

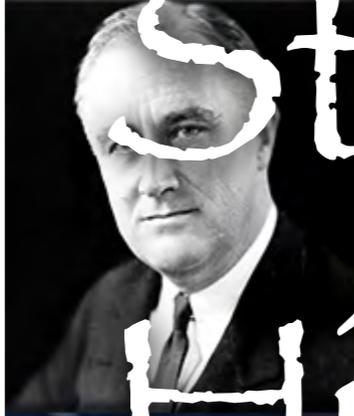
MI OPEN BOOK PROJECT

United

Reconstruction to Today

States

History

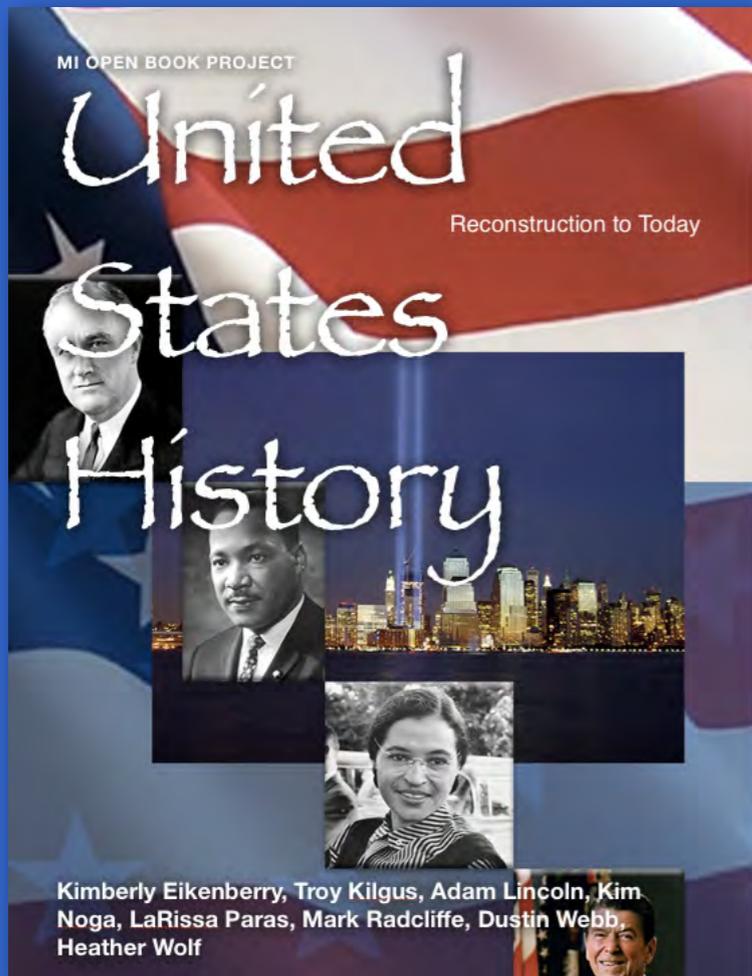


Kimberly Eikenberry, Troy Kilgus, Adam Lincoln, Kim Noga, LaRissa Paras, Mark Radcliffe, Dustin Webb, Heather Wolf



MICHIGAN

OPEN BOOK PROJECT



This is version 1.0 of this resource, released in August of 2016.

Information on the latest version and updates are available on the project homepage: <http://textbooks.wmisd.org/dashboard.html>



MICHIGAN OPEN BOOK PROJECT

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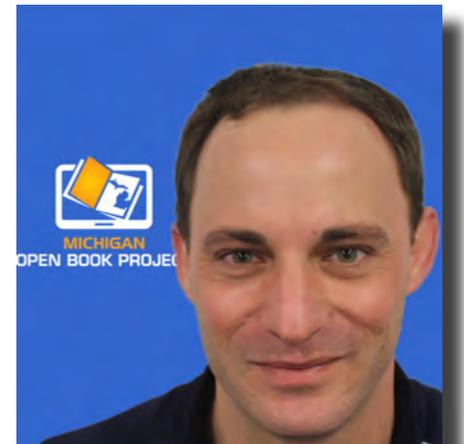
Kim has a B.A. in History and Social Studies and a M.A. in Educational Leadership, both from Western Michigan University. She has served in many roles during her thirteen years as an educator, including department chair, curriculum director, and administrator. Kim currently teaches World History and Economics at Grand Haven High School.

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Troy Kilgus serves as the high school social studies chair at Standish-Sterling Central High School. In his eight years of teaching, he has taught various social studies courses including AP US History and multiple levels of French. Mr. Kilgus earned his undergraduate degree in French Education and his Masters in Teaching from Saginaw Valley State University.



Adam Lincoln

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Adam began his teaching career at Cadillac High School in Cadillac, Michigan where he taught US History, Global Studies, and AP World History. After 7 years, he moved back home to central Michigan to teach at Ithaca Public Schools. While his main charge has been on teaching World History and starting the AP World History program, Adam also teaches 8th Grade History, US History, and History in Pop Culture. Adam helps advise Model United Nations, created the Ithaca Tech Club, and runs the Jumbotron at Ithaca Community Stadium during events. Adam has served as a member of the Michigan Council for the Social Studies for nearly a decade and has worked to unite his twin passions of Social Studies and effectively integrating technology into the classroom. Outside of school, Adam has served on the Content Advisory Committee, as a Social Studies item writer for the Department of Education, and worked for the PASST project. Adam teaches History and Social Studies methods classes at Alma College as adjunct faculty. Apart from the world of education, Adam has been married for 14 years to Emily, and they enjoy spending time with their son, Maxton.





Kim Noga

Ionia Public Schools

Ionia High School

Kim has a B.A. in History/ Social Studies and an M.A. in Curriculum and Teaching, both from Michigan State University. For the past 14 years she has been employed at Ionia High School where she teaches Economics, U.S. History, and Humanitarian Studies. Her hobbies include reading and traveling the world.

LaRissa Paras

Greenville High School

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LaRissa is an alumni of Central Michigan University and the State University of New York. She is a tenured teacher in New York and now in Michigan where she works and resides with her husband and two rambunctious boys. Currently she is teaching World History and Current Issues at Greenville High School. She and her husband founded LP Inspire, LLC to encourage young people to grow into their best selves. She is also the proud creator of The Lotus Project, a successful mentoring program to help young women become empow-



Mike Radcliffe

Greenville High School

Greenville Public Schools

Mike Radcliffe is a native of South Lyon, Michigan. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree in history from Colorado State University, followed by a Masters of Arts degree in American Studies from the University of Colorado. Over his 23 years of teaching students in Colorado and Michigan, he has taught Advanced Placement United States History, American Popular Culture, World History, World Geography, Sociology, and Economics. He currently serves as the department chair for the social studies department at Greenville High School, where he has taught the past 15 years. His previous textbook projects include serving as a teacher consultant for textbooks in US History and World Geography for Teachers Curriculum Institute. His interests include his wife



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The Michigan Open Book Project Team would like to thank the following individuals for their help in reviewing some content in the book and guiding the development process.

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Jim Cameron, Michigan Department of Education

Melissa Kieswetter, Michigan Department of



**MICHIGAN
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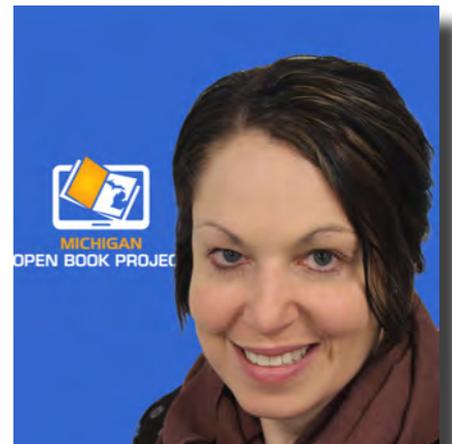
Biography Coming Soon!

Heather Wolf

Shepherd Public Schools

Shepherd High School

Heather has taught Social Studies at Shepherd High School for 16 years. She currently teaches American History and Law, but has also taught Modern American History, Civics, Current Events, and History of American Wars in the past. Heather is a graduate of Central Michigan University, where she earned both her undergraduate degree, as well as a Master of Arts in History. She also teaches Social Studies Methods and Pre-Student Teaching courses at CMU. Heather also is the chair of the Social Studies Department at Shepherd High School and is involved in many other facets of the school and community. Heather was named 2009 High School Educator of the Year by the Michigan Council for the Social Studies. She enjoys reading, traveling and spending time with her family.



