

TEACHING AMERICAN HISTORY PROJECT

The Progressives

Grade - 11 (Advanced 20th Century History)

Length of class period – 84 Minutes (lesson takes approximately 2 periods)

Inquiry – (What essential question are students answering, what problem are they solving, or what decision are they making?)

For each topic, students decide between two conflicting theses about the Progressives.

Objectives (What content and skills do you expect students to learn from this lesson?)

1. Identify issues addressed by Progressive reformers.
2. Identify key Progressive legislation, court cases, and organizations.
3. Assess the impact of the Progressives.
4. Analyze how the Progressives changed the role of government.

Materials (What primary sources or local resources are the basis for this lesson? – (materials, compiled from a variety of resources, attached below)

1. Each group is given a set of materials that includes at least one primary source.

Activities (What will you and your students do during the lesson to promote learning?)

1. Intro: Explain that the Progressive Era lasted from roughly the 1890s to 1920. The Progressives were not a cohesive group with one strategy or even a single agenda. They simply wanted to improve society. However, their legacy and contributions are much debated.
2. Tell students that they will be working in groups (groups should have 3-4 students) to research one issue from the Progressive Era. Each topic has two theses from which to choose after reading the sources provided. After exhausting the resources provided, students may also do research on their own to fill in any gaps.
3. Explain that they will explain the topic and make a case for their thesis choice to the class. Note that there is no “right answer.” Reasonable people may disagree about these issues. Student grades will be based on their ability to explain key points of the issue to the class and to make the case that their choice of thesis is best.
4. Give students time to read the materials provided and do additional research on their own.
5. Give students time to work with their group members to decide which thesis is most accurate and why. Students should write 3-5 detailed reasons for believing a thesis is most accurate. Students could also write essays on their topic.
6. Have each group present.
7. Closure: Discuss how the Progressives changed the role of government and whether or not students think they were successful in reforming the US.

How will you assess what student learned during this lesson?

1. Group presentations
2. Class discussion
3. Test items

Connecticut Framework Performance Standards –

Content Standard 1: Historical Thinking

- gather, analyze and reconcile historical information, including contradictory data, from primary and secondary sources to support or reject hypotheses;
- evaluate data within the historical, social, political and economic context in which it was created, testing its credibility and evaluating its bias;
- use primary source documents to analyze multiple perspectives.

Content Standard 2: Local, United States and World History

- demonstrate an understanding of major events and trends in world United States history from all historical periods

Content Standard 14: Economic Systems

- explain reasons for government action in the economy, including providing public goods and services, maintaining competition, redistributing income, promoting employment, stabilizing prices and sustaining reasonable rates of economic growth; and
- analyze the impact of specific government actions in the economy on different groups, including consumers, employees and businesses.

Government Reform:

The Progressives proposed numerous changes to both state and local government.

Theses:

- The Progressives succeeded in democratizing American Government.
- The Progressives made limited gains in democratizing American Government.

Things to Consider:

- Recall (which states got it?):
- Initiative (which states got it?):
- Referendum (which states got it?):
- Direct Primary:
- 17th Amendment:
- Other changes in state and local government designed to give the people more say:

Sources:

Begin by reading about government reform during the Progressive Era in your text. Then read the attached sources.

Source 1: Government Reform (From: http://www.gilderlehrman.org/teachers/module14/intro_pop4.html)

A Republican governor in Wisconsin, Robert LaFollette, puts into effect the "Wisconsin idea," which provided a model for reformers across the nation. It provided for direct primaries to select party nominees for public office, a railroad commission to regulate railroad rates, tax reform, opposition to political bosses, and the initiative and recall, devices to give the people more direct control over government.

Source 2: Municipal Progressivism (From: http://www.gilderlehrman.org/teachers/module14/intro_pop8.html)

Tom L. Johnson represented a model of Progressivism at the local level. He was a four-term mayor of Cleveland from 1901 to 1909. In office, he removed all "Keep Off the Grass Signs" from parks and embarked on an aggressive policy of municipal ownership of utilities. He fought the streetcar monopoly, reformed the police department, professionalized city services, and built sports fields and public bathhouses in poor sections of the city. He also coordinated the architecture and placement of public buildings downtown, set around a mall.

James Michael Curley, Boston's mayor, represented the kind of leader that many Progressives opposed. The Boston Evening Transcript called Curley "as clear an embodiment of civic evil as ever paraded before the electorate. Twice sent to prison for fraud, he acquired a 21-room mansion (which had gold-plated bathroom fixtures) paid for by kickbacks from contractors.

The son of an Irish washerwoman, Curley won office by speaking the language of class and ethnic resentment. But Curley also built new schools for the children of working-class Bostonians, tore down slum dwellings, established beaches and parks for the poor, and added an obstetrics wing to the city hospital. He also helped the poor in very direct ways; he provided bail money, funeral expenses, and temporary shelter for those made homeless by fire or eviction. When he died, a million people lined Boston's streets to pay their last respects.

To weaken political machines, municipal Progressives sought to reduce the size of city councils and eliminate the practice of electing officials by ward (or neighborhood). Instead, they proposed electing public officials on a city-wide (an at-large) basis. Candidates from poorer neighborhoods lacked funds to publicize their campaigns across an entire city. Urban Progressives also diminished the influence of machines by making municipal elections non-partisan, by prohibiting the use of party labels in local voting. A number of cities attempted to eliminate politics from city government by introducing city managers. Beginning with Staunton, Va., in 1908, a number of cities began to hire professional administrators to run city government.

Many Progressives wanted to improve the quality of urban life. The World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago in 1893, marking the 400th anniversary of Columbus's first voyage of discovery, was an inspiration to many urban reformers. As a symbol of its recovery from the disastrous Great Fire of 1871, Chicago erected a massive "White City" to hold the event. Chicago's White City demonstrated the value of careful planning and beautification, and

provided the impetus for many Progressive efforts to introduce city planning, zoning regulations, housing reform, and slum clearance.

The most far-reaching Progressive effort to transform the city was known as "municipal socialism." Many cities established municipal waterworks, gasworks, and electricity and public transportation system.

Source 3: State Progressivism (From: http://www.gilderlehrman.org/teachers/module14/intro_pop9.html)

During the Progressive era, the states were "laboratories for democracy," where state governments experiment with a wide range of reforms to eliminate governmental corruption, eliminate unsafe working conditions, make government more responsive to public needs, and protect working people.

The severe depression beginning in 1893 had discouraged states from engaging in policy innovation. Government retrenchment was the watchword of many lawmakers in the 1890s. Most of the reforms taken during these years were efforts to eliminate political bossism, corruption, and governmental waste. The depression also encouraged the consolidation of corporations, a development that would make trusts a major issue after the turn of the century. The Spanish American War had also diverted attention from domestic matters.

During the early twentieth century, many states adopted reforms that had been enacted years earlier in Massachusetts, which, along with Rhode Island, had been the first state to have a majority of its population live in cities. Many of these reforms involved protections for working people, including:

- compulsory school attendance laws, adopted in every state except Mississippi by 1916;
- laws limiting work hours for women and children in 32 states, and minimum wages for women workers in 11 states;
- workmen's compensation, which provided compensation for workers injured on the job in 32 states.

Other laws established an eight-hour workday for state employees; authorized credit unions; created public utility commission; established state employee pensions and instituted a host of health and safety regulations. Several states also passed laws prohibiting children from working at night.

To make the electoral process more democratic, all but three states adopted direct primaries by 1916, which allowed voters to choose among several candidates for a party's nomination. To allow voters to express their dissatisfaction with elected officials, Progressives proposed the recall, which allowed voters to vote to remove them before the end of their term of office. To give voters a greater voice in law-making, Progressives proposed the initiative and the referendum. The initiative allows voters to propose a bill and legislation and the referendum permits them to vote directly on an issue. Oregon, South Dakota, and Utah were the first states to adopt the initiative and referendum.

Beginning in the 1880s Britain, France, Germany, and Scandinavia adopted a series of social

welfare programs--unemployment insurance, old age pensions, industrial accident and health insurance. During the Progressive era, many reformers borrowed these ideas and adapted them to meet American circumstances.

Perhaps the most dramatic American innovation was "widow's pensions." Adopted by most states, these programs provided widows with a monthly payment that allowed them to keep their children at home and not have to put them in orphanages or out for adoption.

