United States History
2019-2020
Scope & Sequence
Notes & How to Use this Document

This document is intended to replace the Louisiana Department of Education Scope & Sequence for the Jefferson Parish Schools’ U.S. History course. Please use this in conjunction with the JPS Curriculum Map and LDOE Companion Document, both of which have been incorporated into this scope and sequence. This document goes with the 2019-2020 Student Resource Book.

This Scope and Sequence guides your teaching with pacing, priority content information and a sample of activities to support and extend learning. As you deliver initial instruction, you may choose to implement the activities found here (Student Version is the Student Resource Book) and/or use your own activities. The activities found in this document/student version DO NOT cover every GLE in the priority content. Anything in black in this document is what students see in their books (1 per unit).

Imperative to any instruction is teaching the grade level expectations with fidelity.

As stated in the Louisiana Scope and Sequence Documents:

To be productive members of society, students must be critical consumers of information they read, hear, and observe and communicate effectively about their ideas. They need to gain knowledge from a wide array of sources and examine and evaluate that information to develop and express an informed opinion, using information gained from the sources and their background knowledge. Students must also make connections between what they learn about the past and the present to understand how and why events happen and people act in certain ways.

To accomplish this, students must:

1. Use sources regularly to learn content.
2. Make connections among people, events, and ideas across time and place.
3. Express informed opinions using evidence from sources and outside knowledge.

Teachers must create instructional opportunities that delve deeply into content and guide students in developing and supporting claims about social studies concepts.

For access to all documents, additional resources and the 6-12 social studies community of Jefferson Parish Schools, please join the Google Classroom- JP Social Studies Teachers 6-12 (class code: axsa5q).
## U.S. History Curriculum Map
### 2019-2020

#### 1st Semester (August 8 - December 18) / 2nd Semester (January 7 - May 19)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNIT</th>
<th>DATES</th>
<th>ASSESSMENTS</th>
<th>DBQs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1- Industrialization &amp; Expansion through the Progressive Era</strong></td>
<td>Aug. 12-16</td>
<td>District Diagnostic</td>
<td>The Philanthropy of Andrew Carnegie: Did it make him a hero?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jan. 8-10</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Topics:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Standard 2</strong></td>
<td><strong>GLES:</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>(25% of LEAP 2025)</td>
<td>2.1-3</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>18 Days</strong></td>
<td>Jan. 7-31</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>SPRING</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>21 Days</strong></td>
<td>Aug. 8-Sept. 6</td>
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<td><strong>FALL</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Teacher-created that mimics the LEAP 2025</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>30 Days (RHS)</strong> Aug. 8-Sept. 20</td>
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<td><strong>1.1-5</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>2- Foreign Policy through the Great War</strong></td>
<td><strong>7 Days</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sept. 9-18</td>
<td><strong>Teacher-created that mimics the LEAP 2025</strong></td>
<td>Should the United States have annexed the Philippines?</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>FALL</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Topics:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Standard 3</strong></td>
<td><strong>GLES:</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>(17% of LEAP 2025)</td>
<td>3.1-3</td>
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<td><strong>7 Days</strong></td>
<td>Feb. 3-11</td>
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<td><strong>SPRING</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>18 Days (RHS)</strong> Sept. 23-Oct. 18</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>3- Growth &amp; Decline Between the Wars</strong></td>
<td><strong>7 Days</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sept. 19-27</td>
<td><strong>Teacher-created that mimics the LEAP 2025</strong></td>
<td>Prohibition: Why did America change its mind?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>FALL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><del>OR</del> What caused the Great Depression?</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Topics:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Standard 4</strong></td>
<td><strong>GLES:</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>(28% of LEAP 2025)</td>
<td>4.1-5</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>8 Days</strong></td>
<td>Feb. 12-21</td>
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<td><strong>SPRING</strong></td>
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<td><strong>19 Days (RHS)</strong> Oct. 21-Nov. 15</td>
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<td><strong>4- World War II</strong></td>
<td><strong>8 Days</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sept. 30-Oct. 9</td>
<td><strong>Teacher-created that mimics the LEAP 2025</strong></td>
<td>Why did Japan attack Pearl Harbor?</td>
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<td><strong>FALL</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Topics:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Standard 4</strong></td>
<td><strong>GLES:</strong></td>
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<td>(28% of LEAP 2025)</td>
<td>4.6-10</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>9 Days</strong></td>
<td>March 2-12</td>
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<td><strong>SPRING</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>18 Days (RHS)</strong> Nov. 18-Dec. 18</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNIT</td>
<td>DATES</td>
<td>ASSESSMENTS</td>
<td>DBQs</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Oct. 7-9</td>
<td>District Benchmark 1</td>
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<td>Feb. 19-21</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Dec. 16-18</td>
<td>District Benchmark 2 (RHS only)</td>
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</table>

### 5- The Cold War & the Modern Era

**Topics:**
- The Cold War @ Home & Abroad
- Conflict & Social Movements
- The End of the Cold War

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard 5</th>
<th>20 Days</th>
<th>Teacher-created that mimics the LEAP 2025</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(30% of LEAP 2025)</td>
<td>Oct. 14-Nov. 8</td>
<td>Berlin, Korea, Cuba: How did the U.S. contain communism?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>FALL</td>
<td><del>OR</del> Politics or Principle: Why did LBJ sign the Civil Rights Act of 1964?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><del>OR</del> Politics or Principle: Why did LBJ sign the Civil Rights Act of 1964?</td>
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<td></td>
<td><del>OR</del> MLK &amp; Malcolm X: Whose philosophy made the most sense for America in the 1960s?</td>
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<td></td>
<td><del>OR</del> MLK &amp; Malcolm X: Whose philosophy made the most sense for America in the 1960s?</td>
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<td><del>OR</del> Why was the Equal Rights Amendment Defeated?</td>
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<td><del>OR</del> Why was the Equal Rights Amendment Defeated?</td>
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<td></td>
<td><del>OR</del> What made Cesar Chavez an effective leader?</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><del>OR</del> What made Cesar Chavez an effective leader?</td>
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**GLEs:**
- 4.10
- 5.1-5
- 6.2, 4-5
- 1.1-5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>42 Days (RHS)</th>
<th>Jan. 7-March 12</th>
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</table>

### 6- Entering a New Era

**Topics:**
- Crisis & Conflicts: U.S. & Middle East Relations
- Presidential Administrations in the New Era

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard 6</th>
<th>9 Days</th>
<th>Teacher-created that mimics the LEAP 2025</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(30% of LEAP 2025)</td>
<td>Nov. 12-22</td>
<td>Should the United States drill for oil in Alaska’s wilderness? (after LEAP 2025)</td>
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<td>FALL</td>
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**GLEs:**
- 6.1-5
- 1.1-5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>15 Days (RHS)</th>
<th>March 16-Apr. 3</th>
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### Extension Activities & Projects

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Through the end of the Semester</th>
</tr>
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</table>

| Nov. 18-22 | District Benchmark 2 |
| April 6-9 |                     |

| March 9-12 | District Benchmark 3 (RHS only) |
|           |                                  |

| Dec. 2-18 | LEAP 2025 |
| April 20-May 15 |          |
Unit 1
Industrialization & Expansion through the Progressive Era

Description
You will learn about innovation, expansion, and ethnic and cultural antagonism in the West, the rise of the industrial economy through innovations and the business practices of the Robber Barons/Captains of Industry, as well as the causes and outcomes of immigration, urbanization, and the Progressive movement. You will analyze how these changes and advancements affected the nation’s identity.

Claim
How do innovation and expansion affect a nation’s identity?

Key Connections
● Technological innovations contributed to social, political, and economic change.
● Political, social, and economic factors motivated mass migration within and to the United States.
● Territorial expansion and westward migration/settlement contributed to economic development.

Topics
1- Westward Expansion
2- Urbanization and Industrialization
3- Progressivism and Its Impact
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade-Level Expectations (GLEs)</th>
<th>Priority Content and Concepts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **US.2.1** Evaluate the social, political, and economic antagonism that occurred between ethnic and cultural groups as a result of westward expansion | - Describe the push and pull factors for migration to the West (native-born Americans, immigrants, Exodusters).  
- Explain how ideas and events influenced westward expansion and tension between groups in the West (Manifest Destiny, treaties and legislation, railroad expansion).  
- Explain the causes and effects of conflict between Native Americans and white settlers during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century (perceptions and beliefs; loss of sovereignty, lands, culture, and traditions; extermination of the buffalo; reservation system; wars such as the Battle of Little Bighorn and Wounded Knee).  
- Explain the effects of the Dawes Act on Native Americans.  
- Describe the methods and effects of forced assimilation on Native Americans.  
- Explain the causes and effects of conflict between white settlers and ethnic groups in the West (Mexican Americans, Chinese immigrants).  
- Describe the motivations behind and effects of the Chinese Exclusion Act.  
- Explain how ethnic and cultural groups responded to tension and hostility (formation of ethnic enclaves such as Chinese community centers in urban areas, Las Gorras Blancas/The White Caps, Ghost Dance movement). |
| **US.2.2** Describe the economic changes that came about on the western frontier as a result of the expansion of the railroad, cattle kingdoms, and farming | - Explain the motivations behind and effects of the Homestead Acts.  
- Explain how technological advancements affected farming and the cattle industry (barbed wire, railroads, end of the open range).  
- Describe the financing and construction of the transcontinental railroad (Pacific Railway Act, railroad tycoons, new technologies, role of immigrants).  
- Explain the social and economic effects of the transcontinental railroad.  
- Describe the tension between cattle drivers and farmers. |
| **US.2.3** Describe the causes of the political, social, and economic problems encountered by farmers on the western frontier and critique the solutions developed by the Populist movement | - Explain the economic and political grievances of late nineteenth century farmers and how those grievances led to the rise of Populism (farmers’ economic instability/debt, business practices of railroads and banks, the Grange/Farmers’ Alliance and agrarian movement, financial panics/crises).  
- Describe the economic arguments made by proponents of the gold standard versus proponents of bimetallism/free silver.  
- Explain and critique the feasibility of solutions proposed by Populists to the problems facing farmers and laborers.  
- Describe the differences between the Populist Party platform |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>US.2.4</th>
<th>Examine the effect of the government’s laissez-faire policy, innovations in technology and transportation, and changes in business organization that led to the growth of an industrial economy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>●</strong></td>
<td>Explain how industrialists and corporations revolutionized business and influenced the U.S. economy (development of industries such as oil, steel, railroads, and banking; Standard Oil Company; Carnegie Steel; new technologies; vertical and horizontal integration; monopolies/trusts).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>●</strong></td>
<td>Analyze reasons industrialists, such as Vanderbilt, Rockefeller, Carnegie, and J.P. Morgan, were characterized as robber barons and captains of industry (business practices, worker exploitation, philanthropy).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>●</strong></td>
<td>Explain the effects of technological innovations on the industrial economy (Bessemer process, electricity, telegraph, telephone, expansion of railroads, mass production, assembly line).</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>●</strong></td>
<td>Explain how industrialization contributed to urbanization.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>●</strong></td>
<td>Trace the relationship between the federal government and corporations.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>●</strong></td>
<td>Evaluate the societal effects of laissez-faire policy and the growth of the industrial economy.</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>US.2.5</th>
<th>Illustrate the phases, geographic origins, and motivations behind mass immigration and explain how these factors accelerated urbanization</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>●</strong></td>
<td>Describe the phases of and main geographic origins of late nineteenth century and early twentieth century immigration, explain push and pull factors for immigrants, and compare/contrast the experiences of immigrant groups.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>●</strong></td>
<td>Explain the significance of Ellis Island and Angel Island as entry points for immigrants in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>●</strong></td>
<td>Explain how mass immigration contributed to urbanization.</td>
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<td>US.2.6</td>
<td>Describe the challenges associated with immigration, urbanization, and rapid industrialization and evaluate the government’s response</td>
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<td>• Explain the tactics of political machines, such as William Tweed of Tammany Hall, (graft, election/voter fraud, spoils system/patronage) and the relationship between political machines and urban populations.</td>
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<td>• Explain the relationship between rapid industrialization, mass immigration, and urbanization.</td>
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<td>• Analyze the influence of Social Darwinism on ideas and policies related to immigration, urbanization, and industrialization.</td>
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<td>• Analyze the effects of industrialization on the lives of different groups in the United States.</td>
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<td>• Describe living conditions for poor, urban populations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (tenement housing, overcrowding, unsanitary conditions).</td>
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<td>• Analyze the factors that shaped immigration policy, reactions to immigrant groups, and assimilation efforts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (demand for laborers, nativism, social hostility).</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Describe the settlement house movement, including key people and objectives (Hull House, Jane Addams, Florence Kelley).</td>
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<td>• Analyze the government’s response to the business practices of corporations and monopolies/trusts (intervention, regulation, Interstate Commerce Act and Hepburn Act, Theodore Roosevelt and trust busting, Sherman and Clayton Antitrust Acts).</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>US.2.7</th>
<th>Examine the social, political, and economic struggles of a growing labor force that resulted in the formation of labor unions and evaluate their attempts to improve working conditions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Analyze the social, political, and economic struggles faced by the labor force (child labor, wages, hours, dangerous working conditions, Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire, standard of living).</td>
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<td>• Compare and contrast the goals and tactics of labor leaders and unions (Terence Powderly and the Knights of Labor, Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor, Eugene Debs and the American Railway Union, Industrial Workers of the World).</td>
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<td>• Describe the role of women and minority groups in labor unions during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.</td>
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<td>• Explain the causes and effects of major labor strikes and riots (Great Railroad Strike of 1877, Haymarket Square Riot, Homestead Strike, Pullman Strike).</td>
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<tr>
<th>US.2.8</th>
<th>Identify the goals of Progressivism; describe the influence of the Muckrakers, political leaders, and intellectuals; and evaluate the movement’s successes and failures</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Explain the rise and goals of the Progressive movement.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Explain the goals and tactics of muckrakers, and analyze the role they played in the Progressive movement (Thomas Nast, Ida Tarbell, Upton Sinclair, Lincoln Steffens, Jacob Riis, Lewis Hine, Ida B. Wells).</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Explain key pieces of legislation that resulted from the Progressive movement (Pendleton Civil Service Act, Meat Inspection Act, Pure Food and Drug Act, Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Amendments).</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>US.1.1</strong> Produce clear and coherent writing for a range of tasks, purposes, and audiences by:</td>
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<tr>
<td>- conducting short and sustained research</td>
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<td>- evaluating conclusions from evidence (broad variety, primary and secondary sources)</td>
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<td>- evaluating varied explanations for actions/events</td>
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<td>- determining the meaning of words and phrases from historical texts</td>
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<td>- analyzing historians’ points of view</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Opportunities for addressing US.1.1 in Unit 1:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Analyze a variety of primary sources by Native Americans from different tribes to explain common and divergent experiences.</td>
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<td>- Analyze the extent to which views about the role of government shifted during this time period.</td>
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<td>- Conduct research on a civil rights activist from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century and evaluate their impact.</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Read and analyze excerpts from key texts from the period, such as William Jennings Bryan’s “Cross of Gold” speech, “The New Nationalism” by Theodore Roosevelt, “Wealth” by Andrew Carnegie, and the Populist Party platform.</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Read and analyze excerpts by influential muckrakers/Progressives to answer questions about the Progressive movement (The History of Standard Oil by Ida Tarbell, Shame of the Cities by Lincoln Steffens, How the Other Half Lives by Jacob Riis, The Jungle by Upton Sinclair, Twenty Years at Hull House by Jane Addams).</td>
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</table>

| **US.1.2** Compare and/or contrast historical periods in terms of:  |
| - differing political, social, religious, or economic contexts  |
| - similar issues, actions, and trends  |
| - both change and continuity  |
| **Opportunities for addressing US.1.2 in Unit 1:**  |
| - Analyze a broad variety of sources to evaluate continuities and changes in the lives of a specific group during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.  |
| - Analyze how popular and historical perceptions and depictions of the West during the late nineteenth century (Native Americans, cowboys, mythology of the West) have shifted over time.  |
| - Compare and contrast societal responses to immigration during this period to other periods in U.S. history.  |
| - Analyze a broad variety of sources to compare economic inequality during the Gilded Age to other periods in U.S. history.  |
| - Analyze the impact of the Turner/Frontier Thesis and explain how it is viewed by modern historians.  |

| **US.1.3** Propose and defend a specific point of view on a contemporary or historical issue and provide supporting evidence to justify that position  |
| **Opportunities for addressing US.1.3 in Unit 1:**  |
| - Develop an argument on a topic from the unit where controversy exists among modern historians.  |

| **US.1.5** Analyze historical periods using timelines, political cartoons, maps, graphs, debates, and other historical sources  |
| **Opportunities for addressing US.1.5 in Unit 1:**  |
| - Use timelines, political cartoons, maps, graphs, debates, and other historical sources to analyze key events, people, and ideas from this unit.  |
Key Terms
- push/pull factors
- manifest destiny
- Dawes Act
- assimilation
- Homestead Act
- Exodusters
- Indian Removal
- Sitting Bull
- Battle of Little Bighorn
- Custer’s Last Stand
- Gold Rush
- frontier
- Turner Thesis
- money supply
- monetary policy
- The Grange
- Populist Party
- populism
- monopoly
- trust
- oligopoly
- cartel
- robber baron
- captain of industry
- Bessemer process
- Andrew Carnegie
- John Rockefeller
- JP Morgan
- Cornelius Vanderbilt
- patent
- productivity
- Alexander Graham Bell
- Thomas Edison
- mass production
- horizontal integration
- vertical integration
- Sherman Anti-Trust Act
- Clayton Anti-Trust Act
- Transcontinental Railroad
- social Darwinism
- labor union
- collective bargaining
- American Federation of Labor
- Samuel Gompers
- Great Railroad Strike of 1877
- Homestead Strike
- Pullman Strike
- Haymarket Square Riot
- anarchist
- business cycle
- child labor
- immigration
- Ellis Island
- Angel Island
- Gilded Age
- panic
- American Dream
- ghetto
- Florence Kelley
- tenement
- political machine
- laissez-faire
- civil service
- Pendleton Civil Service Act
- social gospel movement
- Chinese Exclusion Act
- Gentleman’s Agreement
- Lewis Hine
- Jacob Riis
- How the Other Half Lives
- Boss Tweed
- Tammany Hall
- settlement house
- sociology
- nativism
- temperance movement
- prohibition
- vice
- Rutherford B. Hayes
- James Garfield
- Chester Arthur
- Grover Cleveland
- Benjamin Harrison
- William McKinley
- literacy
- assimilation
- higher education
- Booker T. Washington
- WEB DuBois
- yellow journalism
- Jim Crow
- Plessy v. Ferguson
- disenfranchisement
- poll tax
- grandfather clause
- literacy test
- segregation
- lynching
- Niagra Movement
- NAACP
- Progressive Era
- muckraker
- social welfare
- municipal
- direct primary
- initiative
- referendum
- recall
- Upton Sinclair
- The Jungle
- Ida Tarbell
- trustbusting
- Theodore Roosevelt
- William Howard Taft
- Woodrow Wilson
- Federal Trade Commission
- Federal Reserve System
- Meat Inspection Act
- Pure Food & Drug Act
- 16th Amendment
- 17th Amendment
- 18th Amendment
- 19th Amendment
- conservation
- suffrage
- Alice Paul
- civil disobedience
Topic One
Westward Expansion
(US 2.1-3)

Connections to the Unit Claim
You will investigate the social, political, and economic antagonism that existed between ethnic and cultural groups on the Western Frontier, the rise of the Transcontinental railroad and its impacts on the people of the West, and the rise of the Populist movement to address the concerns of the American Farmer. You will apply what you learn to analyze how Western Expansion affected the nation’s identity.

To Explore These Key Questions
• Did the good of Westward Expansion outweigh the bad?
• What examples of progress and conflict arose from Westward Expansion in the second half of the 19th century?
• What instances of social, political, and economic antagonism between cultural and ethnic groups arose from Westward Expansion?
• How did advancements in technology impact the economy of the West?
• What changes did America face as a result of the Transcontinental Railway?
• How did technological advancements impact farming and the cattle industry?
• Was the Populist movement a success?
• How did economic instability lead to the rise of Populism?
• What solutions to the problems facing farmers did the Populist movement propose?

Homesteaders used a special plow to cut blocks of prairie sod that were 18 inches wide and 24 inches long and weighed about fifty pounds each.

Mr. and Mrs. Curry in front of their Custer County, Nebraska sod house.

Instructional Task One:

*The Antagonism of Western Expansion*

You will investigate primary and secondary sources in order to understand the social, political, and economic antagonism that occurred between ethnic groups as a result of Western Expansion.

*As you read, reflect on the key question, “Did the good of Westward Expansion outweigh the bad?”*  
*After examining the sources, answer the questions.*

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**Instructional Process:**

1. Post the following question: “What is the meaning of American identity?” Direct students to do a one-minute quick write answering this question. After students have finished writing, have a few students share their responses.

2. Ask students “what shapes the American identity?” and lead a brief discussion on the question.

3. Following the discussion, explain to students that through this course they will explore how the American identity has changed throughout history, and how historical events - both political and social - impact society, and how the American identity is formed and reformed over time. Explain that they will start this investigation in the time period following the Civil War and Reconstruction, and will continue through the modern era, stopping just short of the present day. Explain to students that as they learn about historical events in American history, they will be asked to make a claim on how those events impacted and changed the American identity.

4. Explain to students that they will start their investigation during a time of great change - the time period following the Civil War. Americans were moving West in great numbers, and the U.S. was emerging as one of the greatest industrial powers in the world. Explain that with these great changes came conflict, expansion, innovation, great wealth and great poverty. In the first unit, students will explore western expansion and industrialization through the Progressive Era, in order to answer the question, “how do innovation and expansion affect a nation’s identity?”

5. Post and read aloud the compelling question for this task: “Does the good of Westward Expansion outweigh the bad?”

6. To activate prior knowledge, say, “as you learned in 7th grade, Americans started to move West at the turn of the 19th century in search of economic opportunity, leading to the expansion of the United States’ borders.”

7. Ask students to write a paragraph about what they already know about Westward Expansion. Write some key words and phrases on the board to jog students’ memories, such as *the Louisiana Purchase, Manifest Destiny, the Oregon Trail, the Mexican-American War, the Homestead Act,* and *the California Gold Rush.*

8. After writing, ask students to share out what they can recall about Westward Expansion from previous social studies courses. Students should refer to conflicts that arose from Westward Expansion over land and resources. Use the following guiding questions to support reflection:
   1. What factors led to Westward Expansion?
   2. Why did territorial and economic expansion create conflict? How were these conflicts resolved?
3. How were America’s borders expanded?
4. What were the political, social, and economic reasons for U.S. territorial expansion?
9. Say: “We are going to continue to investigate the outcomes of Westward Expansion by exploring secondary sources to broaden historical context, then we will be assigned primary sources that evidence the antagonism that arose from Westward Expansion and engage in expert presentations on those sources. We will use the compelling question “does the good of Westward Expansion outweigh the bad?” to guide our inquiry.”
10. Post and read aloud the first supporting question for the task: “What examples of progress and conflict arose from Westward Expansion in the 2nd half of the 19th century?”
11. Deliver initial instruction on Westward Expansion, the Homestead Act, the Exodusters, Push/Pull factors, Manifest Destiny, Immigrants, Native Americans, Conflict, Reservations and the Dawes Act.
12. You can use the readings and questions in the Resource Book to support your instruction or any other activities of your choice. Grouping and collaborative learning should be implemented as much as possible.
13. This instructional task can be concluded with the extended response prompt found in the Resource Book, “Based on the sources and your knowledge of U.S. history, assess if the positive consequences of Westward Expansion outweighed the negative.”
14. The Extended Response Rubric AND Extended Response Checklist are at the end of this document as well as in the Google Classroom. Please copy and distribute to students to be kept in their notebooks/binders.
Westward, ho!

Westward expansion, the 19th-century movement of settlers into the American West, began with the Louisiana Purchase and was fueled by the Gold Rush, the Oregon Trail and a belief in "manifest destiny."

In 1803, President Thomas Jefferson purchased the territory of Louisiana from the French government for $15 million. The Louisiana Purchase stretched from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains and from Canada to New Orleans, and it doubled the size of the United States. To Jefferson, westward expansion was the key to the nation’s health: He believed that a republic depended on an independent, virtuous citizenry for its survival, and that independence and virtue went hand in hand with land ownership, especially the ownership of small farms. ("Those who labor in the earth," he wrote, "are the chosen people of God.") In order to provide enough land to sustain this ideal population of virtuous yeomen, the United States would have to continue to expand. The westward expansion of the United States is one of the defining themes of 19th-century American history, but it is not just the story of Jefferson’s expanding “empire of liberty.” On the contrary, as one historian writes, in the six decades after the Louisiana Purchase, westward expansion “very nearly destroy[ed] the republic.”

By 1840, nearly 7 million Americans—40 percent of the nation’s population—lived in the trans-Appalachian West. Most of these people had left their homes in the East in search of economic opportunity. Like Thomas Jefferson, many of these pioneers associated westward migration, land ownership and farming with freedom. In Europe, large numbers of factory workers formed a dependent and seemingly permanent working class; by contrast, in the United States, the western frontier offered the possibility of independence and upward mobility for all.

In 1845, a journalist named John O’Sullivan put a name to the idea that helped pull many pioneers toward the western frontier. Westward migration was an essential part of the republican project, he argued, and it was Americans’ “manifest destiny,” to carry the “great experiment of liberty” to the edge of the continent: to “overspread and to possess the whole of the [land] which Providence has given us,” O’Sullivan wrote. The survival of American freedom depended on it.

The Homestead Act

Signed into law in May 1862, the Homestead Act opened up settlement in the western United States, allowing any American, including freed slaves, to put in a claim for up to 160 free acres of federal land. By the end of the Civil War, 15,000 homestead claims had been established, and more followed in the postwar years. Eventually, 1.6 million individual claims would be approved;
nearly ten percent of all government held property for a total of 420,000 square miles of territory.

The Homestead Act (May 20, 1862) set in motion a program of public land grants to small farmers. Before the Civil War, the southern states had regularly voted against homestead legislation because they correctly foresaw that the law would hasten the settlement of western territory, ultimately adding to the number and political influence of the free states. This opposition to the homestead bill, as well as to other internal improvements that could hasten western settlement, exacerbated sectional conflicts. Indeed, the vision of independent yeomen establishing homesteads on the prairies was offered in the political rhetoric of the 1850s as a vivid contrast to the degradation of slave labor on southern plantations. A homestead bill passed the House in 1858 but was defeated by one vote in the Senate; the next year, a similar bill passed both houses but was vetoed by President James Buchanan. In 1860, the Republican platform included a plank advocating homestead legislation.

After the southern states had seceded, homestead legislation was high on the Republican agenda. The Homestead Act of 1862 provided that any adult citizen (or person intending to become a citizen) who headed a family could qualify for a grant of 160 acres of public land by paying a small registration fee and living on the land continuously for five years. If the settler was willing to pay $1.25 an acre, he could obtain the land after only six months’ residence.

But the law did not provide the new beginning for urban slum dwellers that some had hoped; few such families had the resources to start farming, even on free land. The grants did give new opportunities to many impoverished farmers from the East and Midwest, but much of the land granted under the Homestead Act fell quickly into the hands of speculators. Also, over time, the growing mechanization of American agriculture led to the replacement of individual homesteads with a smaller number of much larger farms.
The Act required that the applicant must never have “borne arms against the United States Government or given aid and comfort to its enemies.” After the Civil War, this meant that ex-Confederate soldiers were ineligible to apply for a homestead. With the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment, which guaranteed US citizenship to African Americans and ex-slaves, homesteading became a possibility for freed people. And after a Supreme Court decision in 1898, immigrants became eligible to apply to the federal government for a homestead as well, though by that time, the best lands had already been claimed.

Adapted from History.com and Khanacademy.org

The Exodusters

When Reconstruction ended in 1877, southern whites used violence, economic exploitation, discriminatory laws called Black Codes, and political disenfranchisement to subjugate African Americans and undo their gains during Reconstruction. Kansas and other destinations on the Great Plains represented a chance to start a new life. Kansas had fought to be a free state and, with the Homestead Act of 1862, the region offered lots of land at low cost. As a result, between the late 1870s and early 1880s, more than 20,000 African Americans left the South for Kansas, the Oklahoma Territory, and elsewhere on the Great Plains in a migration known as the “Great Exodus.”

Benjamin Singleton established the Edgefield Real Estate and Homestead Association to help organize travel and settlement for African Americans departing Tennessee for Kansas. These four Exodusters moved to Nicodemus, Kansas which was the first all-black settlement in the Great Plains.

Courtesy of Kansas City Public Library / Library of Congress
These African American migrants, or Exodusters, came primarily from Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Tennessee. Some participated in organized recruitment efforts to establish black colonies in Kansas. Others just picked up and left, often traveling by steamboat to St. Louis, where they received help to get the rest of the way. One prominent promoter of the Exodus was Benjamin “Pap” Singleton, who organized several colonies in Kansas and recruited African Americans from Tennessee to move there. The peak of the Exodus occurred in the spring of 1879 when 6,000 migrants arrived in Kansas in only a few months.

For many Exodusters, the “promised land” of Kansas proved more punishing than they had hoped; the land was difficult to cultivate, and building homes and businesses with few resources proved challenging. The Exodus slowed in the 1880s and, by 1900, the population of many of the rural Exoduster towns and settlements began to decline.

The Exodus demonstrated that formerly enslaved people were claiming their freedom of movement—the power to decide where they would travel and live that slavery had denied them. In doing so, they sought better lives for themselves and rejected the violent white supremacist regime that was taking hold in the post-Reconstruction South. The predominantly black communities the Exodusters created provided important models of black self-government and community building in the West at the end of the nineteenth century.