Rebecca Bush

Instructional Consultant

Ottawa Area Intermediate School District

Rebecca Bush is currently the Social Studies Consultant at the Ottawa Area Intermediate School District (OAISD), where she assists K-12 social studies teachers in developing curriculum, modeling instructional strategies in social studies literacy, and designing district-level formative and summative assessments. Additionally, as Project Director, she has written and received multiple Teaching American History grants, working with teachers throughout an eight-county radius. She has presented at various national conferences on multiple topics surrounding social studies instruction as well as innovative techniques and topics in formative and summative assessment design. Currently she is Co-Project Director of The Performance Assessments of Social Studies Thinking (PASST) Project and assists with the professional development of teacher writers for the MI Open Book Project where she serves as an editor of several of the project's texts. Rebecca currently leads the Michigan Social



Chapter 2

How effective was the Progressive Movement at solving America's problems?

What challenges did American society face?

How did Americans respond to these challenges?

What were the goals of reformers?



Introduction to Progressive Society

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. What challenges did American society face?
2. How did Americans respond to these challenges?
3. What were the goals of reformers?

Terms, Places, People

Muckraker

The Progressive Era

Triangle Shirtwaist Company

The Jungle

Jacob Riis

Jane Addams

Hull House

The Meat Inspection Act

The Food and Drug Administration

During the end of the 1800s, society had changed dramatically as a result of the Industrial Revolution. Cities had grown and the demographics of the American population had become increasingly diverse. Although the economic gains were substantial, this came at a significant social cost. The nation began to struggle with issues of unemployment, dangerous working conditions, and political corruption. Although private citizens had long been making attempts to reform these issues, many began to feel that an increased role of government would be necessary to effectively address the nation's problems.



Image source: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/54/Mulberry_Street,_New_York_City_\(LOC_det.4a08193\).jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/54/Mulberry_Street,_New_York_City_(LOC_det.4a08193).jpg)



Image source: <http://historyofjournalism.onmason.com/files/2009/12/troonmuck1-300x200.jpg>

Muckrakers

Many Americans that shared concerns about society began to focus on initiating change. Individuals began to investigate the problems plaguing the nation and to publicize

those results to draw attention to issues such as working and living conditions. Many hoped that by drawing attention to the horrors they had witnessed, citizens would feel compelled to act and pressure their legislators for change. Journalists during this period were well known for their attempts to alert the public to the wrongdoings occurring within society. President Theodore Roosevelt called these writers **muckrakers**. He took the term from a story called Pilgrim's Progress in which the character was so busy raking filth on earth that he never lifted his eyes to heaven. The nickname was earned largely because these journalists uncovered the nation's problems and wrote about them. Americans read startling accounts from the muckrakers, and many began to feel inspired to take action by joining reform organizations. Because numerous groups sought to bring positive change and progress in society, this period of American history from 1890 to 1920 is known as the **Progressive Era**.

Gallery 2.1 Muckraking



Image source: <http://www.muson.info/images/5780pbx39ff18o.jpg>

How are the articles in the gallery above examples of Muckraking?

Interactive 2.1 The Muckrakers

Review the following quotes from Muckrakers and determine if the issues they are exposing are social, political, economic, or cultural challenges. Be prepared to provide a rationale for your decision.

Category	Quote	Author
Social	"Be a little careful, please! The hall is dark and you might stumble over the children playing games back there, but don't touch their toys and dolls and their dolls' eyes and noses, another. A fight of dolls. You can't find your way, if you cannot see it." From "The Other Half" by Jacob Lawrence	Jacob Lawrence
Political	"Mr. Roosevelt, I would be glad to discuss with you the proposed law. For these days he has a reputation of saying, 'I'm not at all interested in the greater part of the proposals, and for the rest of the time he is too busy to read the proposals.' It is a very peculiar thing that he worked with the proposals to prevent other people getting in to read them, or if he worked with the proposals to prevent the proposals of the people." From "The Proposed Law" by Jacob Lawrence	Jacob Lawrence
Economic	"I have often mentioned on the telephone that I have always assumed there was a home for the unemployed, and I had a meeting the same day. The door was open, and the women were all sitting on the floor. They were all sitting on the floor, and they were all sitting on the floor. They were all sitting on the floor, and they were all sitting on the floor." From "The Days of Auld Acquaintance" by Nellie Dy	Nellie Dy
Cultural	"Now, the typical American citizen in the business man. The typical American citizen is a man who is busy with politics, oh, very busy and very busy. I found that busy business men in the business man. The typical American citizen is a man who is busy with politics, oh, very busy and very busy. I found that busy business men in the business man. The typical American citizen is a man who is busy with politics, oh, very busy and very busy. I found that busy business men in the business man." From "The Days of Auld Acquaintance" by Nellie Dy	Nellie Dy

Review the following quotes from Muckrakers and determine if the issues they are exposing are social, political, economic, or cultural challenges.

Poor Living and Working Conditions

Interactive 2.2 Crash Course - The Progressive Era



Learn more about the Progressive Era in this video from Crash Course

The United States became an increasingly urban nation as jobs attracted migrants to cities. Industrialization brought many changes to American life such as advances in technology, communication, transportation, and economic growth. It also brought new challenges to those individuals seeking opportunities, with many urban laborers living in poverty and working in grueling conditions.

As factories began to increase production, many of the jobs that were available to urban citizens were unskilled manufacturing positions. Factory work was often repetitive and straining. According to one worker, “Life in a factory where any textile industry is carried on is perhaps, with the exception of prison life, the most monotonous life a human being can live.” Factory work could also often be dangerous. In an attempt to maximize profits, employers were often willing to cut corners on safety. Working conditions were often hazardous and negatively impacted the health and safety of employees. Many urban workers labored with dangerous machinery, breathed in harmful chemicals and dust, or worked in buildings with no codes for fire safety. The

tragedy of the **Triangle Shirtwaist Company** is just one example. On March 25, 1911, a fire started on the eighth floor of the Triangle Shirtwaist Company in New York City. Because many of the exit doors were locked to prevent employee theft, 146 people were dead within eighteen minutes. Firefighter’s ladders were several stories too short to perform a rescue and the water from their hoses could not reach the top floors, forcing many to choose to jump to their deaths rather than to burn alive. This tragedy highlighted the inhuman working conditions to which many industrial workers

Interactive 2.4 The Triangle Shirtwaist Factory



Watch a video describing the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire.

were subjected. Many

What potential problems can you identify in the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory that may have contributed to the death of so many workers?

Search the website and locate two sources that corroborate your findings above. Discuss how your sources support your conclusions.

What recommendations would you make to the state of New York in order to ensure worker safety in the future?

Interactive 2.3 The Triangle Shirtwaist Factory



Use this website to answer the questions in the blue box.

employees were also forced to work long hours (14-16 hours daily) at low wages, and the right to unionize to advocate for worker rights and safety were often restricted.

Poor workers in the cities had difficulty obtaining housing and often had to cram many families into one apartment in order to get by. These cramped living spaces were often rundown, and illness would spread quickly. These buildings were called tenements and often housed poor immigrants. Jacob Riis described a typical tenement as “one or two dark closets, used as bedrooms, with a living room twelve feet by ten.” Not only were the tenements crowded, but the buildings themselves were crammed together. As these neighborhoods became rundown and developed into areas of poverty, they became known as slums. These areas were densely populated and housing was often dirty, unsanitary, and crowded. Lack of fire protection posed a serious danger, and many of the buildings lacked indoor plumbing so that waste often ended up in the streets. Because of the poor sanitation and crowded conditions, diseases such as tuberculosis and pneumonia often spread quickly through the tenements and slums. Some urban neighborhoods became ghettos, or areas where a particular ethnic or racial group dominated. Immigrants often moved to the cities where they could find jobs, which usually meant lower wages and poor working conditions. Usually they would settle in neighborhoods with members of their ethnic group (i.e. Little Italy in New York City). There they could speak their native language and form

social groups with other people from their homeland. It was a safe place for immigrants where they felt comfortable, especially in the face of threats from whites. How well immigrants adjusted depended upon their ability to learn English, adapt to American ways of life, and marketable work skills. If they were deficient in any of these areas, it became even more important to settle among other members of their own group where they could get help.