States with Direct (DA) and Indirect (IDA) Initiative Amendments; Direct (DS) and Indirect (IDS) Initiative Statutes and Popular (PR) Referendum

State	Date adopted	Type of process available		Type of Initiative process available		Type of initiative process used to propose Constitutional Amendments		Type of initiative process used to propose Statutes (Laws)	
		Initiative	Popular Referendum	Constitutional Amendment	Statute	Direct (DA)	Indirect (IDA)	Direct (DS)	Indirect (IDS)
<u>AK</u>	1956	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
<u>AZ</u>	1911	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
<u>AR</u>	1910	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
<u>CA</u>	1911	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
<u>CO</u>	1912	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
<u>FL</u>	1972	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
<u>ID</u>	1912	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
<u>IL</u>	1970	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
<u>KY</u>	1910	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No
<u>ME</u>	1908	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
<u>MD</u>	1915	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No
<u>MA</u>	1918	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
<u>MI</u>	1908	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
<u>MS</u>	1914/92	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
<u>MO</u>	1908	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
<u>MT</u>	1904/72	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
<u>NE</u>	1912	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
<u>NV</u>	1905	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
<u>NM</u>	1911	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No
<u>ND</u>	1914	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
<u>OH</u>	1912	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
<u>OK</u>	1907	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
<u>OR</u>	1902	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
<u>SD</u>	1898/72/88	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
<u>UT</u>	1900/17	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
<u>WA</u>	1912	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
<u>WY</u>	1968	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Totals	27 states	24 states	24 states	18 states	21 states	16 states	2 states	14 states	9 states

This list does not include the states with legislative referendum (LR). Legislative referendum is when a state legislature places an amendment or statute on the ballot for voter approval or rejection. The legislative referendum process is available in every state.

Source 5: Primary source excerpt from La Follette, former governor of Wisconsin and Progressive, discussing some of the reforms he tried to accomplish. *From The Library of Congress: <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/ndlpedu/features/timeline/progress/cities/reforms.html>*



Progressive Era to New Era, 1900-1929

Cities During the Progressive Era

Progressive Reforms Affected Cities in Many Ways

Robert La Follette (1855-1925) was a Republican politician who held a variety of public offices, from county district attorney, to Wisconsin Governor, to national representative and Senator. His autobiography traces that public life. He championed most reforms associated with the progressive movement--regulation of business interests (especially the railroads) and utilities; election reforms; taxation reform; and public management of public resources by highly qualified, nonpartisan public servants. In the excerpt from his autobiography below, La Follette indicates some of the reforms he tried to accomplish. What were these reforms? What difference would such reforms have made for city dwellers?

When we began our fight on the bosses they resorted to their usual methods of influencing the labor leaders. The railroads and the big shippers also tried actively to vote their employees against me, but after we had begun to be successful, after the wage-earners had begun to see what our movement meant, we got more and more of their support. . . . The talk was something like this: "It is to our interest and therefore to yours that this man La Follette be defeated for nomination. Your bread and butter depends on your standing by the railroads at the caucuses." . . .

As soon as I became governor we began pressing for new labor legislation which should place Wisconsin on a level with the most progressive state or nation; and it can be truthfully said, since the passage last year of a law creating an Industrial Commission, that Wisconsin now easily leads the states of the union in its body of labor legislation. Child labor has been reduced and the children kept in the schools. Excessive hours for women workers have been abolished. The doctrine of comparative negligence has been adopted for railways, and the long hours of trainmen have been done away with. The most carefully drawn of all workmen's compensation laws has been adopted, and the employers of the state have organized, under a new insurance law, an employer's mutual insurance association, similar to those which in Germany have greatly reduced accidents and compensated the workmen. Many other laws have been added and old ones strengthened, and finally our new Industrial Commission, modeled after the Railroad Commission, has been placed in charge of all the labor laws, with full power to enforce the laws and protect the life, health, safety and welfare of employees. This commission has employed one of the leading experts of the United States to cooperate with employers in devising ways and means of safety and

sanitation. . . .

How has it been possible that both the people of Wisconsin and the investors in public utilities have been so greatly benefited by this regulation? Simply because the regulation is scientific. The Railroad Commission has found out through its engineers, accountants, and statisticians what it actually costs to build and operate the road and utilities. Watered stock and balloon bonds get no consideration. On the other hand, since the commission knows the costs, it knows exactly the point below which rates cannot be reduced. It even raises rates when they are below the cost, including reasonable profit.

The people are benefited because they are not now paying profits on inflated capital. The investors are benefited because the commission has all the facts needed to prevent a reduction of rates below a fair profit on their true value. So honestly, capably, and scientifically has the work of our commission been done that the railroads and other utility corporations have accepted their reductions without any contest at all. . . .

In other ways our progressive legislation has materially benefited all the people of the state. For example, beginning in 1903, I secured in every water-power franchise the insertion of a provision that the rates charged should be regulated by arbitration. Since that time the water powers of the state serving as public utilities have been placed under the control of the Railroad Commission, and a great corporation, supervised by the Railroad Commission, with its profits limited to 6 per cent. on actual cost, has been created and has improved the headwaters of the Wisconsin River in order to secure a steady flow through the year. Several enormous power dams have been constructed, and through these means the state has gone far toward utilizing its 1,000,000 available horsepower, while protecting the state against water-power monopoly.

Wisconsin began in 1905 to build up a state forest reserve on the headwaters of its principal rivers. It now ranks next to New York and Pennsylvania in its areas of forests belonging to the state, and has adopted a permanent policy of adding annually to the reserve. . . .

The public service of the state has been democratized by a civil service law opening it to men and women on an equal footing independent of everything excepting qualification and fitness for office. I think the passing of this law was the only case of the kind where the employees then holding office were not blanketed into the service, but were required to take the regular competitive examinations in order to retain their jobs. The law has worked to the great advantage of the service and to the general improvement of political standards. There is no longer any political pull in Wisconsin. . . .

. . . If it can be shown that Wisconsin is a happier and better state to live in, that its institutions are more democratic, that the opportunities of all its people are more equal, that social justice more nearly prevails, that human life is safer and sweeter--then I shall rest content in the feeling that the Progressive movement has been successful.

And I believe all these things can really be shown, and that there is no reason now why the movement should not expand until it covers the entire nation. While much has been accomplished, there is still a world of problems yet to be solved; we have just begun; there is hard fighting, and a chance for the highest patriotism, still ahead of us. The fundamental problem as to which shall rule, men or property, is still unsettled; it will require the highest qualities of heroism, the profoundest devotion to duty in this and in the coming generation, to reconstruct our institutions to meet the requirements of a new age. May such brave and true leaders develop that the people will not be led astray. . . .

The Women's Movement:

Middle class women became increasingly active in public life in the late 19th century.

Theses:

- Women had many important victories during the Progressive Era.
- Women did not make enough gains during the Progressive Era.

Things to Consider:

- 19th Amendment:
- The National American Woman Suffrage Association:
- Carrie Chapman Catt:
- Alice Paul:
- The role of women in the late 1800s and early 1900s:

Sources:

Begin by reading about the Women's movement during the Progressive Era in your text. Then read the attached sources. Afterwards, check out <http://www.equalrightsamendment.org/> and <http://www.now.org/> to learn about what some women think is still left to be done for women's rights.

Source 1 Birth Control (From: http://www.gilderlehrman.org/teachers/module14/intro_pop4.html)

Of all the changes that took place in women's lives during the twentieth century, one of the most significant was women's increasing ability to control fertility. In 1916, Margaret Sanger, a former nurse, opened the country's first birth control clinic in Brooklyn. Police shut it down ten days later. "No woman can call herself free," she insisted, "until she can choose consciously whether she will or will not be a mother." Margaret Sanger would coin the phrase "birth control" and eventually convinced the courts that the Comstock Act did not prohibit doctors from distributing birth control information and devices. As founder of Planned Parenthood, her work resulted in the development of the birth control pill, which appeared in 1960.

Source 2: An article about the role of women in 20th Century politics (From: http://www.historynow.org/03_2006/historian6.html)

HISTORY NOW

Women in American Politics in the Twentieth Century

by Sara Evans

Professor of History, University of Minnesota

At the beginning of the twentieth century, women were outsiders to the formal structures of political life -- voting, serving on juries, holding elective office -- and they were subject to wide-ranging discrimination that marked them as secondary citizens. Over the course of the century, however, women in America moved dramatically (though still not equally) into all aspects of public life -- politics, labor-force participation, professions, mass media, and popular culture.

Deeply divided by race, class, religion, ethnicity, and region, women do not always identify with one another, and as a result women's collective identity -- their sense of solidarity as women -- has waxed and waned. Twice in the twentieth century, however, a significant wave of feminist activism generated a surge of change in women's status. Each wave continued in less visible ways into subsequent decades. The story of these changes is a story of persistent activism, sometimes louder and more unified, sometimes quieter and dispersed. It is also a story of dramatic change, as women have staked their claim to full participation in American public and political life.

In 1900 women's legal standing was fundamentally governed by their marital status. They had very few rights. A married woman had no separate legal identity from that of her husband. She had no right to control her biological reproduction (even conveying information about contraception, for example, was illegal), and no right to sue or be sued since she had no separate standing in court. She had no right to own property in her own name or to pursue a career of her choice. Women could not vote, serve on juries, or hold public office. According to the Supreme Court, they were not "persons" under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees equal

protection under the law.

