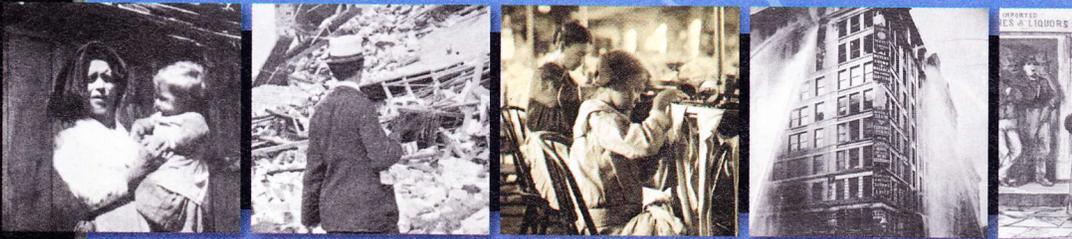


There's More Online!

- ✓ **BIOGRAPHY** Susan B. Anthony
- ✓ **BIOGRAPHY** Carrie Chapman Catt
- ✓ **BIOGRAPHY** Robert La Follette
- ✓ **BIOGRAPHY** Elizabeth Cady Stanton
- ✓ **GRAPHIC NOVEL** "Jeannette Rankin: First Woman in Congress"
- ✓ **IMAGE** Triangle Shirtwaist Fire
- ✓ **TIME LINE** The Woman Suffrage Movement
- ✓ **VIDEO** The Roots of Progressivism
- ✓ **INTERACTIVE SELF-CHECK QUIZ**



LESSON 1

The Roots of Progressivism

ESSENTIAL QUESTION • Can politics fix social problems?

IT MATTERS BECAUSE

The Progressive Era was a time when many Americans tried to improve their society. They tried to make government honest, efficient, and more democratic. The movement for woman suffrage gained more support, as did efforts to limit child labor and reduce alcohol abuse.

The Rise of Progressivism

GUIDING QUESTION Who were progressives, and what did they believe caused social problems?

Progressivism was a collection of different ideas and activities, not a tightly organized political movement with a specific set of goals. Rather, it was a series of responses to problems in American society that had emerged from the growth of industry. Progressives had many different ideas about how to fix the problems they saw in American society.

Who Were the Progressives?

Progressivism was partly a reaction against laissez-faire economics and its emphasis on an unregulated market. Progressives generally believed that industrialization and urbanization had created many social problems. After seeing the poverty of the working class and the filth and crime of urban society, reformers began doubting the free market's ability to address those problems.

Progressives belonged to both major political parties. Most were urban, educated, middle-class Americans. Among their leaders were journalists, social workers, educators, politicians, and members of the clergy. Most agreed that government should take a more active role in solving society's problems. At the same time, they doubted that the government in its present form could fix those problems. They concluded that government had to be fixed before it could be used to fix other problems.

One reason progressives thought they could improve society was their strong faith in science and technology. The application of scientific knowledge had produced the lightbulb, the telephone,

Reading HELPDESK



Academic Vocabulary

- legislation
- advocate

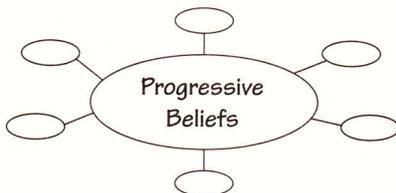
Content Vocabulary

- muckraker
- direct primary
- initiative
- referendum
- recall
- suffrage
- prohibition

TAKING NOTES:

Key Ideas and Details

Organizing As you read about the beginnings of progressivism, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by filling in the beliefs of progressives.



and the automobile. It had built skyscrapers and railroads. Science and technology had benefited people; thus, progressives believed using scientific principles could also produce solutions for society.

The Muckrakers

Among the first people to articulate progressive ideas was a group of crusading journalists who investigated social conditions and political corruption. President Theodore Roosevelt nicknamed these writers “**muckrakers**” because of what he perceived as their obsession with scandal and corruption. Widely circulated, cheap newspapers and magazines helped spread the muckrakers’ ideas.