Image source: <https://yom11.files.wordpress.com/2011/02/tenements.jpg>

Increased production often meant that more goods were available, but it did not necessarily ensure that these products were safe. Quality was not regulated and consumers often did not know what was in the products they were buying. In the 1906

novel, **The Jungle**, Upton Sinclair revealed the unsanitary conditions of the meatpacking industry:

“There would be meat stored in great piles in rooms; and the water from leaky roofs would drip over it, and thousands of rats would race about on it. It was too dark in these storage places to see well, but a man could run his hand over these piles of meat and sweep off handfuls of the dried dung of rats. These rats were nuisances, and the packers would put poisoned bread out for them; they would die, and then rats, bread, and meat would go into the hoppers together.”

Not only did toxic chemicals contaminate many processed foods, but even common medicines were unregulated. Substances such as morphine and opium were not prohibited, though their risks would eventually become apparent. Many consumers believed these medicines would cure their illnesses, only to find that instead they would grapple with drug addiction.

Reforms

Some reformers worked to improve the lives of those living in urban poverty. **Jacob Riis**, a native of Denmark, personally experienced the terrible conditions under which many Americans lived. He began writing about his experiences while investigating tenement slums filled with immigrant families. He eventually completed a book about what he had seen called *How the Other Half Lives*. His coverage and exposure of the abject poverty that

many people faced was shocking to a lot of Americans. He hoped that by exposing these conditions, he could generate public support for change. Riis used photographs to show the conditions of tenements and, as a result of his work, New York passed some of the nation’s first laws to improve tenements.

Urban churches also became interested in providing services and assistance to those in poverty. The reform movement that developed within religious institutions became known as the social gospel movement. Religious organizations sought to apply Christian ethics to society and focused on the ideals of charity and justice. In many cases this was applied to labor reform, such as trying to improve the living conditions for all workers and address the problem of income inequality. Many put the social gospel into practice in a new program called the settlement movement. Young reformers would move into the middle of poor neighborhoods and offer social services. The concept behind this movement was that only through living near those in need and witnessing the effects of poverty firsthand, could reformers begin to understand and address the problem.

Interactive 2.5 Jacob Riis



Learn more about the work of Jacob Riis.

One famous settlement house was established by **Jane Addams**. She established the settlement house in a poor neighborhood in Chicago in 1889, and soon **Hull House** became an inspiration to other settlement houses across the country. Jane Addams believed that the way to understand poverty was to be immersed in it. She offered help when needed to individuals and tried to anticipate and respond to the needs of the whole community. Hull House had cultural events, classes, exhibits, childcare, playgrounds, clubs, summer camps, assisted with employment



Jane Addams at Hull House Image source: http://nedstuckeyfrench.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/Jane_Addams.jpg

and legal aid, and provided a health-care clinic. Settlement houses like Hull House sprang up across the United States. Most of these homes were funded by donations and run by missionaries or volunteers who would work for low wages. Many were women college graduates who have been excluded from other professions. The women running these homes would provide services such as medical care, recreation programs, English classes, and hot lunches for factory workers. Women were instrumental in these homes since work outside of charity was frowned upon for women.

In response to Upton Sinclair's report about the meatpacking industry, government began to adopt legislation to address concerns about sanitation and safety of consumer products. **The Meat Inspection Act** was passed in 1906 and brought reforms to the processing of animals destined for human consumption. All animals were required to pass inspection prior to slaughter and cleanliness standards were established to prevent poor quality livestock and products from being sold as food. This law helped to ensure that meat products were slaughtered and processed under sanitary conditions. The Pure Food and Drug Act was also passed in 1906 and created the **Food and Drug Administration**, which was entrusted with the responsibility of testing foods and drugs destined for human consumption. The law also required prescriptions be written by licensed physicians before a patient could purchase certain drugs, and that label warnings should be included on habit-

forming drugs.

Interactive 2.6 Pure Food and Drug Act and the Food and Drug Administration



How has the Food and Drug Administration evolved since its creation? Look at the items regulated under the Pure Food and Drug Act versus what the Food and Drug Administration regulates today.

Challenges for Women and Children

Because families struggled economically, many children were forced to work in order to help the family get by. This meant that young children were often working instead of attending school. Children often worked long hours in factories, mines, and sweatshops. According to John Spargo, “I could not do that work and live, but there were boys of ten and twelve years of age doing it for fifty and sixty cents a day. Some of them had never been inside of a school; few of them could read a child’s primer.” Employers had no issue taking on extremely young children who could work for low wages.

The role of women began to change during the Progressive Era, with a growing number of women beginning to work outside the home. Some of these workers were women that provided unskilled factory labor. Others with some education might find skilled work as nurses or teachers. Many of these women were exploited and found it difficult to make ends meet. For those women that had lost their husbands or been abandoned, it was especially difficult to be the sole income responsible for caring for their children. Other women experienced abuse at the hands of their husbands, who might drink the family income away or act violently towards their wives. Women had limited rights and opportunities, and in many cases were forced to accept their situation. However, many would begin to take on the role of reformer in order to improve their lives and the nation as a whole.



Image source: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division

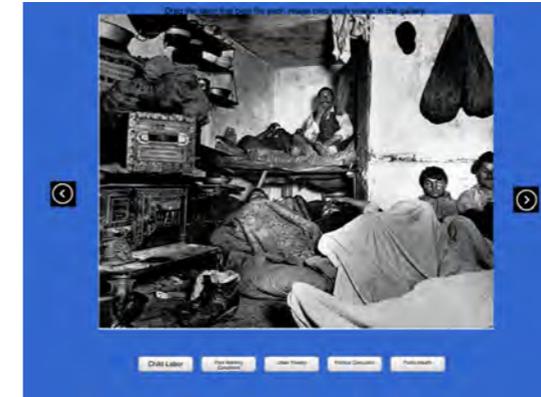
Many people saw alcohol as a problem within family life and society as a whole. Some began to call for a moderation in drinking habits, and the **temperance movement** (an organized campaign against alcoholic consumption) began to grow. While some wanted restraint in the consumption of alcohol, others wanted to ban alcohol altogether. Part of this was due to the fact that many men spent their time in saloons, partly because it was an opportunity to socialize but also because it was a source of job information. The fear was that this behavior could greatly undermine morals and that it caused many problems in American life: scarce wages were spent on alcohol, and drinking sometimes

led to physical abuse and sickness. Employers believed that it hurt worker efficiency while political reformers viewed saloons as places that could breed corruption. Largely, it was women that led the crusade and sought to reduce the consumption of alcohol. The **Women's Christian Temperance Union** became a strong force in lobbying for laws to restrict alcohol and educating citizens about the social ills associated with alcoholic consumption. Eventually their temperance movement would yield results with the passage of the **18th amendment**, which established prohibition, or a ban on the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages.

With more women entering the workforce and becoming involved in reform activities, a cultural shift began to occur as well as the expectations of women evolved. Many women began to support the spread of information about birth control, a campaign led by Margaret Sanger. She supported giving women more control over pregnancies, especially those in poverty that could not afford to care for more children. Sanger believed that women, to gain more equal footing in society and have healthier lives, needed to be able to have more information about reproduction and control of it. She argued that the standard of living could be improved if families were able to limit the number of children in the family unit. These ideas were shocking to more traditional Americans, and Sanger was arrested for distributing information about contraception.

Since women and children were workers, labor issues were very important to progressive women. **Florence Kelley** was a strong voice for labor reform that championed government regulation to help protect women and children in the workplace. She went on to investigate sweatshops and became the first female factory inspector, largely because many other public officials wouldn't enter the sweatshops for fear of contracting disease that infected the tenements. She successfully lobbied for laws in Illinois prohibiting child labor, limiting working hours for women, and regulating conditions of sweatshops - and was placed in charge of enforcing them. When she became frustrated by the district attorney's failure to prosecute cases, she went on to earn a law degree so that she could effectively enforce these laws by taking action herself. Florence Kelley also fought to protect women and children through the **National Consumers League**. This organization was formed to unite local consumers' leagues, where women investigated the conditions under which products were made and sold. They encouraged people to purchase goods only from businesses that did not use child labor and insisted that factories follow inspection laws. Kelley also spearheaded an effort to create a federal children's bureau that would support legislation to benefit children in the workplace. In 1912, Congress created the Children's Bureau and appointed Julia Lathrop as the head - the first woman to head a federal agency.

Interactive 2.7 Progressive Reforms



Match the images in this widget with the problems of the Progressive Era. Determine on a separate sheet of paper which were short term solutions and which were long term solutions. Be prepared to discuss the rationale for your choice.

