CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE
URBAN AMERICAN
AND THE PROGRESSIVE ERA, 1900–1917

CHAPTER OVERVIEW
This chapter covers continued urbanization of America and the social problems that resulted from rapid unplanned growth of the cities. Both political bosses and reformers tried to respond to the reality of industrialized and urbanized America. Social Darwinism was challenged by the Progressives who had a new, sometimes inconsistent, vision of the American community. They viewed the government as an ally to achieve realistic and pragmatic reforms. The climate for reform came from social workers, social scientists at universities and investigative journalists. Both political parties would embrace progressive views. Presidents Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson based their programs on these new ideas. Although much was accomplished, the progressive movement lacked unity and failed to address issues of class, race or sex adequately. Legislation was not always enforced or had unintended negative consequences. In the long run, politics was affected by the demand for social justice and attempts were made to confront the problems of rapid industrialization and urbanization.

CHAPTER OBJECTIVES
After reading the chapter and following the study suggestions given, students should be able to:

1. Trace the process by which the women settlement house workers first began and the community of reform they tried to create.

2. Summarize the principles of the Progressives, and the views of its principal proponents in journalism, social sciences and government, as well as its legacy.

3. Discuss the aims of and problems with social control legislation desired by the progressives.

4. Outline the problems of working class communities and their attempts to solve them through unions and reform legislation.

5. Summarize the role of women in the reform campaigns and the effects it had on their participation in public life and leadership positions.

6. Summarize the difficulties of black Progressives in gaining recognition but also positive effects within the black community.

7. Outline the attempts by both the Democratic and Republican parties to respond to demands that the governments, local, state and national, address the issues of social justice.

8. Making connections: chapters nineteen to twenty-one: analyze the possible connections between populism and progressivism as social reform movements.

CRITICAL THINKING/READING SKILLS
AMERICAN COMMUNITIES: The Henry Street Settlement House—Women Settlement House Workers Create a Community of Reform: What was the Henry Street Settlement House
and how did it become a model reform community? What issues did settlement houses try to address? What group generally lived in and worked for settlement houses? How rapidly did the settlement idea grow from 1891 to 1910? What did the Henry Street House accomplish?

THE CURRENTS OF PROGRESSIVISM: What problems originally inspired progressivism at the state level? What is the problem with defining progressivism?

**Unifying Themes:** What were the themes of progressivism at the state and national level? What were the sources of inspiration for the progressive movement? What uneasy combination did progressivism offer?

**Women Spearhead Reform:** Why did settlement house workers go beyond private charity to confront the social and political systems? Who was Jane Addams and what did she add to social progressivism? Who was Florence Kelley and what were her accomplishments and writings? What was their legacy?

**The Urban Machine:** What services did the urban political machines offer and how did they respond to the Progressives? What were the views of George W. Plunkitt and Timothy Sullivan? How powerful was machine politics? What machine politicians ally themselves with Progressives and on what types of reforms?

**Political Progressives and Urban Reform:** What was the connection between political Progressives and urban reforms? What types of problems did big cities face? Why did Progressives concentrate on the structure of government and what changes did they propose? What were the commission and city manager forms of government? Who were Samuel Jones and Thomas L. Johnson and what type of approach did they follow?

**Progressivism in the Statehouse:** How did progressivism fare at the state level? What states and individual leaders were significant and what types of reforms did they enact? What was their record on racism and “Jim Crow” laws?

**New Journalism—Muckraking:** What was new about journalism and what was the muckraking element in it? Who were the significant muckrakers and what were their writings? What problems did they draw attention to and what effect did they have?

**Intellectual Currents Promoting Reform:** What new intellectual ideas helped support progressivism? What challenge did sociologists like Lester Frank Ward offer to social Darwinism? What were John Dewey’s views on education? How did some of the social scientists contribute directly to reform? What were the basic ideas of John Commons and Richard Ely? What happened to the use of the Fourteenth Amendment? What was the significance of legal dissenters like Oliver Wendell Holmes and Louis Brandeis?

SOCIAL CONTROL AND ITS LIMITS: How was social control part of the progressive view? At which groups was this social control aimed? How successful was it? Identify: Eugenics.

**The Prohibition Movement:** What was the focus of the various temperance groups like the WCTU and the Anti-Saloon League? What groups were likely to support prohibition and what groups were likely to oppose it? What was the pietist vs. ritualist issue? Overall how successful was the movement at the state and then federal level?