These realities reflected an underlying ideology about women and men that allocated the public realms of work and politics to men and that defined women's proper place in society as fundamentally domestic. With women confined to the realm of the home, their responsibility to society lay in raising virtuous sons (future citizens) and dutiful daughters (future mothers). Over the course of the nineteenth century, however, women had pushed at the boundaries of their domestic assignment, both by choice and necessity. They invented forms of politics outside the electoral arena by establishing voluntary associations and building other institutions in response to unmet social needs. In the 1830s, when women like Sarah and Angelina Grimké began to speak publicly against slavery, the mere appearance of a woman as a public speaker was considered scandalous. By 1900, however, women appeared in all manner of public settings, laying a foundation for change in the twentieth century.

This brief sketch of women's conditions at the beginning of the century points to several seeds of change that would bear fruit in the first few decades. The expansion of women's education, and women's move into a wide variety of reform efforts and professions laid the ground for a massive suffrage movement that demanded the most basic right of citizenship for women.

The claim of citizenship was in many ways a deeply radical challenge to the ideology of separate spheres for men and women. It asserted the right of women to participate in civic life as individuals rather than to be represented through the participation of their husbands or fathers. The growing power of the women's suffrage movement rested both on women's collective consciousness, born in female associations, and on increased individualism among women in an urbanizing, industrializing economy.

Although the suffrage movement was clearly dominated by educated, white women, it became a mass movement in the 1910s when its goals were increasingly shared by working-class and African American women who had their own political agendas, which were linked to struggles of working people and which opposed racial discrimination. The shared exclusion of these different groups from the individual right of civic participation underscored their common womanhood.

Following their victory when the Nineteenth Amendment was passed, leaders of the national American Woman Suffrage Association joyfully dismantled their organization and reassembled as the newly formed League of Women Voters. Their new task, as they defined it, was to train women to exercise their individual citizenship rights. Such a reorientation was congruent with the popular culture of the 1920s, which emphasized individual pleasures along with individual rights. The development of a consumer economy that emphasized pleasure and used sexuality to sell products offered women paths out of submissive domesticity and into more assertive forms of individualism. These paths did not require solidarity; indeed they undermined it. In this environment, the female subculture that relied on a singular definition of "woman" eroded. Female reform efforts remained a powerful force in American politics – laying much of the groundwork for the emergence of a welfare state – but a

broad-based movement for women's rights no longer existed after 1920. (Similarly, the pace of reform in other areas like education and labor-force participation reached a plateau and remained relatively unchanged for several decades after 1920.) To many Americans in the 1920s and successive decades, modern women were individuals. And feminism became an epithet.

The loss of female solidarity meant that women's organizations in subsequent decades drew on narrow constituencies with very different priorities. Professional women, lonely pioneers in many fields, felt the continuing sting of discrimination and sought to eradicate the last vestiges of legal discrimination with an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). The National Women's Party, one of the leading organizations in the struggle, first proposed the ERA in 1923. But another group of suffragists, social reformers who feared that recently won protections for working women might be lost, strongly opposed the ERA, though they continued to advocate a stronger role for government in responding to social welfare. Many of them - with leaders like Eleanor Roosevelt - assumed key positions in the 1930s and shaped the political agenda known as the New Deal. In particular, their influence on the Social Security Act helped to create the foundations of the welfare state. Even among female reformers, however, alliances across racial lines remained rare and fraught with difficulty. As the progressive female reform tradition shaped an emergent welfare state, African American voices remained muted, with the concerns of these reformers about the needs of working mothers left unaddressed.

By mid-century the conditions that would stimulate another surge of activism had emerged. During the Second World War women joined the labor force in unprecedented numbers. Perhaps most significant, by 1950 it was normative for married women and women over thirty-five to be in the workforce. Yet Cold War culture, in the aftermath of World War II, reasserted traditional gender roles. The effort to contain women within the confines of the "feminine mystique" (as Betty Friedan later labeled this ideology), however, obscured rising activism among different constituencies of women. Under the cover of popular images of domesticity, women were rapidly changing their patterns of labor-force and civic participation, initiating social movements for civil rights and world peace, and flooding into institutions of higher education.

In the 1960s and 1970s, women's activism was part of a wider "rights revolution" that eliminated most legally sanctioned discrimination based on race and gender. The slogan, "the personal is political" became the ideological pivot of the second wave of American feminism. This belief drove a variety of challenges to gendered relations of power, whether embodied in public policy or in the most intimate personal relationships.

The force of this direct assault on the public/private dichotomy has left deep marks on American politics, on American society, and on the feminist movement itself. Issues like domestic violence, child care, abortion, and sexual harassment have become central to the American political agenda, exposing deep divisions in American society that are not easily subject to the give-and-take compromises of political horse-trading. Controversy over these issues revealed not only male hostility to various feminist

demands but also deep fissures among women themselves. By the late 1970s, with the mobilization of anti-abortion forces and the formation of Phyllis Schlafly's Stop-ERA movement, antifeminism had become a strong political force. In the face of widespread cultural anxiety about equality for women and changing gender roles, the Equal Rights Amendment stalled after 1975 and went down to defeat in 1982 despite an extension of the deadline for ratification. Antifeminism drew on the insecurities of a declining economy in the wake of the Vietnam War and on the growing political power of the New Right, which made cultural issues (abortion, the ERA, family values, and homophobia) central to its agenda.

Not unlike the situation in the 1920s, antifeminism flourished in the 1980s even as women aggressively pursued individualistic goals that a new legal climate allowed. "Firsts" abounded: In 1981 President Reagan nominated the first woman to the Supreme Court, Sandra Day O'Connor; in 1984, for the first time a major political party nominated a woman (Representative Geraldine Ferraro) to run for vice president; the first woman astronaut flew into space, while newly educated women flooded into professions and businesses from which they had been barred. And political activists invented new mechanisms of power and influence. In 1984, by collecting and packaging small checks from tens of thousands of women to support female candidates, Ellen Malcolm founded EMILY's List, which in the 1990s became the most powerful PAC (Political Action Committee) in the Democratic Party. By the end of the century, women not only enjoyed a wide range of civic rights, but had also made serious advances in electoral politics at local and state levels. Even the possibility of a woman president was being widely discussed, something that would have been unthinkable in 1900. While change has not been steady, the American political landscape has clearly been transformed by women over the past 100 years.

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Source 3: Some experiences of Alice Paul (From: [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/naw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(rbnawsan8133div0\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/naw:@field(DOCID+@lit(rbnawsan8133div0))))

ALICE PAUL TALKS- Hunger Striker Describes Forcible Feeding.

Philadelphia, Jan. 22.--"Revolt" is the word Miss Alice Paul, the American suffragette, who returned on Thursday by the steamer Haverford from exciting adventures in England, applies to the forced feeding which she endured in Holloway jail. Miss Paul, by the way, doesn't look at all like the popular conception of an agitator. She astonishes persons who see her for the first time, after hearing of her doings, by her exceedingly feminine appearance. She is a delicate slip of a girl, whom no one would suspect of being an interrupter of public meetings and a victim of prison hardships.

"I resorted to the 'hunger strike' method twice," she added to a Tribune reporter. "I was clapped into jail three times while in England, and during my first and second terms I refused to eat. Once I didn't touch food for five days. Then the authorities decided to feed me by force. I refused

to wear the prison garb, too, and I would not perform the labor I was sentenced to do; so, of course, I had to spend my days in bed. When the forcible feedings was ordered I was taken from my bed, carried to another room and forced into a chair, bound with sheets and sat upon bodily by a fat murderer, whose duty it was to keep me still. Then the prison doctor, assisted by two woman attendants, placed a rubber tube up my nostrils and and pumped liquid food through it into the stomach. Twice a day for a month, from November 1 to December 1, this was done."

When Miss Paul was asked if she ever threw a stone through a window, she said:

"No, indeed. I never did and I never shall. I think such deeds belong to rioters and women are seldom rioters."

Miss Paul merely threw words at the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, and frightened him, she says, nearly to death. It was during a meeting at Guild Hall. Miss Paul, who seems not to mind going without food for any length of time, got into the hall the night before, disguised as a scrub woman, and secreted herself until the meeting began.

"It was a weary vigil," she said, "but it paid. The Prime Minister made a most eloquent speech, and I listened, waiting for a chance to break in. At last there came a pause. Summoning all my strength, I shouted at the top of my voice: "How about votes for women?"

"You would have thought I had thrown a bomb. There was serious disorder, but Mr. Asquith was the most startled of all. You see, the hall was guarded by a cordon of police, and he felt safe from interruption. While the officers searched for me he stood like a statue, after one great start. I was found and arrested, and imprisonment followed."

Miss Paul left Philadelphia for her home in Moorestown, N. J., immediately after landing, and intends to give her attention for the present to the recovery of her health, which suffered somewhat from her stormy experience. She is a graduate of Swarthmore College and had gone to England to continue her studies, when she was drawn into the militant suffrage movement.

Source 4: Excerpts from *The Blue Book*, published by the National American Woman Suffrage Association (From: <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/ndlpedu/features/timeline/progress/suffrage/bluebook.html>)



The Blue Book

*The **Blue Book** was published in 1917 by the National American Woman Suffrage Association to help support the cause of women's suffrage. Chapters in the book included the following: Early History; Where Women Vote; Why Women Should Vote; and Twelve Reasons Why Women Should Vote. In one chapter, Alice Stone Blackwell states often-heard objections to women's suffrage and answers each objection. Excerpts from that chapter follow. Do any of the objections surprise you? Why or why not? What is your evaluation of how Ms. Blackwell answers the objections? What do*

the objections tell you about the people that made them or believed them?

The Ignorant Vote

It would double the ignorant vote.

Statistics published by the National Bureau of Education show that the high schools of every state in the Union are graduating more girls than boys—some of them twice and three times as many. Because of the growing tendency to take boys out of school early in order to put them into business, girls are getting more schooling than boys. Equal suffrage would increase the proportion of voters who have received more than a merely elementary education. . . .

The Bad Women's Vote

The bad women would outvote the good ones.

In America, the bad women are so few compared with the good ones, that their votes could have little influence. Mrs. Helen Gilbert Ecob, wife of a prominent clergyman who was for some years a pastor in Denver, writes:

"The bad women represent, in any city of the United States, but an infinitesimal proportion of its population, and the vote of the class in Denver is confined practically to three precincts out of 120."

the late Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker, of Denver, at one time President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs and also of the Colorado State Board of Charities and Correction, wrote:

"Does not the vote of the disreputable class of women overbalance the better element? No; the women of the half-world are not willing to vote. They are constantly changing their residences and their names. They do not wish to give any data concerning themselves, their age, name or number of street; they prefer to remain unidentified."

Ex-Gov. Warren, of Wyoming, sums it all up when he says, in a letter to Horace G. Wadlin, of Massachusetts:

"Our women nearly all vote; and since, in Wyoming as elsewhere, the majority of women are good and not bad, the result is good and not evil." . . .

Opposition of Women

Women in large numbers are organizing against suffrage. The majority are opposed to

it and the majority ought to rule.

The organized opposition among women to suffrage is very small compared with the organized movement of women in its favor.

In Chicago, 104 organizations, with an aggregate membership of more than 10,000 women, petitioned for women suffrage, while only one small organization of women petitioned against it. In Maine, in Iowa, in short, in every state where petitions for suffrage and remonstrances against it have been sent to the Legislature, the petitioners have always outnumbered the remonstrants, and have generally outnumbered them 50 or 100 to one. On the only occasion when the government took an official referendum among women on the subject (in Massachusetts, in 1895), the womens vote stood: Yes, 22,204; No, 861. Less than one sixth of one percent of the women in the State voted against it.

Julia Ward Howe said: Most women are as yet indifferent on the suffrage question; but, of those who take any lively interest in it either way, the great majority are in favor. This has been demonstrated wherever the matter has been brought to a test.

Every constitutional amendment that has ever been carried in New York or Massachusetts would have been set down as defeated if all the men too indifferent to vote upon it either way had been counted as opposed. In New York, a successful amendment seldom gets more than 25 per cent of the popular vote. The remaining 75 per cent are either indifferent or opposed, but, if less than 25 per cent are actually opposed, the amendment is carried.

In Massachusetts the AntiSuffrage Association has been collecting signatures of women against suffrage ever since 1895, and in 21 years it has succeeded in accumulating the names of only a little over 3 per cent of the women of the State. In the country at large, despite urgent and widely published appeals from the Antis, only about one per cent who protest claim to carry more weight than the 99 per cent who either want the ballot or do not object to it?

Already OverBurdened

Women are already overburdened. A woman would not have time to perform her political duties without neglecting higher duties.

Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer wrote:

"How much time must she spend on her political duties? If she belongs to the well-to-do-class, and hires others to do her work, she has time for whatever interests her most—only let these interest be noble! If she does her own housework, she can take ten minutes to stop on her way to market and vote once or twice a year. She can find half an hour a day for the newspapers and other means of information. She can talk with family and friends about what she reads. She does this now; she will then do it more

intelligently and will give and receive more from what she says and hears. If she does this reading and talking, she will be better informed than the majority of voters are now. The duties of motherhood and the making of a home are the most sacred work of women and the dearest to them, of every class. If casting an intelligent vote would interfere with what only women can do-and what, failed in, undermines society and government-no one can question which a woman must choose. But it cannot be shown that there are any large number of women in this country who have not the necessary time to vote intelligently, and it can be argued that study of the vital questions of our government would make them better comrades to their husbands and friends, better guides to their sons, and more interesting and valuable members of society. Women of every class have more leisure than men, are less tied to hours of routine; they have had more years of school training than men. All this makes simple the combination of public and higher duties." . . .

Too Emotional

Women are too emotional and sentimental to be trusted with the ballot.

Mrs. E. T. Brown, at a meeting of the Georgia State Federation of Women's Clubs read a paper, in which she said: "You tell us that women are not fitted for dealing with the problems of government, being too visionary and too much controlled by sentiment. "Now it is very true of women that they are largely controlled by sentiment, and, as a matter of fact, men are largely controlled by sentiment also, in spite of their protesting blushes. Was it logic that swept like a wave over this country and sent our army to protect the Cubans when their suffering grew too intense to be endured even in the hearing? Is it shrewd business calculation that sends thousands of dollars out of this country to feed a starving people during the ever-recurring famines in unhappy India? Was it hard common sense that sent thousands of American soldiers into what looked like the death-trap of China in the almost baseless hope of rescuing a few hundred American citizens? Do not men like Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson and Lee live in the hearts of American men, not alone for what they did, but still more for what they dreamed of? The man who is not controlled by sentiment betrays his friends, sells his vote, is a traitor to his country, or wrecks himself, body and soul, with immoralities; for nothing but sentiment prevents any of these things. The sense of honor is pure sentiment. The sentiment of loyalty is the only thing that makes truth and honesty desirable, or a vote a non-salable commodity. "Government would be a poor affair without sentiment, and is not likely to be damaged by a slightly increased supply." . . .

Would Unsex Women

It will turn women into men.

The differences between men and women are natural; they are not the result of disfranchisement. The fact that all men have equal rights before the law does not wipe out natural differences of character and temperament between man and man. Why should it wipe out the natural differences between men and women? The women of

England, Scotland, Canada, Yucatan, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, the Scandinavian countries and our own equal suffrage States are not perceptibly different in looks or manners from women elsewhere, although they have been voting for years.

Labor Reform:

Working conditions for workers continued to be poor at the turn of the century. Some reformers decided that if they could not win great change for all workers, they would focus on specific groups.

Theses:

- Protective legislation, which singled out particular groups for protection (i.e. children or women), did little to reform the workplace.
- Protective legislation, which singled out particular groups for protection (i.e. children or women), helped all workers.

Things to Consider:

- Muller v. Oregon (Supreme Court Case):
- Changes made in child labor laws:
- National Child Labor Committee
- How did some employers deal with legislation protecting women specifically?
- What was the impact of protective legislation on women's push for equality?

Sources:

Begin by reading about labor reform during the Progressive Era in your text. Then read the attached sources.

Source 1: Protective Legislation (From <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/awhhtml/awlaw3/protective.html>)

Before the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, a federal law, employment issues that affected women were governed solely by state law. After the Civil War, large numbers of women went to work outside their homes. In his speech before his colleagues in the U.S. House of Representatives to encourage the extension of equal suffrage in Alaska on Wednesday, April 24, 1912, Congressman Edward T. Taylor of Colorado stated:

But today one-fifth of all the women of this country are compelled to earn their own living by their daily labor. Nearly 7,000,000 women are wage earners today, and the number is constantly increasing. Woman suffrage is not responsible for bringing about that condition. It is the economic change that is going on in the life of this Republic. If the right to vote was taken away from the laboring men of this country tomorrow, they would within one year, and in many places within one week, be reduced to a condition of practical slavery; and it is little less than inhuman to compel the 7,000,000 women to work in this country under conditions that would be absolutely intolerable to men.⁶⁴

Included in this workforce were married women, especially black and immigrant women, whose families required two incomes, as well as women who were single, widowed, or had been deserted. Some of them held jobs as school teachers or worked in other professions. Most jobs held by women were low-paying and involved substandard conditions. Some suffrage organizations advocated improvement of working conditions for women. These groups were largely responsible for the changes in labor laws that are referred to as “protective legislation.”