Women's Suffrage

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. What challenges did American society face?
2. How did Americans respond to these challenges?
3. What were the goals of reformers?

Terms, Places, People

suffrage

Declaration of Sentiments

Lucretia Mott

Elizabeth Cady Stanton

Susan B. Anthony

Winning suffrage--the right to vote, had been a major focus of women reformers since 1848 at the Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls. There Elizabeth Cady Stanton read the "**Declaration of Sentiments**" which was patterned after the Declaration of Independence. It declared that all men and women are created equal and demanded suffrage, or the right to vote, for women. While the movement had been strong and well-organized, the passage of the 14th and 15th amendments that granted the right to vote to African-American men, actually split the women's movement. While many suffragists supported efforts to gain suffrage for African-American men, others did not because women hadn't been included in the push for suffrage. In the meantime, adult women were still treated much the same way as children had been. They could not vote, they could be beaten by their husbands, and they could not own property in their own names. A "cult of domesticity" emerged in which women's special sphere was the home. Her main focus was to maintain an orderly home and raise children. By 1890, female reformers, mostly white and upper class, began to challenge the social and political structure. Early reformers, such as **Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan**

Interactive 2.8 The Declaration of Sentiments



Read the Declaration of Sentiments here at this website from NPS.GOV

Susan B. Anthony was featured on a dollar coin minted from 1979 to 1981 and then again briefly in 1999. The coins were not very popular with the public due in large part to their similarity in size and composition to the quarter. Anthony was known as a fearless crusader for women's rights, including illegally voting in an 1872 senatorial election. She was tried and convicted, but she ultimately never paid the \$100 fine.

B. Anthony worked to further the cause of women's civil rights.

Other feminists, such as Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, Sarah and Angelina Grimké, Lucy Stone, and Amelia Bloomer, challenged the gender roles they felt were forced on them by society.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) was formed in 1890 by women's rights pioneers such as Stanton and Anthony. However, by 1900 a new generation of women had taken over the fight. Most notably, Carrie Chapman Catt changed from making arguments emphasizing the equality of men and women to

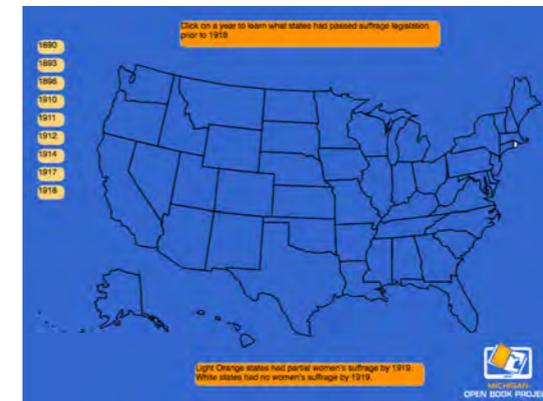
making arguments emphasizing that the vote would allow women to better fulfill their traditional role as caretakers for their families by having a voice in debates over issues such as public health and education. This new strategy of linking suffrage to traditional gender roles led to some gains for the movement, particularly in the West. Wyoming, which became known as "the Equality State," granted full voting rights to women in 1869 while still a

territory. Other western states soon followed. By 1890, most states had even recognized the right of woman to own and control property after marriage.

Women gained valuable experience working on other social movements, such as temperance (anti-drinking), that they could use to help them in their fight for suffrage. Notably, however, NAWSA and other women's organizations of the time period mostly excluded black women. They felt that taking on issues of race would handicap their efforts. So black women created their own associations. Ida B. Wells-Barnett launched an anti-lynching campaign and pushed for what eventually became the National Association of Colored Women in 1896.



Interactive 2.9 Women's Suffrage



Learn more about when Suffrage was enacted in several states through this interactive widget.

Despite all of the efforts of women's suffrage groups, only four states had granted women the right to vote by 1900. Between 1910 and 1912, women in Washington, California, Oregon, Kansas, and Arizona gained the ballot, while women in Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin were thwarted in their cause. This led some suffragettes, most prominently Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, to advocate for the use of more daring tactics. After witnessing firsthand the radical tactics used by British suffragettes, they originally worked with NAWSA, but felt that its state-by-state approach and insistence on ladylike behavior was limiting the pace of the movement. Paul had formed the Congressional Union within NAWSA to aid the work of NAWSA's Congressional Committee, which Paul was in charge of. When a rift developed between the Congressional Union and NAWSA leadership over tactics and use of funds raised by the group, they parted ways in 1913.

In 1916, Paul and Burns formed the National Woman's Party (NWP) as a single issue party, and that issue was women's suffrage. They focused their efforts in Washington, DC pushing for a national amendment. Early on, it was decided that the NWP would not endorse any candidate, but they were very critical of the Democrats as they were currently the party in power. Unlike their British counterparts, they decided not to put their campaign on hold in order to support the World War I effort.

They picketed the White House and, when they were arrested for it, they attempted a hunger strike. While many Americans

did not approve of their tactics, they were still outraged that these women were being abused and force-fed in jail.

The efforts of the NWP served to make groups like NAWSA look reasonable by comparison. It was a combination of the different efforts of groups, such as NAWSA and NWP, and the efforts of patriotic women who worked tirelessly to support the war effort that finally gained passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1919



http://0.tqn.com/d/womenshistory/1/S/m/h/2/awakening_cartoon_1a.jpg



According to the cartoon, where did women experience early success in gaining suffrage? (the right to vote)

and its ratification in August 1920. In November 1920 women across the United States, including Carrie Chapman Catt and Alice Paul, cast their first ballots for the first time in a presidential election.

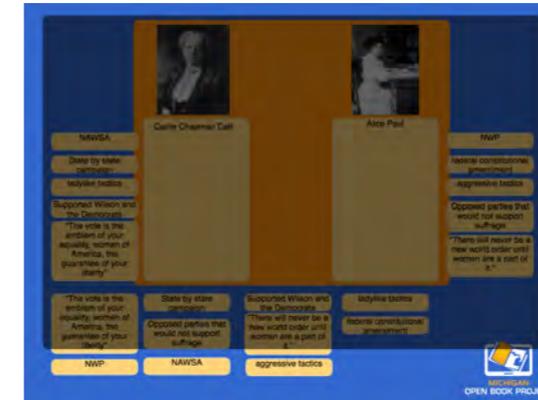


https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Handicapped!_Women%27s_suffrage_poster,_1910s.jpg



What argument does this cartoon make about why women should have the right to vote?

Interactive 2.10 Comparing Women



Can you tell these two suffragists apart?

Interactive 2.11 Crash Course Women's Suffrage



Want to learn more? John Green has you covered!

Section 3

Discrimination in Progressive Society

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. What challenges did American society face?
2. How did Americans respond to these challenges?
3. What were the goals of reformers?

Terms, Places, People

Booker T. Washington

Grandfather Clause

Jim Crow

Literacy Test

Lynching

NAACP

Niagara Movement

Poll Tax

Tuskegee Institute

W.E.B. DuBois

African Americans Face Discrimination

As former slaves entered the job market, they competed for scarce jobs which drew hostility. African Americans faced both discrimination and violence. The Great Migration brought many to northern cities in search of new opportunities, but no matter where African Americans lived they would continue to face the challenge of inequality.



<https://tedu556.wikispaces.com/file/view/1910.gif/32096225/1910.gif>

Interactive 2.12 The Great Migration



For more information about the Great Migration, look here!

After the end of Reconstruction, African Americans began to see many of their new freedoms disappear. Southerners were concerned African Americans would gain too much political power by voting and began using tactics to deny them the vote.