**The Social Evil:** What was the social evil? Why was there more intensity about prostitution at this point? What were the various issues relative to prostitution? How did the progressive bent for studying problems via statistics show itself in this era? What did they find? What reforms did they enact and what unintended effects did they have?
**The Redemption of Leisure:** How did the Progressives see leisure as a moral issue? What leisure activities were particularly threatening? How was this particularly expressed by Frederick C. Howe?

**Standardizing Education:** What goals did Progressives set for educating children? How was one of the goals expressed by Elwood Cubberley? How rapidly did education grow from 1890 to 1918? What were the main principles of education as expressed in the National Education Association report of 1918?

**WORKING-CLASS COMMUNITIES AND PROTEST:** What types of working-class communities were there and what issues were they concerned with? What were the numbers of farm workers versus industrial workers? How successful were their protests?

**The New Immigrants:** What proportion of industrial labor was foreign-born? Where were most of them from? How were they different from earlier immigrants? What did many newcomers plan to do? What did the statistics of the U.S. Steel Mill in 1907 tell us about immigrant labor? What other groups immigrated to the U.S. and where and in what businesses did they concentrate?

**Urban Ghettos:** What was the immigrant experience in the urban ghettos? How was New York City an example of this? How did progressive reformers enter the union picture? What was the uprising of the 20,000 and what power did it illustrate? What was the Triangle Shirtwaist Company issue and the result?

**Company Towns:** What were the advantages and disadvantages of living in a company town? How did the community try to mediate with the company? What did a 1910 study of work accidents reveal? What was scientific management and the counter-action of “slowing down” or “soldiering?” What did Ludlow and Trinidad show about company towns and their power? What was the Ludlow Massacre and what results did it have?

**The AFL:** Unions, Pure and Simple: Why was the AFL termed a “union, pure and simple?” How successful was Gompers and the AFL? What weakness was there to their exclusive policy?

**The IWW:** One Big Union: What was the “one big union” concept of the IWW? Where was the IWW most popular and why? Who was William Haywood and why did he denounce the AFL? What was their overall success?

**Rebels In Bohemia:** Who were the rebels and where was “Bohemia?” What was the meaning of the term Bohemian and what were they symbolic of? What sense of community were they seeking?

**WOMEN’S MOVEMENTS AND BLACK AWAKENING:** How did the progressive ideology affect women’s groups and African American groups?

**The New Woman:** How did the progressive movement provide new avenues for women? What women were particularly attracted to the movement and why? How many women had a higher education? Why were these clubs likely to turn to reforms and what types of reform did they concentrate on? How did it encourage a sense of community among women?

**Birth Control:** How did the birth control movement begin and who organized and led it? How successful was Margaret Sanger and what organizations did she found?

**Racism and Accommodation:** How widespread was racism and violence against African Americans from the 1890s through the early 1900s? What was Booker T. Washington’s idea of accommodation? What did he encourage blacks to focus on? Why did he gain white support?
Racial Justice and the NAACP: What alternative to Washington’s accommodation became more popular? Who was W.E.B. DuBois and what alternative leadership did he give?

NATIONAL PROGRESSIVISM: What form did progressivism take at the national level? What presidents embraced the ideas and how did it affect the office of the president? What groups would rival the political parties?

Theodore Roosevelt and Presidential Activism: How did Roosevelt view the office of president and how did he proceed to make the most of his view? How did Roosevelt’s style encourage progressivism? How did he view his responsibility and how did he think problems could be solved?

Trust-Busting and Regulation: What trust-busting and business regulation did Roosevelt undertake? How successful was he? What was he trying to assert and what was his view about breaking up all large corporations? What three measures did he get passed in Congress and what was the basic belief behind all three of them? Why did some large businesses support regulation?

Conservation, Preservation, and the Environment: What position did Roosevelt take on preservation versus conservation? What view did Pinchot take? Who was John Muir and what view did he represent? What actions had Muir taken to try and publicize his view as well as save specific areas? How did the Hetch Hetchy Valley issue illustrate the differences between Muir and Pinchot? What was the outcome?

Republican Split: Why did Roosevelt’s view of reform split the Republican Party? What happened to the split when Taft took office? How did Taft compare to Roosevelt? Why did Roosevelt return to politics and form the Progressive Party? What was his “New Nationalism” program?

The Election of 1912: Who were the candidates and what were the issues in the election of 1912? On what basis did Wilson claim the Democratic Party to be the true Progressives? What was his “New Freedom” program? What effect did Socialist candidate Eugene V. Debs have on the campaigns of Wilson and Roosevelt? What was the outcome of the election? How well did the Socialists do? Why was this the first “modern” presidential race?