Protective legislation limited the number of hours that a woman or child could work in certain jobs and guaranteed them a minimum wage. The legal result, however, was that men and women were treated differently in the work place. The major justifications were that

- physical differences between men and women would make it dangerous for women to work;
- the chronic fatigue of long hours would result in the deterioration of women's health; and
- future generations would be affected by this deterioration in women's health.⁶⁵

Wisconsin, the first state to pass this legislation, enacted a protective law in 1867, but a law passed in Massachusetts in 1874, and amended in 1902, provided the most common model:

. . . no woman shall be employed in laboring in a manufacturing or mechanical establishment more than ten hours in any one day, except as hereinafter provided in this section, unless a different apportionment in hours of labor is made for the sole purpose of making a shorter day's work for one day of the week; and in no case shall the hours of labor exceed fifty-eight in a week. . . .⁶⁶

Although the laws were designed to protect the working woman's health, welfare, and morals until she married, not all employers and employees were satisfied with the legislation. Employers filed suit to have the statutes voided for being unconstitutional. *Muller v. Oregon* was one of the most famous of these cases.⁶⁷ In it, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of protective laws. Oregon's defense team was led by Louis D. Brandeis, a progressive attorney who became an associate justice of the Supreme Court before *Muller* was decided.⁶⁸

Promulgation of minimum wage laws for women in the states followed their legislation of maximum hours. An example is the 1918 District of Columbia law that later became the subject of litigation:

Sec. 23. That this Act shall be known as the "District of Columbia minimum-wage law." The purposes of the Act are to protect the women and minors of the District from conditions detrimental to their health and morals, resulting from wages which are inadequate to maintain decent standards of living; and the Act in each of its provisions and in its entirety shall be interpreted to effectuate these purposes.⁶⁹

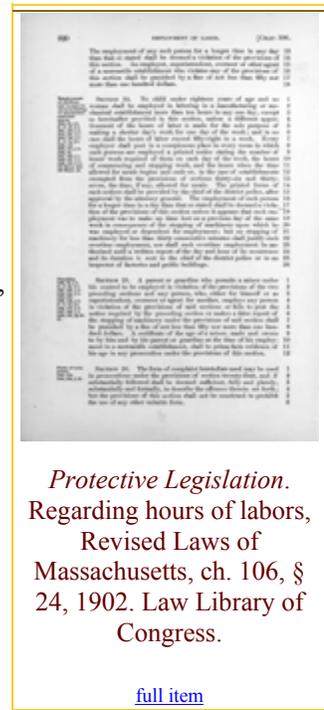
Employers contested these laws too; law suits were filed declaring them unconstitutional and in violation of the liberty-of-contract doctrine.⁷⁰ In 1923, *Adkins v. Children's Hospital* was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled the law unconstitutional.⁷¹ Other state courts, following the precedent set by the Supreme Court, ruled that their state statutes were likewise unconstitutional. Fourteen years later, however, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed its decision and held that a law concerning the minimum wage for women in the State of Washington was constitutional.⁷²

Although these laws guaranteed a minimum wage for women and children, they created unintentional inequities. Protective legislation gave courts the grounds for rendering inequitable decisions. It was not until the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that women enjoyed legislation granting equality in the workplace and the firm legal grounds to enforce such laws in court.

In employment, as in suffrage and possession of property, the legal history of women's struggle for equality mirrored what was happening in the society at large and amplifies our understanding of it.

NOTES

64. *Congressional Record*, 62nd Congress, 2nd Session, 1912, App. 190.



65. Brief for Defendant in Error, *Muller v. Oregon*, 208 U.S. 412 (1908), commonly called the “Brandeis Brief.”

66. *Revised Laws of Massachusetts*, ch. 106, §24 (1902). Reprinted in *Landmark Briefs and Arguments of the Supreme Court of the United States: Constitutional Law*, vol. 16 (Arlington, Va.: University Publications of America, 1975), 66.

67. 208 U.S. 412 (1908).

68. The Brandeis Brief was highly influential in swaying the high court's opinion. It combined more than one hundred pages of sociological data on the negative effects of long hours of work on women's health and reproductive capabilities gathered from several countries with fewer than five pages of legal argument. *Landmark Briefs and Arguments of the Supreme Court*, vol. 16, 63.

69. *Acts of Congress Affecting the District of Columbia from December 3, 1917, to March 4, 1919-2nd and 3rd Sessions, 65th Congress* (KFD1225.A213), 23: 519, 523.

70. Freedom-of-contract doctrine was a common law concept that held the ability at will to make, or abstain from making, a binding obligation enforced by the sanctions at the law. It included the right to contract about one's affairs, including the right to make contracts of employment, and to obtain the best terms one can as the result of private bargaining, as well as the corresponding right to accept a contract proposed.

71. 261 U.S. 525 (1923).

72. *West Coast Hotel Co. v. Parrish*, 300 U.S. 379 (1937).

Source 2: A synopsis of *Lochner v. New York* (From http://www.oyez.org/cases/1901-1939/1904/1904_292/)



Lochner v. New York

Docket: 292
Citation: 198 U.S. 45 (1905)
Petitioner: Lochner
Respondent: New York

Abstract

Oral Argument: Thursday, February 23, 1905
Decision: Monday, April 17, 1905
Categories: contract clause, due process, employment, fourteenth amendment, labor, police power, states

Case Media

- No media files currently available
- Written Opinion

Advocates

Not available

Facts of the Case

The state of New York enacted a statute forbidding bakers to work more than 60 hours a week or 10 hours a day.

Question

Does the New York law violate the liberty protected by due process of the Fourteenth Amendment?

Conclusion

The Court invalidated the New York law. The majority (through Peckham) maintained that the statute interfered with the freedom of contract, and thus the Fourteenth Amendment's right to liberty afforded to employer and employee. The Court viewed the statute as a labor law; the state had no reasonable ground for interfering with liberty by determining the hours of labor.

Source 3: A synopsis of *Muller v. Oregon* (From http://www.oyez.org/cases/1901-1939/1907/1907_107/)



Muller v. Oregon

Docket: 107
Citation: 208 U.S. 412 (1908)
Petitioner: Muller
Respondent: Oregon

Abstract

Oral Wednesday, January 15, 1908
Argument:
Decision: Monday, February 24, 1908
Categories: discrimination, due process, labor, police power, sex discrimination, states

Case Media

- No media files currently available
- [Written Opinion](#)

Advocates

Not available

Facts of the Case

Oregon enacted a law that limited women to ten hours of work in factories and laundries.

Question

Does the Oregon law violate a woman's freedom of contract implicit in the liberty protected by due process of the Fourteenth Amendment?

Conclusion

There was no constitutional violation. The factory and laundry owners claimed that there was no reasonable connection between the law and public health, safety, or welfare. In a famous brief in defense of the Oregon law, attorney Louis Brandeis elaborately detailed expert reports on the harmful physical, economic and social effects of long working hours on women. Brewer's opinion was based on the proposition that physical and social differences between the sexes warranted a different rule respecting labor contracts. Theretofore, gender was not a basis for such distinctions. Brewer's opinion conveyed the accepted wisdom of the day: that women were unequal and inferior to men.

Source 4: Progressive Legislation (From http://www.gilderlehrman.org/teachers/module14/tool_is_pop14.html)

Progressive Legislation		
1901	New York State Tenement House Law	Requires fire escapes, lights in dark hallways, a window in each room
1902	Maryland Workmen's Compensation Law	Provide benefits for workers injured on the job
	Wisconsin Direct Primary Law	Allows voters to select candidates
	Oregon Initiative and Referendum laws	Gives voters power to initiate legislation and vote on important issues
	Newlands Act	Funds irrigation projects in West
1903	Oregon women's labor law	Limits work for women in industry to 10 hours a day
	Elkins Act	Strengthens Interstate Commerce Act
1906	Hepburn Act	Authorizes Interstate Commerce Commission to set maximum railroad rates
	Pure Food and Drug Act	Prohibits sale of adulterated or fraudulently labeled foods and drugs
	Meat Inspection Act	Enforces sanitary conditions in meatpacking plants
1910	Mann Act	Prohibits interstate transportation of women for immoral purposes
1913	16th Amendment	Authorizes federal income tax
1915	Seaman's Act	Regulates conditions of maritime workers
1916	Federal Farm Loan Act	Provide farmers with low interest loans
	Federal Child Labor Law	Barred products produced by children from interstate commerce (declared unconstitutional in 1918)
1919	18th Amendment	Prohibited sale and production of intoxicating liquors
1920	19th Amendment	Gave women the right to vote

Source 5: Transcript of Keating-Owen Child Labor Act of 1916, which was declared unconstitutional in 1918 (From http://www.ourdocuments.gov/print_friendly.php?flash=true&page=transcript&doc=59&title=Transcript+of+Keating-Owen+Child+Labor+Act+of+1916+%281916%29)

Sixty-fourth Congress of the United States of America; At the First Session,

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the sixth day of December, one thousand nine hundred and fifteen.

AN ACT To prevent interstate commerce in the products of child labor, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That no producer, manufacturer, or dealer shall ship or deliver for shipment in interstate or foreign commerce, any article or commodity the product of any mine or quarry situated in the United States, in which within thirty days prior to the time of the removal of such product therefrom children under the age of sixteen years have been employed or permitted to work, or any article or commodity the product of any mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment, situated in the United States, in which within thirty days prior to the removal of such product therefrom children under the age of fourteen years have been employed or permitted to work, or children between the ages of fourteen years and sixteen years have been employed or permitted to work more than eight hours in any day, or more than six days in any week, or after the hour of seven o'clock postmeridian, or before the hour of six o'clock antemeridian: *Provided,* That a prosecution and conviction of a defendant for the shipment or delivery for shipment of any article or commodity under the conditions herein prohibited shall be a bar to any further prosecution against the same defendant for shipments or deliveries for shipment of any such article or commodity before the beginning of said prosecution.

SEC. 2. That the Attorney General, the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Labor shall constitute a board to make and publish from time to time uniform rules and regulations for carrying out the provisions of this Act.

SEC. 3. That for the purpose of securing proper enforcement of this Act the Secretary of Labor, or any person duly authorized by him, shall have authority to enter and inspect at any time mines quarries, mills, canneries, workshops, factories, manufacturing establishments, and other places in which goods are produced or held for interstate commerce; and the Secretary of Labor shall have authority to employ such assistance for the purposes of this Act as may from time to time be authorized by appropriation or other law.

SEC. 4. That it shall be the duty of each district attorney to whom the Secretary of Labor shall report any violation of this Act, or to whom any State factory or mining or quarry inspector, commissioner of labor, State medical inspector or school-attendance officer, or any other person

shall present satisfactory evidence of any such violation to cause appropriate proceedings to be commenced and prosecuted in the proper courts of the United States without delay for the enforcement of the penalties in such cases herein provided: *Provided*, That nothing in this Act shall be construed to apply to bona fide boys' and girls' canning clubs recognized by the Agricultural Department of the several States and of the United States.

SEC. 5. That any person who violates any of the provisions of section one of this Act, or who refuses or obstructs entry or inspection authorized by section three of this Act, shall for each offense prior to the first conviction of such person under the provisions of this Act, be punished by a fine of not more than \$200, and shall for each offense subsequent to such conviction be punished by a fine of not more than \$1,000, nor less than \$100, or by imprisonment for not more than three months, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court: *Provided*, That no dealer shall be prosecuted under the provisions of this Act for a shipment, delivery for shipment, or transportation who establishes a guaranty issued by the person by whom the goods shipped or delivered for shipment or transportation were manufactured or produced, resident in the United States, to the effect that such goods were produced or manufactured in a mine or quarry in which within thirty days prior to their removal therefrom no children under the age of sixteen years were employed or permitted to work, or in a mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment in which within thirty days prior to the removal of such goods therefrom no children under the ages of fourteen years were employed or permitted to work, nor children between the ages of fourteen years and sixteen years employed or permitted to work more than eight hours in any day or more than six days in any week or after the hour of seven o'clock postmeridian or before the hour of six o'clock antemeridian; and in such event, if the guaranty contains any false statement or a material fact the guarantor shall be amenable to prosecution and to the fine or imprisonment provided by this section for violation of the provisions of this Act. Said guaranty, to afford the protection above provided, shall contain the name and address of the person giving the same: And provided further, That no producer, manufacturer, or dealer shall be prosecuted under this Act for the shipment, delivery for shipment, or transportation of a product of any mine, quarry, mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment, if the only employment therein within thirty days prior to the removal of such product therefrom, of a child under the age of sixteen years has been that of a child as to whom the producer, or manufacturer has in good faith procured, at the time of employing such child, and has since in good faith relied upon and kept on file a certificate, issued in such form, under such conditions, any by such persons as may be prescribed by the board, showing the child to be of such an age that the shipment, delivery for shipment, or transportation was not prohibited by this Act. Any person who knowingly makes a false statement or presents false evidence in or in relation to any such certificate or application therefor shall be amenable to prosecution and to the fine or imprisonment provided by this section for violations of this Act. In any State designated by the board, an employment certificate or other similar paper as to the age of the child, issued under the laws of that State and not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, shall have the same force and effect as a certificate herein provided for.

SEC. 6. That the word "person" as used in this Act shall be construed to include any individual or corporation or the members of any partnership or other unincorporated association. The term "ship or deliver for shipment in interstate or foreign commerce" as used in this Act means to

transport or to ship or deliver for shipment from any State or Territory or the District of Columbia to or through any other State or Territory or the District of Columbia or to any foreign country; and in the case of a dealer means only to transport or to ship or deliver for shipment from the State, Territory or district of manufacture or production.

SEC. 7. That this Act shall take effect from and after one year from the date of its passage.

Approved, September 1, 1916.

The Progressive Amendments:

The Progressive Era produced not only a flood of social and economic reforms but also reforms and changes in the very structure and basis of the Constitution of the United States. Since its completion and ratification 180 years earlier, the Constitution had only been amended 15 times. However, in the eight years of President Woodrow Wilson, four new amendments were added: the 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th.

Theses:

- The 16th and 18th Amendments were too intrusive on the rights of Americans.
- The 16th and 18th Amendments benefited most Americans.

Things to Consider:

- 16th Amendment:
- 18th Amendment:
- What was the goal of the 18th Amendment?
- What did people who supported these amendments argue? Opposed?
- What were the consequences of these Amendments?

Sources:

Begin by reading about the 16th and 18th amendments in your text. Then read the attached sources.

Source 1: Income Tax (From http://www.gilderlehrman.org/teachers/module14/intro_pop16.html)

A federal income tax is a surprisingly recent innovation. The modern income tax was only introduced in 1913. From 1866 to 1893, the federal government ran surpluses, thanks to revenues from tariffs and excise taxes.

Republicans defended protective tariffs as a positive good. They claimed that a high tariff encouraged industrialization and urbanization, generated high wages and profits, and created a rich home market for farmers and manufacturers. Beginning in 1887, the Democrats, led by Grover Cleveland, argued that the tariff was a tax on consumers for the benefit of rich industrialists. They claimed that the tariff raised prices, encouraged foreign countries to retaliate against American farm exports, and encouraged the growth of economic trusts. In fact, there is little evidence that the tariff had much economic significance. Its major beneficiaries were producers of raw material, especially sugar, wool, hides, and timber.

By the end of the 1890s, revenue from the tariff was declining (since the United States was mainly importing raw materials) as was revenue from federal land sales. Meanwhile, government spending was increasing. By 1905 the expanding U.S. Navy was receiving 20 percent of the federal budget. At the same time Congress expanded pensions for Civil War veterans.

In 1894 the government ran the first deficit since the Civil War and enacted a short-lived income tax, which was declared unconstitutional in 1895. The Supreme Court ruled that it violated a constitutional provision that taxes had to be apportioned among the states. The court reached this decision even though it had earlier upheld an income tax levied during the Civil War.

In April 1909, southern and western congressmen sponsored another income-tax bill, hopeful that a Supreme Court with a new membership might approve it. Their opponents responded by sponsoring a constitutional amendment that would authorize an income tax, which they thought could not be ratified by three-fourths of the states. Congress approved the amendment overwhelmingly. The Senate vote was 77 to 0, the House's 318 to 14.

By the end of 1911, 31 states had approved (including New York and Maryland as well as many southern and western states), five short of the required number. It appeared that the amendment had failed, since no previous amendment had taken so long to be ratified.

But during the 1912 election, Democrat Woodrow Wilson and third-party candidate Theodore Roosevelt rekindled support for the amendment. The amendment went into effect when Wyoming became the 36th state to ratify in February 1913.

The new federal income tax was modest and affected only about one-half of 1 percent of the population. It taxed personal income at one percent and exempted married couples earning less than \$4,001. A graduated surtax, beginning on incomes of \$20,000, rose to 6 percent on incomes of more than \$500,000. The \$4,000 exemption expressed Congress' conclusion that such a sum

was necessary to "maintain an American family according to the American standard and send the children through college." It was about six times the average male's income. State officials were exempt from paying any taxes, as were federal judges and the president of the United States.

American involvement in World War I caused government expenditures to soar and international trade (and tariff revenues) to shrink. By 1919, the minimum taxable income had been reduced to \$1,000 and the top rate was 77 percent. As late as 1939, only 3.9 million Americans had to file. But just six years later, 42.6 million did. Tax withholding was introduced in congressional legislation in 1943. President Franklin Roosevelt vetoed this provision, but Congress overrode his veto.

Source 2: History of the US Income Tax (From http://www.loc.gov/rr/business/hottopic/irs_history.html)

History of the US Income Tax

Compiled by Ellen Terrell
Business Reference Services
February 2004

[Overview](#) [Print Resources](#)
[Internet Resources](#) [LC Catalog Searches](#)

Overview

If, in the midst of sorting receipts and studying the latest changes in the US income tax laws, you suddenly wonder "What is the origin of this annual ritual in the weeks leading up to April 15th?" here are some places you can go for answers.

The origin of the income tax on individuals is generally cited as the passage of the 16th Amendment, passed by Congress on July 2, 1909, and ratified February 3, 1913; however, its history actually goes back even further. During the Civil War Congress passed the Revenue Act of 1861 which included a tax on personal incomes to help pay war expenses. The tax was repealed ten years later. However, in 1894 Congress enacted a flat rate Federal income tax, which was ruled unconstitutional the following year by the U.S. Supreme Court because it was a direct tax not apportioned according to the population of each state.



Above:

["That reminds me, did you file our tax return?"](#)

Wife's comment while watching television show showing man in jail.

from the Caroline and Erwin Swann Collection of Caricature & Cartoon (Library of Congress)

Reproduction number: LC-USZ62-84088

Source 3: the Women's Christian Temperance Movement. (From: <http://www.wctu.org/history.html>)
When you're done reading this, check out the links on this page—especially the section titled “Early History.”

The History of the WCTU

(Time line available in the [News](#) section)

In many towns in Ohio and New York in the fall of 1873 women concerned about the destructive power of alcohol met in churches to pray and then marched to the saloons to ask the owners to close their establishments. They met with success but it was only temporary so by the next summer the women concluded that they must become organized nationally. This led to the founding of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union - the oldest continuing non-sectarian woman's organization in the world.

Source 4: Prohibition (From http://www.gilderlehrman.org/teachers/module17/intro_pop5.html)

At midnight, January 16, 1920, the United States went dry. Breweries, distilleries, and saloons were forced to close their doors.

Led by the Anti-Saloon League and the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the dry forces had triumphed by linking Prohibition to a variety of Progressive era social causes. Proponents of Prohibition included many women reformers who were concerned about alcohol's link to wife beating and child abuse and industrialists such as Henry Ford who were concerned about the impact of drinking on labor productivity. Advocates of Prohibition argued that outlawing drinking would eliminate corruption, end machine politics, and help Americanize immigrants.

Even before the 18th Amendment was ratified, about 65 percent of the country already banned alcohol. In 1916, seven states adopted anti-liquor laws, bringing to 19 the number of states prohibiting the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages. America's entry into World War I made Prohibition seem patriotic, since many breweries were owned by German Americans. Wayne Wheeler, lobbyist for the Anti-Saloon League, urged the federal government to investigate "a number of breweries around the country which are owned in part by alien enemies." In December 1917, Congress passed the 18th Amendment. A month later, President Woodrow Wilson instituted partial prohibition to conserve grain for the war effort. Beer was limited to 2.75 percent alcohol content and production was held to 70 percent of the previous year's production. In September, the president issued a ban on the wartime production of beer.

National Prohibition was defended as a war measure. The amendment's proponents argued that grain should be made into bread for fighting men and not for liquor. Anti-German sentiment aided Prohibition's approval. The Anti-Saloon League called Milwaukee's brewers "the worst of

all our German enemies," and dubbed their beer "Kaiser brew."

Unsuccessfully, the brewing industry argued that taxes on liquor were paying more for the war effort than were liberty bonds. Yet even after Prohibition was enacted, many ethnic Americans viewed beer or wine drinking as an integral part of their culture, not as a vice.

The wording of the 18th Amendment banned the manufacture and sale (but not the possession, consumption, or transportation) of "intoxicating liquors." Many brewers hoped that the ban would not apply to beer and wine. But Congress was controlled by the dries, who advocated a complete ban on alcohol. A year after ratification, Congress enacted the Volstead Act, which defined intoxicating beverages as anything with more than 0.5 percent alcohol. This meant that beer and wine, as well as whiskey and gin, were barred from being legally sold.

Advocates did not believe it would be necessary to establish a large administrative apparatus to enforce the law. The federal government never had more than 2,500 agents enforcing the law. A few states did try to help out. Indiana banned the sale of cocktail shakers and hip flasks. Vermont required drunks to identify the source of their alcohol. The original Congressional appropriation for enforcement was \$5 million. Several years later, the government estimated enforcement would cost \$300 million.

Enforcing the law proved almost impossible. Smuggling and bootlegging were widespread. Two New York agents, Izzie Einstein and Mo Smith, relied on disguises while staging their raids, once posing as man and wife. But after a raid on New York City's 21, that trapped some of the city's leading citizens, their efforts were halted. In New York, 7,000 arrests for liquor law violations resulted in 17 convictions.

Enforcement of Prohibition was originally assigned to the Internal Revenue Service, which is why the enforcement agents who destroyed moonshine stills were called revenueurs. Only in 1930 was enforcement transferred to the Justice Department. After Prohibition, tax collection on liquor was returned to the IRS, which was also charged with the registration of machine guns and sawed-off shotguns and enforcement of taxes on tobacco. These responsibilities were spun off in 1972 to the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms.

Prohibition failed because it was unenforceable. By 1925, half a dozen states, including New York, passed laws banning local police from investigating violations. Prohibition had little support in the cities of the Northeast and Midwest.

Prohibition did briefly pay some public health dividends. The death rate from alcoholism was cut by 80 percent by 1921 from pre-war levels, while alcohol-related crime dropped markedly. But seven years after Prohibition went into effect, the total deaths from adulterated liquor reached

approximately 50,000, and many more cases of blindness and paralysis. According to one story, a potential buyer who sent a liquor sample to a laboratory for analysis was shocked when a chemist replied: "Your horse has diabetes."

Prohibition quickly produced bootleggers, speakeasies, moonshine, bathtub gin, and rum runners smuggling supplies of alcohol across state lines. In 1927, there were an estimated 30,000 illegal speakeasies, twice the number of legal bars before Prohibition. Many people made beer and wine at home. Finding a doctor to sign a prescription for medicinal whiskey, sold at drugstores was relatively easy.

Cleveland had 1,200 legal bars in 1919, a year before Prohibition went into effect. By 1923, the city had an estimated 3,000 illegal speakeasies, along with 10,000 stills. An estimated 30,000 city residents sold liquor during Prohibition and another 100,000 made home brew or bathtub gin for themselves and friends.

Prohibition also fostered corruption and contempt for law and law enforcement among large segments of the population. Harry Daugherty, attorney general under Warren Harding, accepted bribes from bootleggers. George Remus, a Cincinnati bootlegger, had a thousand salesmen on his payroll, many of them police officers. He estimated that half his receipts went as bribes. Al Capone's Chicago organization reportedly took in \$60 million in 1927 and had half the city's police on its payroll.

Popular culture glamorized bootleggers like Chicago's Capone, who served as the model for the central characters in such films as *Little Caesar* and *Scarface*. In rural areas, moonshiners became folk heroes. The fashion of the flapper, dancing the Charleston in a short skirt, was incomplete without a hip flask.

With a huge consumer market unmet by legitimate, organized crime filled the vacuum left by the closure of the legal alcohol industry. Homicides increased in many cities, partly as a result of gang wars but also because of an increase in drunkenness.

Prohibition devastated the nation's brewing industry. St. Louis had 22 breweries before Prohibition. When it ended in 1933, only nine reopened. Anheiser-Busch made it through Prohibition by making ice cream, near beer, corn syrup, ginger ale, root beer, yeast, malt extract, refrigerated cabinets and automobile and truck bodies.

When the country entered the Great Depression, the jobs and tax revenue that a legal liquor industry would generate looked attractive. During his presidential campaign in 1932, New York Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, who never hid his fondness for martinis, called for Prohibition's repeal.

The noble experiment ended at 3:32 p.m., December 5, 1933, when Utah became the 36th state to ratify the 21st Amendment, repealing Prohibition. By then, even some proponents admitted that the 18th Amendment resulted in "evil consequences." The Rev. Sam Small, an evangelist and temperance advocate said that Prohibition had created "an orgy of lawlessness and official corruption." John D. Rockefeller, a teetotaler, observed in 1932, "drinking has generally increased, the speakeasy has replaced the saloon; a vast army of lawbreakers has been recruited and financed on a colossal scale."

Even today, debate about the impact of Prohibition rages. Critics argue that the amendment failed to eliminate drinking, made drinking more popular among the young, spawned organized crime, disrespect for law, and encouraged solitary drinking and led beer drinker to hard liquor and cocktails. (One wit joked that "Prohibition succeeded in replacing good beer with bad gin.") The lesson these critics draw is that it is counterproductive to try to legislate morality.