One strategy was requiring voters to own property and pay a **poll tax**, or a special fee that had to be paid before voting. Because this was often beyond the financial reach of African Americans, it effectively kept them from the polls. Voters were also required to pass a **literacy test**, in which they had to demonstrate a minimum standard of knowledge. These tests were designed to keep African Americans from voting, and often they were given more difficult tests than white voters. To ensure that the literacy tests did not keep too many whites from voting, many states adopted grandfather clauses. A **grandfather clause** exempts a

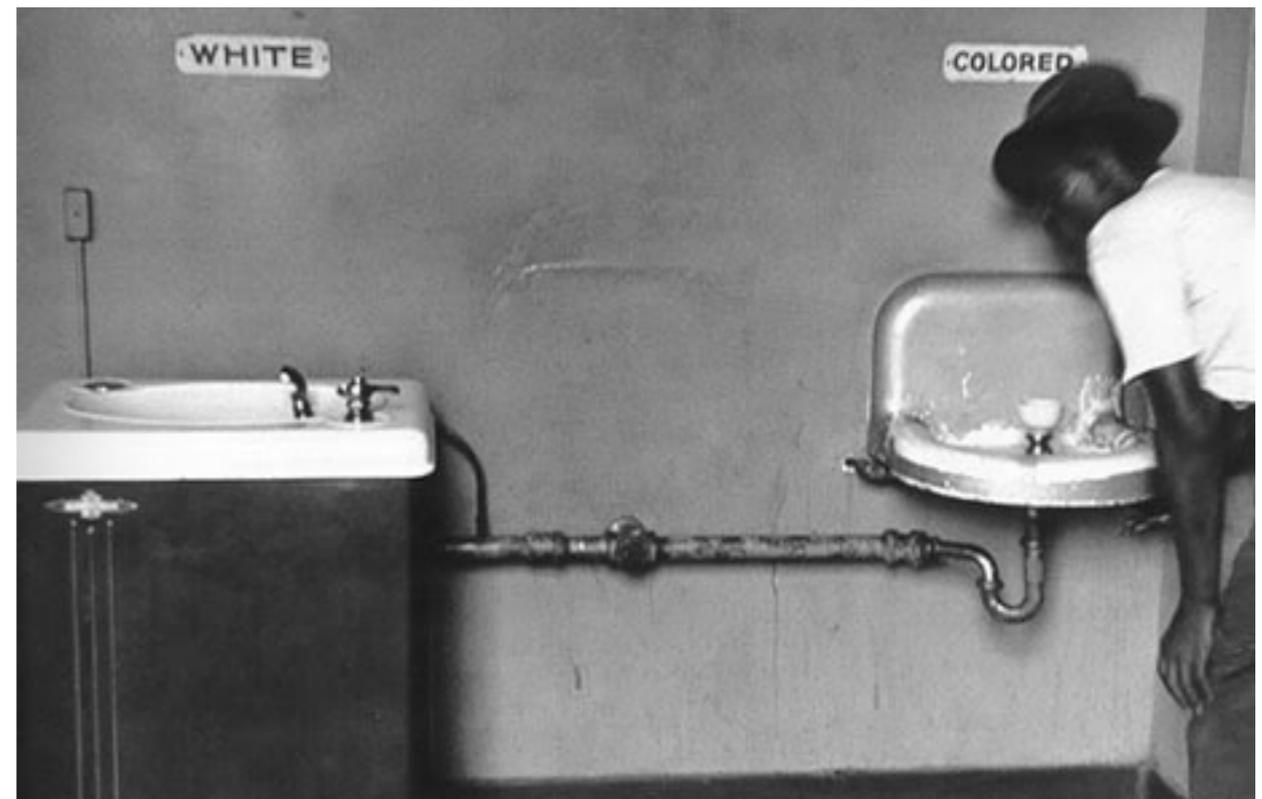
group of people from obeying a law provided they met certain conditions before the law was passed. In the case of voting in the south, these clauses would exempt men from voting restrictions if they had previously voted or their ancestors had, prior to black suffrage. Therefore, African Americans would not be exempt from the literacy tests.

Interactive 2.13 Literacy Tests



Would YOU be able to pass a literacy test? Find out here!

Many states also adopted a system of legal segregation called **Jim Crow**. Although this system of separation was used in the north, it was more prevalent in the south and more firmly established. The laws required the separation of races in all aspects of life including schools, public buildings, parks, hospitals, transportation, and water fountains. Facilities for African Americans were almost always inferior. This policy of separation was cemented by the United States Supreme Court, who established the principle of separate but equal in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson. This was one of the greatest setbacks to American equality by ruling that the Fourteenth Amendment, which contains the equal protection clause, was “not intended to give Negroes social equality but only political and civil equality.”



<http://www.teachingushistory.org/images/JimCrowPic3.jpg>

The facts of the case involved Homer Plessy, an African American that was arrested for sitting in the “white” car on a railroad despite segregation laws stating that African Americans must ride in a separate car. Plessy argued that the equal protection of laws was violated by the Louisiana law that required separate seating on public railroads. When the court ruled against Plessy, they established the concept that segregation (or separation of the races) was legal as long as the separate facilities for whites and blacks were equal.

African Americans not only experienced discrimination in their daily lives, but violence as well. One of the worst crimes was lynching, when a mob illegally seizes and executes a person. Sometimes victims were suspected criminals, but often they were innocent people in the wrong place at the wrong time. Sometimes lynchings would include a mock trial, torture, or even mutilation before the victim was hanged and shot. Those that committed these crimes were rarely pursued or caught, and it was even more rare for individuals to be punished.

Interactive 2.14 The Rise and Fall of Jim Crow (PBS.ORG)



Use the interactive map to identify examples of Jim Crow laws.

Interactive 2.15 Jim Crow Narratives



Listen to personal narratives from individuals that experienced Jim Crow firsthand. What challenges did these individuals face?



1. What laws most disturbed you? Why?
2. What law surprised you the most? Why?
3. Why types of laws seemed most common? Why do you think so?

Many African Americans began to move north, both to escape discrimination and to seek out job opportunities in the cities.

Although legal segregation was not prevalent in the north, de facto discrimination was. This meant that people were separated “by fact” rather than by law. Schools, neighborhoods, and employment were segregated even though law did not mandate it. As African Americans began to compete with whites for employment, and white fears of racial equality grew, this could sometimes erupt into race riots. For example, the Springfield Riot in Illinois began when the authorities refused to release a black prisoner charged with rape to a mob of white citizens.

Thousands of whites attacked, looted, and burned black businesses and homes throughout the city. The militia was called in to get the mob under control and establish order once again.

Review the interactive map:
What trends can you discover
in terms of causes of the riots?

Interactive 2.16 The Rise
and Fall of Jim Crow
(PBS.ORG)



*Use the interactive map to identify
examples of Jim Crow laws.*

Confronting Inequality

As African Americans struggled with the challenges of discrimination, leaders emerged to offer different approaches to address the problems of inequality. One strong leader that emerged was **W.E.B. DuBois**. He argued for political and social equality for African Americans. He believed in educating Africans Americans so they could become leaders of thought. Dubois wrote “I insist that the object of all true education is not to make men carpenters, it is to make carpenters men; there are two means of making the carpenter a man ... The Talented Tenth of the Negro race must be made leaders of thought and missionaries of culture among their people.” He emphasized pride for both African and American heritage and sought brotherhood with whites. In 1905 he established the **Niagara Movement**, which called for full civil liberties, an end to discrimination, and a recognition of brotherhood. Eventually W.E.B. DuBois would go on to work as a publications director for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The **NAACP** worked primarily through the courts to strive for the equal rights of African Americans and achieve an end to segregation. In addition to their legal work, they would protest lynching and other violence against African Americans. This organization would remain an essential force in achieving civil rights for African American citizens in the following decades.

Another African American leader that emerged was Booker T. Washington, an African American educator. He founded the Tuskegee Institute, which was a vocational school for African Americans in the south. His believed that African Americans should gain respect and status by working their way up in society. Washington taught his students skills that he felt would help them to be successful. His focus was on the economic condition, and he believed that political and social equality would follow. Washington said in a speech, “Cast down your bucket where you are’ – cast it down ... in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.”

Because Booker T. Washington advocated for patience over more radical solutions, he relieved many whites that worried that educated African Americans would seek more equality. His strategy is sometimes called accommodation because he called on African Americans to adapt themselves to the limits imposed by white society.

Interactive 2.17 NAACP



Explore the NAACP website and identify the issues they are addressing today. How are these challenges similar to and different from those faced during the Progressive Era?

Progressivism and African Americans

Many African Americans felt ignored by the Progressives. Only the small group of Progressives that helped start the NAACP made addressing deteriorating race relations in the United States a priority. Limited action was taken by government to address problems of racial inequality and discrimination in the United States. As a result, African Americans would continue to struggle with segregation, discrimination, violence, and limited voting rights for years to come.

Interactive 2.18 You Decide: Booker T. Washington or W.E.B. DuBois?



Section 4

Progressives Push for Political Reform

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. What challenges did American society face?
2. How did Americans respond to these challenges?
3. What were the goals of reformers?