Muckrakers uncovered corruption in many areas. Some, such as Ida Tarbell and Charles Edward Russell, concentrated on exposing the unfair practices of large corporations. Other muckrakers targeted government and social problems. Lincoln Steffens reported on vote stealing and other corrupt political practices of political machines.

Still other muckrakers concentrated on social problems. In his influential book *How the Other Half Lives* (1890), Jacob Riis published photographs and descriptions of the poverty, disease, and crime that afflicted many immigrant neighborhoods in New York City. By raising awareness of these problems, the muckrakers stimulated calls for reform.

✓ READING PROGRESS CHECK

Stating What groups of people made up the Progressive movement?

Reforming Government

GUIDING QUESTION *How did progressives hope to make government more efficient and responsive to citizens?*

Progressivism included a wide range of reform activities. Different issues led to different approaches, and some progressives even took opposing positions on how to address some problems. They condemned government corruption but did not always agree on the best way to fix the problem.

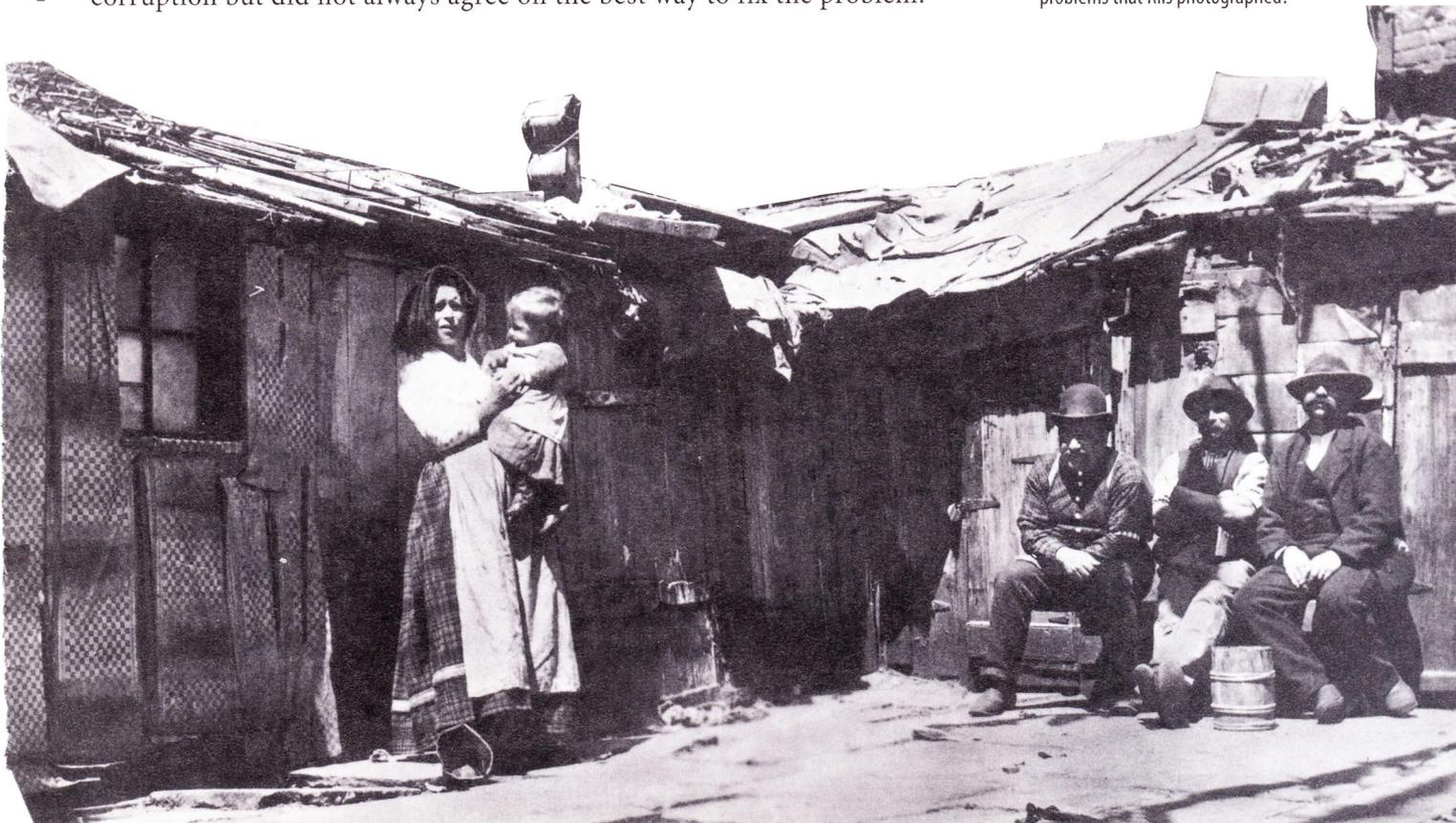
muckraker a journalist who uncovers abuses and corruption in a society