Adapted from Samantha Gibson, Digital Public Library of America
What are the Pull and Push factors of migration?

People migrate for a number of reasons. These reasons may fall under these four areas: Environmental, Economic, Cultural and Socio-political. Within that, the reasons may also be ‘push’ or ‘pull’ factors.

**Push Factors**

Push factors are those that force the individual to move voluntarily, and in many cases, they are forced because the individual risk something if they stay. Push factors may include conflict, drought, famine, or extreme religious activity. Poor economic activity and lack of job opportunities are also strong push factors for migration. Other strong push factors include race and discriminating cultures, political intolerance and persecution of people who question the status quo.

**Pull Factors**

Pull factors are those factors in the destination country that attract the individual or group to leave their home. Those factors are known as place utility, which is the desirability of a place that attracts people. Better economic opportunities, more jobs, and the promise of a better life often pull people into new locations.

Sometimes individuals have ideas and perceptions about places that are not necessarily correct, but are strong pull factors for that individual. As people grow older and retire, many look for places with warm weather, peaceful and comfortable locations to spend their retirement after a lifetime of hard work and savings. Such ideal places are pull factors too.

Very often, people consider and prefer opportunities closer to their location than similar opportunities farther away. In the same vein, people often like to move to places with better cultural, political, climatic and general terrain in closer locations than locations farther away. It is rare to find people move over very long distances to settle in places that they have little knowledge of.

**Check for Understanding**

1. What were the specific push and pull factors that fueled American westward migration?

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2. Why was federal land grant legislation so contentious?

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3. Why was the Exoduster movement important in the narrative of American Westward expansion and American history as a whole?

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Manifest Destiny and Minorities

As white Americans pushed west, they not only collided with Native American tribes but also with Mexican Americans and Chinese immigrants. Mexican Americans in the Southwest had been given the opportunity to become American citizens at the end of the Mexican-American War, but their status was markedly second-class. Chinese immigrants arrived en masse during the California Gold Rush and numbered in the hundreds of thousands by the late 1800s; the majority lived in California, working menial jobs.

These distinct cultural and ethnic groups strove to maintain their rights and way of life in the face of persistent racism, but the large number of white settlers and government-sanctioned land acquisitions left them at a profound disadvantage. Ultimately, both groups withdrew into homogenous communities in which their language and culture could survive.

Chinese Immigrants in the American West

The initial arrival of Chinese immigrants to the United States began as a slow trickle in the 1820s; barely 650 Chinese immigrants lived in the United States by the end of 1849. But as gold rush fever swept the country, Chinese immigrants—like others—were attracted to the notion of quick fortunes. By 1852, over 25,000 Chinese immigrants had arrived in the United States, and by 1880, over 300,000 Chinese people were living in the United States, most in California.

Although they had dreams of finding gold, many Chinese immigrants instead found employment building the first transcontinental railroad. Some even traveled as far as the South, where they helped farm former cotton plantations after the Civil War.

Several thousand of these immigrants booked their passage to the United States using what was known as a "credit-ticket," an arrangement in which their passage was paid in advance by US businessmen to whom the immigrants were then indebted for a period of work. Most Chinese immigrants were men; few Chinese women or children traveled to the United States in this time period. As late as 1890, less than five percent of the Chinese population in the United States was female. Regardless of gender, few Chinese immigrants intended to stay permanently in the United States, although many were forced to do so when they realized they lacked the financial resources to return home.
Prohibited by law in 1790 from obtaining US citizenship through naturalization, Chinese immigrants faced harsh discrimination and violence from American settlers in the West. Despite hardships like the special tax that Chinese miners had to pay to take part in the Gold Rush and their subsequent forced relocation into Chinese districts, these immigrants continued to arrive in the United States seeking a better life for the families they left behind.

The Chinese community banded together in an effort to create social and cultural centers in cities such as San Francisco. They sought to provide services ranging from social aid to education, places of worship, and health facilities to their fellow Chinese immigrants. But, as Chinese workers began competing with white Americans for jobs in California cities, anti-Chinese discrimination increased. In the 1870s, white Americans formed “anti-coolie clubs”—coolie was a racial slur directed towards people of Asian descent—through which they organized boycotts of Chinese-produced products and lobbied for anti-Chinese laws. Some protests turned violent. In 1885 in Rock Springs, Wyoming, tensions between white and Chinese immigrant miners erupted into a riot, resulting in over two dozen Chinese immigrants being murdered and many more injured.

Racism and discrimination became law. The new California constitution of 1879 denied naturalized Chinese citizens the right to vote or hold state employment. Additionally, in 1882, the US Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, which was the first significant law restricting immigration into the United States. It restricted immigration from China for ten years. The ban was later extended on multiple occasions until its repeal in 1943.

**Mexican Americans in the American West**

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the Mexican-American War in 1848, promised US citizenship to the nearly 75,000 Mexicans living in what had just become the American Southwest. Approximately 90 percent of them accepted the offer and chose to stay in the United States.

Despite promises made in the treaty, these Mexican Americans quickly lost their land to white settlers who displaced the rightful landowners—by force if necessary. Mexican Americans in California—or Californios, as they came to be known—found that their demands for legal redress mostly fell upon deaf ears. In some instances, judges and lawyers would permit legal cases to proceed through an expensive legal process only to the point where Mexican American landowners who insisted on holding their ground were rendered penniless for their efforts.

Much like Chinese immigrants, Mexican American citizens were relegated to the worst-paying jobs under the worst working conditions. They worked as peóns (manual laborers similar to slaves), vaqueros (cattle herders), and cartmen, transporting food and supplies, on the cattle ranches that white landowners possessed, or they undertook the most hazardous mining tasks.
A painting shows a Mexican vaquero mounted on a horse in front of a large steer, which he has lassoed with a rope.

In a few instances, frustrated Mexican American citizens fought back against the white settlers who dispossessed them. In 1889 to 1890 in New Mexico, several hundred Mexican Americans formed **las Gorras Blancas**—the White Caps—to try to reclaim their land and intimidate white Americans in order to prevent further land seizures. White Caps conducted raids of white farms, burning homes, barns, and crops to express their growing anger and frustration. However, their actions never resulted in any fundamental changes. Several White Caps were captured, beaten, and imprisoned, and others eventually gave up, fearing harsh reprisals against their families. Some White Caps adopted a more political strategy, gaining election to local offices throughout New Mexico in the early 1890s, but growing concerns over the potential impact upon the territory’s quest for statehood led several citizens to heighten the repression of the movement.

Other laws passed in the United States intended to deprive Mexican Americans of their heritage as much as their lands. "Sunday Laws" prohibited “noisy amusements” such as bullfights, cockfights, and other cultural gatherings common to Mexican American communities at the time. “Greaser Laws” permitted the imprisonment of any unemployed Mexican American on charges of vagrancy.

In California and throughout the Southwest, a massive influx of Anglo-American settlers overran the Mexican American populations that had been living there for generations. Despite being US citizens with full rights, Mexican Americans quickly found themselves outnumbered, outvoted, and—ultimately—outcast. Corrupt state and local governments favored white settlers in land disputes. Mining companies and cattle barons discriminated against Mexican Americans—as they did against Chinese workers—in terms of pay and working conditions. In growing urban areas such as Los Angeles, **barrios**, neighborhoods of working-class homes, grew more isolated from white neighborhoods. Mexican Americans, like Native Americans and Chinese immigrants, suffered the fallout of white settlers’ relentless push west.

*Adapted from Khanacademy.org*
Check for Understanding

1. Why do you think the US government singled out Chinese immigrants in particular for exclusion?

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2. How did the experience of Mexican Americans in the West compare to the experience of African Americans in the South in the late nineteenth century? In what ways were their lives similar? In what ways were their lives different?

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3. What strategies did Chinese immigrants and Mexican Americans use to resist discrimination and build strong communities?

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4. Using information from the articles, what are some examples of conflict that occurred between ethnic groups as a result of Westward Expansion? What are some examples of progress arising from the events of Westward Expansion that you read about?

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From Removal to the Reservation

Although violent conflict had plagued relations between white settlers and Native American Indians from the very beginning of European colonization of the New world, such violence increased in the mid-nineteenth century as European settlers moved ever further west across the American continent. Most white Americans believed there was no way to live in peace and harmony with Native Americans, whom they regarded as “backwards” and “primitive.”

The Indian Removal Act of 1830 institutionalized the practice of forcing Native American Indians off of their ancestral lands in order to make way for European settlement. The Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole) were forcibly relocated to territories that would become the states of Kansas, Nebraska, and Oklahoma, in a mass migration that became known as the Trail of Tears.

Some tribes fiercely resisted the forced relocations, and Native Americans and the US Army fought many battles in the East. The Seminoles of Florida, for instance, refused to leave their lands, resulting in the Second Seminole War, which lasted from 1835 to 1842 and has been described as “the longest and most costly of the Indian conflicts of the United States.” Despite some major Indian victories in battle, the US Army ultimately succeeded in crushing this resistance, massacring or forcing into hiding those Indians who refused to march westward.

As white settlers pushed ever further westward across the American continent, these brutal conflicts over land became more frequent and more problematic for the US government. In 1824, the Office of Indian Affairs was created in order to resolve the land issue. The position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs was established by an act of Congress in 1832, and in 1869, Ely Samuel Parker became the first Native American to be appointed to the position. The Office of Indian Affairs was renamed the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1947.

The Indian Appropriations Act of 1851, also known as the Appropriation Bill for Indian Affairs, authorized the establishment of Indian reservations in Oklahoma and inspired the creation of reservations in other states as well. The US federal government envisioned the reservations as a useful means of keeping Native American tribes off of the lands that white Americans wished to settle.

Ely S. Parker was the first Native American to be appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Image courtesy National Archives.
On the Reservation

Many Native Americans resisted the imposition of the reservation system, sparking a series of conflicts known as the Indian Wars. Through a series of bloody massacres and victories in battle, the US Army ultimately succeeded in relocating most Indian tribes onto the reservations. The surrounding land and natural resources of the West were thereby opened up to white settlers.

For most Native Americans, life on the reservation was difficult. Although tribes were allowed to form their own tribal councils and courts, and thus retain their traditional governing structures, Indians on the reservations suffered from poverty, malnutrition, and very low standards of living and rates of economic development.

In 1868, President Ulysses S. Grant adopted a policy aimed at assimilating Native American Indians into mainstream US society. Government officials who oversaw Indian affairs were replaced with Christian clergy in order to convert Indians to Christianity. This policy led to violent resistance on the part of many Native American tribes and was ultimately abandoned under President Rutherford B. Hayes.

The Indian Appropriations Act of 1851 established Indian reservations in the territory that would become the states of Oklahoma, Nebraska, and Kansas. The US federal government envisioned the reservation system as a method of keeping Native American tribes off of the lands that white Americans wished to. Many tribes resisted the imposition of the reservation system, sparking a series of bloody battles that ultimately led to the forced relocation of most Native Americans onto the reservations.

The Indian Wars of the West

Inspired by the ideology of Manifest Destiny, which held that European Americans were divinely ordained to settle the whole of the North American continent, white settlers pushed ever further westward towards the Pacific. As they did so, they increasingly came into violent conflict with Native American Indians over land and natural resources, especially after the discovery of gold in western territories sparked the Gold Rush. Prospective gold-diggers flooded into the Rocky Mountains and Pacific Northwest, clashing—sometimes violently—with the Native Americans they encountered there.
The relentless pace of continental expansion inevitably heightened these conflicts. After the Mexican-American War, the territories comprising modern-day Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, and California became sites of competition and bloody skirmishing between white settlers and Native Americans.

![Map of battles between Native Americans and the US Army, 1860-1890. Most battles occurred in the Great Plains region, with centers of activity in Montana, Wyoming, Arizona, and South Dakota. Map courtesy Wikimedia Commons.](image)

**Battle of the Little Bighorn**

As white settlers moved into the Great Plains region, they battled the Plains Indian tribes in a series of conflicts known as the Sioux Wars, which lasted from 1854 to 1890. In 1875, the discovery of gold in the Black Hills region of South Dakota brought prospective miners into the area and onto the hunting grounds of the Sioux Indians. The US Army responded to the pleas of the white settlers and miners for protection against the Sioux, and the Great Sioux War of 1876-77 erupted. It was the last major conflict between the US Army and the Sioux tribe.

On June 25, 1876, Colonel George Armstrong Custer of the 7th Cavalry led his battalion in an attack on the main Sioux encampment at Little Bighorn, in a battle that is also commonly referred to as Custer’s Last Stand. Custer and his men were vastly outnumbered by the Indians, who were led by Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull. The Indians, enjoying both superior numbers and a strong tactical advantage, defeated the 7th Cavalry and killed Custer. Although the battle was a major victory for the Sioux, they abandoned the encampment at Little Bighorn and fled, fearing further reprisals from the US Army. The battle marked the beginning of the end of the Indian Wars, as the remaining tribes were forced to cede their lands and move onto the reservations.

![Sitting Bull was a leader of the Sioux during the Indian Wars. Image courtesy Library of Congress.](image)
The Ghost Dance

During a solar eclipse on January 1, 1889, Wovoka, a shaman of the Northern Paiute tribe, had a vision. Claiming that God had appeared to him in the guise of a Native American and had revealed to him a bountiful land of love and peace, Wovoka founded a spiritual movement called the Ghost Dance. He prophesied the reuniting of the remaining Indian tribes of the West and Southwest and the banishment of all evil from the world.

According to the teachings of Wovoka, the Ghost Dance ceremony would reunite the spirits of the dead with those of the living, and the power of these spirits could be harnessed in battle with white settlers and the US Army. Though the practice of the Ghost Dance originated with the Paiute tribe of Nevada, it quickly spread to other Indian tribes in the Southwest. Wovoka’s most influential prophecy was that the white man would be forever banished from the land, and that the buffalo, which had been hunted to near-extinction by white settlers, would return and bring with it a lasting revival of the Native American way of life.

Clash of Cultures: White Europeans and Native Americans

From the earliest days of colonial contact between white Europeans and Native American Indians, certain key assumptions informed their interactions. Most native tribes did not adhere to the European view of land as property. For most Indians, land was communal, and its resources were to be protected and shared. This was in direct contradiction to European notions of land as individual property. As white settlers pushed ever westward, guided by the ideology of Manifest Destiny, they forced Native Americans off of their ancestral lands and onto reservations. Many Indian tribes resisted, unleashing a series of violent conflicts known as the Indian Wars.

Although the Battle of the Little Bighorn marked the beginning of the end of the Indian Wars, Wovoka and his Ghost Dance triggered one last wave of resistance to the encroachments of white settlers and their way of life. Chief Sitting Bull, who had led the Sioux to victory over the US Army 7th Cavalry Regiment at the Battle of the Little Bighorn, embraced the Ghost Dance and helped facilitate its spread.
throughout the Sioux Reservation. On December 15, 1890, police officers who feared that Sitting Bull was about to flee the reservation with adherents of the Ghost Dance shot and killed Sitting Bull.

**The Massacre at Wounded Knee**

A mere two weeks later, on December 29, 1890, the US 7th Cavalry Regiment surrounded an encampment of Sioux Indians near *Wounded Knee Creek* on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota. While attempting to disarm the Sioux, a shot was fired and a scuffle ensued. The US army soldiers opened fire on the Sioux, indiscriminately massacring hundreds of men, women, and children. The few Sioux survivors of the battle fled. In the aftermath of the massacre, an official Army inquiry not only exonerated the 7th Cavalry, but awarded Medals of Honor to twenty soldiers. US public opinion of the massacre was generally favorable.

*Photograph of the aftermath of the massacre at Wounded Knee. The bodies of Sioux who lost their lives are visible in the foreground and along the ridge. Image courtesy Wikimedia Commons.*

Though the massacre at Wounded Knee was not the last armed conflict between Native Americans and the US Army, it marked the definitive end of the Indian Wars. After Wounded Knee, the remaining Indian tribes were either subdued or forcibly assimilated into mainstream white US society. Estimates of the pre-European contact native population range widely, from a low of 2 million to a high of 18 million. By 1900, the native population had been reduced to approximately 237,000 individuals.

Since then, the Native American population has recovered from the nadir of 1900. As of the 2010 US Census report, 2.9 million individuals identified as American Indian or Alaska Native.
The Destruction and Resurrection of the Reservation System

As a result of this widespread belief, the federal government created the reservation system in 1851 to provide land to Native Americans and thereby keep them off of the lands that European-Americans wished to settle. Many tribes resisted their confinement to the reservations, resulting in a series of conflicts between various Indian tribes and the US Army known as the Indian Wars. Ultimately, the Army subdued the Indians and forced them onto reservations, where they were allowed to govern themselves and maintain some of their traditions and culture.

But as white Americans pushed ever westward, they came into conflict with Native Americans on their tribal lands. Many of these white settlers viewed the continued practice of native traditions as barbaric and intolerable. They believed that assimilation into mainstream white American society was the only acceptable fate for Native Americans. This belief was often couched in religious terms; many white Christians argued that only by abandoning their spiritual traditions and accepting Christian dogma could the Indians be “saved” from the fires of hell. The forced assimilation of Native Americans was thus justified as being better for the Indians themselves.

In the late nineteenth century, a political consensus formed around these ideas, and the result was the 1887 passage of the Dawes Act.

Provisions and Effects of the Dawes Act

The Dawes Act of 1887, sometimes referred to as the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 or the General Allotment Act, was signed into law on January 8, 1887, by US President Grover Cleveland. The act authorized the president to confiscate and redistribute tribal lands in the American West. It explicitly sought to destroy the social cohesion of Indian tribes and to thereby eliminate the remaining vestiges of Indian culture and society. Only by disavowing their own traditions, it was believed, could the Indians ever become truly “American.”

As a result of the Dawes Act, tribal lands were parcelled out into individual plots. Only those Native Americans who accepted the individual plots of land were allowed to become US citizens. The remainder of the land was then sold off to white settlers.

Advertisement for the sale of Native American land. Image courtesy Wikimedia Commons.
Excerpt of the Dawes Act

An Act to provide for the allotment of lands in severalty to Indians on the various reservations, and to extend the protection of the laws of the United States and the Territories over the Indians, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in all cases where any tribe or band of Indians has been, or shall hereafter be, located upon any reservation created for their use, either by treaty stipulation or by virtue of an act of Congress or executive order setting apart the same for their use, the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, authorized, whenever in his opinion any reservation or any part thereof of such Indians is advantageous for agricultural and grazing purposes, to cause said reservation, or any part thereof, to be surveyed, or resurveyed if necessary, and to allot the lands in said reservation in severalty to any Indian located thereon in quantities as follows:

To each head of a family, one-quarter of a section;
To each single person over eighteen years of age, one-eighth of a section;
To each orphan child under eighteen years of age, one-eighth of a section; and
To each other single person under eighteen years now living, or who may be born prior to the date of the order of the President directing an allotment of the lands embraced in any reservation, one-sixteenth of a section:

Provided, That in case there is not sufficient land in any of said reservations to allot lands to each individual of the classes above named in quantities as above provided, the lands embraced in such reservation or reservations shall be allotted to each individual of each of said classes pro rata in accordance with the provisions of this act: And provided further, That where the treaty or act of Congress setting apart such reservation provides the allotment of lands in severalty in quantities in excess of those herein provided, the President, in making allotments upon such reservation, shall allot the lands to each individual Indian belonging thereon in quantity as specified in such treaty or act: And provided further, That when the lands allotted are only valuable for grazing purposes, an additional allotment of such grazing lands, in quantities as above provided, shall be made to each individual.

Sec. 2. That all allotments set apart under the provisions of this act shall be selected by the Indians, heads of families selecting for their minor children, and the agents shall select for each orphan child, and in such manner as to embrace the improvements of the Indians making the selection. Where the improvements of two or more Indians have been made on the same legal subdivision of land, unless they shall otherwise agree, a provisional line may be run dividing said lands between them, and the amount to which each is entitled shall be equalized in the assignment of the remainder of the land to which they are entitled under his act: Provided, That if any one entitled to an allotment shall fail to make a selection within four years after the President shall direct that allotments may be made on a particular reservation, the Secretary of the Interior may direct the agent of such tribe or band, if such there be, and if there be no agent, then a special agent appointed for that purpose, to make a selection for such Indian, which selection shall be allotted as in cases where selections are made by the Indians, and patents shall issue in like manner.

Approved, February, 8, 1887.
Amendments to the Dawes Act

Initially, the Dawes Act did not apply to the so-called “Five Civilized Tribes” (Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole). These tribes had already adopted many elements of white European society and culture, which is why they were characterized as “civilized.” Moreover, they were protected by treaties that had guaranteed that their tribal lands would remain free of white settlers. However, after these tribes had proven unwilling to voluntarily accept individual allotments of land, the Curtis Act of 1898 amended the Dawes Act to apply to the Five Civilized Tribes. Their tribal governments were obliterated, their tribal courts were destroyed, and over ninety million acres of their tribal lands were sold off to white Americans.

During the Great Depression, the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt supported the US Indian Reorganization Act, which authorized a “New Deal” for Native American Indians, allowing them to organize and form their own tribal governments, and ending the land allotments created by Dawes Act.

Adapted from khanacademy.org and Ourdocuments.gov

**Check for Understanding**

1. What was the effect of Manifest Destiny on U.S. - Indian relations?

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2. What do you see as the most significant difference between the culture and society of white European-Americans and those of Native American Indians?

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3. Why do you think Wovoka and his Ghost Dance became so popular among Indian tribes in the Southwest?

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4. What is the significance of the Massacre at Wounded Knee?

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5. Why do you think the white Americans viewed the Native American Indians as such a threat?

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6. Do you think the Dawes Act was intended to help or harm Native Americans?

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7. What was the effect of the Dawes Act on Native American cultural beliefs and traditions?
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8. What do you see as the primary difference between Native American and European American conceptions of land and ownership?
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9. What instances of social, political, and economic antagonism between cultural and ethnic groups arose from Westward Expansion?”
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Extended Response

Based on the sources and your knowledge of U.S. history, assess if the positive consequences of Westward Expansion outweighed the negative.

As you write, follow the directions below.

- Address all parts of the prompt.
- Include information and examples from your own knowledge of U.S. history.
- Use evidence from the sources to support your response.
- Follow the steps on the Checklist as you write your response.
Instructional Task Two:

**Railroads and Cattle Kingdoms**

You will investigate use primary and secondary sources to build historical context in order to analyze a photo series to understand the impact the Transcontinental Railroad had on the economy of the West. As you read, analyze how the advancements in technology impacted the economy of the West. After reading, answer the questions.

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**Instructional Process:**

1. Say: “In the previous task, we explored the antagonism that occurred between ethnic and cultural groups in order to answer the question of whether or not the good of Westward Expansion outweighed the bad. We will continue to explore the phenomena of Westward Expansion, but this time through the lens of advancements in technology and invention. We will use the question ‘How did advancements in technology impact the economy of the West?’ to guide our inquiry.”

2. Deliver initial instruction on the railroad and ranching.

3. You can use the readings and questions in the Resource Book to support your instruction or any other activities of your choice. Grouping and collaborative learning should be implemented as much as possible.
The LOCOMOTIVE was not an invention of the GILDED AGE. Indeed, Americans had traveled by rail in the decades that preceded the Civil War. But such travel was risky.

Passengers often sat in the same room as a wood burner and had to be watchful of wayward sparks landing on their clothing. Braking systems were not always trustworthy. Several engines even exploded while trying to reach a destination.

Traveling also represented a tremendous investment in time. Rail passengers often had to change trains frequently because the width between tracks varied from company to company. Such a journey could be uncomfortable, boring, and dangerous.

**Give Me a Brake**

After the Civil War, many rail problems were solved. GEORGE WESTINGHOUSE invented the air brake and trains could stop more reliably as a result. Railroad firms agreed on a standard width between tracks to reduce transfers. The PULLMAN CAR COMPANY produced sleeper cars and dining cars to make travel more comfortable.
The Transcontinental Railroad

Soon after the railroad made its appearance in the U.S. in the 1830s, Americans dreamed of linking the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by rail. A TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD would allow for settlement of the west, open new markets for eastern manufacturers, and bring relief to overcrowded eastern cities.

Steaming locomotives would hasten western settlement, spread democratic values, and increase the size of the United States (Arizona, Oklahoma, New Mexico etc., were not yet states, only TERRITORIES). Western SETTLEMENT was a paramount national interest. As such, the federal government awarded the contract to link the coasts by rail to two companies, the UNION PACIFIC and the CENTRAL PACIFIC.

I've Been Working on the Railroad

Union Pacific workers, many of whom were Irish and Chinese immigrants, started at Omaha, Nebraska, and hammered their way westward. From Sacramento, California, the Central Pacific made its way eastward with the assistance of thousands of Chinese immigrants.

Those working on the railroad gave their sweat and sometimes their lives blasting through the often unforgiving terrain. Other dangers that workers faced were disease, searing summer heat, freezing temperatures in the mountains, Native American raids and the lawlessness and violence of pioneer towns.

The Golden Spike

The government declared that the two lines would merge at PROMONTORY SUMMIT near Ogden, Utah. On May 10, 1869, LELAND STANFORD, representing the Central Pacific Railroad, was provided the honor to hammer a golden spike into the ground that marked the completion of the coast-to-coast line. Celebrations erupted across the land. Even the Liberty Bell tolled once again to commemorate the occasion. Soon, other transcontinental lines were constructed and travel across the continent became worlds simpler, less expensive, and much faster, than by the old Conestoga wagon.

On the Right Track

The engineering achievement was monumental. The costs of the operation to railroads were enormous. Tens of thousands of workers had to be paid, sheltered, and fed. Tons of steel and wood were required.

However, the economic incentives to railroads were enormous. The government offered generous loans to companies who were willing to assume the risk. The greatest reward was land. For each mile of track laid by the Central and Union Pacific Railroads, the companies received 640 acres of public land. In other
rail projects, state governments often kicked in additional acres for a growing number of rail companies.

**The Interstate Commerce Commission**

All in all, the railroads received nearly 200 million acres of land from the U.S. government for fulfilling contracts. Directors of some railroads made fortunes. Foremost among the RAILROAD TYCOONS were CORNELIUS VANDERBILT, JAMES J. HILL, and JAY GOULD.

But freight railroad abuses grew rampant. Money lined the pockets of greedy public officials who awarded generous terms to the railroads. Railroad companies set their own shipping rates. Sometimes it was more expensive for a small farmer to ship goods to a nearby town than to a faraway city. Because the companies kept their rates secret, one farmer could be charged more than another for the same freight transport.

To reduce competition, railroad companies established pools. These were informal arrangements between companies to keep rates above a certain level. Consequently, the public suffered. Finally, in 1887, Congress responded to public outcry by creating the INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION to watch over the rail industry. This was the nation's first REGULATORY AGENCY. Due to unconcise wording in its enabling legislation, the ICC was largely ignored until the early 20th century.

But the public also reaped great benefits. Eastern businessmen could now sell their goods to California citizens. As a result of improved transportation all Americans had access to more goods at a cheaper price. The westward movement was greatly accelerated. Those seeking a new start in life could much more easily "go west."

No industrial revolution can occur without a transport web. The nation was now bound together by this enormous network and its citizens were ready to reap the rewards.

*Adapted from the Independence Hall Association*

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**Excerpt of the Pacific Railway Act (1862)**

CHAP. CXX. — An Act to aid in the Construction of a Railroad and Telegraph Line from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean, and to secure to the Government the Use of the same for Postal, Military, and Other Purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, ...together with commissioners to be appointed by the Secretary of the Interior, and all persons who shall or may be associated with them, and their successors, are hereby created and erected into a body corporate and politic in deed and in law, by the name, style, and title of "The Union Pacific Railroad Company; " ... and the said corporation is hereby authorized and empowered to layout, locate, construct, furnish, maintain, and enjoy a continuous railroad and telegraph, with the
appurtenances, from a point on the one hundredth meridian of longitude west from Greenwich, between the south margin of the valley of the Republican River and the north margin of the valley of the Platte River, in the Territory of Nebraska, to the western boundary of Nevada Territory, upon the route and terms hereinafter provided, and is hereby vested with all the powers, privileges, and immunities necessary to carry into effect the purposes of this act as herein set forth...

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That the right of way through the public lands be, and the same is hereby, granted to said company for the construction of said railroad and telegraph line; and the right, power, and authority is hereby given to said company to take from the public lands adjacent to the line of said road, earth, stone, timber, and other materials for the construction thereof; said right of way is granted to said railroad to the extent of two hundred feet in width on each side of said railroad where it may pass over the public lands, including all necessary grounds for stations, buildings, workshops, and depots, machine shops, switches, side tracks, turntables, and, water stations. The United States shall extinguish as rapidly as may be the Indian titles to all lands falling under the operation of this act and required for the said right of way and; grants hereinafter made.

SEC 3. And be it further enacted, That there be, and is hereby, granted to the said company, for the purpose of aiding in the construction, of said railroad and telegraph line, and to secure the safe and speedy transportation of the mails, troops, munitions of war, and public stores thereon, every alternate section of public land, designated by odd numbers, to the amount of five alternate sections per mile on each side of said railroad, on the line thereof, and within the limits often miles on each side of said road, not sold, reserved, or otherwise disposed of by the United States, and to which a preemption or homestead claim may not have attached, at the time the line of said road is definitely fixed: Provided, That all mineral lands shall be excepted from the operation of this act; but where the same shall contain timber, the timber thereon is hereby granted to said company. And all such lands, so granted by this section, which shall not be sold or disposed of by said company within three years after the entire road shall have been completed, shall be subject to settlement and preemption, like other lands, at a price not exceeding one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, to be paid to said company.
Check for Understanding

1. Why did Americans “dream” of linking the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by rail, as the author states?