Terms, Places, People

16th Amendment

17th Amendment

18th Amendment

Direct Primary

Federal Reserve System

Initiative

Political machine

Progressive Tax

Recall

Referendum

Tammany Hall

Many Progressives believed that the government would need to take on a larger role to help combat the nation's problems, whether this be in regulating economic activity or an increasing responsibility for human welfare. Many Progressives hoped to see government develop more social welfare programs to ensure a basic standard of living for Americans. As reformers looked to government for action and support, their demands for change led to much legislation and reforms at all levels of government.

Local Government

Political Corruption. During the Progressive Era, corrupt **political machines** ran many local governments and bribery to obtain votes was commonplace. A political machine is an informal political group designed to gain and keep power and led by a powerful party "boss". Party bosses would often provide necessities such as jobs, housing, food, heat, and police protection to citizens in exchange for votes. Tammany Hall was a well-known political machine in New York led by William Marcy Tweed. "Boss" Tweed would often use bribes to obtain votes, though he was eventually arrested for corruption and sent to prison. In other instances of corruption, politicians were often paid to look the other way concerning certain business practices. Many wealthy entrepreneurs used their economic advantages to obtain political ones. Businessmen dominating important

industries often used their power and influence to bribe politicians to pass laws that would benefit them.



http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/art/common/image/Ga_cartoon_38_00392.htm

Political Cartoon Analysis

1. Describe the objects or people in the cartoon.
2. What symbols can you identify? What do they represent?
What issue is this political cartoon about?
3. What is the cartoonist's opinion or message on this issue?

Reform began at the local or city level because it was easier to implement than at the vast state or national level. Progressives focused on electing mayors that would support and implement their reforms. Municipal reformers were opposed to the influence of political bosses and argued that public service jobs should be filled based on merit instead of favors. Reformers hoped to weaken the control of political machines, which were seen as corrupt and often aligned themselves with the interests of big business. Because urban corruption from political machines was a major focus, reformers began the process of reorganizing local government using the commissioner and city-manager styles of governance. A city commissioner was an expert in a particular field charged with running a single aspect of city government (i.e. sanitation commissioner in charge of garbage and sewage removal). A city manager was a professional hired (based on merit rather than favors) to run each department of the city and report directly to the city council. Cities also began to work to end monopolies by taking control of utilities (water, gas, electricity) so they could ensure more affordable services. Some cities even began to support welfare services such as work relief, parks, and schools.

State Government

Reform of the electoral process, which increasingly had become controlled by political machines, was another priority of the Progressive agenda. Progressives sought to promote wider

citizen participation in the electoral process. This would include forms of direct democracy that would give citizens more power. One example was the direct primary, an election where voters cast ballots to select nominees for upcoming elections, which ensured that voters could pick candidates for office rather than party bosses. Progressive reformers also successfully lobbied for the direct election of United States senators, achieving this goal through the **17th amendment**. This replaced the former system in which members of the U.S. Senate were chosen by each legislature. Many states passed laws allowing the initiative, where citizens could propose new laws by getting a percentage of voters' signatures on a petition. Their proposed law would be placed on a ballot and put before voters in the next election. The referendum process also allowed for more citizen participation by letting citizens demand via petition that a law passed by the legislature be sent to voters for their approval. Reformers in many states also pushed through systems to allow for the recall (or removal) of elected officials. All of these changes were implemented to provide people a greater and more direct connection with their government.

Progressive governors such as Theodore Roosevelt of New York and Robert LaFollette of Wisconsin helped get reforms passed in their respective states. As governor, LaFollette championed state level changes such as a worker's compensation system. This would make it easier for workers to collect payment for workplace accidents. LaFollette also pushed for a minimum wage and

progressive taxation, which would place the burden of taxes on the wealthy.

"Battling Bob" would also stand up to the railroads by forming a commission to regulate their rates and increasing taxes on the railroads. State reformers also worked to implement laws for improved worker conditions and safety, such as an eight-hour workday and increased fire safety regulations.

National Government

The efforts of the Progressives extended far beyond the local and state levels, and into the national level where the result was legislative and even constitutional changes. The social problems of the era seemed so complex that many Progressives believed only the federal government was large enough to respond effectively. Trusts and monopolies were regulated under legislation such as the Sherman and **Clayton Acts**. Consumer safety was guaranteed under laws such as the Meat Inspection Act and the Pure Food and Drug Act. A new Labor Department was created to investigate and pursue labor abuses of women and children. Lands were set aside for preservation and conservation through the National Reclamation Act and creation of the National Park Service. Finally, reformers wanted government to stabilize the banking system. The Federal Reserve

Interactive 2.19 LaFollette's Views



Some of LaFollette's views are still debates occurring today. Where do you fall on these issues?

Act created the Federal Reserve System, or central bank of the United States. The “Fed” would offer a safety net to private banks, set policies concerning the amount of money in circulation, and control lending by setting interest rates.

The nation passed the 16th amendment, which created a federal income tax. Up until this point, the national government had relied on tariffs (tax on imports) as their primary source of revenue, which pushed up the prices of goods bought by the working poor. The new federal tax on income would be a progressive tax, which places a higher rate of taxation on those with high incomes than those with low incomes. The 17th amendment expanded democracy by allowing voters instead of state legislators to elect U.S. Senators. Finally, the 18th amendment would be the result of pressure from the temperance movement which resulted in prohibition, or the ban on the sale and manufacture of alcohol. Many thought this amendment would protect society from the poverty and violence associated with drinking, but it would prove to be very controversial.

Progressive Era Presidents

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. What challenges did American society face?
2. How did Americans respond to these challenges?
3. What were the goals of reformers?

Terms, Places, People

Tariff

Teddy Roosevelt

trust buster

Square Deal

William Howard Taft

Woodrow Wilson

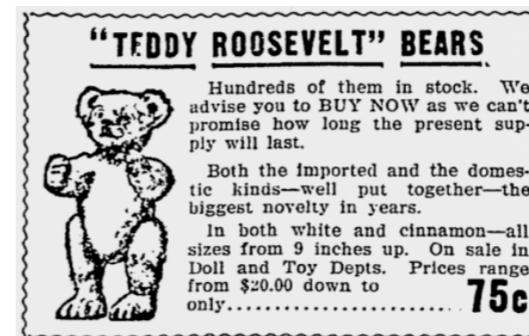
Clayton Antitrust Act

Roosevelt

Teddy Roosevelt was born into a wealthy New York family, but was often sick as a child. He got his start in politics in the New York State Assembly before becoming police commissioner of New York City, then governor of New York, secretary of the Navy, Vice President of the United States, and eventually President upon the untimely death of President William McKinley.

The political bosses in New York believed they could get rid of him by moving him up to the vice presidency. However, when McKinley died, Roosevelt suddenly became the most powerful man in the country.

Interactive 2.20 How did Teddy Bears Get Their Names?



Find out here!

Roosevelt's Square Deal

Just like Roosevelt's other endeavors, he acted boldly. He saw the presidency as a "bully pulpit" from which he would be able to successfully influence the news media and shape legislation to benefit the common people. Roosevelt referred to his progressive reforms as a "**Square Deal**" to which all common people deserved. The primary components of Roosevelt's push for reform included three C's: control over corporations, consumer protections, and conservation.

Roosevelt's first challenge to his assertion of federal power came in 1902 when 140,000 coal miners went on strike over the demand for a 20% raise, a 9-hour work day, and the right to organize a union. After five months into the strike, with coal reserves running low and no end in sight to an agreement between workers and owners, Roosevelt threatened to take over the mines. Both sides agreed to submit their differences to an arbitration commission which issued a compromise settlement.

This was monumental in that Roosevelt's actions demonstrated a new principle. From that point on, when a strike threatened the public welfare, the federal government would now be expected to intervene. Additionally, the progressive belief that disputes could be solved in an orderly way through the assistance of experts became a widely accepted principle.

Roosevelt also used his skills as a mediator to deal with the problem of trusts. While the president believed that some trusts were "good" because they had a conscience, there were many more that greedily abused the public. Under the **Sherman Antitrust Act**, in 1902, the President ordered the Justice Department to sue the Northern Securities Company which was able to secure a monopoly over Northwestern Railroads. By 1904, the Supreme Court ordered the dissolution of the company.

The Roosevelt administration filed 44 antitrust suits during his presidency and even though Roosevelt's reputation as a trustbuster had been secured, his real goal had been federal regulation.