Progressive photographer Jacob Riis captured the poverty, disease, and crime common in many of New York City’s immigrant neighborhoods.

► CRITICAL THINKING

Determining Cause and Effect What did progressives believe caused the social problems that Riis photographed?

PHOTO: Bettmann/CORBIS



direct primary a vote held by all members of a political party to decide their candidate for public office

initiative the right of citizens to place a measure or issue before the voters or the legislature for approval

legislation a proposed law to be voted on by a governing body

referendum the practice of letting voters accept or reject measures proposed by the legislature

recall the right that enables voters to remove unsatisfactory elected officials from office

Making Government Efficient

One group of progressives drew its ideas for increasing government efficiency from business. Theories of business efficiency first became popular in the 1890s. Books such as Frederick W. Taylor's *The Principles of Scientific Management* (1911) described how a company could increase efficiency by managing time, breaking tasks down into small parts, and using standardized tools—a scientific approach to business that some progressives wanted to extend to government.

Progressives saw corruption and inefficiency in city government. Many municipal leaders traditionally chose political supporters and friends to run city departments, even though these people often knew little about managing city services.

Progressives supported proposals to reform city government. One, a commission plan, divided city government into several departments, with each one under an expert commissioner's control. A second, a council-manager system, employed a city manager who was hired by the city council. In both systems, experts play a major role in managing the city. Galveston, Texas, adopted the commission system in 1901. In other cities, political machines were weakened by having officials elected city-wide instead of by neighborhoods.

Democratic Reforms

Another group of progressives focused on making government more democratic and more responsive to citizens. Many believed that the key to improving government was to make elected officials more responsive and accountable to voters.

Wisconsin became a “laboratory of democracy” under the leadership of its governor, Robert M. La Follette, who attacked the way political parties ran their conventions. Party bosses controlled the selection of convention delegates and the nomination of candidates. La Follette pressured the state legislature to pass a law requiring parties to hold a **direct primary**, in which all party members could vote for a candidate to run in the general election.

The direct primary soon spread to other states. Other progressives also pushed for additional reforms: the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. The **initiative** permitted a group of citizens to introduce **legislation** and required the legislature to vote on the legislation. The **referendum** allowed citizens to vote on proposed laws directly, without going to the legislature. Both of these measures empowered public interest groups to speed change. The **recall** provided voters an option to demand a special election to remove an elected official from office before his or her term had expired.

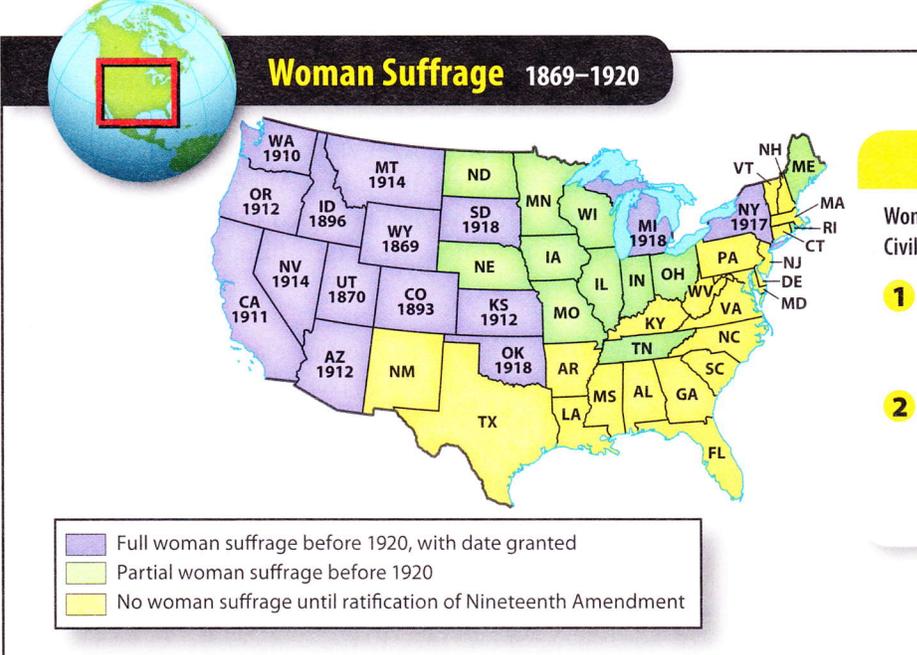
Progressives also targeted the U.S. Senate. The U.S. Constitution originally directed each state legislature to elect two senators. Political machines and business interests often influenced these elections. Some senators, once elected, repaid their supporters with federal contracts and jobs. To counter corruption in the Senate, reformers called for the direct election of senators by voters. In 1912 Congress passed a direct-election amendment. In 1913 the amendment was ratified and became the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution. Although direct election was meant to end corruption, it also removed one of the state legislatures' checks on federal power.

READING PROGRESS CHECK

Summarizing How did progressives hope to solve problems through political reform?

In 1900 the political machine running Galveston, Texas, failed to help the city recover from a devastating hurricane, so local business leaders convinced the state to allow them to take control.





GEOGRAPHY CONNECTION

Woman suffrage gained strength after the Civil War.

- 1 THE WORLD IN SPATIAL TERMS** Which state or territory first granted women the right to vote?
- 2 HUMAN SYSTEMS** In what direction did support for woman suffrage generally move throughout the country before 1920?

Woman Suffrage

GUIDING QUESTION Why did the progressives support the woman suffrage movement?

At the first women’s rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, Elizabeth Cady Stanton convinced the delegates that winning **suffrage**—the right to vote—should be a priority. Decades later, this right still had not been gained. It became a major goal for female progressives.

suffrage the right to vote

Early Challenges

The woman suffrage movement started slowly. Suffragists were threatened and called unfeminine and immoral. Many of the movement’s supporters were abolitionists as well, and in the years before the Civil War, ending slavery took priority over women’s voting rights.

After the Civil War, Congress introduced the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to grant citizenship to African Americans and voting rights to African American men. Leaders of the woman suffrage movement wanted these amendments to give women the right to vote as well. They were disappointed when established politicians refused.

The debate over these two amendments split the movement into two groups: the New York City–based National Woman Suffrage Association, founded by Stanton and Susan B. Anthony in 1869, and the Boston-based American Woman Suffrage Association, led by Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howe. The first group wanted to focus on passing a constitutional amendment. The second believed that the best strategy was convincing state governments to grant women the right to vote first. This split weakened the suffrage movement. By 1900, only Wyoming, Idaho, Utah, and Colorado had granted women full voting rights.

Building Support

In 1890 the two groups united to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). The movement still faced the challenge of convincing women to become politically active. As the Progressive movement gained momentum, however, many women realized that they needed the vote to promote reforms and pass labor laws. Women began lobbying lawmakers, organizing marches, and delivering speeches.

Jane Addams on Unsafe Working
Conditions for Children

“When the injury of one of the boys resulted in his death, we felt quite sure that the owners of the factory would share our horror and remorse, and that they would do everything possible to prevent the recurrence of such a tragedy. To our surprise they did nothing whatever, and I made my first acquaintance then with those pathetic documents signed by the parents of working children, that they will make no claim for damages resulting from ‘carelessness.’”

—from *Twenty Years at Hull House*, 1910

DBQ DRAWING CONCLUSIONS

Based on this excerpt, what insight does Addams’s description offer about the progressives’ view of child labor and the conditions in factories?

Quaker social worker and former NAWSA member Alice Paul founded the National Woman’s Party. Its members picketed, blocked sidewalks, chained themselves to lampposts, and went on hunger strikes if arrested. Suffragist Rose Winslow and several other women, including Alice Paul, were arrested for picketing the White House. After being sentenced to seven months in jail, Winslow and other women prisoners went on a hunger strike.

PRIMARY SOURCE

“We have been in solitary for five weeks. . . I have felt quite feeble the last few days—faint, so that I could hardly get my hair brushed, my arms ached so. But today I am well again. . . [Alice Paul] dreaded forcible feeding frightfully, and I hate to think how she must be feeling. . . I am really all right. If this continues very long perhaps I won’t be. All the officers here know we are making this hunger strike [so] that women fighting for liberty may be considered political prisoners. . . [W]e don’t want women ever to have to do this over again.”

—Rose Winslow, quoted in *Jailed for Freedom*, 1920

In 1915 Carrie Chapman Catt became NAWSA’s leader and tried to mobilize the suffrage movement in one final nationwide push. As more states granted women the right to vote, Congress began to favor a constitutional amendment. In 1918 the House of Representatives passed a woman suffrage amendment. In the Senate, however, the amendment failed by two votes.

During the midterm elections of 1918, Catt used NAWSA’s resources to defeat two antisuffrage senators. In 1919 the Senate passed the amendment by slightly more than the two-thirds vote needed. On August 26, 1920, after three-fourths of the states had ratified it, the Nineteenth Amendment guaranteeing women the right to vote went into effect.

READING PROGRESS CHECK

Determining Cause and Effect What progressive goals did suffragists believe they could achieve if women had the right to vote?

Reforming Society

GUIDING QUESTION *What problems did social-welfare progressives attempt to reform?*

While many progressives focused on reforming the political system, others focused on social problems, such as crime, illiteracy, alcohol abuse, child labor, and the health and safety of Americans. These social-welfare progressives created charities to help the poor and disadvantaged. They also pushed for new laws they hoped would fix social problems.

Many progressives focused on fixing social-welfare problems, such as child labor.

CRITICAL THINKING

Drawing Conclusions Why do you think progressives made their fight against child labor a key issue?



PHOTO: Library of Congress



Florence Kelley
(1859–1932)

Progressive Florence Kelley dedicated her life to campaigning for reforms. While working at Chicago's Hull House in the 1890s, she conducted research that encouraged the passage of the first law banning children younger than 14 from factory work. Later, she contributed to the foundation of the United States Children's Bureau to protect children. Her research on the effects of long workdays on women's health contributed to the Supreme Court's decision in *Muller v. Oregon*.

► **CRITICAL THINKING**

Making Generalizations In what areas did Florence Kelley's actions contribute to significant reform?

Child Labor

Probably the most emotional progressive issue was the campaign against child labor. Children had always worked on family farms, but mines and factories presented more dangerous and unhealthy working conditions. Muckraker John Spargo's 1906 book, *The Bitter Cry of the Children*, presented detailed evidence of child labor conditions. It told of coal mines that hired thousands of 9- or 10-year-old "breaker boys" to pick slag out of coal, paying them 60 cents for a 10-hour day. It described how the work bent their backs permanently and often crippled their hands. Reports like these convinced states to pass laws that set a minimum age for employment and established other limits on child labor, such as maximum hours children could work. At the same time, many states began passing compulsory education laws, requiring young children to be in school instead of at work.

Health and Safety Codes

Many adult workers also labored in difficult conditions. Factories, coal mines, and railroads were particularly dangerous. When workers were injured or killed on the job, they and their families received little or no compensation. Progressives joined union leaders to pressure states for workers' compensation laws. These laws established insurance funds that employers financed. Workers injured in accidents received payments from the funds.