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2. How was the building of the railroads financed?

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3. Who were the economic winners and losers of the Transcontinental Railroad?

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4. What changes did America face as a result of the Transcontinental Railway?

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The Ways of the Cowboy

Mining was not the only bonanza to be found in the West. Millions could be made in the CATTLE INDUSTRY. A calf bought for $5 in Southern Texas might sell for $60 in Chicago. The problem was, of course, getting the cattle to market.

In 1867, JOSEPH MCCOY tracked a path known as the CHISHOLM TRAIL from Texas to Abilene, Kansas. The Texas cowboys drove the cattle the entire distance — 1500 miles. Along the way, the cattle enjoyed all the grass they wanted, at no cost to the RANCHERS. At Abilene and other railhead towns such as Dodge City and Ellsworth, the cattle would be sold and the cowboys would return to Texas.

No vision of the American West is complete without the cowboy. The imagery is quintessentially American, but many myths cloud the truth about what life was like on the long drive.

Myth vs. Reality

Americans did not invent cattle raising. This tradition was learned from the vaquero, a Mexican cowboy. The vacqueros taught the tricks of the trade to the Texans, who realized the potential for great profits.

The typical COWBOY wore a hat with a wide brim to provide protection from the unforgiving sunlight. Cattle kicked up clouds of dust on the drive, so the cowboy donned a bandanna over the lower half of his face. CHAPS, or leggings, and high boots were worn as protection from briars and cactus needles.

Contrary to legend, the typical cowboy was not a skilled marksman. The lariat, not the gun, was how the
cattle drover showed his mastery. About a quarter of all cowboys were African Americans, and even more were at least partially Mexican. To avoid additional strain on the horses, cowboys were usually smaller than according to legend.

The lone cowboy is an American myth. Cattle were always driven by a group of DROVERS. The cattle were branded so the owner could distinguish his STEER from the rest. Several times per DRIVE, cowboys conducted a roundup where the cattle would be sorted and counted again.

Work was very difficult. The workdays lasted fifteen hours, much of which was spent in the saddle. Occasionally, shots were fired by hostile Indians or farmers. Cattle RUSTLERS sometimes stole their steers.

One of the greatest fears was the STAMPEDE, which could result in lost or dead cattle or cowboys. One method of containing a stampede was to get the cattle to run in a circle, where the steer would eventually tire.

Upon reaching Abilene, the cattle were sold. Then it was time to let loose. Abilene had twenty-five saloons open all hours to service incoming riders of the long drive.

**Twilight of the Cowboy**

The heyday of the long drive was short. By the early 1870s, rail lines reached Texas so the cattle could be shipped directly to the slaughterhouses. Ranchers then began to allow cattle to graze on the open range near rail heads. But even this did not last. The invention of BARBED WIRE by JOSEPH GLIDDEN ruined the OPEN RANGE. Now farmers could cheaply mark their territory to keep the unwanted steers off their lands. Overproduction caused prices to fall, leading many ranchers out of business.

Finally, the winter of 1886-87 was one of the worst in American history. Cattle died by the thousands as temperatures reached fifty below zero in some parts of the West. The era of the open range was over.

*Adapted from the Independence Hall Association*

**Glidden's Patent Application for Barbed Wire**

Life in the American West was reshaped by a series of patents for a simple tool that helped ranchers tame the land: barbed wire. Nine patents for improvements to wire fencing were granted by the U.S. Patent Office to American inventors, beginning with Michael Kelly in November 1868 and ending with Joseph Glidden in November 1874. Barbed wire not only simplified the work of the rancher and farmer, but it significantly affected political, social, and economic practices throughout the region. The swift
The emergence of this highly effective tool as the favored fencing method influenced life in the region as dramatically as the rifle, six-shooter, telegraph, windmill, and locomotive.

Barbed wire was extensively adopted because it proved ideal for western conditions. Vast and undefined prairies and plains yielded to range management, farming, and ultimately, widespread settlement. As the use of barbed wire increased, wide open spaces became less wide, less open, and less spacious, and the days of the free roaming cowboy were numbered. Today, cowboy ballads remain as nostalgic reminders of life before barbed wire became an accepted symbol of control, transforming space to place and giving new meaning to private property.

Before the invention of barbed wire, the lack of effective fencing limited the range of farming and ranching practices, and with it, the number of people who could settle in an area. Wooden fences were costly and difficult to acquire on the prairie and plains, where few trees grew. Lumber was in such short supply in the region that farmers were forced to build houses of sod. Likewise, rocks for stone walls—commonly found in New England—were scarce on the plains. Shrubs and hedges, early substitutes for wood and rock fencing materials, took too long to grow to become of much use in the rapidly expanding West. Barbed wire was cheaper, easier, and quicker to use than any of these other alternatives.

Without fencing, livestock grazed freely, competing for fodder and water. Where working farms existed, most property was unfenced and open to foraging cattle and sheep. Once a year, cattle owners, unhindered by fenced property lines, led their herds on long cattle drives, eventually arriving at slaughter-houses located near urban railheads for shipping convenience. The appearance of barbed wire meant the end of both the open range and the freedom of the rancher and cowboy, an event lamented in the Cole Porter song "Don't Fence Me In."

Wire fences used before the invention of the barb consisted of only one strand of wire, which was constantly broken by the weight of cattle pressing against it. Michael Kelly made a significant improvement to wire fencing with an invention that "twisted two wires together to form a cable for barbs—the first of its kind in America," according to Henry D. and Frances T. McCallum, the authors of *The Wire That Fenced the West*. Known as the "thorny fence," Kelly's double-strand design made the fence stronger, and the painful barbs taught cattle to keep their distance.

Predictably, other inventors sought to improve upon Kelly's designs; among them was Joseph Glidden, a farmer from De Kalb, IL. In 1873 and 1874, patents were issued for various designs to strengthen Kelly's invention, but the recognized winner in this series of improvements was Glidden's simple wire barb locked onto a double-strand wire. Glidden's invention made barbed wire more effective not only because he described a method for locking the barbs in place, but also because he developed the machinery to mass-produce the wire. His invention also survived court challenges from other inventors. Glidden's patent, prevailing in both litigation and sales, was soon known as "the winner." Today, it remains the most familiar style of barbed wire.

The widespread use of barbed wire changed life on the Great Plains dramatically and permanently. Land and water once open to all was fenced off by ranchers and homesteaders with predictable results. Cattlemen, increasingly cut off from what they regarded as common-use resources in such territories as
Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, and Wyoming, first filed land-use petitions and then waged fierce range wars against the property-owning farmers. Gradually, there was a discernible shift in who controlled the land and thus wielded the superior power.

Living patterns of nomadic Native Americans were radically altered, as well. Further squeezed from lands they had always used, they began calling barbed wire "the Devil’s rope." Fenced-off land meant that more and more cattle herders—regardless of race—were dependent on the dwindling public lands, which rapidly became overgrazed. The harsh winter of 1886, culminating in a big January 1887 blizzard, wreaked further havoc on the cattle market: losses totaled more than $20 million in Wyoming alone. In effect, large-scale, open-range cattle enterprises disappeared.

While barbed wire symbolized the range wars and the end of widespread open grazing land for livestock in the American West, it also became a widely used commodity elsewhere, especially during land warfare. In early European history, pointed spears or palisades circumferentially surrounded many castles for protection. Barbed wire rapidly replaced these and other devices used to protect people and property from unwanted intrusion. Military usage of barbed wire formally dates to 1888, when British military manuals first encouraged its use.

During the Spanish American War, Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders chose to defend their camps with the help of barbed wire. In turn-of-the-century South Africa, five-strand fences were linked to blockhouses sheltering British troops from the encroachment of Boer commandos. During World War I, barbed wire was used as a military weapon. It was a formidable barrier along the front, stretching from Switzerland to the English Channel. Even now, barbed wire is widely used to protect and safeguard military installations and to establish territorial boundaries. It has also emerged as a commonly recognized instrument for prisoner confinement; the image of a corpse caught on the wires of a concentration camp fence has become the emblem of war's ravages. Today, barbed wire is often part of the containment wall of prisons all over the world.

Other less emotionally charged uses of barbed wire fencing exist in industry. Used on construction and storage sites and around warehouses, barbed wire protects supplies and persons and keeps out unwanted intruders. In any event, it has proved both highly useful and highly significant in altering traditional practices during both war and peace.

Glidden's patent, No. 157124, was issued November 24, 1874.

https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/barbed-wire
Invention in wire fences.

To all whom it may concern:

Joseph F. Gledden, of Elza, Illinois, has invented an improvement in wire fences, and he has deposited a description thereof, in the presence of the subscriber, before the above-named party, and the subscriber is ready to testify to the same.

The improvements consist in connecting the wire to the wood frame by means of a metal bar and cross bar, and in the manner of connecting the wire to the wood frame. The wood frame is made of two pieces of wood, one piece of wood being held by the other, and the wire is connected to the wood frame by means of a metal bar and cross bar. The wire is then held in place by the metal bar and cross bar, and the wire is then connected to the wood frame by means of a metal bar and cross bar.

The above-described improvements are new and useful, and they have not been used or known to the public.

PATENT DRAWING

J. F. GLEDEN

Patent Description

National Archives and Records Administration
Records of the Patent and Trademark Office
Record Group 241

UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE

JOSHD P. GLEDEN, OF ELZA, ILLINOIS.

IMPROVEMENT IN WIRE FENCES


The inventor has found that by connecting the wire to the wood frame by means of a metal bar and cross bar, it is possible to connect the wire to the wood frame in a stronger and more durable manner than by any other means. The inventor has also found that the wire is held in place by the metal bar and cross bar, and that the wire is then connected to the wood frame by means of a metal bar and cross bar.

In the accompanying drawings, the inventor has shown the improved method of connecting the wire to the wood frame by means of a metal bar and cross bar, and the method of connecting the wire to the wood frame is shown in the accompanying drawings, in which A represents the end of the line of wire, and B represents the other end of the line of wire. The inventor has also shown the method of connecting the wire to the wood frame by means of a metal bar and cross bar, and the method of connecting the wire to the wood frame is shown in the accompanying drawings, in which A represents the end of the line of wire, and B represents the other end of the line of wire.

Should the wire be moved or pulled, the wire should be moved or pulled by the metal bar and cross bar, and the wire should be moved or pulled by the metal bar and cross bar.

I certify that I have invented and made the described improvements, and that the same are new and have not been used or known to the public, and that I have deposited the same, as required by law.

JOSHD P. GLEDEN

Witnesses:

G. D. CRAY

J. B. KELLY.
Teddy Blue Abbott’s Account of Cattle Ranching

E.C. "Teddy Blue" Abbott was born in Cranwich, England in 1860, and was brought to the West by his parents as a boy. The Abbotts settled in Lincoln, Nebraska—a time when the region was overrun with Texas cattle and cowboys heading north on trail drives. Teddy Blue’s father decided to try his luck in the booming business and bought cattle from Texas. Teddy Blue, only 10 years old, was allowed to help herd them to Nebraska in hopes that the open air would improve his frail health. The experience, Abbott said later, "made a cowboy out of me. Nothing could have changed me after that." Teddy Blue worked on the range throughout the 1870s and 1880s. His memoirs of cowboy life—from the dangerous trail drives to the off-season shenanigans in town—was published in 1939. Below are excerpts from his memoirs, WE POINTED THEM NORTH: RECOLLECTIONS OF A COWPUNCHER.

Cowpunchers and Cowboys

"There were worlds of cattle in Texas after the Civil War. They had multiplied and run wild while the men was away fighting for the Confederacy, especially down in the southern part, between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande. By the time the war was over they was down to four dollars a head—when you could find a buyer. Here was all these cheap, long-horned steers overrunning Texas; here was the rest of the country crying for beef—and no railroads to get them out. So they trailed them out, across hundreds of miles of wild country thick with Indians. In 1866 the first Teas herds crossed the Red River. In 1867 the town of Abilene was founded at the end of the Kansas Pacific Railroad and that was when the trail really started. From that time on the big drives were made every year, and the cowboy was born...

Those first trail outfits in the seventies were sure tough. It was a new business and had to develop. Work oxen were used instead of horses to pull the wagon, and if one played out, they could rope a steer and yoke him up. They had very little grub and they usually ran out of that and lived off of straight beef. They had only three or four horses to the man, mostly with sore backs, because the old-time saddle ate both ways, the horse's back and the cowboy's pistol pocket. They had no tents, no tarps and damn few slickers. They never kicked, because those boys was raised under just the same conditions as there was on the trail—corn meal and bacon for grub, dirt floors in the houses and no luxuries. In the early days in Texas, in the sixties, then they gathered their cattle, they used to pack what they needed on a horse and go out for weeks on a cow hunt they called it then. That was before the name roundup was invented, and before they had anything so civilized as mess wagons. And I say, that is the way those first trail hands were raised. Take her as she comes and like it. They used to brag that they could go anyplace a
Most all of them were Southerners, and they were a wild, reckless bunch. For dress they wore wide-brimmed beaver hats, black or brown with a low crown, fancy shirts, high-heeled boots and sometimes a vest. Their clothes and saddles were all homemade. Most of them had an army coat with cape, which was a slicker and blanket, too. Lay on your saddle blanket and cover up with a coat was about the only bed used on the Texas trail at first. A few had a big buffalo robe to rollup in, but if they ever got good and wet you never had time to dry them, so they were not popular, All had a pair of bullhide chaps, or leggings they called them then. They were good in the brush and wet weather, but in fine weather were left in the wagon."

**Up in the Trail in '79**

"Even in the daytime those deep coulees [dry creeks] could open up all at once in front of you, before you had a chance to see where you were going, and at night it was something awful if you'd stop and think about it, which none of them ever did. If a storm came along and the cattle started running -- you'd hear that low, rumbling noise along the ground and the men on herd wouldn't need to come in and tell you, you'd know -- then you'd jump for your horse and get out there in the lead, trying to head them and get them into a mill before they scattered to hell-and-gone [The cowboys would attempt to make the cattle run in an ever-tightening circle until they could no longer move.] It was riding at a dead run in the dark, with cut banks and prairie dog holes all around you in a shallow grave....

That night it come up an awful storm. It took all four of us to hold the cattle and we didn't hold them, and when morning come there was one man missing. We went back to look for him, and we found him among the prairie dog holes, beside his horse. The horse's ribs was scraped bare of hide, and all the rest of the horse and man was mashed into the ground as flat as a pancake. The only thing you could recognize was the handle of his six-shooter. We tried to think the lightning hit him, and that was what we wrote his folds down in Henrietta, Texas, but we couldn't really believe it ourselves. I'm afraid it wasn't the lightning. I'm afraid his horse stepped into one of them holes and they both went down before the stampede.

... the awful part of it was that we had milled them cattle over him all night, not knowing he was there. That was what we couldn't get out of our minds. And after that, orders were given to sing when you were running with a stampede so the others would know where you were as long as they heard you singing, and if they didn't hear you they would figure something happened. After awhile, this grew to be a custom on the range, but you know, this was still a new business in the seventies and they was learning all the time."

**Thorns, Thunder, Lightning, and Hail**

Lots of cowpunchers were killed by lightning, which is known fact. I was knocked off my horse by it twice. The first time I saw a ball of fire coming my way and felt something strike me on the head. When I came
to, I was lying under old Pete and the rain was pouring down on my face. The second time, I was trying to get under a railroad bridge when it hit me, and I came to in the ditch. The cattle were always restless when there was a storm at night, even if it was a long way off, and that was when any little thing would start a run. Lots of times I have ridden around the herd with lightning playing and thunder muttering in the distance; when the air was so full of electricity that I would see it flashing on the horns of the cattle, and there would be balls of it on the horse's ears and even on my mustache; little balls about the size of a pea. I suppose it was static electricity, the same as when you shake a blanket on a winter night a dark night.

But when you add it all up, I believe the worst hardship we had on the trail was the loss of sleep. There was never enough sleep. Our day wouldn't end until about nine o'clock, when we grazed the herd onto the bed ground. And after that, every man in the outfit except the boss and horse wrangler and cook would have to stand two hours night guard. If my guard watch was from 12 to two, I would stake my night horse, unroll my bed, pull off my boots and crawl in at nine, get about three hours sleep, and then ride for two hours. Then I would come off guard and get to sleep another hour and a half, till the cook yelled 'Roll out' at half past three. So I would get maybe five hours of sleep when the weather was nice, and everything smooth and pretty with cowboys singing under the stars. If it wasn't so nice, you'd be lucky to sleep an hour. But the wagon rolled on in the morning.

That night guard got to be part of our lives. They never had to call me. I would hear the fellow coming off herd -- because laying with your ear to the ground you could hear that horse trotting a mile off -- and I would jump up and put my hat and boots on and go out to meet him. We were all just the same.... Sometimes we would rub tobacco juice in our eyes just to keep awake. It was rubbing them with fire. I have done that a few times, and I have often sat in my saddle sound asleep for just a few minutes. "

*From WE POINTED THEM NORTH: RECOLLECTIONS OF A COWPUNCHER by E. C. Abbott and Helena H. Smith. By permission of the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman. All rights reserved*

*Photo: Montana Historical Society, Helena*
Check for Understanding

1. How did the railroad impact the economy of the cattle industry?

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2. What advances in technology helped cattle drivers economically, and what advances hindered cattle driving?

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3. Explain the tension between cattle drivers and farmers.

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4. Explain the connection between the invention of barbed wire and the end of the open range.

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5. How did barbed wire change life for cattle drivers, farmers, and Native Americans living on the Great Plains?

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6. Why was cattle driving profitable?

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7. Why were cattle trails created?

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8. What was life like on the open range for cowboys?

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9. How do you think Teddy Blue Abbott’s life changed with the advent of barbed wire?

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Instructional Task Three:

Populism

You will investigate use primary and secondary sources to in order to understand agrarian discontent and the ways the Populist movement sought to address the economic and political grievances of the 19th century American farmer. As you read, consider the key question, “Was the Populist movement a success?” After reading, answer the questions.

Instructional Process:

1. Say: “In the previous task, we learned about how developing technologies - such as the Transcontinental Railroad - had economic impacts in the West. While railroads aided in the transcontinental trade of farmers’ good, their growing strength - along with the growing strength of the banks - created financial instability for farmers in the West. Out of this instability rose a new political movement called Populism. In this task, we will evaluate the causes that led to the Populist movement and seek to answer the compelling question, “Was the Populist movement a success?” Post the compelling question on the board to guide inquiry throughout the task.

2. Write the term Populism on the board, and project the following definition:

   1. any of various, often anti-establishment or anti-intellectual political movements or philosophies that offer unorthodox solutions or policies and appeal to the common person rather than according with traditional party of partisan ideologies.
   2. representation or extolling of the common person, the working class, the underdog, etc.

3. Deliver initial instruction on homesteading, inflation, populism and the Election of 1896.

4. You can use the readings and questions in the Resource Book to support your instruction or any other activities of your choice. Grouping and collaborative learning should be implemented as much as possible.

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1 [http://www.dictionary.com/browse/populism?s=t](http://www.dictionary.com/browse/populism?s=t)
Life on the Farm

A homestead at last! Many eastern families who longed for the opportunity to own and farm a plot of land of their own were able to realize their dreams when Congress passed the HOMESTEAD ACT in 1862. That landmark piece of legislation provided 160 acres free to any family who lived on the land for five years and made improvements. The same amount could be obtained instantly for the paltry sum of $1.25 per acre.

Combined with the completed transcontinental railroad, it was now possible for an easterner yearning for the open space of the West to make it happen. Unfortunately, the lives they found were fraught with hardship.

Money Problems

There were tremendous economic difficulties associated with Western farm life. First and foremost was overproduction. Because the amount of land under cultivation increased dramatically and new farming techniques produced greater and greater yields, the food market became so flooded with goods that prices fell sharply. While this might be great for the consumer, the farmer had to grow a tremendous amount of food to recoup enough profits to survive the winter.

New machinery and fertilizer was needed to farm on a large scale. Often farmers borrowed money to purchase this equipment, leaving themselves hopelessly in debt when the harvest came. The high tariff forced them to pay higher prices for household goods for their families, while the goods they themselves sold were unprotected.

The railroads also fleeced the small farmer. Farmers were often charged higher rates to ship their goods a short distance than a manufacturer would pay to transport wares a great distance.
A Harsh and Isolating Environment

The woes faced by farmers transcended economics. Nature was unkind in many parts of the Great Plains. Blistering summers and cruel winters were commonplace. Frequent drought spells made farming even more difficult. Insect blights raged through some regions, eating further into the farmers' profits.

Farmers lacked political power. Washington was a long way from the Great Plains, and politicians seemed to turn deaf ears to the farmers' cries. Social problems were also prevalent. With each neighbor on 160-acre plots of land, communication was difficult and loneliness was widespread.

Farm life proved monotonous compared with the bustling cities of the East. Although rural families were now able to purchase MAIL-ORDER PRODUCTS through catalogs such as SEARS AND ROEBUCK'S and MONTGOMERY WARD, there was simply no comparison with what the Eastern market could provide.

These conditions could not last. Out of this social and economic unrest, farmers began to organize and make demands that would rock the Eastern establishment.

The Growth of Populism

Organization was inevitable. Like the oppressed laboring classes of the East, it was only a matter of time before Western farmers would attempt to use their numbers to effect positive change.

Farmers Organize

In 1867, the first such national organization was formed. Led by OLIVER KELLEY, the PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY, also known as the GRANGE, organized to address the social isolation of farm life. Like other SECRET SOCIETIES, such as the MASONs, GRANGERS had local chapters with secret passwords and rituals.

The local Grange sponsored dances and gatherings to attack the doldrums of daily life. It was only natural that politics and economics were discussed in these settings, and the Grangers soon realized that their individual problems were common.
Identifying the railroads as the chief villains, Grangers lobbied state legislatures for regulation of the industry. By 1874, several states passed the **GRANGER LAWS**, establishing maximum shipping rates. Grangers also pooled their resources to buy grain elevators of their own so that members could enjoy a break on grain storage.

**FARMERS’ ALLIANCES** went one step further. Beginning in 1889, **NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN FARMERS’ ALLIANCES** championed the same issues as the Grangers, but also entered the political arena. Members of these alliances won seats in state legislatures across the Great Plains to strengthen the agrarian voice in politics.

### Creating Inflation

What did all the farmers seem to have in common? The answer was simple: debt. Looking for solutions to this condition, farmers began to attack the nation's monetary system. As of 1873, Congress declared that all federal money must be backed by gold. This limited the nation's money supply and benefited the wealthy.

The farmers wanted to create **INFLATION**. Inflation actually helps debtors. If a farmer owes $3,000 and can earn $1 for every bushel of wheat sold at harvest, he needs to sell 3,000 bushels to pay off the debt. If inflation could push the price of a bushel of wheat up to $3, he needs to sell only 1,000 bushels. The economics are simple.

To create inflation, farmers suggested that the money supply be expanded to include dollars not backed by gold. The first strategy farmers attempted was to encourage Congress to print **GREENBACK DOLLARS** like the ones issued during the Civil War. Since the greenbacks were not backed by gold, more dollars could be printed, creating an inflationary effect.

The **GREENBACK PARTY** and the **GREENBACK-LABOR PARTY** each ran candidates for President in 1876, 1880, and 1884 under this platform. No candidate was able to muster national support for the idea, and soon
Inflation could also be created by printing money that was backed by silver as well as gold. This idea was more popular because people were more confident in their money if they knew it was backed by something of value. Also, America had a tradition of coining SILVER MONEY until 1873.

**Birth of the Populists**

Out of the ashes of the Greenback-Labor Party grew the POPULIST PARTY. In addition to demanding the free coinage of silver, the POPULISTS called for a host of other reforms. They demanded a graduated income tax, whereby individuals earning a higher income paid a higher percentage in taxes. They wanted political reforms as well. At this point, United States Senators were still not elected by the people directly; they were instead chosen by state legislatures. The Populists demanded a constitutional amendment allowing for the direct election of Senators.

They demanded democratic reforms such as the initiative, where citizens could directly introduce debate on a topic in the legislatures. The referendum would allow citizens — rather than their representatives — to vote a bill. Recall would allow the people to end an elected official’s term before it expired. They also called for the secret ballot and a one-term limit for the President.

In 1892, the Populists ran JAMES WEAVER for President on this ambitious platform. He polled over a million popular votes and 22 electoral votes. Although he came far short of victory, Populist ideas were now being discussed at the national level. When the Panic of 1893 hit the following year, an increased number of unemployed and dispossessed Americans gave momentum to the Populist movement. A great showdown was in place for 1896.

**The Farmers’ Revolt**

**Reading 1**

For our business interests, we desire to bring producers and consumers, farmers and manufacturers into the most direct and friendly relations possible. Hence we must dispense with a surplus of middlemen, not that we are unfriendly to them, but we do not need them. Their surplus and their exactions diminish our profits....

We are opposed to excessive salaries, high rates of interest, and exorbitant per cent profits in trade. They greatly increase our burdens, and do not bear a proper proportion to the profits of producers.

*Declaration of Purposes of the Patrons of Husbandry (The Grangers), 1874*
We meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot box, the Legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the Bench. The people are demoralized...the newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled, public opinion silenced, business prostrated, our homes covered with mortgages, labor impoverished, and the land concentrating in the hands of the capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right of organization for self-protection; imported pauperized labor beats down their wages; a hireling standing army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down, and they are rapidly degenerated into European conditions. The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes, unprecedented in the history of the world, while their possessors despise the republic and endanger liberty.

The national power to create money is appropriated to enrich bondholders; a vast public debt, payable in legal tender currency, has been funded into gold bearing bonds, thereby adding millions to the burdens of the people. Silver, which has been accepted as coin since the dawn of history, has been demonetized to add to the purchasing power of gold by decreasing the value of all forms of property as well as human labor; and the supply of currency is purposely abridged to fatten usurers, bankrupt enterprise and enslave industry. A vast conspiracy against mankind has been organized on two continents and is taking possession of the world....

Wealth belongs to him who creates it, and every dollar taken from industry without an equivalent is robbery. "If any will not work, neither shall he eat." The interest of rural and civic labor are the same; their enemies are identical....

We believe that the time has come when the railroad corporations will either own the people or the people must own the railroads....

The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of the people and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens, should be reclaimed by the Government and held for actual settlers only....

1892 Populist platform
Reading 3

The farmers of the United States are up in arms. They are the bone and sinew of the nation; they produce the largest share of its wealth; but they are getting, they say, the smallest share for themselves. The American farmer is steadily losing ground. His burdens are heavier every year and his gains are more meager; he is beginning to fear that he may be sinking into a servile condition. He has waited long for the redress of his grievances; he purposes to wait no longer....

*Washington Gladden, "The Embattled Farmers"*

Reading 4

Now the People's Party says..."You are kept apart that you may be separately fleeced of your earnings. You are made to hate each other because upon that hatred is rested the keystone of the arch of financial despotism which enslaves you both. You are deceived and blinded that you may not see how this race antagonism perpetuates a monetary system which beggars both."

*Tom Watson, 1892, appealing to black voters*

Reading 5

If the gold standard advocates win, this country will be dominated by the financial harpies of Wall Street. I am trying to save the American people from that disaster--which will mean the enslavement of the farmers, merchants, manufacturers and laboring classes to the most merciless and unscrupulous gang of speculators on earth--the money power. My ambition is to make money the servant of industry, to dethrone it from the false position it has usurped as master, and this can only be done by destroying the money monopoly.

*William Jennings Bryan, 1896*

Reading 6

The man who is employed for wages is as much a businessman as his employer. The attorney in a country town is as much a businessman as the corporation counsel in a great metropolis. The merchant at the crossroads store is as much a businessman as the merchant of New York. The farmer who goes forth in the morning and toils all day...is as much a businessman as the man who goes upon the Board of Trade and bets upon the price of grain.

We come to speak for this broader class of businessmen....It is for these that we speak. We do not come as aggressors. Our war is not a war of conquest. We are fighting in the defense of our homes, our
families, and posterity. We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned. We have entreated, and our entreaties have been disregarded. We have begged, and they have mocked when our calamity came.

We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more. We defy them!

There are two ideas of government. There are those who believe that if you just legislate to make the well-to-do prosperous that their prosperity will leak through on those below. The Democratic idea has been that if you legislate to make the masses prosperous their prosperity will find its way up and through every class that rests upon it.

You come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard. I tell you that the great cities rest upon these broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again as if by magic. But destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in this country.

Having behind us the commercial interests and the laboring interests and all the toiling masses, we shall answer their demands for a gold standard by saying to them: you shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.

William Jennings Bryan, 1896

Reading 7

For the first time since the civil war the American people have witnessed the calamitous consequence of full and unrestricted Democratic control of the government. It has been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor, and disaster....It has...entailed an unceasing deficit...piled up the public debt...forced an adverse balance of trade...pawned American credit to alien syndicates....In the broad effect of its policy it has precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, reduced work and wages, halted enterprise and crippled American production, while stimulating foreign production for the American market.... [Our] policy taxes foreign products and encourages home industry. it puts the burden of revenue on foreign goods; it secures the American market for the American producer....

The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money....We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country.

1896 Republican Party Platform
The Election of 1896

Everything seemed to be falling into place for the Populists. James Weaver made an impressive showing in 1892, and now Populist ideas were being discussed across the nation. The Panic of 1893 was the worst financial crisis to date in American history. As the soup lines grew larger, so did voters' anger at the present system.

When JACOB S. COXEY of Ohio marched his 200 supporters into the nation's capital to demand reforms in the spring of 1894, many thought a revolution was brewing. The climate seemed to ache for change. All that the Populists needed was a winning Presidential candidate in 1896.

The Boy Orator

Ironically, the person who defended the Populist platform that year came from the Democratic Party. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN was the unlikely candidate. An attorney from Lincoln, Nebraska, Bryan's speaking skills were among the best of his generation. Known as the "GREAT COMMONER," Bryan quickly developed a reputation as defender of the farmer.

When Populist ideas began to spread, Democratic voters of the South and West gave enthusiastic endorsement. At the Chicago Democratic convention in 1896, Bryan delivered a speech that made his career. Demanding the free coinage of silver, Bryan shouted, "You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross
of gold!" Thousands of delegates roared their approval, and at the age of thirty-six, the "BOY ORATOR" received the Democratic nomination.

Faced with a difficult choice between surrendering their identity and hurting their own cause, the Populist Party also nominated Bryan as their candidate.

The Stay-at-Home Candidate

The Republican competitor was WILLIAM MCKINLEY, the governor of Ohio. He had the support of the moneyed eastern establishment. Behind the scenes, a wealthy Cleveland industrialist named MARC HANNA was determined to see McKinley elected. He, like many of his class, believed that the free coinage of silver would bring financial ruin to America.

Using his vast wealth and power, Hanna directed a campaign based on fear of a Bryan victory. McKinley campaigned from his home, leaving the politicking for the party hacks. Bryan revolutionized campaign politics by launching a nationwide WHISTLE-STOP effort, making twenty to thirty speeches per day.

When the results were finally tallied, McKinley had beaten Bryan by an electoral vote margin of 271 to 176.

Understanding 1896

Many factors led to Bryan's defeat. He was unable to win a single state in the populous Northeast. Laborers feared the free silver idea as much as their bosses. While inflation would help the debt-ridden, mortgage-paying farmers, it could hurt the wage-earning, rent-paying factory workers. In a sense, the election came down to city versus country. By 1896, the urban forces won. Bryan's campaign marked the last time a major party attempted to win the White House by exclusively courting the rural vote.

The economy of 1896 was also on the upswing. Had the election occurred in the heart of the Panic of 1893, the results may have differed. Farm prices were rising in 1896, albeit slowly. The Populist Party fell apart with Bryan's loss. Although they continued to nominate candidates, most of their membership had reverted to the major parties.
The ideas, however, did endure. Although the free silver issue died, the graduated income tax, direct election of senators, initiative, referendum, recall, and the secret ballot were all later enacted. These issues were kept alive by the next standard bearers of reform — the PROGRESSIVES.

Adapted from Gilder Lehrman

William Jennings Bryan's Democratic National Convention Address "A Cross of Gold" (excerpts)

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: I would be presumptuous, indeed, to present myself against the distinguished gentlemen to whom you have listened if this were mere measuring of abilities; but this is not a contest between persons. The humblest citizen in all the land, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause, is stronger than all the hosts of error. I come to speak to you in defense of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty -- the cause of humanity.

On the fourth of March, 1895, a few Democrats, most of them members of Congress, issued an address to the Democrats of the nation, asserting that the money question was the paramount issue of the hour; declaring that a majority of the Democratic party had the right to control the action of the party on this paramount issue; and concluding with the request that the believers in the free coinage of silver in the Democratic party should organize, take charge of and control the policy of the Democratic party.

Three months later, at Memphis, an organization was perfected, and the silver Democrats went forth openly and courageously proclaiming their belief, and declaring that, if successful, they would crystallize into a platform the declaration which they had made. Then began the conflict. With a zeal approaching the zeal which inspired the crusaders who followed Peter the Hermit, our silver Democrats went forth from victory unto victory, until they are now assembled, not to discuss, not to debate, but to enter up the judgment already rendered by the plain people of this country. In this contest brother has been arrayed against brother, father against son. The warmest ties of love, acquaintance and association have been disregarded; old leaders have been cast aside when they have refused to give expression to the sentiments of those whom they would lead, and new leaders have sprung up to give direction to this cause of truth. Thus has the contest been waged, and we have assembled here under as binding and solemn instructions as were ever imposed upon representatives of the people.
We say to you that you have made the definition of a business man too limited in its application. The man who is employed for wages is as much a businessman as his employer; the attorney in a country town is as much a businessman as the corporation counsel in a great metropolis; the merchant at the cross-roads store is as much a businessman as the merchant of New York; the farmer who goes forth in the morning and toils all day -- who begins in the spring and toils all summer -- and who by the application of brain and muscle to the natural resources of the country creates wealth, is as much a businessman as the man who goes upon the board of trade and bets upon the price of grain; the miners who go down a thousand feet into the earth, or climb two thousand feet upon the cliffs, and bring forth from their hiding places the precious metals to be poured into the channels of trade are as much businessmen as the few financial magnates who, in a back room, corner the money of the world. We come to speak for this broader class of businessmen.

Ah, my friends, we say not one word against those who live upon the Atlantic coast, but the hardy pioneers who have braved all the dangers of the wilderness, who have made the desert to blossom as the rose -- the pioneers away out there [pointing to the West], who rear their children near to Nature's heart, where they can mingle their voices with the voices of the birds -- out there where they have erected schoolhouses for the education of their young, churches where they praise their Creator, and cemeteries where rest the ashes of their dead -- these people, we say, are as deserving of the consideration of our party as any people in this country. It is for these that we speak. We do not come as aggressors. Our war is not a war of conquest; we are fighting in the defense of our homes, our families, and posterity. We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned; we have entreated, and our entreaties have been disregarded; we have begged, and they have mocked when our calamity came. We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more. We defy them.

They tell us that the income tax ought not to be brought in here; that it is a new idea. They criticize us for our criticism of the Supreme Court of the United States. My friends, we have not criticized; we have simply called attention to what you already know. If you want criticisms read the dissenting opinions of the court. There you will find criticism. They say that we passed an unconstitutional law; we deny it. The income tax law was not unconstitutional when it was passed; it was not unconstitutional when it went before the Supreme Court for the first time; it did not become unconstitutional until one of the judges changed his mind, and we cannot be expected to know when a judge will change his mind. The income tax is just. It simply intends to put the burdens of government justly upon the backs of the people. I am in favor of an income tax. When I find a man who is not willing to bear his share of the burdens of the government which protects him, I find a man who is unworthy to enjoy the blessings of a government like ours.

We say in our platform that we believe that the right to coin and issue money is a function of government. We believe it. We believe that it is a part of sovereignty, and can no more with safety be delegated to private individuals than we could afford to delegate to private individuals the power to make penal statutes or levy taxes. Those who are opposed to this proposition tell us that the issue of paper money is a function of the bank, and that the Government ought to go out of the banking business.
I stand with Jefferson rather than with them, and tell them, as he did, that the issue of money is a function of government, and that the banks ought to go out of the governing business.

And now, my friends, let me come to the paramount issue. If they ask us why it is that we say more on the money question than we say upon the tariff question, I reply that, if protection has slain its thousands, the gold standard has slain its tens of thousands. If they ask us why we do not embody in our platform all the things that we believe in, we reply that when we have restored the money of the Constitution all other necessary reform will be possible, but that until this is done there is no other reform that can be accomplished.

Why is it that within three months such a change has come over the country? Three months ago, when it was confidently asserted that those who believe in the gold standard would frame our platform and nominate our candidates, even the advocates to the gold standard did not think that we could elect a President. And they had good reason for their doubt, because there is scarcely a State here to-day asking for the gold standard which is not in the absolute control of the Republican party. But note the change. Mr. McKinley was nominated at St. Louis upon a platform which declared for the maintenance of the gold standard until it can be changed into bimetallism by international agreement. Mr. McKinley was the most popular man among the Republicans, and three months ago everybody in the Republican party prophesied his election. How is it to-day? Why, the man who was once pleased to think that he looked like Napoleon -- that man shudders to-day when he remembers that he was nominated on the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo.

Why this change? Ah, my friends, is not the reason for the change evident to anyone who will look at the matter? No private character, however pure, no personal popularity, however great, can protect from the avenging wrath of an indignant people a man who will declare that he is in favor of fastening the gold standard upon this country, or who is willing to surrender the right of self-government and place the legislative control of our affairs in the hands of foreign potentates and powers.

We go forth confident that we shall win. Why? Because upon the paramount issue of this campaign there is not a spot of ground upon which the enemy will dare to challenge battle. If they tell us that the gold standard is a good thing, we shall point to their platform and tell them that their platform pledges the party to get rid of the gold standard and substitute bimetallism. If the gold standard is a good thing, why try to get rid of it? I call your attention to the fact that some of the very people who are in this convention to-day, and who tell us that we ought to declare in favor of international bimetallism -- thereby declaring that the gold standard is wrong and that the principle of bimetallism is better -- these very people four months ago were open and avowed advocates of the gold standard, and were then telling us that we could not legislate two metals together, even with the aid of all the world.

Mr. Carlisle said in 1878 that this was a struggle between "the idle holders of idle capital" and "the struggling masses, who produce the wealth and pay the taxes of the country," and, my friends, the question we are to decide is, upon which side will the Democratic party fight -- upon the side of "the idle holders of idle capital," or upon the side of "the struggling masses"? That is the question which the party must answer first, and then it must be answered by each individual hereafter. The sympathies of the
Democratic party, as shown by the platform, are on the side of the struggling masses who have ever been the foundation of the Democratic party. There are two ideas of government. There are those who believe that if you will only legislate to make the well-to-do prosperous their prosperity will leak through on those below. The Democratic idea, however, has been that if you legislate to make the masses prosperous their prosperity will find its way up through every class which rests upon them.

You come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard; we reply that the great cities rest upon our broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again as if by magic; but destroy our farms, and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in the country.

If they dare to come out in the open field and defend the gold standard as a good thing we will fight them to the uttermost. Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns; you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.

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Checking for Understanding

1. What were the economic difficulties associated with life on the farm?
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2. What caused many farmers to go into debt?
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3. What was “The Grange?”

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4. Who does the gold standard benefit? Why?

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5. Why were farmers in favor of monetary inflation?

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6. Who does free silver benefit? Why?

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7. Identify the economic and political grievances of late 19th century American farmers.

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8. Why would the Populist platform be compelling to an American farmer?

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10. How did the Financial Crisis in 1893 impact societies views of the Populists?

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11. What was the relationship between the Democratic Party and the Populist Party?

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12. How does William Jennings Bryan propose to solve the economic grievances of farmers?

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13. Based on your best historical guess, what is “bimetallism?”

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14. How does Bryan contrast the Democratic Party and Republican Party?

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15. What solutions to the problems facing farmers did the Populist movement propose?

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16. What are the strengths and weaknesses of their ideas? Evaluate and critique each solution.

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Topic Two
Urbanization and Industrialization
(US 2.4-6)

Connections to the Unit Claim
You will explore the business practices of late 19th/early 20th century industrialists and grapple with their positive and negative impacts on the U.S. economy and American quality of life, then they investigate immigration, rapid urbanization, and the government’s response. You will compare and contrast immigration policies and attitudes of the late 19th/early 20th century with those of today. Throughout this topic, you will analyze how innovation led to rapid industrialization, and immigration led to expansion and rapid urbanization, and relate those to the nation’s changing identity.

To Explore These Key Questions
- Would the industrial economy have succeeded without the extreme business practices of the Robber Barons/Captains of Industry?
- In what ways did Robber Barons/Captains of Industry harm and benefit the U.S. economy?
- What was the government response to the business practices of monopolies and trusts?
- Is anything new about today’s immigration policy debate?
- Who immigrated and why, and how did immigration impact urbanization?
- What factors shaped immigration policy in the late 19th/early 20th century, and what were the criticisms of U.S. immigration policy at the time?

An Italian family in search of a lost suitcase, Ellis Island, 1905
© Lewis Hine/George Eastman House Collection, Rochester
Instructional Task Four:

Robber Barons & the Industrial Economy

You will investigate primary and secondary sources on the industrialists of the late 19th/early 20th Century. As you read, reflect on the key question, “Would the industrial economy have succeeded without the extreme business practices of the Robber Barons/Captains of Industry?” After examining the sources, answer the questions.

Instructional Process:

1. Say: “So far in this unit, we have focused on the West. We are now going to turn our attention to the Northeast and American industrialization. First, let’s look at the question we will use to guide our inquiry.”

2. Post the compelling question for the task and read it aloud: “Would the industrial economy have succeeded without the extreme business practices of the Robber Barons/Captains of Industry?”

3. Say: “In the first part of our task, we will explore who and what Robber Barons and Captains of Industry are as well as the business practices they used.”

4. Deliver initial instruction on the Gilded Age and Laissez-Faire. Also, be sure to review economy terms such as monopoly, etc. Teach about patents, innovation and discoveries - oil - refining, Bessemer process, Edison, etc.

5. Watch The Gilded Age and the Second Industrial Revolution as a class. Direct students to take notes on what technologies arise and the impact they have on industry while they watch the video.

6. Conduct a brief discussion on the supporting question: “In what ways did new technologies change the U.S. Economy?”

7. Teach about Robber Barons/Captains of Industry. In the Student Resource Book, there are bios on each of them as well as several political cartoons of the time that you can use.

8. Teach about Teddy Roosevelt and trust-busting (now or during the Progressive Era section).

9. Watch 20th Century US Capitalism and Regulation as a class, stopping at minute 4:40. After the video, conduct a brief discussion of the supporting question for this part of the task: “What was the government response to the business practices of monopolies and trusts?”

10. You can use the readings and questions in the Resource Book to support your instruction or any other activities of your choice. Grouping and collaborative learning should be implemented as much as possible.

11. This instructional task can be concluded with the extended response prompt found in the Resource Book, “Based on the sources and your knowledge of U.S. history, assess if the industrial economy would have succeeded without the extreme business practices of the Robber Barons/Captains of Industry.”

12. The Extended Response Rubric AND Extended Response Checklist are at the end of this document as well as in the Google Classroom. Please copy and distribute to students to be kept in their notebooks/binders.
The Gilded Age & Laissez-Faire

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the U.S. experienced an era of rapid economic growth, especially in the Northern and the Western areas of the United States. Despite the fact that workers in America were not paid greatly, they were still paid more than their European counterparts. This led to mass immigration to the United States.

This era became known as “The Gilded Age.” This term was coined by author Mark Twain and satirized “an era of serious social problems masked by a thin gold gilding (thin coating of gold to solid surfaces.)” During this time period, the U.S. government had little to no regulations in place to control businesses and business practices. Up to this point, controlling business practices really wasn’t on the government’s radar. Generally speaking, American businesses operated with a free hand with limited government oversight. This policy of letting things take their own course, without interfering, is the French term *laissez-faire*. Economically, this term means governments will keep from interfering in the workings of a free market. With a laissez-faire economic system, transactions between private parties were free from government intervention such as, regulations, tariffs, taxes, & subsidies. Businesses took full advantage of the laissez-faire system and these corporations grew to enormous sizes and they began to wield great power and influence in the government.

Fewer government rules and regulations allow businesses the freedom to do many things. Often rules and regulations add to the costs that businesses face. Other times, the rules and regulations make it harder for businesses to do business activities. Under the laissez-faire system, businesses are more willing to take risks and to invest in the economy. Fewer rules and regulations give businesses a big incentive to try to maximize their profits.

Without regulations, business owners were free to do as they please regarding their workers. The average worker had no rights in the workplace. Business owners were free to focus on their primary goal – making more money for themselves, seldom sharing their good fortune with the worker. Paying low wages, not providing benefits to workers, poor or dangerous working conditions, use of child labor, worker exploitation, and any other action that kept more money in the wealthy industrialist’s pocket were not prevented by any laws or policies of the United States government.

Because the laissez-faire system allowed businesses to grow very large and powerful, soon, it would be difficult to rein in these industrialists. Eventually, action would have to be taken to keep these businesses from having too much influence and control. Finally, laissez-faire policy could encourage businesses to engage in risky behaviors that could lead to future economic problems.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>Elijah McCoy patents an oil-dripping cup for trains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>Alexander Graham Bell patents the telephone.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>Thomas Edison invents his sound-recording machine or phonograph—a forerunner of the record player and CD player.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>Edward Very invents the flare gun (Very pistol) for sending distress flares at sea.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Thomas Edison patents the modern incandescent electric lamp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880s</td>
<td>Thomas Edison opens the world's first power plants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Jan Ernst Mazeliger patents the shoelasting machine.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>George Eastman invents plastic photographic film.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Charles Parsons develops the steam turbine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Karl Benz builds a gasoline-engine car.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Granville T. Woods patents a train-to-station communication system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>John Boyd Dunlop patents air-filled (pneumatic) tires.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Nikola Tesla patents the alternating current (AC) electric induction motor and, in opposition to Thomas Edison, becomes a staunch advocate of AC power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890s</td>
<td>French brothers Joseph and Louis Lumiere invent movie projectors and open the first movie theater.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>American Ogden Bolton, Jr. invents the electric bicycle.</td>
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</table>
Check for Understanding
1. Is the term “Gilded Age” positive or negative? EXPLAIN your answer.

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2. How did the government’s policy of laissez-faire contribute to the growth of the American economy?

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3. What was ONE POSITIVE ASPECT and ONE NEGATIVE ASPECT of laissez-faire?

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4. In what ways did new technologies change the US economy?

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Robber Barons vs. Captains of Industry

**Robber Baron**

Ruthless and powerful business leaders who built their fortunes by stealing from the public, draining the country of natural resources & persuading public officials to interpret laws in their favor.

**Captain of Industry**

Business leaders who served the nation in a positive way by increasing the supply of goods by building factories, raising production, expanding markets, creating jobs & doing philanthropic work.

The post-Civil War inventors generated ideas that transformed the economy, but they were not big businessmen. The evolution from technical innovation to massive industry took place at the hands of the entrepreneurs whose business gambles paid off, making them some of the richest Americans of their day. Steel magnate Andrew Carnegie, oil tycoon John D. Rockefeller, business financier J. P. Morgan, and shipping mogul Cornelius Vanderbilt were all businessmen who grew their respective businesses to a scale and scope that were unprecedented for this time period. Their companies changed how Americans lived and worked, and they themselves greatly influenced the growth of the country.

**Andrew Carnegie and The Gospel of Wealth**

Andrew Carnegie, steel magnate, has the prototypical rags-to-riches story. Although such stories resembled more myth than reality, they served to encourage many Americans to seek similar paths to fame and fortune. Carnegie was born in Scotland in 1835 and immigrated with his family to Pennsylvania in 1848. Following a brief stint as a “bobbin boy,” changing spools of thread at a Pittsburgh clothing manufacturer at age 13, he would later become a telegram messenger boy. As a messenger, he spent much of his time around the Pennsylvania Railroad office and developed parallel interests in railroads, bridge building, and, eventually, the steel industry.
During the American Civil War, Carnegie held the position of Superintendent of the Military Railways and controlled the government’s telegraph lines. He ensured that rails were opened to Washington, D.C. and that defeated troops from the Battle of Bull Run were removed safely. Carnegie’s work was crucial to the Union war effort, and he made influential contacts in Washington as a result. Having observed firsthand during the Civil War the importance of industry, particularly steel, to the future growth of the country, Carnegie was convinced of his idea to modernize the iron and steel industries. By the end of the century, his enterprise was running an annual profit in excess of $40 million.

Carnegie made his fortune in steel at such factories as the Carnegie Steel Works where new technologies like the Bessemer process for making steel. It was the first inexpensive industrial process that could be used for the mass production of steel. This new innovation allowed the strong metal to be used in far more applications than ever before. Carnegie’s empire grew to include iron ore mines, furnaces, mills, and steel works companies.

Carnegie also reinvested his steelmaking profits into new technological innovations that would improve the efficiency of his steel mills. For example, he installed the open hearth furnace system which replaced the Bessemer process and made it possible for Carnegie to make steel that was suitable for structural beams and armor plates, which fetched premium prices – more money!

Another innovation Carnegie used was to install new systems that improved material handling, including overhead cranes and hoists, which sped up the steelmaking process and therefore boosted the production capacity of the mills, again, more money! He was said to be relentless in his efforts to drive down costs and would even have equipment at his mills torn out and replaced if a better technology that had been developed would reduce costs and make his mills more efficient.

The Carnegie Steel Company was one of the most innovative steel companies in America because its founder, Andrew Carnegie, saw that innovation was the key to becoming more efficient. That said, the complete focus on efficiency resulted in unsafe working conditions as well as poor wages for his employees, which tarnished Carnegie’s reputation. Yet, by solely focusing on efficiency, Carnegie’s mills were among the most productive in the world.

However, that productivity came at a cost, which was the safety of the workforce. Devastating injuries and deaths were an unfortunate common occurrence at Carnegie’s mills. Workers weren’t provided much in protective equipment and most worked long grueling shifts, which further increased the risk of injury. That legacy leaves a great lesson today, which is that while innovation and efficiently are the key to driving increased profitability, companies must not put profits over the safety of their people.

Although not an expert in steel, Carnegie was an excellent promoter and salesman, with the ability to locate financial backing for his enterprise. He was also shrewd in his calculations on consolidation and expansion, and was able to capitalize on smart business decisions. Always thrifty with the profits he earned, Carnegie saved his profits during prosperous times and used them to buy out other steel companies at low prices during the economic recessions of the 1870s and 1890s. He insisted on up-to-date machinery and equipment, and urged the men who worked at and managed his steel mills to constantly think of innovative ways to increase production and reduce cost.

Ever so conscious of costs, Carnegie was focused on keeping a lid (limit) on wages. That resulted in an increase in less skilled workers, which often pushed out skilled unionized workers. Those union workers
fought back with the famed Homestead Strike, which was one of the worst labor disputes in U.S. history. However, Carnegie won that battle, dealing an early blow to unions, which kept a lid on his costs. However, this did not win him any fans among the workers. Carnegie’s “cost focused” approach made him a lot of money on steel.

Andrew Carnegie on Wealth: *The Gospel of Wealth* Essay

Carnegie applauded American capitalism for creating a society where, through hard work, ingenuity, and a bit of luck, someone like himself could amass a fortune. In return for that opportunity, Carnegie wrote that the wealthy should find proper uses for their wealth by funding hospitals, libraries, colleges, the arts, and more. *The Gospel of Wealth* spelled out that responsibility:

“Poor and restricted are our opportunities in this life; narrow our horizon; our best work most imperfect; but rich men should be thankful for one inestimable boon. They have it in their power during their lives to busy themselves in organizing benefactions from which the masses of their fellows will derive lasting advantage, and thus dignify their own lives...”

This, then, is held to be the duty of the man of Wealth: First, to set an example of modest, unostentatious living, shunning display or extravagance; to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent upon him; and after doing so to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer, and strictly bound as a matter of
duty to administer in the manner which, in his judgment, is best calculated to produce the most beneficial results for the community—the man of wealth thus becoming the mere agent and trustee for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience and ability to administer, doing for them better than they would or could do for themselves...

In bestowing charity, the main consideration should be to help those who will help themselves; to provide part of the means by which those who desire to improve may do so; to give those who desire to use the aids by which they may rise; to assist, but rarely or never to do all. Neither the individual nor the race is improved by alms-giving. Those worthy of assistance, except in rare cases, seldom require assistance. The really valuable men of the race never do, except in cases of accident or sudden change. Everyone has, of course, cases of individuals brought to his own knowledge where temporary assistance can do genuine good, and these he will not overlook. But the amount which can be wisely given by the individual for individuals is necessarily limited by his lack of knowledge of the circumstances connected with each. He is the only true reformer who is as careful and as anxious not to aid the unworthy as he is to aid the worthy, and, perhaps, even more so, for in alms-giving more injury is probably done by rewarding vice than by relieving virtue.”

—Andrew Carnegie, *The Gospel of Wealth*

**“The Robber Barons of Today”, 1889**

Like Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller was born in 1839 of modest means. Young John Rockefeller helped his mother with various chores and earned extra money for the family through the sale of family farm products. When the family moved to a suburb of Cleveland in 1853, he had an opportunity to take accounting and bookkeeping classes while in high school and developed a career interest in business.

While in Cleveland, he learned of Colonel Edwin Drake who had struck “black gold,” or oil, near Titusville, Pennsylvania. Many sought to find a fortune through risky and chaotic “wildcatting,” or drilling exploratory oil wells, hoping to strike it rich. But Rockefeller chose a more certain investment: refining crude oil into kerosene, which could be used for both heating and lamps. As a more efficient source of energy, as well as less dangerous to produce, kerosene quickly replaced whale oil in many businesses and homes. Rockefeller worked initially with family and friends in the refining business located in the Cleveland area, but by 1870, Rockefeller ventured out on his own, consolidating his resources and creating the Standard Oil Company of Ohio, initially valued at $1 million.

Rockefeller was ruthless in his pursuit of total control of the oil refining business. As other entrepreneurs flooded the area seeking a quick fortune, Rockefeller developed a plan to crush his competitors and create a true monopoly in the refining industry. Beginning in 1872, he forged agreements with several large railroad companies to obtain discounted freight rates for shipping his product. He also used the railroad companies to gather information on his competitors. As he could now deliver his kerosene at lower prices, he drove his competition out of business, often offering to buy them out for pennies on the dollar. He harassed businesses who refused to sell out to him, until they were driven out of business. Through his method of growth via mergers and acquisitions of similar companies—known as horizontal integration—Standard Oil grew to include almost all refineries in the area.

By 1879, the Standard Oil Company controlled nearly 95 percent of all oil refining businesses in the country, as well as 90 percent of all the refining businesses in the world. Editors of the New York World lamented of Standard Oil in 1880 that, “When the nineteenth century shall have passed into history, the impartial eyes of the reviewers will be amazed to find that the U.S. . . . tolerated the presence of the most gigantic, the most cruel, impudent, pitiless and grasping monopoly that ever fastened itself upon a country.”

Seeking even more control, Rockefeller recognized the advantages of controlling the transportation of his product. He next began to grow his company through vertical integration, in which a company handles all aspects of a product’s lifecycle (manufacturing), from the creation of raw materials through the production process to the delivery of the final product. In Rockefeller’s case, this model required investment and acquisition of companies involved in everything from barrel-making to pipelines, tanker cars to railroads. He came to own almost every type of business and used his vast power to drive competitors from the market through intense price wars. Although vilified by competitors who suffered from his takeovers and considered him to be no better than a robber baron, several observers lauded Rockefeller for his ingenuity in integrating the oil refining industry and, as a result, lowering kerosene prices by as much as 80 percent by the end of the century.
In order to control the variety of interests he now maintained in industry, Rockefeller created a new legal entity, known as a trust. In this arrangement, a small group of trustees possess legal ownership of a business that they operate for the benefit of other investors. In 1882, thirty-seven stockholders gave their stock to nine trustees who were to control and direct all of the company’s business ventures. This led to State and federal challenges, due to the obvious appearance of a monopoly, which implied sole ownership of all enterprises composing an entire industry.

When the Ohio Supreme Court ruled that the Standard Oil Company must dissolve, as its monopoly control over all refining operations in the U.S. was in violation of state and federal statutes, Rockefeller shifted to yet another legal entity, called a holding company model. The holding company model created a central corporate entity that controlled the operations of multiple companies by holding the majority of stock for each enterprise. While not technically a “trust” and therefore not vulnerable to anti-monopoly laws, this consolidation of power and wealth into one entity was on par with a monopoly.

Other businessmen followed Rockefeller’s example and by 1905, over three hundred business mergers had occurred in the United States, affecting more than 80 percent of all industries. By that time, despite passage of federal legislation such as the Sherman Anti-Trust Act in 1890, 1 percent of the country’s businesses controlled over 40 percent of the nation’s economy.

*Joseph Keppler / Puck Magazine, 1904. It shows an oil tank/octopus labeled “Standard Oil.” Its tentacles grasp the steel, copper, and shipping industries as well as a state house and the U.S. Capitol. One tentacle reaches for the White House.*
J.P. Morgan and the Bailout

One of the most powerful bankers of his era, J.P. (John Pierpont) Morgan was a financer of railroads and with his help, organized giant corporations during the Gilded Age, such as U.S. Steel, General Electric as well as other major corporations. Born in 1837, J.P. Morgan followed his wealthy father into the banking business in the late 1850s, and by 1871 formed a partnership with another banker Anthony Drexel. In 1895, their firm was reorganized as J.P. Morgan & Company, a predecessor of the modern-day financial giant JPMorgan Chase.

Morgan used his influence to help stabilize American financial markets during several economic crises, including the panic of 1907. However, he faced criticism that he had too much power and was accused of manipulating the nation's financial system for his own gain. This Gilded Age titan spent a significant portion of his wealth amassing a vast art collection, further adding to his reputation as a “robber baron.”

During the late 19th century, a period when the U.S. railroad industry experienced rapid overexpansion and heated competition. 1869 saw the opening of the nation’s first transcontinental rail line. Ever the shrewd businessman, Morgan was heavily involved in reorganizing and consolidating a number of financially troubled railroads. In the process, he gained control of significant portions of these railroads’ stock and eventually controlled an estimated one-sixth of America’s rail lines.

During Morgan’s era, the United States had no central bank so he used his influence to help save the nation from disaster during several economic crises. In 1895, Morgan assisted in rescuing America’s gold standard when he headed a banking syndicate that loaned the federal government more than $60 million. In another instance, the financial panic of 1907, Morgan held a meeting of the country’s top financiers at his New York City home and convinced them to bail out various faltering financial institutions in order to stabilize the markets.

In 1892, Morgan arranged the merger of Edison General Electric and Thomson-Houston Electric Company to form General Electric. He also played important roles in the formation of the United States Steel Corporation, International Harvester and AT&T. He was the leading financier of the Progressive Era, and his dedication to efficiency and modernization helped transform American business. Adrian Wooldridge characterized Morgan as America's "greatest banker."
J.P. Morgan is the Pied Piper of Big Business, charming a crowd that includes President Theodore Roosevelt, in a 1902 cartoon. (Library of Congress)

The Bosses of the Senate, a cartoon by Joseph Keppler. First published in Puck 1889.
The Commodore: Cornelius Vanderbilt

Cornelius Vanderbilt, also known as “Commodore Vanderbilt” was an American shipping and railroad magnate who acquired a personal fortune of more than $100 million. He was the son of an impoverished farmer and boatman and was born in 1794 in Staten Island, New York. Vanderbilt quit school at age 11 to work on the waterfront. In 1810 he purchased his first boat with money borrowed from his parents. He used the boat to ferry passengers between Staten Island and New York City. Then, during the War of 1812, he enlarged his operation to a small fleet, with which he supplied government outposts around the city.

Vanderbilt expanded his ferry operation still further following the war, but in 1818 he sold all his boats and went to work for Thomas Gibbons as steamship captain. During this time, Vanderbilt learned the steamship business and acquired the capital that he would use in 1829 to start his own steamship company. During the next decade, Vanderbilt gained control of the traffic on the Hudson River by cutting fares and offering unprecedented luxury on his ships. His competitors finally paid him handsomely in return for Vanderbilt’s agreement to move his operation. He then concentrated on the northeastern seaboard, offering transportation from Long Island to Providence and Boston. By 1846 the Commodore was a millionaire.

The following year, he formed a company to transport passengers and goods from New York City and New Orleans to San Francisco via Nicaragua. With the enormous demand for passage to the West Coast brought about by the 1849 gold rush, Vanderbilt’s Accessory Transit Company proved a huge success. He quit the business only after his competitors—whom he had nearly ruined—agreed to pay him $40,000 - it later rose to $56,000 a month to abandon his operation.

By the 1850s he had turned his attention to railroads, buying up so much stock in the New York and Harlem Railroad that by 1863 he owned the line. He later acquired the Hudson River Railroad and the New York Central Railroad and consolidated them in 1869. When he added the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad in 1873, Vanderbilt was able to offer the first rail service from New York City to Chicago. During the last years of his life, Vanderbilt ordered the construction of Grand Central Depot (the forerunner of Grand Central Terminal) in New York City, a project that gave jobs to thousands who had become unemployed during the Panic of 1873. Although never interested in philanthropy while acquiring the bulk of his huge fortune, later in his life he did give $1 million to Central University in Nashville, Tennessee, which would later become Vanderbilt University.

His biographer T. J. Stiles says, "He vastly improved and expanded the nation's transportation infrastructure, contributing to a transformation of the very geography of the United States. He embraced new technologies and new forms of business organization, and used them to compete... He helped to create the corporate economy that would define the United States into the 21st century."
"The protectors of our industries". Cartoon showing Cyrus Field, Jay Gould, Cornelius Vanderbilt, and Russell Sage, seated on bags of "millions", on large raft, and being carried by workers of various professions. Puck, 1883
**Vertical Integration**: This is separate steps of a business that are on the same production path; for example, for a hamburger business, it involves owning a cow ranch, a slaughter house, a freezer car for transportation of cow carcass, meat processing plant, refrigerated cart for transportation of beef, and the restaurant. This can be seen in the figure above—on the left hand side.

**Horizontal Integration**: the merger of companies at the same level of production; for example, combining all hamburger businesses under one corporation. This can be seen in the figure above—on the right hand side. An example of this would be if we have a Hamburger company and we take over all other hamburger restaurants in the area.

**Monopolies**: The term *monopolize* refers to the process by which a company gains the ability to raise prices or exclude competitors. In economics, a *monopoly* is a single seller. By forming *monopolies*, businesses pushed their competitors out of business leaving the “big business” as the sole provider of a good or service. For example, many will argue that Wal-Mart verges on being a *monopoly* because of its tendency to drive “mom & pop” type businesses out of business. Amazon is also among those companies often mentioned as having a negative effect on small businesses. In fact, during the last 30 years or so, large businesses & corporations have pushed many small businesses out of business, often devastating their families.

**Oligopoly** is a market structure with a small number of firms, none of which can keep the others from having significant influence. A *duopoly* is two firms and *oligopoly* is two or more firms. There is no precise upper limit to the number of firms in an *oligopoly*, but the number must be low enough that the actions of one firm significantly influence the others.

**Trusts**: A *trust* company is a legal entity that acts as a trustee on behalf of a person or *business* for the purpose of administration, management, and the eventual transfer of assets to a beneficial party. John D. Rockefeller utilized this method with his company Standard Oil. The Standard Oil Trust was formed in 1863 by John D. Rockefeller. He built up the company through 1868 to become the largest oil refinery firm in the world. In 1870, the company was renamed Standard Oil Company, after which Rockefeller decided to buy up all the other competition and form them into one large company.
Check for Understanding

1. What are **TWO EXAMPLES** of technological innovations that Carnegie used at Carnegie steel to help him dominate the steel market?

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2. What were **TWO NEGATIVE EFFECTS** of Carnegie’s focus on efficiency at Carnegie Steel?

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3. How did “Robber Barons” like John D. Rockefeller respond to the government declaring that “trusts” are illegal?

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4. What message do you think the political cartoonist is trying to make about Standard Oil?

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5. What was **ONE FACTOR** that added to the perception that J.P. Morgan was a “Robber Baron?”

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6. What are **TWO EXAMPLES** of actions taken by J.P. Morgan that could classify him as a “Captain of Industry” rather than a “Robber Baron?”

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7. How did Cornelius Vanderbilt **FIRST** amass his fortune?

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8. How do you think the political cartoonists portray Cornelius Vanderbilt in both cartoons?

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Robber Baron or Captain of Industry?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Choose an industrialist to complete the chart.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrialist’s Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How did he acquire his wealth? (What business, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How he (or his related industries) treated the workers?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How did this wealthy industrialist spend his money?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How did this wealthy industrialist donate his money – to which charity?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is this person a “Robber Baron” or a “Captain of Industry”? Statement of fact.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Write a CLAIM STATEMENT about this industrialist. Is he a robber baron or captain of industry? A claim statement is something you can prove or back up with evidence.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Robber Baron or Captain of Industry?

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## Robber Baron or Captain of Industry?

Choose an industrialist to complete the chart.

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The Trust Buster

Teddy Roosevelt was one American who believed a revolution was coming.

He believed WALL STREET FINANCIERS and powerful trust titans to be acting foolishly. While they were eating off fancy china on mahogany tables in marble dining rooms, the masses were roughing it. There seemed to be no limit to greed. If docking wages would increase profits, it was done. If higher railroad rates put more gold in their coffers, it was done. How much was enough, Roosevelt wondered?

The Sherman Anti-Trust Act

Although he himself was a man of means, he criticized the wealthy class of Americans on two counts. First, continued exploitation of the public could result in a violent uprising that could destroy the whole system. Second, the captains of industry were arrogant enough to believe themselves superior to the elected government. Now that he was President, Roosevelt went on the attack.

The President's weapon was the SHERMAN ANTITRUST ACT, passed by Congress in 1890. This law declared illegal all combinations "in restraint of trade." For the first twelve years of its existence, the Sherman Act was a paper tiger. United States courts routinely sided with business when any enforcement of the Act was attempted.

For example, the AMERICAN SUGAR REFINING COMPANY controlled 98 percent of the sugar industry. Despite this virtual monopoly, the Supreme Court refused to dissolve the corporation in an 1895 ruling. The only time an organization was deemed in restraint of trade was when the court ruled against a labor union.

Roosevelt knew that no new legislation was necessary. When he sensed that he had a sympathetic Court, he sprung into action.

Teddy vs. J.P.

Theodore Roosevelt was not the type to initiate major changes timidly. The first trust giant to fall victim to Roosevelt's assault was none other than the most powerful industrialist in the country — J. Pierpont Morgan.
Morgan controlled a railroad company known as Northern Securities. In combination with railroad MOGULS JAMES J. HILL and E. H. HARRIMAN, Morgan controlled the bulk of railroad shipping across the northern United States.

Morgan was enjoying a peaceful dinner at his New York home on February 19, 1902, when his telephone rang. He was furious to learn that Roosevelt's Attorney General was bringing suit against the Northern Securities Company. Stunned, he muttered to his equally shocked dinner guests about how rude it was to file such a suit without warning.

Four days later, Morgan was at the White House with the President. Morgan bellowed that he was being treated like a common criminal. The President informed Morgan that no compromise could be reached, and the matter would be settled by the courts. Morgan inquired if his other interests were at risk, too. Roosevelt told him only the ones that had done anything wrong would be prosecuted.

**The Good, the Bad, and the Bully**

This was the core of Theodore Roosevelt's leadership. He boiled everything down to a case of right versus wrong and good versus bad. If a trust controlled an entire industry but provided good service at reasonable rates, it was a "good" trust to be left alone. Only the "bad" trusts that jacked up rates and exploited consumers would come under attack. Who would decide the difference between right and wrong? The occupant of the White House trusted only himself to make this decision in the interests of the people.

The American public cheered Roosevelt's new offensive. The Supreme Court, in a narrow 5 to 4 decision, agreed and dissolved the Northern Securities Company. Roosevelt said confidently that no man, no matter how powerful, was above the law. As he landed blows on other "bad" trusts, his popularity grew and grew.

*Adapted from the Independence Hall Association*
Excerpts from Theodore Roosevelt’s Speech:  
“The New Nationalism,” 1910

A Speech Delivered at the Dedication of the John Brown Memorial Park in Osawatomie, Kansas

...Of conservation I shall speak more at length elsewhere. Conservation means development as much as it does protection. I recognize the right and duty of this generation to develop and use the natural resources of our land; but I do not recognize the right to waste them, or to rob, by wasteful use, the generations that come after us. I ask nothing of the nation except that it so behave as each farmer here behaves with reference to his own children. That farmer is a poor creature who skins the land and leaves it worthless to his children. The farmer is a good farmer who, having enabled the land to support himself and to provide for the education of his children, leaves it to them a little better than he found it himself. I believe the same thing of a nation.

Moreover, I believe that the natural resources must be used for the benefit of all our people, and not monopolized for the benefit of the few, and here again is another case in which I am accused of taking a revolutionary attitude. People forget now that one hundred years ago there were public men of good character who advocated the nation selling its public lands in great quantities, so that the nation could get the most money out of it, and giving it to the men who could cultivate it for their own uses. We took the proper democratic ground that the land should be granted in small sections to the men who were actually to till it and live on it. Now, with the water power, with the forests, with the mines, we are brought face to face with the fact that there are many people who will go with us in conserving the resources only if they are to be allowed to exploit them for their benefit. That is one of the fundamental reasons why the special interests should be driven out of politics. Of all the questions which can come before this nation, short of the actual preservation of its existence in a great war, there is none which compares in importance with the great central task of leaving this land even a better land for our descendants than it is for us, and training them into a better race to inhabit the land and pass it on.

Conservation is a great moral issue, for it involves the patriotic duty of insuring the safety and continuance of the nation. Let me add that the health and vitality of our people are at least as well worth conserving as their forests, waters, lands, and minerals, and in this great work the national government must bear a most important part.

I have spoken elsewhere also of the great task which lies before the farmers of the country to get for themselves and their wives and children not only the benefits of better farming, but also those of better
business methods and better conditions of life on the farm. The burden of this great task will fall, as it should, mainly upon the great organizations of the farmers themselves. I am glad it will, for I believe they are all well able to handle it. In particular, there are strong reasons why the Departments of Agriculture of the various states, the United States Department of Agriculture, and the agricultural colleges and experiment stations should extend their work to cover all phases of farm life, instead of limiting themselves, as they have far too often limited themselves in the past, solely to the question of the production of crops. And now a special word to the farmer. I want to see him make the farm as fine a farm as it can be made; and let him remember to see that the improvement goes on indoors as well as out; let him remember that the farmer’s wife should have her share of thought and attention just as much as the farmer himself.

Nothing is more true than that excess of every kind is followed by reaction; a fact which should be pondered by reformer and reactionary alike. We are face to face with new conceptions of the relations of property to human welfare, chiefly because certain advocates of the rights of property as against the rights of men have been pushing their claims too far. The man who wrongly holds that every human right is secondary to his profit must now give way to the advocate of human welfare, who rightly maintains that every man holds his property subject to the general right of the community to regulate its use to whatever degree the public welfare may require it.

But I think we may go still further. The right to regulate the use of wealth in the public interest is universally admitted. Let us admit also the right to regulate the terms and conditions of labor, which is the chief element of wealth, directly in the interest of the common good. The fundamental thing to do for every man is to give him a chance to reach a place in which he will make the greatest possible contribution to the public welfare. Understand what I say there. Give him a chance, not push him up if he will not be pushed. Help any man who stumbles; if he lies down, it is a poor job to try to carry him; but if he is a worthy man, try your best to see that he gets a chance to show the worth that is in him. No man can be a good citizen unless he has a wage more than sufficient to cover the bare cost of living, and hours of labor short enough so after his day’s work is done he will have time and energy to bear his share in the management of the community, to help in carrying the general load. We keep countless men from being good citizens by the conditions of life by which we surround them. We need comprehensive workman’s compensation acts, both State and national laws to regulate child labor and work for women, and, especially, we need in our common schools not merely education in book-learning, but also practical training for daily life and work. We need to enforce better sanitary conditions for our workers and to extend the use of safety appliances for workers in industry and commerce, both within and between the
States. Also, friends, in the interest of the working man himself, we need to set our faces like flint against mob-violence just as against corporate greed; against violence and injustice and lawlessness by wage-workers just as much as against lawless cunning and greed and selfish arrogance of employers. If I could ask but one thing of my fellow countrymen, my request would be that, whenever they go in for reform, they remember the two sides, and that they always exact justice from one side as much as from the other. I have small use for the public servant who can always see and denounce the corruption of the capitalist, but who cannot persuade himself, especially before election, to say a word about lawless mob violence. And I have equally small use for the man, be he a judge on the bench or editor of a great paper, or wealthy and influential private citizen, who can see clearly enough and denounce the lawlessness of mob violence, but whose eyes are closed so that he is blind when the question is one of corruption of business on a gigantic scale. Also, remember what I said about excess in reformer and reactionary alike. If the reactionary man, who thinks of nothing but the rights of property, could have his way, he would bring about a revolution; and one of my chief fears in connection with progress comes because I do not want to see our people, for lack of proper leadership, compelled to follow men whose intentions are excellent, but whose eyes are a little too wild to make it really safe to trust them. Here in Kansas there is one paper which habitually denounces me as the tool of Wall Street, and at the same time frantically repudiates the statement that I am a Socialist on the ground that that is an unwarranted slander of the Socialists.

National efficiency has many factors. It is a necessary result of the principle of conservation widely applied. In the end, it will determine our failure or success as a nation. National efficiency has to do, not only with natural resources and with men, but it is equally concerned with institutions. The State must be made efficient for the work which concerns only the people of the State; and the nation for that which concerns all the people. There must remain no neutral ground to serve as a refuge for lawbreakers, and especially for lawbreakers of great wealth, who can hire the vulpine legal cunning which will teach them how to avoid both jurisdictions. It is a misfortune when the national legislature fails to do its duty in providing a national remedy, so that the only national activity is the purely negative activity of the judiciary forbidding the State to exercise power in the premises.

I do not ask for the over centralization; but I do ask that we work in a spirit of broad and far-reaching nationalism where we work for what concerns our people as a whole. We are all Americans. Our common interests are as broad as the continent. I speak to you here in Kansas exactly as I would speak in New York or Georgia, for the most vital problems are those which affect us all alike. The National Government belongs to the whole American people, and where the whole American people are interested, that
interest can be guarded effectively only by the National Government. The betterment which we seek must be accomplished, I believe, mainly through the National Government.

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Excerpts from Theodore Roosevelt’s Speech:
“Trusts and Tariffs,” 1902

AT MUSIC HALL, CINCINNATI, OHIO

ON THE EVENING OF

SEPTEMBER 20, 1902

Mr. Mayor, and you, my Fellow-Americans:

...In dealing with the big corporations which we call trusts, we must resolutely purpose to proceed by evolution and not revolution. We wish to face the facts, declining to have our vision blinded either by the folly of those who say there are no evils, or by the more dangerous folly of those who either see, or make believe that they see, nothing but evil in all the existing system, and who if given their way would destroy the evil by the simple process of bringing ruin and disaster to the entire country.

The evils attendant upon over-capitalization alone are, in my judgment, sufficient to warrant a far closer supervision and control than now exists over the great corporations. Wherever a substantial monopoly can be shown to exist we should certainly try our utmost to devise an expedient by which it can be controlled. Doubtless some of the evils existing in or because of the great corporations can not be cured by any legislation which has yet been proposed, and doubt less others, which have really been incident to the sudden development in the formation of corporations of all kinds, will in the end cure themselves. But there will remain a certain number which can be cured if we decide that by the power of the Government they are to be cured. The surest way to prevent the possibility of curing any of them is to approach the subject in a spirit of violent rancor, complicated with total ignorance of business interests and fundamental incapacity or unwillingness to understand the limitations upon all lawmaking bodies. No problem, and least of all so difficult a problem as this, can be solved if the qualities brought to its solution are panic, fear, envy, hatred, and ignorance.

There can exist in a free republic no man more wicked, no man more dangerous to the people, than he who would arouse these feelings in the hope that they would redound to his own political advantage. Corporations that are handled honestly and fairly, so far from being an evil, are a natural business evolution and make for the general prosperity of our land. We do not wish to destroy corporations, but
we do wish to make them subserve the public good. All individuals, rich or poor, private or corporate, must be subject to the law of the land; and the government will hold them to a rigid obedience thereof. The biggest corporation, like the humblest private citizen, must be held to strict compliance with the will of the people as expressed in the fundamental law. The rich man who does not see that this is in his interest is indeed short-sighted. When we make him obey the law we ensure for him the absolute protection of the law.

*This text is in the public domain.*

**Check for Understanding**

1. Why did Teddy Roosevelt believe a “revolution was coming,” as this author states?
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2. Explain the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.
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3. What are some of the benefits or good aspects of business according to Roosevelt?
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4. What does Roosevelt think about trusts?

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5. What does Roosevelt think about special interests?

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6. What does Roosevelt think the government needs to do to help workers?

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Extended Response

Based on the sources and your knowledge of U.S. history, assess if the industrial economy would have succeeded without the extreme business practices of the Robber Barons/Captains of Industry.

As you write, follow the directions below.

- Address all parts of the prompt.
- Include information and examples from your own knowledge of U.S. history.
- Use evidence from the sources to support your response.
- Follow the steps on the Checklist as you write your response.
Instructional Task Five:

**Immigration and Urbanization**

You will explore immigration and rapid urbanization in the late 19th/early 20th century and investigate immigration policies and attitudes towards those policies. As you read, reflect on the key question, “Is there anything new about today’s immigration policy debate?” After examining the sources, answer the questions.

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**Instructional Process:**

1. Say: “As we saw in the previous task, industrialization proved positive for the U.S. economy and the wealthy industrialists, but it was not positive for everybody. Living conditions and quality of life for factory workers was difficult at best. In this task, you are going to explore the outcomes of industrialization and rapid urbanization on the lives of the working class. You are also going to explore immigration, its effects on urbanization, and common attitudes towards immigrants. Towards the end of our task, you will make a connection with today’s immigration policies and attitudes, discussing the compelling question ‘Is anything new about today’s immigration policy debate?’” Post the compelling question on the board.

2. Say: “First, we will explore various sources to build historical context and knowledge about immigration and its impact on urbanization.”

3. Post and read aloud the first supporting questions for the task: “Who immigrated, and why? How did immigration impact urbanization?”

4. Have students read From Farm to City, The 2nd Industrial Revolution and Urbanization and Urbanization and its Challenges in their Resource Books. Instruct students to read independently, and when finished reading, direct students to discuss the Check for Understanding questions in small groups:

5. To further build understanding of urbanization, watch the following silent videos of factory work in early 20th century America as a class: Coil winding machines at Westinghouse Works and Casting scene from Westinghouse Air Brake Co. While watching, invite students to share what they notice about factory life.

6. Project and scroll through Jacob Riis' "How the Other Half Lives" photo collection. While watching, invite students to share what they notice about tenement living and quality of life for the working poor/immigrants. NOTE: the photo collection is accompanied by an article about the life and impact of Jacob Riis, which is optional reading based on teacher discretion.

7. Deliver initial instruction on immigration and policies. You can compare and contrast today’s views and policies on immigration at this time or during Unit 6. Also, discuss Ellis/Angel Islands, Political Machines & Bosses, Patronage, Civil Service, etc.

8. Teach about Social Darwinism.

9. You can use the readings and questions in the Resource Book to support your instruction or any other activities of your choice. Grouping and collaborative learning should be implemented as much as possible.
From Farm to City

Today most Americans live in cities or suburbs, but from colonial times into the early twentieth century a majority of Americans lived in the countryside and worked on farms. Only two percent of Americans live on farms or ranches today, but in 1790 ninety percent of the population did. What caused this shift?

The movement of populations from rural to urban areas is called urbanization. Urbanization in the United States increased gradually in the early 1800s and then accelerated in the years after the Civil War. By 1890, twenty-eight percent of Americans lived in urban areas, and by 1920 more Americans lived in towns and cities than in rural areas.

The Second Industrial Revolution and Urbanization

The principal force driving America’s move into cities was the Second Industrial Revolution.

In the United States the industrial revolution came in two waves. The first saw the rise of factories and mechanized production in the late 1700s and early 1800s and included steam-powered spinning and weaving machines, the cotton gin, steamboats, locomotives, and the telegraph. The Second Industrial Revolution took off following the Civil War with the introduction of interchangeable parts, assembly-line production, and new technologies, including the telephone, automobile, electrification of homes and businesses, and more.

The businesses and factories behind the industrial revolution were located in the nation’s towns and cities. Eleven million Americans migrated from the countryside to cities in the fifty years between 1870 and 1920. During these same years an additional 25 million immigrants, most from Europe, moved to the United States—one of the largest mass migrations in human history—and while some settled on farms, most moved into the nation’s growing towns and cities.

Adapted from Khanacademy.org

Urbanization and Its Challenges

Urbanization occurred rapidly in the second half of the nineteenth century in the United States for a number of reasons. The new technologies of the time led to a massive leap in industrialization, requiring large numbers of workers. New electric lights and powerful machinery allowed factories to run twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. Workers were forced into grueling twelve-hour shifts, requiring them to live close to the factories.
While the work was dangerous and difficult, many Americans were willing to leave behind the declining prospects of preindustrial agriculture in the hope of better wages in industrial labor. Furthermore, problems ranging from famine to religious persecution led a new wave of immigrants to arrive from central, eastern, and southern Europe, many of whom settled and found work near the cities where they first arrived. Immigrants sought solace and comfort among others who shared the same language and customs, and the nation’s cities became an invaluable economic and cultural resource.

Although cities such as Philadelphia, Boston, and New York sprang up from the initial days of colonial settlement, the explosion in urban population growth did not occur until the mid-nineteenth century (Figure). At this time, the attractions of city life, and in particular, employment opportunities, grew exponentially due to rapid changes in industrialization. Before the mid-1800s, factories, such as the early textile mills, had to be located near rivers and seaports, both for the transport of goods and the necessary water power. Production became dependent upon seasonal water flow, with cold, icy winters all but stopping river transportation entirely. The development of the steam engine transformed this need, allowing businesses to locate their factories near urban centers. These factories encouraged more and more people to move to urban areas where jobs were plentiful, but hourly wages were often low and the work was routine and grudgingly monotonous.
Figure 2. As these panels illustrate, the population of the United States grew rapidly in the late 1800s (a). Much of this new growth took place in urban areas (defined by the census as twenty-five hundred people or more), and this urban population, particularly that of major cities (b), dealt with challenges and opportunities that were unknown in previous generations.

Eventually, cities developed their own unique characters based on the core industry that spurred their growth. In Pittsburgh, it was steel; in Chicago, it was meat packing; in New York, the garment and financial industries dominated; and Detroit, by the mid-twentieth century, was defined by the automobiles it built. But all cities at this time, regardless of their industry, suffered from the universal problems that rapid expansion brought with it, including concerns over housing and living conditions, transportation, and communication. These issues were almost always rooted in deep class inequalities, shaped by racial divisions, religious differences, and ethnic strife, and distorted by corrupt local politics.

THE KEYS TO SUCCESSFUL URBANIZATION

As the country grew, certain elements led some towns to morph into large urban centers, while others did not. The following four innovations proved critical in shaping urbanization at the turn of the century: electric lighting, communication improvements, intracity transportation, and the rise of skyscrapers. As people migrated for the new jobs, they often struggled with the absence of basic urban infrastructures, such as better transportation, adequate housing, means of communication, and efficient sources of light and energy. Even the basic necessities, such as fresh water and proper sanitation—often taken for granted in the countryside—presented a greater challenge in urban life.
Electric Lighting

Thomas Edison patented the incandescent light bulb in 1879. This development quickly became common in homes as well as factories, transforming how even lower- and middle-class Americans lived. Although slow to arrive in rural areas of the country, electric power became readily available in cities when the first commercial power plants began to open in 1882. When Nikola Tesla subsequently developed the AC (alternating current) system for the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Company, power supplies for lights and other factory equipment could extend for miles from the power source. AC power transformed the use of electricity, allowing urban centers to physically cover greater areas. In the factories, electric lights permitted operations to run twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. This increase in production required additional workers, and this demand brought more people to cities.

Gradually, cities began to illuminate the streets with electric lamps to allow the city to remain alight throughout the night. No longer did the pace of life and economic activity slow substantially at sunset, the way it had in smaller towns. The cities, following the factories that drew people there, stayed open all the time.

Communications Improvements

The telephone, patented in 1876, greatly transformed communication both regionally and nationally. The telephone rapidly supplanted the telegraph as the preferred form of communication; by 1900, over 1.5 million telephones were in use around the nation, whether as private lines in the homes of some middle- and upper-class Americans, or as jointly used “party lines” in many rural areas. By allowing instant communication over larger distances at any given time, growing telephone networks made urban sprawl possible.

In the same way that electric lights spurred greater factory production and economic growth, the telephone increased business through the more rapid pace of demand. Now, orders could come constantly via telephone, rather than via mail-order. More orders generated greater production, which in turn required still more workers. This demand for additional labor played a key role in urban growth, as expanding companies sought workers to handle the increasing consumer demand for their products.

Intracity Transportation

As cities grew and sprawled outward, a major challenge was efficient travel within the city—from home to factories or shops, and then back again. Most transportation infrastructure was used to connect cities to each other, typically by rail or canal. Prior to the 1880s, the most common form of transportation within cities was the omnibus. This was a large, horse-drawn carriage, often placed on iron or steel tracks to provide a smoother ride. While omnibuses worked adequately in smaller, less congested cities, they were not equipped to handle the larger crowds that developed at the close of the century. The horses had to stop and rest, and horse manure became an ongoing problem.
In 1887, Frank Sprague invented the electric trolley, which worked along the same concept as the omnibus, with a large wagon on tracks, but was powered by electricity rather than horses. The electric trolley could run throughout the day and night, like the factories and the workers who fueled them. But it also modernized less important industrial centers, such as the southern city of Richmond, Virginia. As early as 1873, San Francisco engineers adopted pulley technology from the mining industry to introduce cable cars and turn the city’s steep hills into elegant middle-class communities. However, as crowds continued to grow in the largest cities, such as Chicago and New York, trolleys were unable to move efficiently through the crowds of pedestrians (Figure). To avoid this challenge, city planners elevated the trolley lines above the streets, creating elevated trains, or L-trains, as early as 1868 in New York City, and quickly spreading to Boston in 1887 and Chicago in 1892. Finally, as skyscrapers began to dominate the air, transportation evolved one step further to move underground as subways. Boston’s subway system began operating in 1897, and was quickly followed by New York and other cities.

![Figure 3](image-url)

*Figure 3.* Although trolleys were far more efficient than horse-drawn carriages, populous cities such as New York experienced frequent accidents, as depicted in this 1895 illustration from Leslie’s Weekly (a). To avoid overcrowded streets, trolleys soon went underground, as at the Public Gardens Portal in Boston (b), where three different lines met to enter the Tremont Street Subway, the oldest subway tunnel in the United States, opening on September 1, 1897.

**The Rise of Skyscrapers**

The last limitation that large cities had to overcome was the ever-increasing need for space. Eastern cities, unlike their Midwestern counterparts, could not continue to grow outward, as the land surrounding them was already settled. Geographic limitations such as rivers or the coast also hampered sprawl. And in all cities, citizens needed to be close enough to urban centers to conveniently access work, shops, and other core institutions of urban life. The increasing cost of real estate made upward growth attractive, and so did the prestige that towering buildings carried for the businesses that occupied them. Workers completed the first skyscraper in Chicago, the ten-story Home Insurance Building, in 1885.
Although engineers had the capability to go higher, thanks to new steel construction techniques, they required another vital invention in order to make taller buildings viable: the elevator. In 1889, the Otis Elevator Company, led by inventor James Otis, installed the first electric elevator. This began the skyscraper craze, allowing developers in eastern cities to build and market prestigious real estate in the hearts of crowded eastern metropoles.

**Figure 4. While the technology existed to engineer tall buildings, it was not until the invention of the electric elevator in 1889 that skyscrapers began to take over the urban landscape.** Shown here is the Home Insurance Building in Chicago, considered the first modern skyscraper.

**THE IMMEDIATE CHALLENGES OF URBAN LIFE**

Congestion, pollution, crime, and disease were prevalent problems in all urban centers; city planners and inhabitants alike sought new solutions to the problems caused by rapid urban growth. Living conditions for most working-class urban dwellers were atrocious. They lived in crowded tenement houses and cramped apartments with terrible ventilation and substandard plumbing and sanitation. As a result, disease ran rampant, with typhoid and cholera common. Memphis, Tennessee, experienced waves of cholera (1873) followed by yellow fever (1878 and 1879) that resulted in the loss of over ten thousand lives. By the late 1880s, New York City, Baltimore, Chicago, and New Orleans had all introduced sewage pumping systems to provide efficient waste management. Many cities were also serious fire hazards. An average working-class family of six, with two adults and four children, had at best a two-bedroom tenement. By one 1900 estimate, in the New York City borough of Manhattan alone, there were nearly fifty thousand tenement houses. The photographs of these tenement houses are seen in Jacob Riis’s book, *How the Other Half Lives*, discussed in the feature above. Citing a study by the New York State Assembly at this time, Riis found New York to be the most densely populated city in the world, with as many as eight hundred residents per square acre in the Lower East Side working-class slums, comprising the Eleventh and Thirteenth Wards.

Churches and civic organizations provided some relief to the challenges of working-class city life. Churches were moved to intervene through their belief in the concept of the social gospel. This philosophy stated that all Christians, whether they were church leaders or social reformers, should be as concerned about the conditions of life in the secular world as the afterlife, and the Reverend Washington Gladden was a major advocate. Rather than preaching sermons on heaven and hell, Gladden talked about social changes of the time, urging other preachers to follow his lead. He advocated for
improvements in daily life and encouraged Americans of all classes to work together for the betterment of society. His sermons included the message to “love thy neighbor” and held that all Americans had to work together to help the masses. As a result of his influence, churches began to include gyms and libraries as well as offer evening classes on hygiene and health care. Other religious organizations like the Salvation Army and the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) expanded their reach in American cities at this time as well. Beginning in the 1870s, these organizations began providing community services and other benefits to the urban poor.

In the secular sphere, the settlement house movement of the 1890s provided additional relief. Pioneering women such as Jane Addams in Chicago and Lillian Wald in New York led this early progressive reform movement in the United States, building upon ideas originally fashioned by social reformers in England. With no particular religious bent, they worked to create settlement houses in urban centers where they could help the working class, and in particular, working-class women, find aid. Their help included child daycare, evening classes, libraries, gym facilities, and free health care. Addams opened her now-famous Hull House (Figure) in Chicago in 1889, and Wald’s Henry Street Settlement opened in New York six years later. The movement spread quickly to other cities, where they not only provided relief to working-class women but also offered employment opportunities for women graduating college in the growing field of social work. Oftentimes, living in the settlement houses among the women they helped, these college graduates experienced the equivalent of living social classrooms in which to practice their skills, which also frequently caused friction with immigrant women who had their own ideas of reform and self-improvement.

Figure 6.

*Jane Addams opened Hull House in Chicago in 1889, offering services and support to the city’s working poor.*
The success of the settlement house movement later became the basis of a political agenda that included pressure for housing laws, child labor laws, and worker’s compensation laws, among others. Florence Kelley, who originally worked with Addams in Chicago, later joined Wald’s efforts in New York; together, they created the National Child Labor Committee and advocated for the subsequent creation of the Children’s Bureau in the U.S. Department of Labor in 1912. Julia Lathrop—herself a former resident of Hull House—became the first woman to head a federal government agency, when President William Howard Taft appointed her to run the bureau. Settlement house workers also became influential leaders in the women’s suffrage movement as well as the antiwar movement during World War I.

**JANE ADDAMS REFLECTS ON THE SETTLEMENT HOUSE MOVEMENT**

Jane Addams was a social activist whose work took many forms. She is perhaps best known as the founder of Hull House in Chicago, which later became a model for settlement houses throughout the country. Here, she reflects on the role that the settlement played.

Life in the Settlement discovers above all what has been called ‘the extraordinary pliability of human nature,’ and it seems impossible to set any bounds to the moral capabilities which might unfold under ideal civic and educational conditions. But in order to obtain these conditions, the Settlement recognizes the need of cooperation, both with the radical and the conservative, and from the very nature of the case the Settlement cannot limit its friends to any one political party or economic school. The Settlement casts side none of those things which cultivated men have come to consider reasonable and goodly, but it insists that those belong as well to that great body of people who, because of toilsome and underpaid labor, are unable to procure them for themselves. Added to this is a profound conviction that the common stock of intellectual enjoyment should not be difficult of access because of the economic position of him who would approach it, that those ‘best results of civilization’ upon which depend the finer and freer aspects of living must be incorporated into our common life and have free mobility through all elements of society if we would have our democracy endure. The educational activities of a Settlement, as well its philanthropic, civic, and social undertakings, are but differing manifestations of the attempt to socialize democracy, as is the very existence of the Settlement itself.

In addition to her pioneering work in the settlement house movement, Addams also was active in the women’s suffrage movement as well as an outspoken proponent for international peace efforts. She was instrumental in the relief effort after World War I, a commitment that led to her winning the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931.

*Adapted from Rice University’s OpenStax collection*
Checking for Understanding

1. What technology developments impacted industrialization and urbanization, and what were their impacts?
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___________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________

2. What were the factors that influenced rapid urbanization?
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___________________________________________________________________
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3. Describe the impacts of overcrowding in urban centers.
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4. Explain the settlement movement, including key people involved and what the movement sought to do.
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___________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________
___________________________________________________________________
The Changing Nature of European Immigration

Immigrants also shifted the demographics of the rapidly growing cities. Although immigration had always been a force of change in the United States, it took on a new character in the late nineteenth century. Beginning in the 1880s, the arrival of immigrants from mostly southern and eastern European countries rapidly increased while the flow from northern and western Europe remained relatively constant (Table).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region Country</th>
<th>1870</th>
<th>1880</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern and Western Europe</td>
<td>4,845,679</td>
<td>5,499,889</td>
<td>7,288,917</td>
<td>7,204,649</td>
<td>7,306,325</td>
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<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1,690,533</td>
<td>1,966,742</td>
<td>2,784,894</td>
<td>2,663,418</td>
<td>2,311,237</td>
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<td>Ireland</td>
<td>1,855,827</td>
<td>1,854,571</td>
<td>1,871,509</td>
<td>1,615,459</td>
<td>1,352,251</td>
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<td>England</td>
<td>550,924</td>
<td>662,676</td>
<td>908,141</td>
<td>840,513</td>
<td>877,719</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>97,332</td>
<td>194,337</td>
<td>478,041</td>
<td>582,014</td>
<td>665,207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>30,508</td>
<td>38,663</td>
<td>123,271</td>
<td>275,907</td>
<td>626,341</td>
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<td>Norway</td>
<td>114,246</td>
<td>181,729</td>
<td>322,665</td>
<td>336,388</td>
<td>403,877</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>140,835</td>
<td>170,136</td>
<td>242,231</td>
<td>233,524</td>
<td>261,076</td>
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<tr>
<td>Southern and Eastern Europe</td>
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<td>248,620</td>
<td>728,851</td>
<td>1,674,648</td>
<td>4,500,932</td>
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<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>17,157</td>
<td>44,230</td>
<td>182,580</td>
<td>484,027</td>
<td>1,343,125</td>
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<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>4,644</td>
<td>35,722</td>
<td>182,644</td>
<td>423,726</td>
<td>1,184,412</td>
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<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>14,436</td>
<td>48,557</td>
<td>147,440</td>
<td>383,407</td>
<td>937,884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>3,737</td>
<td>11,526</td>
<td>62,435</td>
<td>145,714</td>
<td>495,609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>40,289</td>
<td>85,361</td>
<td>118,106</td>
<td>156,891</td>
<td>219,214</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Cumulative Total of the Foreign-Born Population in the United States, 1870-1910 (by major country of birth and European region)*

The previous waves of immigrants from northern and western Europe, particularly Germany, Great Britain, and the Nordic countries, were relatively well off, arriving in the country with some funds and often moving to the newly settled western territories. In contrast, the newer immigrants from southern and eastern European countries, including Italy, Greece, and several Slavic countries including Russia, came over due to “push” and “pull” factors similar to those that influenced the African Americans arriving from the South. Many were “pushed” from their countries by a series of ongoing famines, by the need to escape religious, political, or racial persecution, or by the desire to avoid compulsory military service. They were also “pulled” by the promise of consistent, wage-earning work.

Whatever the reason, these immigrants arrived without the education and finances of the earlier waves of immigrants, and settled more readily in the port towns where they arrived, rather than setting out to seek their fortunes in the West. By 1890, over 80 percent of the population of New York would be either
foreign-born or children of foreign-born parentage. Other cities saw huge spikes in foreign populations as well, though not to the same degree, due in large part to Ellis Island in New York City being the primary port of entry for most European immigrants arriving in the United States.

The number of immigrants peaked between 1900 and 1910, when over nine million people arrived in the United States. To assist in the processing and management of this massive wave of immigrants, the Bureau of Immigration in New York City, which had become the official port of entry, opened Ellis Island in 1892. Today, nearly half of all Americans have ancestors who, at some point in time, entered the country through the portal at Ellis Island. Doctors or nurses inspected the immigrants upon arrival, looking for any signs of infectious diseases (Figure). Most immigrants were admitted to the country with only a cursory glance at any other paperwork. Roughly 2 percent of the arriving immigrants were denied entry due to a medical condition or criminal history. The rest would enter the country by way of the streets of New York, many unable to speak English and totally reliant on finding those who spoke their native tongue.

*Figure 2. This photo shows newly arrived immigrants at Ellis Island in New York. Inspectors are examining them for contagious health problems, which could require them to be sent back. (credit: NIAID)*

Seeking comfort in a strange land, as well as a common language, many immigrants sought out relatives, friends, former neighbors, townspeople, and countrymen who had already settled in American cities. This led to a rise in ethnic enclaves within the larger city. Little Italy, Chinatown, and many other communities developed in which immigrant groups could find everything to remind them of home, from local language newspapers to ethnic food stores. While these enclaves provided a sense of community to their members, they added to the problems of urban congestion, particularly in the poorest slums where immigrants could afford housing.

The demographic shift at the turn of the century was later confirmed by the Dillingham Commission, created by Congress in 1907 to report on the nature of immigration in America; the commission reinforced this ethnic identification of immigrants and their simultaneous discrimination. The report put it simply: These newer immigrants looked and acted differently. They had darker skin tone, spoke languages with which most Americans were unfamiliar, and practiced unfamiliar religions, specifically Judaism and Catholicism. Even the foods they sought out at butchers and grocery stores set immigrants apart. Because of these easily identifiable differences, new immigrants became easy targets for hatred and discrimination. If jobs were hard to find, or if housing was overcrowded, it became easy to blame the immigrants. Like African Americans, immigrants in cities were blamed for the problems of the day.
Growing numbers of Americans resented the waves of new immigrants, resulting in a backlash. The Reverend Josiah Strong fueled the hatred and discrimination in his bestselling book, *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis*, published in 1885. In a revised edition that reflected the 1890 census records, he clearly identified undesirable immigrants—those from southern and eastern European countries—as a key threat to the moral fiber of the country, and urged all good Americans to face the challenge. Several thousand Americans answered his call by forming the American Protective Association, the chief political activist group to promote legislation curbing immigration into the United States. The group successfully lobbied Congress to adopt both an English language literacy test for immigrants, which eventually passed in 1917, and the Chinese Exclusion Act (discussed in a previous chapter). The group’s political lobbying also laid the groundwork for the subsequent Emergency Quota Act of 1921 and the Immigration Act of 1924, as well as the National Origins Act.

*Adapted from Rice University’s OpenStax collection*

**Checking for Understanding**

1. Where did most of the immigrants to the U.S in the late 19th/early 20th century emigrate from?
   - 
   - 
   - 
   - 

2. What were some “push” and “pull” factors for immigrants coming to the U.S.?
   - 
   - 
   - 
   - 

3. What are some examples of the social reaction to immigrants?
   - 
   - 
   - 
   - 

Representative Horace Davis' speech on Chinese Immigration to the House of Representatives

In the beginning of these remarks I tried to give you some picture of the Chinese population of the Pacific States, an army of nomads having neither allegiance to our Government nor sympathy with our people. I showed you how dangerous to a republic must be this hostile element in its midst, like a foreign army encamped among its people.

I warned you of the rise of a power like the secret societies of the Middle Ages, working within our own Government and defying its laws. I pointed out the discredit, peril, and distress this element of population has brought to free labor.
And lastly, I appealed to the experience of other nations who have permitted Chinese immigration and showed you that wherever it has been allowed the same unvarying features mark their presence, and that after centuries of contact with other people in the islands of the East Indies their race peculiarities are just as distinct as they are today in California; so that our only hope lies in a law restricting their coming.

We earnestly entreat you not to disappoint us in this hope. Our State is torn asunder with discontent and agitation over this all absorbing question. Assure the anxious hearts of our people that your sympathies are with us, and let us have peace. You republicans and you democrats make good the promises of your party leaders, over and over again pledging us your aid in Congress. Men of all parties who hate the memory of slavery relieve our young State from the blight of contract labor.

Champions of industry, as you would maintain the dignity, the self-respect, and the independence of labor, help the workingman buffeting against this flood which threatens to sweep him under. Soldiers, fresh from the horrors of civil war, avert from us the specter, however distant, of intestine strife, of a State divided against itself, and of a war of races.
The safety of the Republic lies in a contented people, loving their country and respecting its laws. No material prosperity can atone for the want of that allegiance. As we cherish the traditions of one flag, one Constitution, and one common country, so we can only work out one common destiny as a united and harmonious people.

This text is in the public domain. The full speech is available at the National Archives: https://archive.org/stream/chineseimmigrat00davigoog/chineseimmigrat00davigoog_djvu.txt.
Chinese Exclusion Act

The Chinese Exclusion Act was approved on May 6, 1882. It was the first significant law restricting immigration into the United States.

In the spring of 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed by Congress and signed by President Chester A. Arthur. This act provided an absolute 10-year moratorium on Chinese labor immigration. For the first time, Federal law proscribed entry of an ethnic working group on the premise that it endangered the good order of certain localities.

The Chinese Exclusion Act required the few nonlaborers who sought entry to obtain certification from the Chinese government that they were qualified to immigrate. But this group found it increasingly difficult to prove that they were not laborers because the 1882 act defined excludables as “skilled and unskilled laborers and Chinese employed in mining.” Thus very few Chinese could enter the country under the 1882 law.

The 1882 exclusion act also placed new requirements on Chinese who had already entered the country. If they left the United States, they had to obtain certifications to re-enter. Congress, moreover, refused State and Federal courts the right to grant citizenship to Chinese resident aliens, although these courts could still deport them.

When the exclusion act expired in 1892, Congress extended it for 10 years in the form of the Geary Act. This extension, made permanent in 1902, added restrictions by requiring each Chinese resident to register and obtain a certificate of residence. Without a certificate, she or he faced deportation.

Excerpts from The Immigration Act of 1924

The Immigration Act of 1924 limited the number of immigrants allowed entry into the United States through a national origins quota. The quota provided immigration visas to two percent of the total number of people of each nationality in the United States as of the 1890 national census. It completely excluded immigrants from Asia...

[In 1921], immigration expert and Republican Senator from Vermont William P. Dillingham introduced a measure to create immigration quotas, which he set at three percent of the total population of the foreign-born of each nationality in the United States as recorded in the 1910 census. This put the total number of visas available each year to new immigrants at 350,000. It did not, however, establish quotas of any kind for residents of the Western Hemisphere...

When the congressional debate over immigration began in 1924, the quota system was so well-established that no one questioned whether to maintain it, but rather discussed how to adjust it. Though there were advocates for raising quotas and allowing more people to enter, the champions of restriction triumphed. They created a plan that lowered the existing quota from three to two percent of the foreign born population. They also pushed back the year on which quota calculations were based from 1910 to 1890.

Another change to the quota altered the basis of the quota calculations. The quota had been based on the number of people born outside of the United States, or the number of immigrants in the United States. The new law traced the origins of the whole of the U.S. population, including natural-born citizens. The new quota calculations included large numbers of people of British descent whose families were long resident in the United States. As a result, the percentage of visas available to individuals from the British Isles and Western Europe increased, but newer immigration from other areas like Southern and Eastern Europe was limited.

This text is in the public domain.
Perhaps the chief argument expressed or implied by those favoring the Johnson bill [the Immigration Act of 1924] is that the new immigrant is not of a type that can be assimilated or that he will not carry on the best traditions of the founders of our Nation, but, on the contrary, is likely to fill our jails, our almshouses, and other institutions that impose a great tax burden on the Nation.

Based on this prejudice and dislike, there has grown up an almost fanatical anti-immigration sentiment. But this charge against the newcomers is denied, and substantial evidence has been brought to prove that they do not furnish a disproportionate share of the inmates of these institutions.

One of the purposes in shifting to the 1890 census is to reduce the number of undesirables and defectives in our institutions. In fact, this aspect of the question must have made a very deep impression on the committee because it crops out on every occasion. The committee has unquestionably been influenced by the conclusions drawn from a study made by Dr. Laughlin.

This is not the first time in American history that such an anti-foreign hysteria has swept the country. Reread your American histories. Go back and glance through McMaster’s History of the United States covering the years from 1820 to 1850. You will find there many pages devoted to the “100 per centers” of that time. So strange was the movement against the foreigner in those decades before the Civil War that a national political party, the “Know-Nothing Party,” sought to ride into power on the crest of this fanatical wave.

In those early days, however, the anti-foreign movement, strangely enough, was directed against the very people whom we now seek to prefer—the English, the Irish, and the Germans. The calamity howlers of a century ago prophesied that these foreigners would drag our Nation to destruction.

The trouble is that the committee is suffering from a delusion. It is carried away with the belief that there is such a thing as a Nordic race which possesses all the virtues, and in like manner creates the fiction of an inferior group of peoples, for which no name has been invented.

Nothing is more un-American. Nothing could be more dangerous, in a land the Constitution of which says that all men are created equal, than to write into our law a theory which puts one race above another, which stamps one group of people as superior and another as inferior. The fact that it is camouflaged in a maze of statistics will not protect this Nation from the evil consequences of such an unscientific, un-American, wicked philosophy.

This text is in the public domain. Congressional Record, 1924.
THE AMERICAN WALL, AS CONGRESSMAN BURNETT WOULD BUILD IT.

UNCLE SAM: You're welcome in—if you can climb it!

This image is in the public domain and is available online at http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3b00563/.
Checking for Understanding

1. What are the justifications Representative Davis gives regarding the dangers of Chinese immigration?
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   _____________________________________________________________
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2. What did the Chinese Exclusion Act do?
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   _____________________________________________________________
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   _____________________________________________________________

3. What did the Immigration Act of 1924 do?
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   _____________________________________________________________
   _____________________________________________________________
   _____________________________________________________________

4. What does Senator David A. Reed say are the three purposes of the Immigration Act of 1924 in his New York Times editorial?
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   _____________________________________________________________
   _____________________________________________________________
   _____________________________________________________________
5. What are the critiques of the Immigration Law of 1924 made by Senator Meyer Jacobstein?
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6. What point does Meyer Jacobstein make about resistance to immigration throughout American history?
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7. What is the political cartoon “The Americanese Wall” depicting?
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Charles Darwin

Charles Darwin, born in 1809, was an English geologist, naturalist and biologist. He wrote *On the Origin of Species* in 1859. In *Origin* and in his subsequent writing Darwin offered a revolutionary scientific theory: the process of evolution through natural selection.

In short, natural selection means that plants and animals evolve over time in nature as new species arise from spontaneous mutations at the point of reproduction and battle with other plants and animals to get food, avoid being killed, and have offspring. Darwin pointed to fossil records, among other evidence, in support of his theory.

Social Darwinism

Soon, some sociologists and others were taking up words and ideas which Darwin had used to describe the biological world, and they were adopting them to their own ideas and theories about the human social world. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these Social Darwinists took up the language of evolution to frame an understanding of the growing gulf between the rich and the poor as well as the many differences between cultures all over the world.

*Herbert Spencer. Image courtesy Wikimedia Commons.*

The explanation they arrived at was that businessmen and others who were economically and socially successful were so because they were biologically and socially “naturally” the fittest. Conversely, they reasoned that the poor were “naturally” weak and unfit and it would be an error to allow the weak of the species to continue to breed. They believed that the dictum “survival of the fittest” (a term coined not by Charles Darwin but by sociologist Herbert Spencer) meant that only the fittest should survive.

Unlike Darwin, these sociologists and others were not biologists. They were adapting and corrupting Darwin’s language for their own social, economic, and political explanations. While Darwin’s theory remains a cornerstone of modern biology to this day, the views of the Social Darwinists are no longer accepted, as they were based on an erroneous interpretation of the theory of evolution.
Social Darwinism, Poverty, and Eugenics

Social Darwinian language like this extended into theories of race and racism, eugenics, the claimed national superiority of one people over another, and immigration law.

Many sociologists and political theorists turned to Social Darwinism to argue against government programs to aid the poor, as they believed that poverty was the result of natural inferiority, which should be bred out of the human population. Herbert Spencer gave as an example a young woman from upstate New York named Margaret, whom he described as a “gutter-child.” Because government aid had kept her alive, Margaret had, as Spencer wrote, “proved to be the prolific mother” of two hundred descendants who were “idiots, imbeciles, drunkards, lunatics, paupers, and prostitutes.” Spencer concluded by asking, “Was it kindness or cruelty which, generation after generation, enabled these to multiply and become an increasing curse to the society around them?”

These ideas inspired the eugenics movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which sought to improve the health and intelligence of the human race by sterilizing individuals it deemed "feeble-minded" or otherwise "unfit." Eugenic sterilizations, which disproportionately targeted women, minorities, and immigrants, continued in the United States until the 1970s.

Social Darwinism, Immigration, and Imperialism

The pernicious beliefs of Social Darwinism also shaped Americans’ relationship with peoples of other nations. As a massive number of immigrants came to the United States during the Second Industrial Revolution, white, Anglo-Saxon Americans viewed these newcomers—who differed from earlier immigrants in that they were less likely to speak English and more likely to be Catholic or Jewish rather than Protestant—with disdain. Many whites believed that these new immigrants, who hailed from Eastern or Southern Europe, were racially inferior and consequently "less evolved" than immigrants from England, Ireland, or Germany.

Similarly, Social Darwinism was used as a justification for American imperialism in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines following the Spanish-American War, as many adherents of imperialism argued that it was the duty of white Americans to bring civilization to "backwards" peoples.
During and after World War II, the arguments of Social Darwinists and eugenicists lost popularity in the United States due to their association with Nazi racial propaganda. Modern biological science has completely discredited the theory of Social Darwinism.

Political cartoon showing Uncle Sam lecturing a group of childlike caricatures depicting the people of Hawaii, Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines. The "more advanced students" of Texas, California and Alaska sit in the back of the classroom, while the African American student is forced to clean the windows, the Native American student is confined to a corner, and the Chinese student is halted outside the door. Art by Louis Dalrymple, Puck magazine, 1899. Image courtesy Library of Congress.
Check for Understanding

1. Describe Charles Darwin’s theory of evolution in your own words. How does it differ from Herbert Spencer's idea of Social Darwinism?

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2. How did the ideas of Social Darwinism influence politics and society in the Gilded Age?

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3. Do you think the writers of the Immigration Act of 1924, and the politicians who voted for it, were influenced by ideas of Social Darwinism? Why or Why not?

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Topic Three
Progressivism and Its Impact
(US 2.7-8)

Connections to the Unit Claim
You will investigate the motivations of Progressives, and the outcomes of the Progressive movement to make a claim on whether or not the Progressive movement was successful. Through analyzing the long and short term successes of the Progressive movement, You will gain more information to build a claim on how innovation and expansion affect a nation’s identity.

To Explore These Key Questions
- Was the Progressive movement successful?
- What were the goals of the Progressive movement?
- Were the labor unions successful?
- What role did muckrakers play in the Progressive movement?
- Why did people, including women, oppose women’s suffrage?
- Who was a stronger advocate for African Americans, Booker T. Washington or W.E.B. Du Bois?
- What were key pieces of progressive legislation?
- How did the goals and reform agenda of the Progressive Era manifest themselves during the presidential administrations of Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson?

The Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire of 1911 in New York City was one of the deadliest industrial disasters in the United States. The Asch Building’s single fire escape collapsed under the weight of fleeing workers and the heat of the fire. Photo source: International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union Archives, Kheel Center, Cornell University
Instructional Task Six:

Was the Progressive Movement Successful?

You will investigate the goals of the Progressive movement, tactics used to reach those goals, and key progressive figures in the labor movement, women's suffrage movement, early civil rights movement, as well as the impact muckrakers had in ending corruption. As you read, reflect on the key question, “Was the Progressive movement successful?” After examining the sources, answer the questions.

Instructional Process:

1. Say: “As we investigated the outcomes of industrialization, immigration, and urbanization in a previous task, we discovered that living and working conditions for factory workers were very difficult. Today we are going to investigate a political movement of the late 19th and early 20th century that attempted to address this societal issue, among many others.”

2. Write the word Progressive on the board and read or project the following definitions:  
   1. favoring or advocating progress, change, improvement, or reform, as opposed to wishing to maintain things as they are, especially in political matters.
   2. making progress toward better conditions; employing or advocating more enlightened or liberal ideas, new or experimental methods.

3. Ask students: “What do these definitions have in common?”

4. Take notes for the class or annotate the definitions as students share their answers.

5. Say: “The Progressive movement emerged out of the desire of many Americans to confront the numerous challenges of the late 19th century, such as the growing labor force, factory conditions, women’s right to vote, and racial disparities. In this task, we will investigate the goals, tactics, and outcomes of the progressive movement. We will use the question “Was the Progressive movement successful?” to guide our inquiry.”

6. Post and read aloud the first supporting question for the task: “What were the goals of the Progressive movement?”

7. Deliver initial instruction on the Progressive Movement, labor conditions, corruption, muckrakers, women’s suffrage, racial equality, Teddy Roosevelt, Taft, the Election of 1912 and Woodrow Wilson.

8. You can use the readings and questions in the Resource Book to support your instruction or any other activities of your choice. Grouping and collaborative learning should be implemented as much as possible.

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2 From http://www.dictionary.com/browse/progressive?s=t
At the turn of the twentieth century there was a resurging impulse toward social and political reform. In some ways it continued tendencies already apparent since the industrial revolution of the early nineteenth century, in which white, Protestant, middle-class Americans organized to improve the lives of the urban poor. After the Civil War, industrialization, urbanization, and immigration intensified the inequalities between industrialist and worker, white and non-white, man and woman to such an extent that Americans believed government itself should become an instrument of reform. Particularly after the Depression of 1893 and the influx of more Asians and southern and eastern Europeans into American cities, the only solution appeared to be the systematic legislating of social justice, the curbing of political corruption, and the regulating of corporate forces to keep social strife at bay.

While the focus on government as the agent of change was a hallmark of this early twentieth-century reforming spirit, there was never a singular ideology underpinning the reform activities. Activists were evangelical Christians, or Socialists, or, in the case of Emma Goldman, even anarchists. Populists fought for social justice in rural America, while municipal reformers focused their efforts on ameliorating the living and work conditions of the urban poor. Some reformers believed in the superiority of the white race, while others fought for racial equality. Some favored the vote for women, while others thought it detrimental to American society. The reform sensibilities of the turn of the century were too varied to be described in sweeping terms.

The Progressive agenda was the most comprehensive in the end. Progressives were politicians, philosophers, historians, Supreme Court justices, and social critics. There were Republican Progressives, such as Theodore Roosevelt, and Democratic Progressives, such as Woodrow Wilson. For all their differences in politics and outlook, they tended as a whole to reject the laissez-faire social and economic policies that had prevailed since the Civil War. They generally believed, too, that modern science, methods of efficiency, and social planning could be forces of positive social change, if wielded with the right intentions and not left in the hands of a plutocratic few. Progressives tended to distrust the
corporate monopolies and political interests that had come to power and wanted to keep their ability to exploit and dominate the rest of society in check.

Recognizing the social ills that came with growing disparities of wealth in the industrial world, Progressives approached the variety of problems with a wide range of solutions. Some tried to clean up municipal streets or build parks and playgrounds for the urban poor. Jacob Riis, a pioneer of photojournalism, compiled photographic images of New York City’s slums in *How the Other Half Lives*. The book helped stir enough public sentiment to convince New York legislators to pass the Tenement House Act (1901), which banned the building of poorly ventilated structures. In 1911, a lack of safeguards at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company in Manhattan led to a fire that killed 146 employees, most of them poor, immigrant women who were powerless against the speed-ups and cramped conditions imposed by their employers. Social worker Frances Perkins, who headed up a Committee on Public Safety, used the tragedy to press for legislation mandating the regulation of maximum work hours, better fireproofing, cleaner conditions, and better methods of egress from workspaces. Legislators passed similar measures in major cities throughout the United States.

Progressives believed that politicians, too, had succumbed to corruption. In the name of efficiency and fairness, Wisconsin legislator Robert La Follette established the Legislative Reference Bureau, a non-partisan body of ‘experts’ in state government, created to minimize the influence of special interests. After 1901 Theodore Roosevelt brought this same proactive spirit to federal government. Touting himself as the president who wielded a "big stick" against corporations (1901–1908), he enforced antitrust laws and arbitrated between owners and miners in the Coal Strike of 1902. Woodrow Wilson continued in this interventionist vein after becoming president in 1913, trust busting, lowering tariffs, and reforming the national banking system in a program he called the "New Freedom."

There was popular support for regulation and reform because in these years, investigative journalists, often referred to as muckrakers, exposed corruption and exploitation at every turn. They went undercover as industrial workers or government employees. Lincoln Steffens, for instance, exposed municipal corruption in a column in *McClure’s* titled "Shame of the Cities." Upton Sinclair’s novel *The Jungle* provoked so much public outrage about the quality of processed meat that Roosevelt saw to the passing of the Pure Food and Drug Act in 1906.

Women were integrally involved in the social and political reform of this period, despite not having the franchise. Fellow muckraker Ida Tarbell helped Steffens along, and Sinclair’s efforts were supported by the research of social scientist Florence Kelley. Union leader Mother Jones was arrested in her efforts for industrial laborers, and settlement workers such as Jane Addams of Hull House worked "in the trenches" of immigrant neighborhoods to teach vocational skills and offer health clinics and recreational activities. Many female settlement workers came from the ranks of first- and second-generation college-educated women, who rejected Victorian expectations of motherhood and domesticity. Reform gave them a sense of purpose at a time when there were few professional outlets for independent, educated women.
The movement that attracted the most women, however, was the one that least challenged their identities as society’s mothers and moral guardians: temperance. Like settlement work, diet, education, or playground reform, temperance was yet another way for women to protect children and family values, and thus it seemed appropriately feminine in its intentions. The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was foremost of the national organizations in the twentieth century, though women had campaigned against the evils of alcohol for decades. Coupled with the lobbying efforts of anti-alcohol political interests, the temperance movement succeeded in its ultimate goal of a Constitutional amendment prohibiting intoxicating beverages, which was ratified in early 1919. The Volstead Act, or the National Prohibition Act of 1919, gave the government the means to actually enforce the Eighteenth Amendment.

As conservative as many temperance workers seemed, they made up the largest contingent of yet another reform movement that picked up steam in the twentieth century: the fight for women’s suffrage. Elizabeth Cady Stanton had ushered in the movement at the Seneca Falls Convention back in 1848, but only after the National American Women Suffrage Association (NAWSA) was organized in 1890 and under the leadership of Carrie Chapman Catt (1900–1904, 1915–1920) did political parties begin to entertain the vote for women. In 1915, a more radical group gathered in the NAWSA’s Congressional Union under Alice Paul and formed the National Woman’s Party (NWP), hoping a campaign of civil disobedience would quicken the passing of a federal amendment.

By 1920 suffragists did indeed succeed in winning formal political rights for women, just as other reformers had regulated monopolies, improved living conditions of immigrants, and checked the exploitative practices of industrialists. But their efforts were not nearly enough to alleviate all the social ills in modern American life. In the name of efficiency, Progressives centralized political and economic power into the hands of a bureaucratic few. Most corporate profits, too, continued to fall into the hands of a small elite at the expense of the working poor, which was increasingly also made up of African Americans coming to northern cities from the rural South. A revitalized Ku Klux Klan continued to intimidate and victimize African Americans in the South, but also included anyone they perceived as foreign—immigrants, Catholics, and Jews—in their campaign of violence. And the success of the women’s suffrage movement did not carry over into an expanded feminist agenda for equality in other spheres. Social and economic policy continued to reflect the glaring differences between Americans—whether based on race, class, gender, ethnicity, region, or culture—making social justice an elusive dream.

Nevertheless, the idealism of that era has had lasting impact, seen in the perpetuation of regulating bodies like the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), minimum wage and maximum hour legislation, worker’s compensation, and sanitation laws. Women remembered lessons learned in the suffrage movement when they picked up the torch of Women’s Liberation in the 1960s. Civil rights activists, too, summoned the lessons of Ida B. Wells’s anti-lynching campaign and the racial theories of W. E. B. Du Bois in fighting against segregation. Many of our notions about modern democracy and the welfare state
have grown directly out of the Progressive era, which shaped how Americans view government’s role in protecting the human welfare.

*Julie Des Jardins, GilderLehrman.org*

**Building Industrial America on the Backs of Labor**

The growth of the American economy in the last half of the nineteenth century presented a paradox. The standard of living for many American workers increased. As Carnegie said in *The Gospel of Wealth*, “the poor enjoy what the rich could not before afford. What were the luxuries have become the necessaries of life. The laborer has now more comforts than the landlord had a few generations ago.” In many ways, Carnegie was correct. The decline in prices and the cost of living meant that the industrial era offered many Americans relatively better lives in 1900 than they had only decades before. For some Americans, there were also increased opportunities for upward mobility. For the multitudes in the working class, however, conditions in the factories and at home remained deplorable. The difficulties they faced led many workers to question an industrial order in which a handful of wealthy Americans built their fortunes on the backs of workers.

**WORKING-CLASS LIFE**

Between the end of the Civil War and the turn of the century, the American workforce underwent a transformative shift. In 1865, nearly 60 percent of Americans still lived and worked on farms; by the early 1900s, that number had reversed itself, and only 40 percent still lived in rural areas, with the remainder living and working in urban and early suburban areas. A significant number of these urban and suburban dwellers earned their wages in factories. Advances in farm machinery allowed for greater production with less manual labor, thus leading many Americans to seek job opportunities in the burgeoning factories in the cities. Not surprisingly, there was a concurrent trend of a decrease in American workers being self-employed and an increase of those working for others and being dependent on a factory wage system for their living.

Yet factory wages were, for the most part, very low. In 1900, the average factory wage was approximately twenty cents per hour, for an annual salary of barely six hundred dollars. According to some historical estimates, that wage left approximately 20 percent of the population in industrialized cities at, or below, the poverty level. An average factory work week was sixty hours, ten hours per day, six days per week, although in steel mills, the workers put in twelve hours per day, seven days a week. Factory owners had little concern for workers’ safety. According to one of the few available accurate measures, as late as 1913, nearly 25,000 Americans lost their lives on the job, while another 700,000 workers suffered from injuries that resulted in at least one missed month of work. Another element of hardship for workers was the increasingly dehumanizing nature of their work. Factory workers executed repetitive tasks throughout the long hours of their shifts, seldom interacting with coworkers or
supervisors. This solitary and repetitive work style was a difficult adjustment for those used to more collaborative and skill-based work, whether on farms or in crafts shops. Managers embraced Fredrick Taylor’s principles of scientific management, also called “stop-watch management,” where he used stop-watch studies to divide manufacturing tasks into short, repetitive segments. A mechanical engineer by training, Taylor encouraged factory owners to seek efficiency and profitability over any benefits of personal interaction. Owners adopted this model, effectively making workers cogs in a well-oiled machine.

One result of the new breakdown of work processes was that factory owners were able to hire women and children to perform many of the tasks. From 1870 through 1900, the number of women working outside the home tripled. By the end of this period, five million American women were wage earners, with one-quarter of them working factory jobs. Most were young, under twenty-five, and either immigrants themselves or the daughters of immigrants. Their foray into the working world was not seen as a step towards empowerment or equality, but rather a hardship born of financial necessity. Women’s factory work tended to be in clothing or textile factories, where their appearance was less offensive to men who felt that heavy industry was their purview. Other women in the workforce worked in clerical positions as bookkeepers and secretaries, and as salesclerks. Not surprisingly, women were paid less than men, under the pretense that they should be under the care of a man and did not require a living wage.

One resu...
groups pressured Congress to pass protective legislation. However, such legislation would not be forthcoming until well into the twentieth century. In the meantime, many working-class immigrants still desired the additional wages that child and women labor produced, regardless of the harsh working conditions.

**WORKER PROTESTS AND VIOLENCE**

Workers were well aware of the vast discrepancy between their lives and the wealth of the factory owners. Lacking the assets and legal protection needed to organize, and deeply frustrated, some working communities erupted in spontaneous violence. The coal mines of eastern Pennsylvania and the railroad yards of western Pennsylvania, central to both respective industries and home to large, immigrant, working enclaves, saw the brunt of these outbursts. The combination of violence, along with several other factors, blunted any significant efforts to organize workers until well into the twentieth century.

Business owners viewed organization efforts with great mistrust, capitalizing upon widespread anti-union sentiment among the general public to crush unions through open shops, the use of strikebreakers, yellow-dog contracts (in which the employee agrees to not join a union as a pre-condition of employment), and other means. Workers also faced obstacles to organization associated with race and ethnicity, as questions arose on how to address the increasing number of low-paid African American workers, in addition to the language and cultural barriers introduced by the large wave of southeastern European immigration to the United States. But in large part, the greatest obstacle to effective unionization was the general public’s continued belief in a strong work ethic and that an individual work ethic—not organizing into radical collectives—would reap its own rewards. As violence erupted, such events seemed only to confirm widespread popular sentiment that radical, un-American elements were behind all union efforts.

In the 1870s, Irish coal miners in eastern Pennsylvania formed a secret organization known as the Molly Maguires, named for the famous Irish patriot. Through a series of scare tactics that included kidnappings, beatings, and even murder, the Molly Maguires sought to bring attention to the miners’ plight, as well as to cause enough damage and concern to the mine owners that the owners would pay attention to their concerns. Owners paid attention, but not in the way that the protesters had hoped. They hired detectives to pose as miners and mingle among the workers to obtain the names of the Molly Maguires. By 1875, they had acquired the names of twenty-four suspected Maguires, who were subsequently convicted of murder and violence against property. All were convicted and ten were hanged in 1876, at a public “Day of the Rope.” This harsh reprisal quickly crushed the remaining Molly Maguires movement. The only substantial gain the workers had from this episode was the knowledge that, lacking labor organization, sporadic violent protest would be met by escalated violence.

Public opinion was not sympathetic towards labor’s violent methods as displayed by the Molly Maguires. But the public was further shocked by some of the harsh practices employed by government agents to crush the labor movement, as seen the following year in the Great Railroad Strike of 1877.
a significant pay cut earlier that year, railroad workers in West Virginia spontaneously went on strike and blocked the tracks (Figure). As word spread of the event, railroad workers across the country joined in sympathy, leaving their jobs and committing acts of vandalism to show their frustration with the ownership. Local citizens, who in many instances were relatives and friends, were largely sympathetic to the railroad workers’ demands.

*Figure 2. This engraving of the “Blockade of Engines at Martinsburg, West Virginia” appeared on the front cover of Harper’s Weekly on August 11, 1877, while the Great Railroad Strike was still underway.*

The most significant violent outbreak of the railroad strike occurred in Pittsburgh, beginning on July 19. The governor ordered militiamen from Philadelphia to the Pittsburgh roundhouse to protect railroad property. The militia opened fire to disperse the angry crowd and killed twenty individuals while wounding another twenty-nine. A riot erupted, resulting in twenty-four hours of looting, violence, fire, and mayhem, and did not die down until the rioters wore out in the hot summer weather. In a subsequent skirmish with strikers while trying to escape the roundhouse, militiamen killed another twenty individuals. Violence erupted in Maryland and Illinois as well, and President Hayes eventually sent federal troops into major cities to restore order. This move, along with the impending return of cooler weather that brought with it the need for food and fuel, resulted in striking workers nationwide returning to the railroad. The strike had lasted for forty-five days, and they had gained nothing but a reputation for violence and aggression that left the public less sympathetic than ever. Dissatisfied laborers began to realize that there would be no substantial improvement in their quality of life until they found a way to better organize themselves.

**WORKER ORGANIZATION AND THE STRUGGLES OF UNIONS**

Prior to the Civil War, there were limited efforts to create an organized labor movement on any large scale. With the majority of workers in the country working independently in rural settings, the idea of organized labor was not largely understood. But, as economic conditions changed, people became more aware of the inequities facing factory wage workers. By the early 1880s, even farmers began to fully recognize the strength of unity behind a common cause.
Models of Organizing: The Knights of Labor and American Federation of Labor

In 1866, seventy-seven delegates representing a variety of different occupations met in Baltimore to form the National Labor Union (NLU). The NLU had ambitious ideas about equal rights for African Americans and women, currency reform, and a legally mandated eight-hour workday. The organization was successful in convincing Congress to adopt the eight-hour workday for federal employees, but their reach did not progress much further. The Panic of 1873 and the economic recession that followed as a result of overspeculation on railroads and the subsequent closing of several banks—during which workers actively sought any employment regardless of the conditions or wages—as well as the death of the NLU’s founder, led to a decline in their efforts.

A combination of factors contributed to the debilitating Panic of 1873, which triggered what the public referred to at the time as the “Great Depression” of the 1870s. Most notably, the railroad boom that had occurred from 1840 to 1870 was rapidly coming to a close. Overinvestment in the industry had extended many investors’ capital resources in the form of railroad bonds. However, when several economic developments in Europe affected the value of silver in America, which in turn led to a de facto gold standard that shrunk the U.S. monetary supply, the amount of cash capital available for railroad investments rapidly declined. Several large business enterprises were left holding their wealth in all but worthless railroad bonds. When Jay Cooke & Company, a leader in the American banking industry, declared bankruptcy on the eve of their plans to finance the construction of a new transcontinental railroad, the panic truly began. A chain reaction of bank failures culminated with the New York Stock Exchange suspending all trading for ten days at the end of September 1873. Within a year, over one hundred railroad enterprises had failed; within two years, nearly twenty thousand businesses had failed. The loss of jobs and wages sent workers throughout the United States seeking solutions and clamoring for scapegoats.

Although the NLU proved to be the wrong effort at the wrong time, in the wake of the Panic of 1873 and the subsequent frustration exhibited in the failed Molly Maguires uprising and the national railroad strike, another, more significant, labor organization emerged. The Knights of Labor (KOL) was more able to attract a sympathetic following than the Molly Maguires and others by widening its base and appealing to more members. Philadelphia tailor Uriah Stephens grew the KOL from a small presence during the Panic of 1873 to an organization of national importance by 1878. That was the year the KOL held their first general assembly, where they adopted a broad reform platform, including a renewed call for an eight-hour workday, equal pay regardless of gender, the elimination of convict labor, and the creation of greater cooperative enterprises with worker ownership of businesses. Much of the KOL’s strength came from its concept of “One Big Union”—the idea that it welcomed all wage workers, regardless of occupation, with the exception of doctors, lawyers, and bankers. It welcomed women, African Americans, Native Americans, and immigrants, of all trades and skill levels. This was a notable break from the earlier tradition of craft unions, which were highly specialized and limited to a particular
group. In 1879, a new leader, Terence V. Powderly, joined the organization, and he gained even more followers due to his marketing and promotional efforts. Although largely opposed to strikes as effective tactics, through their sheer size, the Knights claimed victories in several railroad strikes in 1884–1885, including one against notorious “robber baron” Jay Gould, and their popularity consequently rose among workers. By 1886, the KOL had a membership in excess of 700,000.

In one night, however, the KOL’s popularity—and indeed the momentum of the labor movement as a whole—plummeted due to an event known as the Haymarket affair, which occurred on May 4, 1886, in Chicago’s Haymarket Square (Figure). There, an anarchist group had gathered in response to a death at an earlier nationwide demonstration for the eight-hour workday. At the earlier demonstration, clashes between police and strikers at the International Harvester Company of Chicago led to the death of a striking worker. The anarchist group decided to hold a protest the following night in Haymarket Square, and, although the protest was quiet, the police arrived armed for conflict. Someone in the crowd threw a bomb at the police, killing one officer and injuring another. The seven anarchists speaking at the protest were arrested and charged with murder. They were sentenced to death, though two were later pardoned and one committed suicide in prison before his execution.

The press immediately blamed the KOL as well as Powderly for the Haymarket affair, despite the fact that neither the organization nor Powderly had anything to do with the demonstration. Combined with the American public’s lukewarm reception to organized labor as a whole, the damage was done. The KOL saw its membership decline to barely 100,000 by the end of 1886. Nonetheless, during its brief success, the Knights illustrated the potential for success with their model of “industrial unionism,” which welcomed workers from all trades.

During the effort to establish industrial unionism in the form of the KOL, craft unions had continued to operate. In 1886, twenty different craft unions met to organize a national federation of autonomous craft unions. This group became the American Federation of Labor (AFL), led by Samuel Gompers from its inception until his death in 1924. More so than any of its predecessors, the AFL focused almost all of its efforts on economic gains for its members, seldom straying into political issues other than those that
had a direct impact upon working conditions. The AFL also kept a strict policy of not interfering in each union’s individual business. Rather, Gompers often settled disputes between unions, using the AFL to represent all unions of matters of federal legislation that could affect all workers, such as the eight-hour workday.

By 1900, the AFL had 500,000 members; by 1914, its numbers had risen to one million, and by 1920 they claimed four million working members. Still, as a federation of craft unions, it excluded many factory workers and thus, even at its height, represented only 15 percent of the nonfarm workers in the country. As a result, even as the country moved towards an increasingly industrial age, the majority of American workers still lacked support, protection from ownership, and access to upward mobility.

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**THE HAYMARKET RALLY**

On May 1, 1886, recognized internationally as a day for labor celebration, labor organizations around the country engaged in a national rally for the eight-hour workday. While the number of striking workers varied around the country, estimates are that between 300,000 and 500,000 workers protested in New York, Detroit, Chicago, and beyond. In Chicago, clashes between police and protesters led the police to fire into the crowd, resulting in fatalities. Afterward, angry at the deaths of the striking workers, organizers quickly organized a "mass meeting," per the poster below (Figure).

![Figure 4. This poster invited workers to a meeting denouncing the violence at the labor rally earlier in the week. Note that the invitation is written in both English and German, evidence of the large role that the immigrant population played in the labor movement.](image)

While the meeting was intended to be peaceful, a large police presence made itself known, prompting one of the event organizers to state in his speech, "There seems to prevail the opinion in some quarters that this meeting has been called for the purpose of inaugurating a riot, hence these warlike preparations on the part of so-called 'law and order.' However, let me tell you at the beginning that this meeting has not been called for any such purpose. The object of this meeting is to explain the general situation of the eight-hour movement and to throw light upon various incidents in connection with it." The mayor of Chicago later corroborated accounts of the meeting, noted that it was a peaceful rally, but as it was winding down, the police marched into the crowd, demanding they disperse. Someone in the crowd threw a bomb, killing one policeman immediately and wounding many others, some of whom died later. Despite the aggressive actions of the police, public opinion was strongly against the striking laborers. The *New York Times*, after the events played out, reported on it with the headline "Rioting and Bloodshed in the Streets of Chicago: Police Mowed Down with Dynamite." Other papers echoed the tone and often exaggerated the chaos, undermining organized labor’s efforts and leading to the ultimate conviction and hanging of the rally organizers. Labor activists considered those hanged after the Haymarket affair to be martyrs for the cause and created an informal memorial at their gravesides in Park Forest, Illinois.
The Decline of Labor: The Homestead and Pullman Strikes

While workers struggled to find the right organizational structure to support a union movement in a society that was highly critical of such worker organization, there came two final violent events at the close of the nineteenth century. These events, the Homestead Steel Strike of 1892 and the Pullman Strike of 1894, all but crushed the labor movement for the next forty years, leaving public opinion of labor strikes lower than ever and workers unprotected.

At the Homestead factory of the Carnegie Steel Company, workers represented by the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers enjoyed relatively good relations with management until Henry C. Frick became the factory manager in 1889. When the union contract was up for renewal in 1892, Carnegie—long a champion of living wages for his employees—had left for Scotland and trusted Frick—noted for his strong anti-union stance—to manage the negotiations. When no settlement was reached by June 29, Frick ordered a lockout of the workers and hired three hundred Pinkerton detectives to protect company property. On July 6, as the Pinkertons arrived on barges on the river, union workers along the shore engaged them in a gunfight that resulted in the deaths of three Pinkertons and six workers. One week later, the Pennsylvania militia arrived to escort strike-breakers into the factory to resume production. Although the lockout continued until November, it ended with the union defeated and individual workers asking for their jobs back. A subsequent failed assassination attempt by anarchist Alexander Berkman on Frick further strengthened public animosity towards the union.

Figure 5. In this photo of the Pullman Strike of 1894, the Illinois National Guard and striking workers face off in front of a railroad building.

Two years later, in 1894, the Pullman Strike was another disaster for unionized labor. The crisis began in the company town of Pullman, Illinois, where Pullman “sleeper” cars were manufactured for America’s railroads. When the depression of 1893 unfolded in the wake of the failure of several northeastern railroad companies, mostly due to overconstruction and poor financing, company owner George Pullman fired three thousand of the factory’s six thousand employees, cut the remaining workers’ wages by an average of 25 percent, and then continued to charge the same high rents and prices in the company homes and store where workers were required to live and shop. Workers began the strike on May 11, when Eugene V. Debs, the president of the American Railway Union, ordered rail workers throughout the country to stop handling any trains that had Pullman cars on them. In
practicality, almost all of the trains fell into this category, and, therefore, the strike created a nationwide train stoppage, right on the heels of the depression of 1893. Seeking justification for sending in federal troops, President Grover Cleveland turned to his attorney general, who came up with a solution: Attach a mail car to every train and then send in troops to ensure the delivery of the mail. The government also ordered the strike to end; when Debs refused, he was arrested and imprisoned for his interference with the delivery of U.S. mail. The image below (Figure) shows the standoff between federal troops and the workers. The troops protected the hiring of new workers, thus rendering the strike tactic largely ineffective. The strike ended abruptly on July 13, with no labor gains and much lost in the way of public opinion.

GEORGE ESTES ON THE ORDER OF RAILROAD TELEGRAPHERS

The following excerpt is a reflection by George Estes, an organizer and member of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, a labor organization at the end of the nineteenth century. His perspective on the ways that labor and management related to each other illustrates the difficulties at the heart of their negotiations. He notes that, in this era, the two groups saw each other as enemies and that any gain by one was automatically a loss by the other.

"I have always noticed that things usually have to get pretty bad before they get any better. When inequities pile up so high that the burden is more than the underdog can bear, he gets his dander up and things begin to happen. It was that way with the telegraphers' problem. These exploited individuals were determined to get for themselves better working conditions—higher pay, shorter hours, less work which might not properly be classed as telegraphy, and the high and mighty Mr. Fillmore [railroad company president] was not going to stop them. It was a bitter fight. At the outset, Mr. Fillmore let it be known, by his actions and comments, that he held the telegraphers in the utmost contempt."

"With the papers crammed each day with news of labor strife—and with two great labor factions at each other's throats, I am reminded of a parallel in my own early and more active career. Shortly before the turn of the century, in 1898 and 1899 to be more specific, I occupied a position with regard to a certain class of skilled labor, comparable to that held by the Lawses and Groes of today. I refer, of course, to the telegraphers and station agents. These hard-working gentlemen—servants of the public—had no regular hours, performed a multiplicity of duties, and, considering the service they rendered, were sorely and inadequately paid. A telegrapher's day included a considerable number of chores that present-day telegraphers probably never did or will do in the course of a day's work. He used to clean and fill lanterns, block lights, etc. Used to do the janitor work around the small town depot, stoke the pot-bellied stove of the waiting-room, sweep the floors, picking up papers and waiting-room litter. . . ."

"Today, capital and labor seem to understand each other better than they did a generation or so ago. Capital is out to make money. So is labor—and each is willing to grant the other a certain amount of tolerant leeway, just so he doesn't go too far. In the old days there was a breach as wide as the Pacific separating capital and labor. It wasn't money altogether in those days, it was a matter of principle. Capital and labor couldn't see eye to eye on a single point. Every gain that either made was at the expense of the other, and was fought tooth and nail. No difference seemed ever possible of amicable settlement. Strikes were riots. Murder and mayhem was common. Railroad labor troubles were frequent. The railroads, in the nineties, were the country's largest employers. They were so big, so powerful, so perfectly organized themselves—I mean so in accord among themselves as to what treatment they felt like offering the man who worked for them—that it was extremely difficult for labor to gain a single advantage in the struggle for better conditions."

"—George Estes, interview with Andrew Sherbert, 1938"

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Checking for Understanding

1. What were the social, political, and economic struggles faced by the labor force?
   __________________________________________________________
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   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________

2. What was the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor?
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   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________

3. What were the goals of the labor unions? What tactics did they use to reach those goals?
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________

4. Were the labor unions successful? Why or why not?
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
Muckrakers

The pen is sometimes mightier than the sword.

It may be a cliché, but it was all too true for journalists at the turn of the century. The print revolution enabled publications to increase their subscriptions dramatically. What appeared in print was now more powerful than ever. Writing to Congress in hopes of correcting abuses was slow and often produced zero results. Publishing a series of articles had a much more immediate impact. Collectively called MUCKRAKERS, a brave cadre of reporters exposed injustices so grave they made the blood of the average American run cold.

Steffens Takes on Corruption

The first to strike was LINCOLN STEFFENS. In 1902, he published an article in MCCLURE’S magazine called "TWEED DAYS IN ST. LOUIS." Steffens exposed how city officials worked in league with big business to maintain power while corrupting the public treasury.

More and more articles followed, and soon Steffens published the collection as a book entitled THE SHAME OF THE CITIES. Soon public outcry demanded reform of city government and gave strength to the progressive ideas of a city commission or city manager system.

Tarbell vs. Standard Oil

IDA TARBELL struck next. One month after Lincoln Steffens launched his assault on urban politics, Tarbell began her McClure’s series entitled "HISTORY OF THE STANDARD OIL COMPANY." She outlined and documented the cutthroat business practices behind John Rockefeller’s meteoric rise. Tarbell’s motives may also have been personal: her own father had been driven out of business by Rockefeller.

Upton Sinclair published The Jungle in 1905 to expose labor abuses in the meat packing industry. But it was food, not labor, that most concerned the public. Sinclair’s horrific descriptions of the industry lead to the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act and the Meat Inspection Act, not to labor legislation.

John Spargo’s 1906 The Bitter Cry of the Children exposed hardships suffered by child laborers, such as these coal miners. “From the cramped position [the boys] have to assume,” wrote Spargo, “most of them become more or less deformed and bent-backed like old men...”
Once other publications saw how profitable these exposés had been, they courted muckrakers of their own. In 1905, THOMAS LAWSON brought the inner workings of the stock market to light in FRENZIED FINANCE. JOHN SPARGO unearthed the horrors of child labor in THE BITTER CRY OF THE CHILDREN in 1906. That same year, DAVID PHILLIPS linked 75 senators to big business interests in THE TREASON OF THE SENATE. In 1907, WILLIAM HARD went public with industrial accidents in the steel industry in the blistering MAKING STEEL AND KILLING MEN. RAY STANNARD BAKER revealed the oppression of Southern blacks in FOLLOWING THE COLOR LINE in 1908.

### The Meatpacking Jungle

Perhaps no muckraker caused as great a stir as UPTON SINCLAIR. An avowed Socialist, Sinclair hoped to illustrate the horrible effects of capitalism on workers in the Chicago meatpacking industry. His bone-chilling account, THE JUNGLE, detailed workers sacrificing their fingers and nails by working with acid, losing limbs, catching diseases, and toiling long hours in cold, cramped conditions. He hoped the public outcry would be so fierce that reforms would soon follow.

The clamor that rang throughout America was not, however, a response to the workers' plight. Sinclair also uncovered the contents of the products being sold to the general public. Spoiled meat was covered with chemicals to hide the smell. Skin, hair, stomach, ears, and nose were ground up and packaged as head cheese. Rats climbed over warehouse meat, leaving piles of excrement behind.

Sinclair said that he aimed for America's heart and instead hit its stomach. Even President Roosevelt, who coined the derisive term "muckraker," was propelled to act. Within months, Congress passed the PURE FOOD AND DRUG ACT and the MEAT INSPECTION ACT to curb these sickening abuses.
New Voices for Women and African Americans

The Progressive drive for a more perfect democracy and social justice also fostered the growth of two new movements that attacked the oldest and most long-standing betrayals of the American promise of equal opportunity and citizenship—the disfranchisement of women and civil rights for African Americans. African Americans across the nation identified an agenda for civil rights and economic opportunity during the Progressive Era, but they disagreed strongly on how to meet these goals in the face of universal discrimination and disfranchisement, segregation, and racial violence in the South. And beginning in the late nineteenth century, the women’s movement cultivated a cadre of new leaders, national organizations, and competing rationales for women’s rights—especially the right to vote.

LEADERS EMERGE IN THE WOMEN’S MOVEMENT

Women like Jane Addams and Florence Kelley were instrumental in the early Progressive settlement house movement, and female leaders dominated organizations such as the WCTU and the Anti-Saloon League. From these earlier efforts came new leaders who, in their turn, focused their efforts on the key goal of the Progressive Era as it pertained to women: the right to vote.

Women had first formulated their demand for the right to vote in the Declaration of Sentiments at a convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, and saw their first opportunity of securing suffrage during
Reconstruction when legislators—driven by racial animosity—sought to enfranchise women to counter the votes of black men following the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. By 1900, the western frontier states of Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming had already responded to women’s movements with the right to vote in state and local elections, regardless of gender. They conceded to the suffragists’ demands, partly in order to attract more women to these male-dominated regions. But women’s lives in the West also rarely fit with the nineteenth-century ideology of “separate spheres” that had legitimized the exclusion of women from the rough-and-tumble party competitions of public politics. In 1890, the National American Women’s Suffrage Association (NAWSA) organized several hundred state and local chapters to urge the passage of a federal amendment to guarantee a woman’s right to vote. Its leaders, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, were veterans of the women’s suffrage movement and had formulated the first demand for the right to vote at Seneca Falls in 1848 (Figure). Under the subsequent leadership of Carrie Chapman Catt, beginning in 1900, the group decided to make suffrage its first priority. Soon, its membership began to grow. Using modern marketing efforts like celebrity endorsements to attract a younger audience, the NAWSA became a significant political pressure group for the passage of an amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Figure 1. Women suffragists in Ohio sought to educate and convince men that they should support a woman’s rights to vote. As the feature below on the backlash against suffragists illustrates, it was a far from simple task.

For some in the NAWSA, however, the pace of change was too slow. Frustrated with the lack of response by state and national legislators, Alice Paul, who joined the organization in 1912, sought to expand the scope of the organization as well as to adopt more direct protest tactics to draw greater media attention. When others in the group were unwilling to move in her direction, Paul split from the NAWSA to create the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, later renamed the National Woman’s Party, in 1913. Known as the Silent Sentinels (Figure), Paul and her group picketed outside the White House for nearly two years, starting in 1917. In the latter stages of their protests, many women, including Paul, were arrested and thrown in jail, where they staged a hunger strike as self-proclaimed political prisoners. Prison guards ultimately force-fed Paul to keep her alive. At a time—during World War I—when women volunteered as army nurses, worked in vital defense industries, and supported Wilson’s campaign to “make the world safe for democracy,” the scandalous mistreatment of Paul embarrassed President Woodrow Wilson. Enlightened to the injustice toward all American women, he changed his position in support of a woman’s constitutional right to vote.
Alice Paul and her Silent Sentinels picketed outside the White House for almost two years, and, when arrested, went on hunger strike until they were force-fed in order to save their lives.

While Catt and Paul used different strategies, their combined efforts brought enough pressure to bear for Congress to pass the Nineteenth Amendment, which prohibited voter discrimination on the basis of sex, during a special session in the summer of 1919. Subsequently, the required thirty-six states approved its adoption, with Tennessee doing so in August of 1920, in time for that year’s presidential election.

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGIST MOVEMENT

The early suffragists may have believed that the right to vote was a universal one, but they faced waves of discrimination and ridicule from both men and women. The image below (Figure) shows one of the organizations pushing back against the suffragist movement, but much of the anti-suffrage campaign was carried out through ridiculing postcards and signs that showed suffragists as sexually wanton, grasping, irresponsible, or impossibly ugly. Men in anti-suffragist posters were depicted as henpecked, crouching to clean the floor, while their suffragist wives marched out the door to campaign for the vote. They also showed cartoons of women gambling, drinking, and smoking cigars, that is, taking on men’s vices, once they gained voting rights.

Figure 3. The anti-suffrage group used ridicule and embarrassment to try and sway the public away from supporting a woman’s right to vote.

Other anti-suffragists believed that women could better influence the country from outside the realm of party politics, through their clubs, petitions, and churches. Many women also opposed women’s suffrage because they thought the dirty world of politics was a morass to which ladies should not be exposed. The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage formed in 1911; around the country, state representatives used the organization’s speakers, funds, and literature to promote the anti-suffragist cause. As the link below illustrates, the suffragists endured much prejudice and backlash in their push for equal rights.
LEADERS EMERGE IN THE EARLY CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Racial mob violence against African Americans permeated much of the “New South”—and, to a lesser extent, the West, where Mexican Americans and other immigrant groups also suffered severe discrimination and violence—by the late nineteenth century. The Ku Klux Klan and a system of Jim Crow laws governed much of the South (discussed in a previous chapter). White middle-class reformers were appalled at the violence of race relations in the nation but typically shared the belief in racial characteristics and the superiority of Anglo-Saxon whites over African Americans, Asians, “ethnic” Europeans, Indians, and Latin American populations. Southern reformers considered segregation a Progressive solution to racial violence; across the nation, educated middle-class Americans enthusiastically followed the work of eugenicists who identified virtually all human behavior as inheritable traits and issued awards at county fairs to families and individuals for their “racial fitness.” It was against this tide that African American leaders developed their own voice in the Progressive Era, working along diverse paths to improve the lives and conditions of African Americans throughout the country.

Born into slavery in Virginia in 1856, Booker T. Washington became an influential African American leader at the outset of the Progressive Era. In 1881, he became the first principal for the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in Alabama, a position he held until he died in 1915. Tuskegee was an all-black “normal school”—an old term for a teachers’ college—teaching African Americans a curriculum geared towards practical skills such as cooking, farming, and housekeeping. Graduates would often then travel through the South, teaching new farming and industrial techniques to rural communities. Washington extolled the school’s graduates to focus on the black community’s self-improvement and prove that they were productive members of society even in freedom—something white Americans throughout the nation had always doubted.

In a speech delivered at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta in 1895, which was meant to promote the economy of a “New South,” Washington proposed what came to be known as the Atlanta Compromise (Figure). Speaking to a racially mixed audience, Washington called upon African Americans to work diligently for their own uplift and prosperity rather than preoccupy themselves with political and civil rights. Their success and hard work, he implied, would eventually convince southern whites to grant these rights. Not surprisingly, most whites liked Washington’s model of race relations, since it placed the burden of change on blacks and required nothing of them. Wealthy industrialists such as Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller provided funding for many of Washington’s self-help programs, as did Sears, Roebuck & Co. co-founder Julius Rosenwald, and Washington was the first African American invited to the White House by President Roosevelt in 1901. At the same time, his message also appealed to many in the black community, and some attribute this widespread popularity to his consistent message that social and economic growth, even within a segregated society, would do more for African Americans than an all-out agitation for equal rights on all fronts.
In Booker T. Washington’s speech at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, he urged his audience to “cast down your bucket where you are” and make friends with the people around them.

Yet, many African Americans disagreed with Washington’s approach. Much in the same manner that Alice Paul felt the pace of the struggle for women’s rights was moving too slowly under the NAWSA, some within the African American community felt that immediate agitation for the rights guaranteed under the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, established during the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, was necessary. In 1905, a group of prominent civil rights leaders, led by W. E. B. Du Bois, met in a small hotel on the Canadian side of Niagara Falls—where segregation laws did not bar them from hotel accommodations—to discuss what immediate steps were needed for equal rights (Figure). Du Bois, a professor at the all-black Atlanta University and the first African American with a doctorate from Harvard, emerged as the prominent spokesperson for what would later be dubbed the Niagara Movement. By 1905, he had grown wary of Booker T. Washington’s calls for African Americans to accommodate white racism and focus solely on self-improvement. Du Bois, and others alongside him, wished to carve a more direct path towards equality that drew on the political leadership and litigation skills of the black, educated elite, which he termed the “talented tenth.”

This photo of the Niagara Movement shows W. E. B. Du Bois seated in the second row, center, in the white hat. The proud and self-confident postures of this group stood in marked contrast to the humility that Booker T. Washington urged of blacks.

At the meeting, Du Bois led the others in drafting the “Declaration of Principles,” which called for immediate political, economic, and social equality for African Americans. These rights included universal suffrage, compulsory education, and the elimination of the convict lease system in which tens of thousands of blacks had endured slavery-like conditions in southern
road construction, mines, prisons, and penal farms since the end of Reconstruction. Within a year, Niagara chapters had sprung up in twenty-one states across the country. By 1908, internal fights over the role of women in the fight for African American equal rights lessened the interest in the Niagara Movement. But the movement laid the groundwork for the creation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), founded in 1909. Du Bois served as the influential director of publications for the NAACP from its inception until 1933. As the editor of the journal *The Crisis*, Du Bois had a platform to express his views on a variety of issues facing African Americans in the later Progressive Era, as well as during World War I and its aftermath.

In both Washington and Du Bois, African Americans found leaders to push forward the fight for their place in the new century, each with a very different strategy. Both men cultivated ground for a new generation of African American spokespeople and leaders who would then pave the road to the modern civil rights movement after World War II.

**Checking for Understanding**

1. Who were the two groups of Suffragists, and how were their tactics to gain a woman’s right to vote different?

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2. Who were the two key figures in the early African American civil rights movement? What were their philosophies and how did they differ?

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Progressivism in the White House

Progressive groups made tremendous strides on issues involving democracy, efficiency, and social justice. But they found that their grassroots approach was ill-equipped to push back against the most powerful beneficiaries of growing inequality, economic concentration, and corruption—big business. In their fight against the trusts, Progressives needed the leadership of the federal government, and they found it in Theodore Roosevelt in 1901, through an accident of history.

In 1900, a sound economic recovery, a unifying victory in the Spanish-American War, and the annexation of the Philippines had helped President William McKinley secure his reelection with the first solid popular majority since 1872. His new vice president was former New York Governor and Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Theodore Roosevelt. But when an assassin shot and killed President McKinley in 1901 (Figure) at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, Theodore Roosevelt unexpectedly became the youngest president in the nation’s history. More importantly, it ushered in a new era of progressive national politics and changed the role of the presidency for the twentieth century.

Figure 1. President William McKinley’s assassination (a) at the hands of an anarchist made Theodore Roosevelt (b) the country’s youngest president.
Roosevelt’s early career showed him to be a dynamic leader with a Progressive agenda. Many Republican Party leaders disliked Roosevelt’s Progressive ideas and popular appeal and hoped to end his career with a nomination to the vice presidency—long considered a dead end in politics. When an assassin’s bullet toppled this scheme, Mark Hanna, a prominent Republican senator and party leader, lamented, “Now look! That damned cowboy is now president!”

As the new president, however, Roosevelt moved cautiously with his agenda while he finished out McKinley’s term. Roosevelt kept much of McKinley’s cabinet intact, and his initial message to Congress gave only one overriding Progressive goal for his presidency: to eliminate business trusts. In the three years prior to Roosevelt’s presidency, the nation had witnessed a wave of mergers and the creation of mega-corporations. To counter this trend, Roosevelt created the Department of Commerce and Labor in 1903, which included the Bureau of Corporations, whose job it was to investigate trusts. He also asked the Department of Justice to resume prosecutions under the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890. Intended to empower federal prosecutors to ban monopolies as conspiracies against interstate trade, the law had run afoul of a conservative Supreme Court.

In 1902, Roosevelt launched his administration’s first antitrust suit against the Northern Securities Trust Company, which included powerful businessmen, like John D. Rockefeller and J. P. Morgan, and controlled many of the large midwestern railroads. The suit wound through the judicial system, all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1904, the highest court in the land ultimately affirmed the ruling to break up the trust in a narrow five-to-four vote. For Roosevelt, that was enough of a mandate; he immediately moved against other corporations as well, including the American Tobacco Company and—most significantly—Rockefeller’s Standard Oil Company.

Although Roosevelt enjoyed the nickname “the Trustbuster,” he did not consider all trusts dangerous to the public welfare. The “good trusts,” Roosevelt reasoned, used their power in the marketplace and economies of scale to deliver goods and services to customers more cheaply. For example, he allowed Morgan’s U.S. Steel Corporation to continue its operations and let it take over smaller steel companies. At the same time, Roosevelt used the presidency as a “bully pulpit” to publicly denounce “bad trusts”—those corporations that exploited their market positions for short-term gains—before he ordered prosecutions by the Justice Department. In total, Roosevelt initiated over two dozen successful anti-trust suits, more than any president before him.

Roosevelt also showed in other contexts that he dared to face the power of corporations. When an anthracite coal strike gripped the nation for much of the year in 1902, Roosevelt directly intervened in the dispute and invited both sides to the White House to negotiate a deal that included minor wage increases and a slight improvement in working hours. For Roosevelt, his intervention in the matter symbolized his belief that the federal government should adopt a more proactive role and serve as a
steward of all Americans (Figure). This stood in contrast to his predecessors, who had time and again bolstered industrialists in their fight against workers’ rights with the deployment of federal troops.

Figure 2. This cartoon shows President Roosevelt disciplining coal barons like J. P. Morgan, threatening to beat them with a stick labeled “Federal Authority.” It illustrates Roosevelt’s new approach to business.

THE SQUARE DEAL

Roosevelt won his second term in 1904 with an overwhelming 57 percent of the popular vote. After the election, he moved quickly to enact his own brand of Progressivism, which he called a Square Deal for the American people. Early in his second term, Roosevelt read muckraker Upton Sinclair’s 1905 novel and exposé on the meatpacking industry, The Jungle. Although Roosevelt initially questioned the book due to Sinclair’s professed Socialist leanings, a subsequent presidential commission investigated the industry and corroborated the deplorable conditions under which Chicago’s meatpackers processed meats for American consumers. Alarmed by the results and under pressure from an outraged public disgusted with the revelations, Roosevelt moved quickly to protect public health. He urged the passage of two laws to do so. The first, the Meat Inspection Act of 1906, established a system of government inspection for meat products, including grading the meat based on its quality. This standard was also used for imported meats. The second was the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906, which required labels on all food and drug products that clearly stated the materials in the product. The law also prohibited any “adulterated” products, a measure aimed at some specific, unhealthy food preservatives. For Sinclair, this outcome was a disappointment nonetheless, since he had sought to draw attention to the plight of workers in the slaughterhouses, not the poor quality of the meat products. “I aimed at the public’s heart, and by accident I hit it in the stomach,” he concluded with frustration.

Another key element of Roosevelt’s Progressivism was the protection of public land (Figure). Roosevelt was a longtime outdoorsman, with an interest that went back to his childhood and college days, as well as his time cattle ranching in the West, and he chose to appoint his good friend Gifford Pinchot as the country’s first chief of the newly created U.S. Forestry Service. Under Pinchot’s supervision, the department carved out several nature habitats on federal land in order to preserve the nation’s environmental beauty and protect it from development or commercial use. Apart from national parks like Oregon’s Crater Lake or Colorado’s Mesa Verde, and monuments designed for preservation, Roosevelt conserved public land for regulated use for future generations. To this day, the 150 national
forests created under Roosevelt’s stewardship carry the slogan “land of many uses.” In all, Roosevelt established eighteen national monuments, fifty-one federal bird preserves, five national parks, and over one hundred fifty national forests, which amounted to about 230 million acres of public land.

*Figure 3. Theodore Roosevelt’s interest in the protection of public lands was encouraged by conservationists such as John Muir, founder of the Sierra Club, with whom he toured Yosemite National Park in California, ca. 1906.*

In his second term in office, Roosevelt signed legislation on Progressive issues such as factory inspections, child labor, and business regulation. He urged the passage of the Elkins Act of 1903 and the Hepburn Act of 1906, both of which strengthened the position of the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate railroad prices. These laws also extended the Commission’s authority to regulate interstate transportation on bridges, ferries, and even oil pipelines.

As the 1908 election approached, Roosevelt was at the height of popularity among the American public, if not among the big businesses and conservative leaders of his own Republican Party. Nonetheless, he promised on the night of his reelection in 1904 that he would not seek a third term. Roosevelt stepped aside as the election approached, but he did hand-pick a successor—Secretary of War and former Governor General of the Philippines William Howard Taft of Ohio—a personal friend who, he assured the American public, would continue the path of the “Square Deal” (*Figure*). With such a ringing endorsement, Taft easily won the 1908 presidential election, defeating three-time Democratic presidential nominee William Jennings Bryan, whose ideas on taxes and corporate regulations reminded voters of the more far-reaching Populist platforms of Bryan’s past candidacies.
Although six feet tall and nearly 340 pounds, as Roosevelt’s successor, Taft had big shoes to fill. The public expected much from Roosevelt’s hand-picked replacement, as did Roosevelt himself, who kept a watchful eye over Taft’s presidency.

The new president’s background suggested he would be a strong administrator. He had previously served as the governor of the Philippines following the Spanish-American War, had a distinguished judicial career, and served as Roosevelt’s Secretary of War from 1904 to 1908. Republican leaders, however, were anxious to reestablish tighter control over the party after Roosevelt’s departure, and they left Taft little room to maneuver. He stayed the course of his predecessor by signing the Mann-Elkins Act of 1910, which extended the authority of the Interstate Commerce Commission over telephones and telegraphs. Additionally, during his tenure, Congress proposed constitutional amendments to authorize a federal income tax and mandate the direct election of U.S. senators. But even though Taft initiated twice as many antitrust suits against big business as Roosevelt, he lacked the political negotiating skills and focus on the public good of his predecessor, who felt betrayed when Taft took J.P. Morgan’s U.S. Steel Corporation to court over an acquisition that Roosevelt had promised Morgan would not result in a prosecution.

Political infighting within his own party exposed the limitations of Taft’s presidential authority, especially on the issue of protective tariffs. When House Republicans passed a measure to significantly reduce tariffs on several imported goods, Taft endorsed the Senate version, later known as the Payne-Aldrich Act of 1909, which raised tariff rates on over eight hundred products in the original bill. Taft also angered Progressives in his own party when he created the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in 1912, viewed by many...
as an attempt to offset the growing influence of the labor union movement at the time. The rift between Taft and his party’s Progressives widened when the president supported conservative party candidates for the 1910 House and Senate elections.

Taft’s biggest political blunder came in the area of land conservation. In 1909, Taft’s Secretary of the Interior, Richard Ballinger, approved the sale of millions of acres of federal land to a company for which he had previously worked over Gifford Pinchot’s objections. Pinchot publicly criticized the secretary for violating the principle of conservation and for his conflict of interest—a charge that in the public debate also reflected on the president. Taft fired Pinchot, a move that widened the gap between him and the former president. Upon his return from Africa, Roosevelt appeared primed to attack. He referred to the sitting president as a “fathead” and a “puzzlewit,” and announced his intention to “throw my hat in the ring for the 1912 presidential election.”

**THE 1912 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION**

Although not as flamboyant or outwardly progressive as Roosevelt, Taft’s organizational skills and generally solid performance as president aligned with the party leadership’s concerns over another Roosevelt presidency and secured for him the Republican Party’s nomination. Angry over this snub, in 1912, Roosevelt and the other Progressive Republicans bolted from the Republican Party and formed the Progressive Party. His popularity had him hoping to win the presidential race as a third-party candidate. When he survived an assassination attempt in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in October 1912—the assassin’s bullet hit his eyeglass case and only injured him superficially—he turned the near-death experience into a political opportunity. Insisting upon delivering the speech before seeking medical attention, he told the crowd, “It takes more than a bullet to kill a bull moose!” The moniker stuck, and Roosevelt’s Progressive Party would be known as the Bull Moose Party for the remainder of the campaign (Figure).

*Figure 5. Theodore Roosevelt, now running as the Progressive Party, or Bull Moose Party, candidate, created an unprecedented moment in the country’s history, where a former president was running against both an incumbent president and a future president.*

The Democrats realized that a split Republican Party gave them a good chance of regaining the White House for the first time since 1896. They found their candidate in the Progressive governor of New Jersey, Woodrow Wilson. A former history professor and president at Princeton University, Wilson had
an academic demeanor that appealed to many Progressive reformers. Many Democrats also viewed Wilson as a Washington outsider who had made far fewer political enemies than Roosevelt and Taft.

Taft never truly campaigned for the post, did not deliver a single speech, and did not seem like a serious contender. In their campaigns, Roosevelt and Wilson formulated competing Progressive platforms. Wilson described his more moderate approach as one of New Freedom, which stood for a smaller federal government to protect public interests from the evils associated with big businesses and banks. Roosevelt campaigned on the promise of New Nationalism, a charge that he said required a vigorous and powerful federal government to protect public interests. He sought to capitalize on the stewardship approach that he had made famous during his previous administration.

Wilson won the 1912 election with over six million votes, with four million votes going to Roosevelt and three and one-half million for Taft. The internal split among Republicans not only cost them the White House but control of the Senate as well—and Democrats had already won a House majority in 1910. Wilson won the presidency with just 42 percent of the popular vote, which meant that he would have to sway a large number of voters should he have any aspirations for a second term.
THE UNPRECEDEDENTED ELECTION OF 1912

In his 2002 article on the 1912 election, historian Sidney M. Milkis writes,

"The Progressive Party’s “compromise” with public opinion in the United States points to its legacy for American politics and government. Arguably, the failure of the 1912 experiment and the Progressive Party’s demise underscore the incoherence of the Progressive movement. Nevertheless, it was neither the Democrats, nor the Republicans, nor the Socialists who set the tone of the 1912 campaign. It was the Progressives. Beyond the 1912 election, their program of political and social reform has been an enduring feature of American political discourse and electoral struggle. The Progressive Party forged a path of reform that left both social democracy and conservatism—Taft’s constitutional sobriety—behind. Similarly, T.R.’s celebrity, and the popularity of the Progressive doctrine of the people’s right to rule, tended to subordinate the more populist to the more plebiscitary schemes in the platform, such as the initiative, the referendum, and the direct primary, which exalted not the “grass roots” but mass opinion. Indeed, in the wake of the excitement aroused by the Progressive Party, Wilson, whose New Freedom campaign was far more sympathetic to the decentralized state of courts and parties than T.R.’s, felt compelled, as president, to govern as a New Nationalist Progressive."

It is interesting to think of how this most unusual election—one with three major candidates that pitted a former president against an incumbent and a major party contender—related to the larger Progressive movement. The cartoon below is only one of many cartoons of that era that sought to point out the differences between the candidates (Figure). While Roosevelt and the Progressive Party ultimately lost the election, they required the dialogue of the campaign to remain on the goals of Progressivism, particularly around more direct democracy and business regulation. The American public responded with fervor to Roosevelt’s campaign, partly because of his immense popularity, but partly also because he espoused a kind of direct democracy that gave people a voice in federal politics. Although Wilson and his New Freedom platform won the election, his presidency undertook a more activist role than his campaign suggested. The American public had made clear that, no matter who sat in the White House, they were seeking a more progressive America.

Figure 6. This cartoon, from the 1912 election, parodies how the voters might perceive the three major candidates. As can be seen, Taft was never a serious contender.
WILSON’S NEW FREEDOM

When Wilson took office in March 1913, he immediately met with Congress to outline his New Freedom agenda for how progressive interests could be best preserved. His plan was simple: regulate the banks and big businesses, and lower tariff rates to increase international trade, increasing competition in the interest of consumers. Wilson took the unusual step of calling a special session of Congress in April 1913 to tackle the tariff question, which resulted in the Revenue Act of 1913, also known as the Underwood Tariff Act. This legislation lowered tariff rates across the board by approximately 15 percent and completely eliminated tariffs on several imports, including steel, iron ore, woolen products, and farm tools. To offset the potential loss of federal revenue, this new law reinstated the federal income tax, which followed the ratification of the Sixteenth Amendment. This first income tax required married couples who earned $4000 or more, and single people who earned $3000 or more, to pay a 1-percent, graduated income tax, with the tax rate getting progressively higher for those who earned more.

Late in 1913, Wilson signed the Federal Reserve Act to regulate the banking industry and establish a federal banking system (Figure). Designed to remove power over interest rates from the hands of private bankers, the new system created twelve privately owned regional reserve banks regulated by a presidentially appointed Federal Reserve Board. The Board, known informally as the Fed, regulated the interest rate at which reserve banks loaned or distributed money to other banks around the country. Thus, when economic times were challenging, such as during a recession, the Fed could lower this “discount rate” and encourage more borrowing, which put more currency in circulation for people to spend or invest. Conversely, the Fed could curb inflationary trends with interest hikes that discouraged borrowing. This system is still the basis for the country’s modern banking model.

Figure 7. With the creation of the Federal Reserve Board, President Wilson set the stage for the modern banking system (a). This restructuring of the American financial system, which included the authorization of a federal income tax, was supported in large part by an influential Republican senator from Rhode Island, Nelson Aldrich (b), co-author of the Payne-Aldrich Act of 1909.
In early 1914, Wilson completed his New Freedom agenda with the passage of the Clayton Antitrust Act. This law expanded the power of the original Sherman Antitrust Act in order to allow the investigation and dismantling of more monopolies. The new act also took on the “interlocking directorates”—competing companies that still operated together in a form of oligopoly or conspiracy to restrain trade. His New Freedom agenda complete, Wilson turned his attention to foreign affairs, as war was quickly encompassing Europe.

THE FINAL VESTIGES OF PROGRESSIVISM

As the 1916 election approached, Wilson’s focus on foreign affairs, as well as the natural effect of his small government agenda, left the 60 percent of the American public who had not voted for him the first time disinclined to change their minds and keep him in office. Realizing this, Wilson began a flurry of new Progressive reforms that impressed the voting public and ultimately proved to be the last wave of the Progressive Era. Some of the important measures that Wilson undertook to pass included the Federal Farm Act, which provided oversight of low-interest loans to millions of farmers in need of debt relief; the Keating-Owen Child Labor Act, which, although later deemed unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court, prohibited the interstate distribution of products by child workers under the age of fourteen; and the Adamson Act, which put in place the first federally mandated eight-hour workday for railroad workers.

Wilson also gained significant support from Jewish voters with his 1916 appointment of the first Jewish U.S. Supreme Court justice, Louis D. Brandeis. Popular among social justice Progressives, Brandeis went on to become one of the most renowned justices on the court for his defense of freedom of speech and right to privacy issues. Finally, Wilson gained the support of many working-class voters with his defense of labor and union rights during a violent coal strike in Ludlow, Colorado, as well as his actions to forestall a potential railroad strike with the passage of the aforementioned Adamson Act.

Wilson’s actions in 1916 proved enough, but barely. In a close presidential election, he secured a second term by defeating former New York governor Charles Evans Hughes by a scant twenty-three electoral votes, and less than 600,000 popular votes. Influential states like Minnesota and New Hampshire were decided by less than four hundred votes.

Despite the fact that he ran for reelection with the slogan, “He Kept Us Out of the War,” Wilson could not avoid the reach of World War I much longer. For Wilson and the American public, the Progressive Era was rapidly winding down. Although a few Progressive achievements were still to come in the areas of women’s suffrage and prohibition, the country would soon be gripped by the war that Wilson had tried to avoid during his first term in office. When he took the oath for his second term, on March 4, 1917, Wilson was barely five weeks away from leading the United States in declaring war on Germany, a move that would put an end to the Progressive Era.
Checking for Understanding

1. What were some key pieces of progressive legislation?

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2. How did President Theodore Roosevelt’s “Square Deal” epitomize the notion that the federal government should serve as a steward protecting the public’s interests?

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3. How did the goals and reform agenda of the Progressive Era manifest themselves during the presidential administrations of Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson?

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4. What vestiges of Progressivism can we see in our modern lives—politically, economically, and socially? Which of our present-day political processes, laws, institutions, and attitudes have roots in this era? Why have they had such staying power?

___________________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________________
LEAP Assessment Social Studies Extended Response Rubric

The response should be scored holistically on its adherence to two dimensions: Content and Claims. Each response should be given the score that corresponds to the set of bulleted descriptors that best describes the response.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The student’s response:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>- Reflects <strong>thorough</strong> knowledge of [CONTENT] by incorporating ample, focused factual information from prior knowledge and the sources;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Contains accurate understandings with no errors significant enough to detract from the overall content of the response;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Fully addresses all parts of the prompt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>- Reflects <strong>general</strong> knowledge of [CONTENT] by incorporating adequate factual information from prior knowledge and the sources;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Contains mostly accurate understandings with minimal errors that do not substantially detract from the overall content of the response;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Addresses all parts of the prompt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>- Reflects <strong>limited</strong> knowledge of [CONTENT] by incorporating some factual information from prior knowledge and the sources;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Contains some accurate understandings with a few errors that detract from the overall content of the response;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Addresses part of the prompt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>- Reflects <strong>minimal</strong> knowledge of [CONTENT] by incorporating little or no factual information from prior knowledge and the sources;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Contains few accurate understandings with several errors that detract from the overall content of the response;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Minimally addresses part of the prompt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>The student’s response is blank, incorrect, or does not address the prompt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Score</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 4     | The student’s response:  
  - Develops a **valid** claim that effectively expresses a solid understanding of the topic;  
  - Thoroughly supports the claim with well-chosen evidence from the sources;  
  - Provides a logically organized, cohesive, and in-depth explanation of the connections, patterns, and trends among ideas, people, events, and/or contexts within or across time and place. |
| 3     | The student’s response:  
  - Develops a **relevant** claim that expresses a general understanding of the topic;  
  - Supports the claim with sufficient evidence from the sources;  
  - Provides an organized explanation of the connections, patterns, and trends among ideas, people, events, and/or contexts within or across time and place. |
| 2     | The student’s response:  
  - Presents an **inadequate** claim which expresses a limited understanding of the topic.  
  - Includes insufficient support for the claim but does use some evidence from the sources;  
  - Provides a weak explanation of the connections, patterns, and trends among ideas, people, events, and/or contexts within or across time and place. |
| 1     | The student’s response:  
  - Does not develop a claim but provides evidence that relates to the topic; **OR** develops a substantially flawed claim with little or no evidence from the sources;  
  - Provides a vague, unclear, or illogical explanation of the connections among ideas, people, events, and/or contexts within or across time and place. |
| 0     | The student’s response is blank, incorrect, too brief to evaluate, or lacks a claim that addresses the prompt. |
U.S. History Extended-Response Checklist

As you write your response, remember these important points:

• Construct a multiparagraph argument that fully addresses the prompt.
• Support your claims with evidence from each of the documents.
• Develop your claims further with information from your own knowledge of the topic.
• Provide a concluding statement or section.

Follow the steps below to help you write a successful argument.

Step 1: Planning
□ Read the prompt carefully.
□ Review the documents and take notes that will help you create your argument. Use the paper provided by your test administrator for planning your response and/or writing your rough draft.
□ Look beyond what is directly stated in the documents. Analyze and evaluate each document, taking the following into consideration:
  ◦ Historical setting
  ◦ Author/point of view
  ◦ Intended audience
  ◦ Credibility of the source

Step 2: Drafting
□ Type your essay in the space provided.
□ Use the Enter key to begin a paragraph, and then use the Tab key or the space bar to indent the paragraph.
□ Organize your claims and evidence in a logical sequence.
□ Use a formal writing style.
□ Avoid plagiarism and overreliance on any one document.

Step 3: Revising and Proofreading
□ Read your argument.
□ Review the requirements listed above to make sure you have followed them.
□ Develop your claims in more detail if needed.
□ Rearrange sentences or change words to make your meaning clearer.
□ Reread your final draft and correct any errors you find.