Not only was President Roosevelt known as an extraordinary buster of trusts, he was even more successful in railroad regulation. In 1887, the **Interstate Commerce Act** established the Interstate Commerce Commission to enforce the new law prohibiting "pools" in which railroad owners were dividing their business in a given area and then shared profits. Prior to Roosevelt's administration, railroad owners would bypass the ICC through the appeal process to federal courts. Roosevelt was successful in urging Congress to put teeth into the original act by passing the Elkins Act in 1903. Other Congressional Acts followed resulting in a huge boost to the government's power to regulate the railroads.

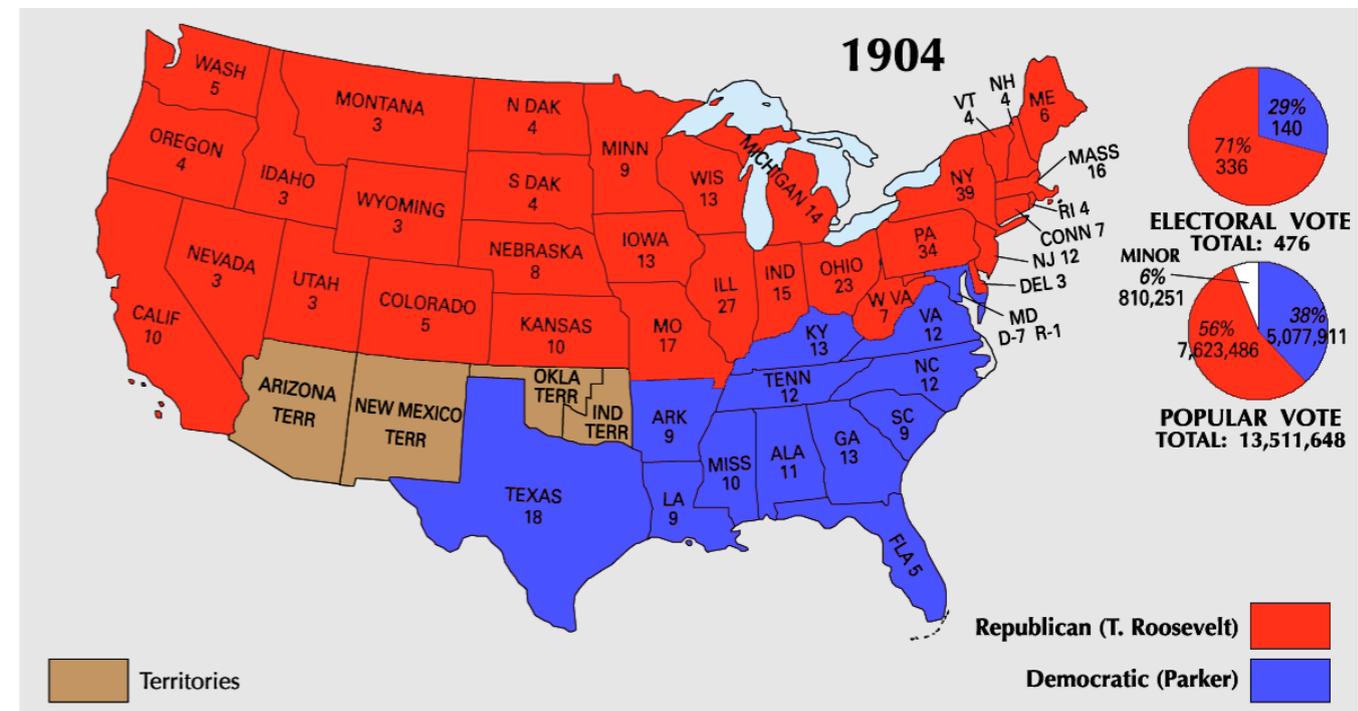


The "Trust Buster" <http://americanhistoryadventures.weebly.com/teddy-roosevelt-and-the-bears.html>

A Public Mandate

Having acceded to the Presidency in 1901 after the death of President McKinley, it was important to Roosevelt to win election as President in his own right in the 1904 election. He knew that he would need the support of two major contingencies:

Congress and the American public. Roosevelt came to an understanding with conservative Congressional Republicans, gaining their support in exchange for holding back the more progressive items on his domestic agenda. However, Roosevelt knew he couldn't refrain from breaking up monopolies if he wanted backing by the American public. Therefore, Roosevelt continued to bring suits against the beef trust, the oil trust, and the tobacco trust. This increased his popularity with the American public as he rode a huge wave of public support to



https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/6e/1904_Electoral_Map.png



What does this cartoon suggest about Roosevelt's approach to trust busting?

easily win the 1904 election--a public mandate unlike anything the nation had ever seen.

Protections to Citizens and the Environment

While President Roosevelt had continued to bust trusts and regulate the railroad industry, investigative reporters known as Muckrakers were busy investigating social, political, and economic corruption, calling for societal change for the improvement of the quality of life for most Americans. One such Muckraker whose investigative work in the meatpacking industry helped bring about reform for the consumer was Upton Sinclair.

Upon reading Upton Sinclair's description of conditions in the Chicago meat-packing industry in *The Jungle*, President Roosevelt reportedly spit out the sausage he was eating for dinner. He appointed a commission of experts to investigate the meatpacking industry and upon the commission's scathing report that reinforced Sinclair's disgusting descriptions of the meatpacking industry, Roosevelt pushed for the passing of the Meat Inspection Act. The act created a program at the federal level for the inspection of meat as well as strict requirements for cleanliness for meatpackers. Congress then took federal regulation a step further by passing the Pure Food and Drug Act in 1906, which put a stop to the sale of contaminated foods and medicines while also calling for truth in labeling.

Prior to Roosevelt's presidency, very little concern for the country's natural resources existed at the federal level.

Meanwhile, many Americans had exploited the natural environment. Forests had been leveled, prairies had been plowed up, cattle were allowed to overgraze on the Great Plains, spoil dumps from coal companies littered the land, and rivers had been polluted. Roosevelt condemned the attitude that America's natural resources were in endless supply. Persuaded by naturalist John Muir with whom Roosevelt had camped with in California's Yosemite National Park in 1903, the President set aside 148 million acres of forest reserves. Additionally, Roosevelt established more than 50 wildlife sanctuaries and several national parks. While Roosevelt and the head of the U.S. Forest Service, Gifford Pinchot disagreed with Muir's stance on conservation and permitted some wilderness areas to be developed for the common good, Roosevelt's legacy as a wildlife advocate was cemented.

The Push for Racial Equality Fails

As with most other progressives, President Roosevelt's push for reform did not include civil rights for African Americans. While the president did support a few individual African Americans such as **Booker T. Washington** who was head of an all-black training school, the Tuskegee Institute, the progressive movement mostly focused on the needs of middle-class whites. Additionally, the two presidents who followed Roosevelt--Taft and Wilson, also did

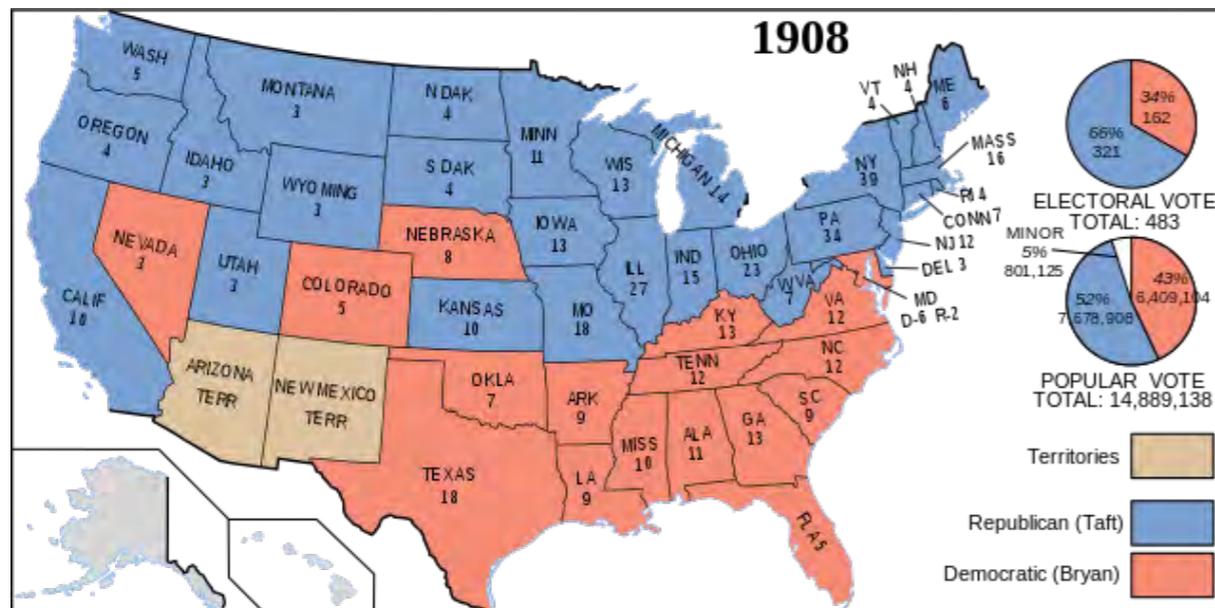
little to advance the goal of reducing or eliminating racial inequality.