Woodrow Wilson’s First Term: What did Wilson do in his first term and what program did his actions resemble? What social issues did Wilson champion and what were his notions?

CONCLUSION: What was the progressive legacy? Where did it fall short?

KEY TERMS/VOCABULARY
Identify the following terms:

1. Lillian Wald
2. Jane Addams
3. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
4. progressivism
5. settlement house
6. Florence Kelley
7. Hull House
8. subjective necessity
9. political machines
10. George W. Plunkitt
11. Timothy Sullivan
12. reform
13. commission/city manager
14. Samuel Jones
15. Thomas Johnson
17. Jim Crow
18. Wisconsin Idea
STUDY SKILLS ACTIVITIES

1. Progressives Chart: As students read Chapter Twenty-one have them complete the chart on p. 291 to aid in their study. Students must include the position or title of the progressive, his or her major ideas/programs, and the actions of the progressive such as writing, legislation, etc.

2. Cooperative Learning: There are several opportunities for debate within Chapter Twenty-One. Divide students into groups and assign a subject to research and debate. Refer students to the Documents Set to gather facts for the debate. Topics include:
   b. Gifford Pinchot and John Muir
   c. Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft
   d. Social Darwinists and Gospel of Wealth versus the Progressives and Social Gospel.
3. Immigration Project: (Three parts)
   a. Research the origins of the *Pledge of Allegiance* and write a paragraph answering:
   b. Research the *Statue of Liberty* and write a paragraph answering the same questions.
      What is Emma Lazarus’ contribution to the Statue?
   c. Interview three first generation immigrants. As a class, students should decide which
      questions they will ask. Then the class can evaluate answers after completion of the
      assignment. Be sure to include: What does the Pledge of Allegiance mean to you? What
      does the Statue of Liberty symbolize to you?

4. Muckraking: Compare and contrast the term muckraking as it was used in the early twen-
   tieth century and its equivalent today. Could the “yellow journalism” of the Spanish
   American War aid its development? How have television programs such as “20/20” and
   “60 Minutes” contributed to today’s version of muckraking?

5. Supreme Court Cases: Have students research the Supreme Court Cases mentioned in the
   chapter or read the brief synopsis of each that follow on pp. ___.

6. Writing Skills: Evaluate the prompt at the end of Chapter Twenty-one. NOTE TO TEACH-
   ERS: Students must look at progressive reforms from the point-of-view of three different
   interest groups. In the list some groups were targeted by Progressives for help, some were
   ignored. Students could realize that progressivism and its reforms did not help all groups.
   You might preface this exercise with an examination of the chart *Current of Progressivism*
   found in Chapter Twenty-One. Ask students to discuss what groups in society would be
   best served by the reforms mentioned on that chart. Is there evidence elsewhere in the
   chapter of attempts by Progressives to serve groups that is not shown on that chart?
   Continue reminding your students of the need for a strong thesis statement and substan-
   tial use of facts, both from outside sources and from the documents.
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position or Title(s)</th>
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<td>John Dewey</td>
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<td>John R. Commons</td>
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<td>Richard Ely</td>
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<td>Oliver Wendell Holmes</td>
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<td>E.D. Thorndike</td>
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<td>Margaret Sanger</td>
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<td>Booker T. Washington</td>
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<td>W.E.B. DuBois</td>
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Supreme Court Cases

Northern Securities Case, 1904

The Case: J. P. Morgan, James J. Hill, and E. H. Harriman created the Northern Securities Company. Together the holding company controlled the Great Northern, the Northern Pacific, and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroads and rail transportation in the west. The Supreme Court ruled that the Northern Securities holding company violated the Sherman Antitrust Act. The company was more than just a stock company, but rather a trust. The holding company was ordered dissolved. The owners retained their individual ownership of their railroad lines.

Significance: The Supreme Court decision was followed by similar lawsuits dissolving monopolistic holding companies.

Standard Oil of New Jersey v. U.S., 1911

U.S. v. American Tobacco Co, 1911

The Cases: By 1879, John D. Rockefeller owned the largest oil trust in the United States. He controlled twenty separate oil companies and ninety-five percent of the nation’s oil industry. The Supreme Court ruled Standard Oil of New Jersey dissolved on the grounds that it represented unreasonable restraint of trade.

By 1872, the Duke family had built a large tobacco business. After the company began using a new machine that automatically rolled massive amounts of cigarettes the company grew even larger under the direction of James Duke. By 1890, he led the American Tobacco Co., which soon had a monopoly on the sale of all tobacco products except cigars. In 1911, the Supreme Court ruled the company a monopoly and ordered its dissolution.

Significance: The Supreme Court handed down the “rule of reason” which said that only those combinations guilty of “unreasonable” restraint of trade should be punished. The Court concurred with Roosevelt’s idea of “good” and “bad” trusts.

Lochner v. New York, 1905

The Case: The New York legislature passed a law in 1897 that prohibited bakery owners from requiring their workers to labor more than ten hours a day or sixty hours a week. Joseph Lochner owner of a bakery in Utica, New York, was fined for requiring an employee to work more than sixty hours a week. Lochner took the case to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Court ruled in 1905 that the bakery law was unconstitutional.

Significance: The Court ruled that the state had no reasonable ground for interfering by determining the hours of labor.
**Muller v. Oregon, 1908**

The Case: Oregon enacted a law that limited women to ten hours of work in factories and laundries. Curt Muller owned a laundry in Portland, Oregon, and, based on the Lochner decision, he refused to comply with the law. He appealed and it reached the Supreme Court. Louis Brandeis representing Oregon used detailed expert reports on the harmful effects of long working hours on women. The “Brandeis Brief” became a common strategy for lawyers defending the constitutionality of progressive legislation. The Court ruled the law constitutional.

Significance: The Court’s ruling represented the public opinion that physical and social differences between the sexes necessitated a different rule respecting labor laws. It also declared that special circumstances could justify a state’s use of police power in areas not covered by legal precedent.

**Danbury Hatters’ Case (Loewe v. Lawlor), 1908**

The Case: The United Hatters of North America organized a nation-wide boycott against the products of a nonunion hat company in Danbury, Connecticut. This secondary boycott, aimed by strikers at other companies doing business with their employer, such as suppliers of materials, was illegal. The Company sued the union for “restraint of trade” in violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act. The Supreme Court ruled that the boycott was in violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act and required the union to pay damages of $250,000. The cost of fines on the union members almost caused the financial collapse of the city of Danbury.

Significance: The decision encouraged Congress to pass the Clayton Antitrust Act of 1914, which exempted unions from prosecution in the matter of boycotts and organizing activities.
MAP SKILLS/Critical Viewing Activities

1. Immigration, 1900–1920
   a. Where did most immigrants to the United States come from in the years between 1900 and 1920?
   b. How did this compare to the nineteenth century?
   c. What percentage of the American labor force was made up of foreign-born?

2. The Election of 1912
   a. What was significant about Woodrow Wilson’s election as a Democrat?
   b. What happened in the Republican Party that aided Wilson?
   c. How did Teddy Roosevelt’s popular and electoral vote compare to Taft’s?
   d. How did Debs do as a candidate?
   e. Compare this map to the Election of 1896 map in Chapter Twenty.
      i. What states that voted for Wilson might have voted for Taft? Or Roosevelt?
      ii. What areas did Wilson carry that Bryan failed to carry in 1896?

3. Locate the painting by John Sloan entitled Movies.
   a. What is the subject of the painting?
   b. What leisure time activities were available in early twentieth century America?
   c. What is the Ashcan Realist school?

Reading Quiz

Multiple Choice:

1. Which one of the following is NOT true of settlement houses?
   a. They were reform communities run by college-educated women.
   b. They were in the midst of the neighborhoods they were trying to help.
   c. They grew from six in 1891 to 400 houses nationwide by 1910.
   d. They were Progressives but were often anti-immigrant.

2. Which one of the following was NOT an activity of Lillian Wald’s Henry House?
   a. providing health care for immigrants
   b. campaigning for school lunches
   c. working for conservation
   d. encouraging theater, music and dance

3. Lillian Wald was to Henry House as THIS person was to Hull House:

4. Samuel “Golden Rule” Jones and Thomas L. Johnson were examples of city leader-reformers who advocated a change in
   a. policy to improve social welfare for city residents.
   b. the slums and ghetto buildings.
   c. government such as the city commission and manager systems.
   d. voting such as recall and referendum.
5. The “Wisconsin Idea” was promoted by Governor Bob LaFollette as a way of
   a. strengthening direct democracy with direct primaries and other political reforms.
   b. controlling large industries.
   c. protecting state forests and watersheds.
   d. applying academic scholarship and theory to the needs of people.

6. In Jacob Riis’s book, *How the Other Half Lives*, the “other half” referred to the lives of
   a. women.          c. the urban poor.

7. *McClure’s* was a magazine that published exposés of the nation’s social problems. One such series was Lincoln Steffen’s study of widespread graft called *The Shame of the*
   b. Cities.            d. Oil Companies.

8. Not only was it a bestseller, but Upton Sinclair’s muckraking novel, *The Jungle*, also resulted in these two federal laws:
   a. Clayton Antitrust Act and the Federal Trade Commission
   b. Mann Act and the National Board of Censorship
   c. National Municipal Act and Initiative, Referendum, and Recall Act
   d. Meat Inspection Act and the Pure Food and Drug Act

9. Theodore Roosevelt gave them the label “muckrakers.” They were
   a. writers who exposed details of social and political evils.
   b. the corrupt political bosses in big city machines.
   c. pessimists who did not accept the progressive idea of reform.
   d. women who wanted more radical things than suffrage reform.

10. The state was to economist Richard Ely as THIS was to philosopher John Dewey:
    a. telic evolution          c. ethical shift
    b. education              d. *Gesellschaft*

11. You were MOST likely to be for prohibition if you were
    a. a working class Catholic.          c. an urban Jew.
    b. a German Lutheran.              d. a middle class Protestant.

12. If you were a teacher trying to follow Elwood Cubberley’s ideas, you would be stressing
    a. vocational manual training programs for a new industrial order.
    b. educational psychology and guidance counseling.
    c. assimilation and “Americanization” of immigrant children.
    d. family education centers to help reform the slums.

13. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union gained strength and merged working class women with middle class reformers as a result of the
    a. Ludlow Massacre.              c. “Bread and Roses” strike.
    b. Triangle Shirtwaist Fire.    d. “Uprising of the 20,000.”

14. In terms of racism, southern progressive reformers
    a. advocated complete equality.
    b. thought blacks were incapable of improvement.
    c. were less hostile but still paternalistic.
    d. felt blacks were not part of the New South.
15. Which one of the following has the LEAST association with the other three?
   a. double consciousness  
   b. Niagara movement  
   c. talented tenth  
   d. *Up From Slavery*

16. Conservation was to the U.S. Forest Service as THIS was to the National Park Service:
   a. preservation  
   b. business first  
   c. managed use  
   d. recreation

17. Which one of the following is NOT a reason that the election of 1912 was the first modern presidential race?
   a. It had the first direct primaries.  
   b. There was a great deal of interest group activity.  
   c. The candidates avoided issues and “threw mud” instead.  
   d. Traditional party loyalties were challenged.

CHRONOLOGY AND MAP QUESTIONS:

18. Which one of the following describes the CORRECT order of these events?
    (1) Margaret Sanger begins writing and speaking on birth control.
    (2) Lillian Wald establishes Henry Street Settlement in New York.
    (3) Jane Addams founds Hull House in Chicago.
    (4) Florence Kelley leads National Consumers’ League.
    a. 3,2,4,1  
    b. 4,2,3,1  
    c. 2,3,4,1  
    d. 1,4,3,2

19. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded in
    a. 1889.  
    b. 1901.  
    c. 1906.  
    d. 1909.

20. Woodrow Wilson takes the presidency in THIS year, defeating Taft, Roosevelt and Debs:
    a. 1900  
    b. 1904  
    c. 1908  
    d. 1912

21. The Sixteenth Amendment is ratified in THIS year bringing in a graduated tax:
    a. 1889  
    b. 1908  
    c. 1913  
    d. 1916

22. Which one of the following was NOT one of the top four European countries that was a source of immigrants to the United States between 1900 and 1920?
    a. Germany  
    b. Austria-Hungary  
    c. Poland  
    d. Russia

23. Wilson was only the second Democrat since the Civil War to be elected to the presidency in 1912. He was able to do this because
    a. Eugene Debs drew votes away from the Republicans.  
    b. he repeated McKinley’s pattern in 1896.  
    c. the Republicans split between Taft and Roosevelt.  
    d. the state Democratic machines had revived.
SHORT ESSAY:

24. In what ways did the Progressive movement draw upon science for guidance?
25. How was education used to achieve Progressive goals?
26. Why was the Republican Party at such a disadvantage in the presidential election of 1912?

EXTENDED ESSAY:

27. In what ways did Wilson’s background make him a natural Progressive Era presidential candidate?
28. Why did some big business figures support federal intrusion into the economy?
29. Why was birth control an important element in the liberation of women?