In two cases, *Lochner v. New York* (1905) and *Muller v. Oregon* (1908), the U.S. Supreme Court addressed government's authority to regulate business to protect workers. In the *Lochner* case, the Court ruled that a New York law forbidding bakers to work more than 10 hours a day was unconstitutional, saying the state did not have the right to interfere with the liberty of employers and employees. In the *Muller* case, which involved women working in laundries in Oregon, however, the Court upheld the state's right to limit hours. The different judgments were based on gender differences. The Court stated that healthy mothers were the state's concern and, therefore, the limits on women's working hours did not violate their Fourteenth Amendment rights.

On March 25, 1911, a tragedy occurred in New York City that led to new reforms. A fire on the top floors of the Triangle Shirtwaist Company caused nearly 150 of the factory's 500 workers to lose their lives. The disaster illustrated that fire precautions and inspections were inadequate. In response, New York created a Factory Investigating Commission and soon passed new laws that reformed the labor code.

Some progressives also favored zoning laws as a method of protecting the public. These laws divided a town or city into zones for commercial, residential, or other development, thereby regulating how land and buildings could be used. Building codes set minimum standards for light, air, room size, and sanitation and required buildings to have fire escapes. Health codes required restaurants and other facilities to maintain clean environments for their patrons.

The Prohibition Movement

Many progressives blamed alcohol for many of society's problems. Settlement-house workers knew that wages were often spent on alcohol and that drunkenness often led to physical abuse and illness. Some employers believed drinking hurt workers' efficiency. From these concerns emerged the temperance movement, which **advocated** that people stop, or at least moderate, their alcohol consumption.

Women were important leaders of the temperance movement. In 1874 a group of women formed the Woman's Christian Temperance Union

advocate to propose a certain position or viewpoint



The temperance movement gained a key victory in 1917 when Congress passed the Eighteenth Amendment. Prohibition went into effect in 1920, after the amendment was ratified.

► CRITICAL THINKING

Summarizing Why did the temperance movement push for the prohibition of alcoholic beverages?

prohibition laws banning the manufacture, transportation, and sale of alcoholic beverages

to restore competition. This led to the passage of the Sherman Antitrust Act in 1890. Others argued that big business was the most efficient way to organize the economy. They pushed for government to regulate big companies and prevent them from abusing their power. The Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), created in 1887 to regulate the railroads, was an early example of this kind of thinking.

Some activists even went so far as to advocate socialism—the idea that the government should own and operate industry for the community. They wanted the government to buy up large companies, especially industries that affected everyone, such as railroads and utilities. At its peak, socialism had some national support. Eugene V. Debs, the former leader of the American Railway Union, won nearly a million votes as the American Socialist Party candidate for president in 1912. Most progressives and most Americans, however, believed in the superiority of the American system of free enterprise.

✓ READING PROGRESS CHECK

Explaining How did progressives seek to improve working conditions?

(WCTU). By 1911, the WCTU had nearly 250,000 members. As the WCTU's second president, Frances Willard served for nearly 20 years and championed rights for women, including equal pay and suffrage. In 1893 evangelical Protestant ministers formed another group, the Anti-Saloon League. When the temperance movement began, it concentrated on reducing alcohol consumption. Later it pressed for **prohibition**—laws banning the manufacture, transportation, and sale of alcoholic beverages.

Progressives Versus Big Business

Many progressives agreed that big business needed regulation. Some believed the government should break up big companies

LESSON 1 REVIEW



Reviewing Vocabulary

- 1. Drawing Conclusions** What was the primary goal of Progressive Era muckrakers?
- 2. Determining Cause and Effect** Why did women's organizations work for the passage of prohibition?

Using Your Notes

- 3. Organizing** Use your notes to write a statement summarizing progressive beliefs.

Answering the Guiding Questions

- 4. Identifying Central Ideas** Who were progressives, and what did they believe caused social problems?

- 5. Summarizing** How did progressives hope to make government more efficient and responsive to citizens?

- 6. Monitoring** Why did the progressives support the woman suffrage movement?

- 7. Identifying** What problems did social-welfare progressives attempt to reform?

Writing Activity

- 8. ARGUMENT** Suppose that you are one of the progressives who wanted to bring about change to municipal government. Prepare a persuasive speech that you could deliver to convince people to support your call for reform.