Taft

As soon as Roosevelt won the election of 1904, he vowed not to run again in 1908. Because of his immense popularity, however, he was able to handpick a successor to carry out his agenda. He chose William Howard Taft, a close advisor and his Secretary of War. For the third and final time, Democrats nominated William Jennings Bryan. Bryan committed a major blunder during the campaign by calling for government ownership of the railroads. Such a move was regarded as socialism even by those with strong progressive leanings and made Bryan look like a wild-eyed radical. Taft easily won the presidency in 1908.

Although Taft was physically a large man at six feet tall and 350 pounds, he did not have the same larger-than-life personality that Roosevelt possessed. This was evidenced by the sheer number of the 90 trusts he busted in his four year term compared to Roosevelt's 44 trusts over a seven year period. He was cautious in his pursuit of the progressive agenda eliminating Roosevelt's distinction between "good" trusts and "bad" trusts and hesitated to take advantage of the presidential bully pulpit in the way that was Roosevelt's trademark. He unsuccessfully tried to strike a balance between the conservatives and progressives in his party which Roosevelt had managed to hold together through the sheer force of his personality. Progressives were particularly angry with him over tariffs and conservation.

Taft had campaigned on the promise to lower tariffs. This was a fundamental issue for progressives because high tariffs benefited businesses at the expense of consumers. All went according to plan in the House of Representatives where they passed the Payne bill which lowered tariffs on many manufactured goods. Conservative Republicans in the Senate, however, eliminated most of the cuts in their version. Progressives, including Roosevelt, felt betrayed when President Taft signed the Payne-Aldrich Tariff. He only made matters worse when he referred to it as the "the best [tariff] bill the Republican party ever passed" in his attempts to defend it.



https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/7/7d/Electoral_College_1908.svg/640px-Electoral_College_1908.svg.png

Conservationists were the next group to become upset with Taft. Taft had appointed Richard A. Ballinger, a wealthy Seattle lawyer who disapproved of the level of control the federal government had over western lands, as Secretary of the Interior. Ballinger

took a million acres of land in Alaska out of federal control and sold it to Seattle business interests who, in turn, sold it to wealthy New York bankers. When head of the US Forest Service, Gifford Pinchot, joined a former Department of the Interior official in publically criticizing Ballinger's actions, he was fired. Pinchot had been appointed to that position by Roosevelt who relied heavily on his advice in crafting his conservation policies.

Election of 1912

After President Taft had been elected in 1908, President Roosevelt decided to travel to Africa to hunt big game. Upon his return in 1910, a hero's welcome awaited him. Because President Taft's cautious nature made it impossible for him to keep the Republican party unified and a majority of the American public was disappointed with Taft's inability to look out for the welfare of the American people, Roosevelt decided to run for President in 1912. At the Republican convention, when Taft's supporters refused to unseat him as the incumbent, Roosevelt's supporters held their own convention a month later in August of 1912. The Progressive Party became known as the Bull Moose Party after Roosevelt had boasted that he was "as strong as a bull moose."

The split in the Republican party between Taft's conservative supporters and Roosevelt's progressives split the Republican vote, thus handing the presidency to Woodrow Wilson--the first Democratic president since the election of Grover Cleveland in 1892.



Originals: Joseph Keppler's 1910 cartoon for Puck.

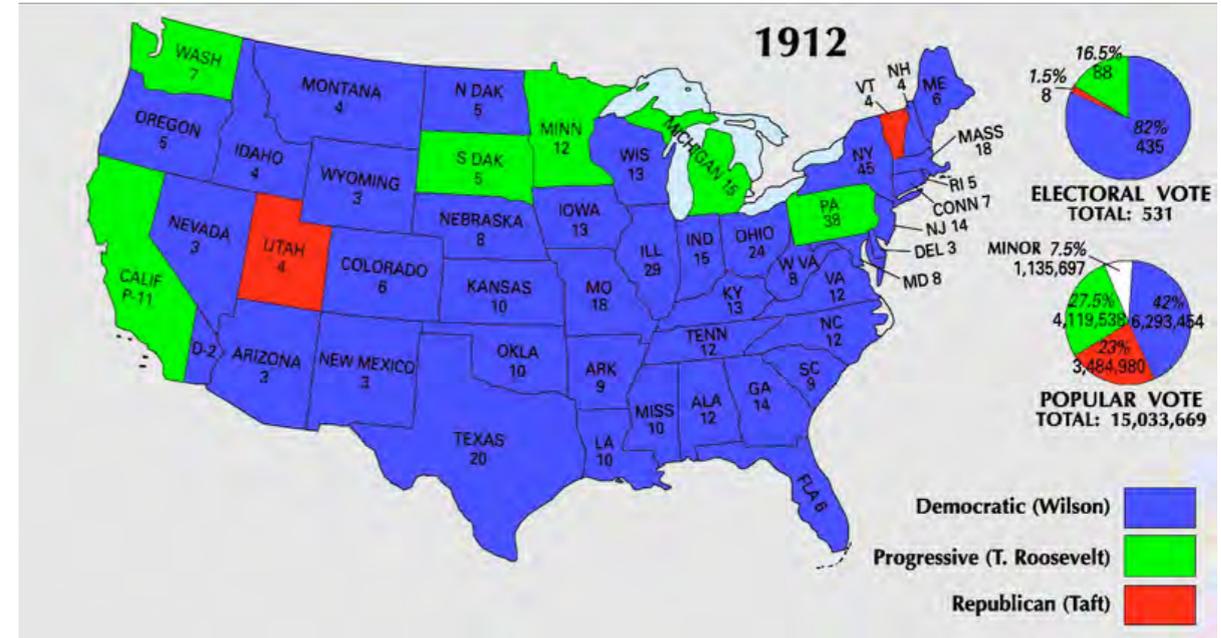
<http://www.cartoonnews.com/historical.htm>



1. What does this cartoon suggest about Taft's administration?
2. What does Roosevelt's response seem to be?



http://rnc.library.cornell.edu/vote/thirdparties/thirdparties_4.html



https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/f/f9/1912_Electoral_Map.png/800px-1912_Electoral_Map.png

Wilson's New Freedom

Like Taft's predecessor Teddy Roosevelt, President Wilson claimed to champion progressive ideals. As governor of New Jersey in 1910, Wilson declared himself independent of the political machine that had tapped him for the governor's seat and helped him get elected to the position. As governor, Wilson sponsored legislation to promote progressive programs that included direct primaries, workmen's compensation, and the regulation of railroads and public utilities. As newly elected President of the United States, Wilson outlined his program.

Titled, the "New Freedom," Wilson's plan was an attack of what he called the triple wall of privilege: tariffs, trusts, and high finance.



GOP Divided by Bull Moose Equals Democratic Victory (Puck, 1912.)

<http://www.quia.com/jg/2183659list.html>

Lower tariffs meant that the federal government had to figure out how to replace the revenue that tariffs had previously supplied.

The **16th Amendment** put into place a legalized federal income tax.

Additional Financial Reform

Wilson next turned his attention to financial reform. Most Americans agreed that credit availability and money supply both needed to keep pace with the economy. Wilson was able to address both issues through the establishment of a decentralized private banking system controlled by the federal government.

The Federal Reserve Act of 1913 established and divided the nation into 12 districts each affiliated with a federal reserve bank.

Through the power to issue new paper currency in emergency situations and transfer funds to member banks on the verge of closing, by 1923, the Act had resulted in approximately 70% of the nation's banking resources as part of the **Federal Reserve System**. Many Americans still see the nation's banking system as one of the most enduring achievements of President Wilson's administration.

Based on your completed chart, who do you think was the most progressive U.S. President and why?

Interactive 2.22 Progressive Presidents



Use this Google Doc to track information on Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson.