for an elastic money supply**
         a. During the panic, banks were unable to increase the volume of currency in circulation to stem the tide of the downturn
         b. Those with money were thus reluctant to loan money to fellow banks.
         c. This apparent weakness paved way for the creation of the modern Federal Reserve System in 1913.
      2. Labor and local reformers gained important middle-class allies.
         a. TR began incorporating some of William Jennings Bryan’s ideas.
         b. Progressives as a whole finally embraced reforms put forth by reformers, socialists, the Populists, the Knights of Labor, Farmers’ Alliances, and the Greenback Labor Party.

X. **President William Howard Taft**
   A. Election of 1908
         • This was the third time Bryan had been defeated in 12 years (also in 1896 and 1900).
      2. The Socialist party under Eugene Debs and the Prohibition party received just a fraction of the popular vote.
3. Taft had been Roosevelt's “hand-picked successor.”

B. Taft as a trustbuster
1. He brought 90 suits against trusts during his four years in office, twice as many as Roosevelt had done.
   a. 1911, *United States v. American Tobacco Company*
   - The Supreme Court ordered the company to reorganize based on the "rule of reason" doctrine but did not order its dissolution.
   - "Rule of reason": only reasonable restraints of trade were authorized.
     o Severely impaired the government's anti-trust activities
   b. 1911, the Court ordered the dissolution of the Standard Oil Co.
   - The Court saw it as a combination in restraint of trade in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890.

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

XI. Split in the Republican party
A. *Payne-Aldrich Tariff*, 1909
1. Most important cause for the 1912 split of the Republican Party.
2. Reducing the tariff was a major goal of progressive reformers.
   - Taft’s campaign had pledged to deal with tariff issue.
3. The House passed a moderately reductive bill (with an inheritance tax provision) but the Senate tacked on hundreds of upward tariff revisions (the tariff eventually averaged about 37%).
4. Taft signed the Payne-Aldrich Tariff thus betraying his campaign promises.
   a. The progressive wing of the Republican party, especially in the Midwest, was outraged.
   b. Taft subsequently vetoed lower tariff bills passed by "insurgent Republicans" and Democrats.
B. Ballinger-Pinchot controversy (1910)

1. Overshadowed Taft’s conservation successes.
2. Secretary of the Interior Ballinger opened public lands in Wyoming, Montana, and Alaska to development—but he did not share Gifford Pinchot’s desire to reduce mining.
3. Ballinger was sharply criticized by Pinchot, chief of the Agriculture Department's Division of Forestry and a strong TR supporter.
4. Taft dismissed Pinchot for insubordination.
5. A storm of protest arose from conservationists and Roosevelt’s friends and a congressional committee exonerated Pinchot.
6. The issue contributed to a growing split between Taft and TR.

C. The split in the Republican party was 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. TR had been overseas during 1909 and much of 1910 but tariff and conservation issues galvanized him to become more active.
2. Speech in Osawatomie, Kansas (1910)
   a. TR introduced the “New Nationalism” doctrine which shocked “Old Guard” Republicans.
   b. He urged the federal gov’t to increase its power to remedy economic and social abuses.
   c. Ideas included regulation of large corporations, tariff reform, graduated income and 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 and recall.

E. Republicans lost badly in the congressional elections of 1910.
   • For the first time in the 20th century, Democrats controlled the House of Representatives.

F. 1911, Taft pressed an anti-trust suit against U.S. Steel Corp.
   • TR was infuriated as he had been involved in helping J. P. Morgan acquire the Tennessee Coal and Oil Co. in 1907.

G. Taft-Roosevelt split

1. TR thus became the choice of the progressive wing of the Republican Party.
   a. In 1912, the Republican convention gave Taft the nomination although TR clearly had a majority of Republican votes.
   b. Progressives left the party to form a third party: TR’s "Bull Moose Party"
c. The “Old Guard” now controlled the Republican party with the progressives gone.

XII. Election of 1912

A. Woodrow Wilson was nominated by the Democratic party.
   1. Platform: antitrust legislation, monetary changes, and tariff reductions
   2. Wilson’s "New Freedom": Favored trust-busting, small enterprise, entrepreneurship, and a return to a free competitive economy without monopoly; strong on states’ rights
      a. As with TR, favored a more active gov’t role in economic and social affairs but differed in strategy.
      b. Rejected a stronger role for gov’t in human affairs as he regarded social issues as state issues (e.g. suffrage, child labor).

B. Progressive-Republican party (Bull Moose party)
   1. The convention enthusiastically nominated Theodore Roosevelt
   2. Consisted largely of cultured, middle-class people: journalists, social workers, settlement house workers, young lawyers.
   3. "New Nationalism": Sought continued consolidation of trusts and labor unions, paralleled by growth of powerful regulatory agencies in Washington; more efficient government
      a. Became the quintessential Progressive platform: set the liberal agenda for the next 50 years.
      b. As with Wilson, TR favored an active gov’t role in economic affairs but favored both trusts and regulation.
      c. In contrast to Wilson, TR believed the government should play a larger role in human affairs.
   4. TR was shot in the chest in Milwaukee before giving a campaign speech
      • Other candidates suspended campaigning until TR recovered.

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

D. Results
      a. Wilson got only 41% of the popular vote
      b. Democrats won a majority in Congress for the next 6 years.
      c. 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. Represented the height of the American socialist movement: doubled the votes received in 1908
      b. A growing number of voters saw the Socialists as the last alternative to the corrupt two-party system.
c. Socialists were part of progressive movement (though not accepted by most progressives).
   - The party was not Marxist in its orientation and welcomed all socialists.
   - Its main demand: gov’t ownership of railroads and utilities
   - Sought an efficient gov’t, better housing, factory inspections, and recreational facilities for all Americans.

d. Socialists were supported by the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World), a radical and diverse group of militant unionists and socialists who advocated strikes and sabotage over politics.
   - Leaders included William Haywood of the Western Federation of Miners and Daniel DeLeon.
   - Sought to organize all workers under "one big union" as Terence Powderly had tried to do with the Knights of Labor.
   - IWW radicalism hurt the broader Socialist cause.

3. Why did Progressive-Republican party fail?
   a. It was fatally centered around one leader: TR.
   b. The party elected few candidates to state and local offices and had no patronage to give followers
   c. Yet, the party’s impact spurred Wilsonian Democrats to enact their progressive ideas.

XIII. President Woodrow Wilson
   A. Background
      1. Born in Virginia; first president since Zachary Taylor to come from one of the seceded states.
      2. Student of gov’t: professor and later, president of Princeton Univ.
      3. Believed the president should play a dynamic role in gov’t
         a. Believed Congress could not function properly unless the president provided leadership.
         b. Thought the government’s responsibility was to pass good laws and that the courts should enforce them.
      4. Very successful as governor and president in bypassing legislators and appealing directly to the people.
      5. Not willing to go as far as Roosevelt in government activism.
      6. White-supremacist views: didn't support efforts to improve rights for African Americans.
      7. Moral righteousness often made him uncompromising.

   B. Wilson came to office with a clear plan few presidents have rivaled.
      1. First four years: more positive legislation passed since Lincoln’s presidency, or perhaps, even Alexander Hamilton’s tenure (during Washington’s presidency).
      2. Attacked the "triple wall of privilege": the tariff, the banks, and the trusts.
C. Underwood Tariff Bill -- 1913 (Underwood-Simmons Tariff)
1. In an unprecedented move, Wilson called Congress into special
session in early 1913 and read his message in person rather than
by a clerk (a custom since Jefferson’s day).
2. Underwood Tariff Bill was passed by the House.
3. Wilson successfully appealed directly to the American people to
demand that their senators pass the bill.
4. Provisions:
   a. Substantially reduced the tariff to 29% from 37-40% under
      Payne-Aldrich Tariff of 1910.
   b. Enacted a graduated income tax, under the authority granted by
      the recently-ratified 16th Amendment. (Landmark provision)
      • Rate of 1% on incomes over $4,000; 7% on incomes over
        $500,000
      • By 1917, federal revenue from the income tax exceeded
        tariff revenues; the gap has widened since then.

D. Federal Reserve Act (1913) – created the Federal Reserve System
1. Nation’s existing National Banking System, enacted during the
   Civil War, showed its weakness during the Panic of 1907 with its
   inelasticity of the money supply
   • Monetary reserves were concentrated in New York and a few
     other large cities and could not be mobilized in times of
     financial stress to areas that were depressed.
2. Wilson appeared dramatically for second time in Congress
   pushing for a sweeping reform of the banking system.
   a. He endorsed Democratic proposals for a decentralized bank
      run by the federal gov’t.
   b. He also endorsed ownership of the regional banks by private
      banks, a Republican proposal.
3. Most significant economic legislation between the Civil War
   and the New Deal.
   a. Carried the U.S. through the financial crises of WWI.
   b. Established a solid financial foundation in a new economic age.
   c. Yet, through poor management in the late 1920s, it helped
      bring on the Great Depression.
4. Provisions:
   a. A Federal Reserve Board (Fed) would be appointed by the
      president and oversee a nationwide system of 12 regional
      reserve districts, each with its own central bank.
      • Regional banks would be owned by member (private)
        financial institutions.
      • The final authority of the Federal Reserve Board guaranteed
        a substantial measure of public control.
   b. The Fed was empowered to issue paper money "Federal
      Reserve Notes."
E. Attacking the trusts

1. Federal Trade Commission Act of 1914
   a. Early 1914, Wilson again went to Congress to appeal for the regulation of trusts.
   b. Provisions:
      - Empowered a presidential-appointed commission to monitor industries in interstate commerce (e.g. meat packers)
      - Cease and desist orders: Commissioners could end unfair trade practices—unlawful competition, false advertising, mislabeling of products, and bribery.
   c. Lacked enforcement powers to give government power to effectively regulate trusts.

2. Clayton Anti-Trust Act of 1914
   a. Purpose: strengthen the Sherman Anti-Trust Act by increasing the list of unfair business practices including price discrimination and interlocking directorates.
      - The interlocking directorates provision was not enforced and was eventually dropped.
   b. Exempted labor and agricultural organizations from antitrust prosecution while explicitly legalizing strikes and peaceful picketing.
      - American Federation of Labor leader Samuel Gompers hailed the act as the "Magna Carta of labor" (although he was privately disappointed with the lack of a guarantee for collective bargaining)
      - The provision was weak because it did not explicitly identify legal union activity; Wilson refused to go further.
   c. By 1917, AFL membership had grown to more than 3 million.
      - In 1910, it had only been 1.5 million, down from 2 million in 1904.

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\text{Wilson: opposed to “Triple Wall of Privilege” the \textbf{“3 Ts”:}} & \text{Wilson’s Laws: “\textbf{CUFF}”:} \\
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\text{Tariffs} & \text{Clayton Anti-trust Act} \\
\text{T} banks (money monopoly) & \text{Underwood Tariff Bill} \\
\text{Trusts} & \text{Federal Reserve Act} \\
\text{\textbf{T}} rusts & \text{Federal Trade Commission} \\
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F. Other progressive reforms during Wilson's presidency.

1. In order to win the 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 \textbf{Louis Brandeis}, the "people’s lawyer" to the Supreme Court (first Jewish-American)
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. **Workingmen’s Compensation Act of 1916**
   - Gave assistance to federal civil-service employees during periods of disability.
6. Child Labor Act, 1916 restricted child labor on products in interstate commerce (see page 7 above)
7. **Adamson Act of 1916** established an 8-hour day for all employees on trains in interstate commerce, with extra pay for overtime, and a maximum of 16-hour shifts.

XIV. The Supreme Court during the Progressive Era.
   A. **The conservative Court 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-hour law for bakers.
      - 1917, the Court reversed its decision in *Bunting v. Oregon*: upheld a 10-hour law for factory workers.
      2. 1918, the Court overturned the Child Labor Act of 1916 in *Hamer v. Dagenhart* reasoning that the issue of child labor was a state power, not a federal one.
         a. The Court reasoned that the 19th Amendment gave women unprecedented political influence and that protective legislation in the work place was no longer needed.
         b. The Court also reasoned that the ability of legislatures to impose minimum wages also gave them the ability to impose maximum wages—a power unfair to businesses.
   B. *Schenck v. U.S.*, 1919 (see Unit 7.3)
      1. Upheld the Espionage and Sedition Acts passed during World War One that had limited free speech and criticism of the gov’t.

XV. Prohibition of alcohol (1874-1919)
   A. Liquor consumption increased in the years following the Civil War.
      1. Immigrant groups resisted temperance or prohibition laws.
      2. Saloons in the late-19th century were exclusively male.
   B. Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) organized in 1874.
      1. Led by Francis Willard (see Unit 6.2)
2. WCTU placed enormous pressure on states to abolish alcohol and enjoyed some success in that endeavor.
3. Most important female organization in the 19th century and one of the most powerful lobbying groups.
4. For a time, it was also the most important female suffrage group in the late 19th century.

C. Anti-Saloon League was formed in 1893 by men.
1. Picked up the WCTUs fight; had more political connections to get legislation passed.
2. By 1900, 25% of Americans were living in communities with restrictions on alcohol.

D. Several states and numerous counties passed "dry" laws which controlled, restricted, or abolished alcohol during the late-19th and early-20th centuries.
1. The Progressive era gave increased momentum to prohibition.
2. By 1914, 1/2 of the U.S. population lived in "dry" territory.
3. 3/4 of the total land area of the U.S. had outlawed the saloon.
4. Big cities remained "wet"; large immigrant populations drank traditionally.

E. Attitude of sacrifice during WWI made alcohol drinking unpatriotic
1. Congress passed laws limiting production of alcoholic beverages.
2. Ingredients could be used for industrial uses, feeding armies, or those who were dislocated by the war.

F. 18th Amendment (1919) banned the sale, transport, manufacturing, and consumption of alcohol.
- The Volstead Act (1919) enforced the 18th Amendment.

G. By 1933, Prohibition became one of the great failures of the Progressive era.
- Progressives had probably gone too far in trying to regulate society and personal behavior.

XVI. 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 the late-19th century, the women’s movement had split into two factions:
1. National Women’s Suffrage Association led by Stanton and Anthony forbade men in the organization.
2. American Women’s Suffrage Association led by Lucy Stone
welcomed men.

C. Gains for women in the late-nineteenth century.
   1. By 1890, women had partial suffrage in 19 states.
   2. The western states of Wyoming and Utah were the first to grant suffrage beginning in 1869; numerous states followed.

D. National American Woman Suffrage Association grew from 13,000 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. She de-emphasized the argument that women deserved the vote as a matter of right because they were in all respects equal to men.
   3. Stressed the 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, and school boards).
      • As a result, more states passed suffrage laws.
   4. The "Winning Plan" emphasized lobbying Congress, effective meetings and parades.
      a. She 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, the liquor lobby eased its opposition to female suffrage.

E. Alice Paul’s Congressional Union used militant tactics to gain attention.
   1. Picketed the White House in 1916 and underwent hunger strikes.
   2. Recruited the most militant women out of the NAWSA.
   3. She put forth the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) after 1920.
      a. The proposed amendment would have given women absolute equality with men.
      b. The amendment was readopted in the 1960s and passed Congress in 1972 but eventually died in 1982 when three-fourths of states did not ratify).

F. 19th Amendment passed in 1920 granting women full suffrage.
   • Bill was put forth in the House by Jeannette Rankin: the first woman in Congress.
XVII. African Americans made few gains during the Progressive era
A. President Roosevelt was criticized by southerners for allowing Booker T. Washington to dine in the White House.
   • TR never again publicly supported blacks.

B. The Great African-American migration northward during World War I resulted in violence.
   1. By 1920, 2 million blacks lived in the North (out of 11 million)
      • Hoped to escape the poverty and discrimination of the South.
   2. Race riots broke out, due largely to blacks moving into neighborhoods in predominantly white northern cities.
      • **Chicago Race Riot** of 1919 lasted 5 days as black workers and returning WWI veterans clashed; 23 blacks and 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. Due in part to her efforts, a 25% decrease in lynchings occurred after 1892, the peak year for lynchings.
      c. She helped found the 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.
      a. He was raised in Massachusetts in contrast to Washington, an ex-slave from the South.
      b. He called Washington an "Uncle Tom" for condemning blacks to manual labor and perpetual inferiority.
      c. His opposition to Washington led to the formation of the **Niagara Movement** (1905-1909)
         • It demanded an immediate end to segregation and discrimination in labor unions, courts, and public facilities.
         • It sought equality of economic and educational opportunity.
      d. Du Bois demanded that the "talented tenth" of the black community be given full and immediate access to the mainstream of American life.
         • It would work to lift the entire African American community.
   2. **NAACP** formed (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People)
      a. After the 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.

- W. E. B. Du Bois became the director of publicity and research, and editor of the NAACP 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. The activism of Washington, Du Bois and others led to some advances.
   a. Black illiteracy rate was cut in half between 1900 and 1910.
   b. Black ownership of land increased 10%.

E. Wilson and African Americans

1. Wilson had white-supremacist tendencies from his upbringing in Virginia (his wife had even stronger tendencies).
   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 books); the movie glorified the Ku Klux Klan.
   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 the federal bureaucracy.
   - African Americans remained segregated in the federal gov’t until the 1960s.

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

XVIII. The darker side of Progressivism

A. Progressives have been criticized for attempting to impose their middle-class WASP values on all of society.
   1. Amerindian children were taken from their families and placed in boarding schools to assimilate them (due to the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887).
   2. During WWI, Wilson spoke out against "hyphenated-Americans" who strongly valued the culture of their origin.

B. Progressives often supported the 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.
   - Some supported the racist KKK in the 1910s and 1920s.
D. Progressive attempts to legislate morality led to the disastrous “prohibition experiment” in the 1920s.

E. Progressive trust in science led to the extreme practice of **eugenics**: the 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 the 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 agenda 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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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Silly</th>
<th>Socialism (anti)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purple</td>
<td>Political machines (anti)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkeys</td>
<td>Trusts (anti)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chase</td>
<td>Consumer protection</td>
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<tr>
<td>Very</td>
<td>Voting reform</td>
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<td>White</td>
<td>Working/living conditions (incl. child labor)</td>
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<td>Chickens</td>
<td>Conservation</td>
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<td>White</td>
<td>Women’s Rights</td>
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<td>Fighting</td>
<td>Federal Reserve System</td>
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<td>Pink</td>
<td>Prohibition</td>
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<td>Iguanas</td>
<td>Income Tax</td>
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**Terms to Know**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greenback Labor Party</th>
<th>Newlands Reclamation Act, 1902</th>
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<tr>
<td>Populists</td>
<td>Panic of 1907</td>
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<td>Progressives</td>
<td>President William H. Taft</td>
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<td>plutocracy</td>
<td>“rule of reason”</td>
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<td>political machines</td>
<td>Bureau of Mines Payne-Aldrich Tariff, 1910</td>
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<td>Jacob Riis, <em>How the Other Half Lives</em></td>
<td>Ballinger-Pinchot controversy</td>
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<td>Social Gospel movement</td>
<td>“New Nationalism”</td>
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<td>Muckrakers</td>
<td>“Bull-Moose” Party</td>
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<td>Lincoln Steffens, <em>Shame of the Cities</em></td>
<td>Election of 1912</td>
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<td>Ida Tarbell</td>
<td>“New Freedom”</td>
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<td>Upton Sinclair, <em>The Jungle</em></td>
<td>President Woodrow Wilson</td>
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<td>David Phillips, “The Treason of the State”</td>
<td>Eugene Debs, Socialist party</td>
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<td>Jane Addams, Hull House</td>
<td>Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)</td>
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<td>Florence Kelley</td>
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<td><em>Muller v. Oregon</em>, 1906</td>
<td>16th Amendment</td>
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<td>Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire</td>
<td>Federal Reserve Act, 1913</td>
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<td>Robert La Follette</td>
<td>Clayton Anti-trust Act, 1914</td>
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<td>“Wisconsin Experiment”</td>
<td>Louis Brandeis</td>
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<td><em>Adkins v. Children’s Hospital</em>, 1923</td>
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<td>Carrie Chapman Catt, “Winning Plan”</td>
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<td>Australian Ballot</td>
<td>Alice Paul</td>
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<td>President Theodore Roosevelt</td>
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<td>“Square Deal”</td>
<td>Chicago Race Riot, 1919</td>
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<td>Anthracite Coal Strike</td>
<td>Ida B. Wells-Barnett</td>
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<td>Booker T. Washington</td>
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<td>W. E. B. Du Bois</td>
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<td>Niagara Movement</td>
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<td>NAACP, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People</td>
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<td>D.W. Griffith, <em>Birth of a Nation</em></td>
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<td>Ku Klux Klan</td>
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<td>John Muir</td>
<td>eugenics</td>
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<td>Sierra Club</td>
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<td>Gifford Pinchot</td>
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Essay Questions

Note: This sub-unit is a high probability area for the AP exam. In the past 10 years, 4 questions have come wholly or in part from the material in this chapter. Below are some questions that will help you study the topics that have appeared on previous exams.

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?

4. Trace the development of the women’s rights movement between 1880-1920. To what extent did women achieve their goals during this period?

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____________, The American Political Tradition, New York: Alfred Knopf, 1948
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