Their opponents argue alcohol consumption declined dramatically during Prohibition, probably by 30 to 50 percent. Deaths from cirrhosis of the liver for men fell from 29.5 per 100,000 in 1911 to 10.7 in 1929.

Was Prohibition a "noble experiment" or a misguided effort to use government to shape morality? Even today, the answer is not entirely clear. Alcohol remains a serious cause of death, disability, and domestic abuse. It was not until the 1960s that alcohol consumption levels returned to their pre-Prohibition levels. Today, alcohol is linked each year to more than 23,000 motor vehicle deaths and more than half the nation's homicides and is closely linked to domestic violence.

Source 5: One Connecticut man's take on prohibition (From <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/ndlpedu/features/timeline/progress/prohib/poured.html>)



Money That Was Poured Out in the Gutter

Mr. MacCurrie lived in Thomaston, Connecticut, when he was interviewed by the WPA in December 1938. The following excerpt from that interview is from [American Life Histories, 1936-1940](#). What is MacCurrie's primary objection to prohibition?

"It's a funny thing, they got everything in this country they need. Enough for everybody. Why can't they work out some system where everybody has enough? Look

at the . . . money that's been wasted.

"Look at the money that was poured out in the gutter, you might say, tryin' to enforce prohibition. Nobody will ever know how much. The money spent on enforcement, and the money lost in license fees and the money taken in and never accounted for by bootleggers. Man, it's a cryin' shame.

"And the dam fool things they did. Arrestin' a man for 'reputation!' I wonder was that ever fought out in the courts. Seems to me it was illegal.

"I remember one time I was over to the hotel havin' a nip and a bunch of cops came in to raid it. They was all Thomaston fellas, Charley What'sis-Name and Dan Sanger and some more. They searched the place from top to bottom, couldn't find a thing. They was all ready to go out, and Dan says 'Wait a minute.' He walked in the back room and when he came out he had a half pint. Now by God, you can't tell me he didn't have that half pint when he went in there.

"That was the way of it," sighs Mr. MacCurrie. "It was a horrible mistake. Accomplished nothin' and did a lot of harm.

"Sometimes I think they run things better in the old country. There was a lot of poverty and discontent, but things went along a bit steadier. Over there, now, they're way ahead of us when it comes to socialized medicine."

Race Relations:

In the Progressive Era, key black leaders emerged and several organizations were founded to advance the rights of African Americans.

Theses:

- One of the greatest achievements of the Progressives was progress towards racial equality for African Americans.
- One of the greatest disappointments of the Progressives was the lack of progress towards racial equality for African Americans.

Things to Consider:

- Booker T. Washington:
- W.E.B. DuBois:
- NAACP (its journal was called *The Crisis*):
- Race Riots:
- National Urban League:
- Jim Crow:

Sources:

Begin by reading about race relations during the Progressive Era in your text. Then read the attached sources. Also, check out the NAACP's history and accomplishments online at <http://www.naacp.org/about/history/>. Just be sure, since your thesis asks about the accomplishments of the Progressives, that you contain your research to the Progressive Era, roughly 1890s through 1920. Pay particular attention to the Anti-Lynching Bill and the section of W.E.B. DuBois.

Source 1: Civil Rights (From http://www.gilderlehrman.org/teachers/module14/intro_pop4.html)

The publication of W.E.B. DuBois's *The Souls of Black Folk* heralded a new, more confrontational approach to civil rights. "The problem of the twentieth century," DuBois's book begins, "is the problem of the color line." In his book, DuBois, the first African American to receive a Ph.D. from Harvard, condemns Booker T. Washington's philosophy of accommodation and his idea that African Americans should confine their ambitions to manual labor. *The Nashville Banner* editorialized: "This book is dangerous for the Negro to read, for it will only excite discontent and fill his imagination with things that do not exist, or things that should not bear upon his mind." In 1908, after anti-black rioting took place in Springfield, Ill., DuBois and a group of African Americans and whites convene a convention in Harpers Ferry, Va., that becomes the basis for the first country's first national civil rights organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. By 1914, the NAACP had 6,000 members and offices in fifty cities.

Source 2: History of the National Urban League (From <http://www.nul.org/history.html>)

The National Urban League, which has played so pivotal a role in the 20th-Century Freedom Movement, grew out of that spontaneous grassroots movement for freedom and opportunity that came to be called the Black Migrations. When the U.S. Supreme Court declared its approval of segregation in the 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson decision, the brutal system of economic, social and political oppression the White South quickly adopted rapidly transformed what had been a trickle of African Americans northward into a flood.

Those newcomers to the North soon discovered they had not escaped racial discrimination. Excluded from all but menial jobs in the larger society, victimized by poor housing and education, and inexperienced in the ways of urban living, many lived in terrible social and economic conditions.

Still, in the degree of difference between South and North lay opportunity, and that African Americans clearly understood.

But to capitalize on that opportunity, to successfully adapt to urban life and to reduce the pervasive discrimination they faced, they would need help. That was the reason the Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes was established on September 29, 1910 in New York City. Central to the organization's founding were two remarkable people: Mrs. Ruth Standish Baldwin and Dr. George Edmund Haynes, who would become the Committee's first executive secretary.

Mrs. Baldwin, the widow of a railroad magnate and a member of one of America's oldest families, had a remarkable social conscience and was a stalwart champion of the poor and disadvantaged. Dr. Haynes, a graduate of Fisk University, Yale University, and Columbia University (he was the first African American to receive a doctorate from that institution), felt a compelling need to use his training as a social worker to serve his people.

A year later, the Committee merged with the Committee for the Improvement of Industrial Conditions Among Negroes in New York (founded in New York in 1906), and the National League for the Protection of Colored Women (founded in 1905) to form the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes. In 1920, the name was later shortened to the National Urban League.

The interracial character of the League's board was set from its first days. Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman of Columbia University, one of the leaders in progressive social service activities in New York City, served as chairman from 1911 to 1913. Mrs. Baldwin took the post until 1915.

The fledgling organization counseled black migrants from the South, helped train black social workers, and worked in various other ways to bring educational and employment opportunities to blacks. Its research into the problems blacks faced in employment opportunities, recreation, housing, health and sanitation, and education spurred the League's quick growth. By the end of World War I the organization had 81 staff members working in 30 cities.

In 1918, Dr. Haynes was succeeded by Eugene Kinckle Jones who would direct the agency until his retirement in 1941. Under his direction, the League significantly expanded its multifaceted campaign to crack the barriers to black employment, spurred first by the boom years of the 1920s, and then, by the desperate years of the Great Depression. Efforts at reasoned persuasion were buttressed by boycotts against firms that refused to employ blacks, pressures on schools to expand vocational opportunities for young people, constant prodding of Washington officials to include blacks in New Deal recovery programs and a drive to get blacks into previously segregated labor unions.

As World War II loomed, Lester Granger, a seasoned League veteran and crusading newspaper columnist, was appointed Granger's successor.

Outspoken in his commitment to advancing opportunity for African Americans, Granger pushed tirelessly to integrate the racist trade unions, and led the League's effort to support A. Philip Randolph's March on Washington Movement to fight discrimination in defense work and in the armed services. Under Granger, the League, through its own Industrial Relations Laboratory, had notable success in cracking the color bar in numerous defense plants. The nation's demand for civilian labor during the war also helped the organization press ahead with greater urgency its programs to train black youths for meaningful blue-collar employment. After the war those efforts expanded to persuading Fortune 500 companies to hold career conferences on the campuses of Negro Colleges and place blacks in upper-echelon jobs.

Of equal importance to the League's own future sources of support, Granger avidly supported the organization of its volunteer auxiliary, the National Urban League Guild, which, under the leadership of Mollie Moon, became an important national force in its own right.

The explosion of the civil rights movement provoked a change for the League, one personified by its new leader, Whitney M. Young, Jr., who became executive director in 1961. A social worker like his predecessors, he substantially expanded the League's fund-raising ability-and, most critically, made the League a full partner in the civil rights movement. Indeed, although the

League's tax-exempt status barred it from protest activities, it hosted at its New York headquarters the planning meetings of A. Philip Randolph, Martin Luther King, Jr., and other civil rights leaders for the 1963 March on Washington. Young was also a forceful advocate for greater government and private-sector efforts to eradicate poverty. His call for a domestic Marshall Plan, a ten-point program designed to close the gap between the huge social and economic gap between black and white Americans, significantly influenced the discussion of the Johnson Administration's War on Poverty legislation.

Young's tragic death in 1971 in a drowning incident off the coast of Lagos, Nigeria brought another change in leadership. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., formerly Executive Director of the United Negro College Fund, took over as the League's fifth Executive Director in 1972 (the title of the office was changed to President in 1977).

For the next decade, until his resignation in December 1981, Jordan skillfully guided the League to new heights of achievement. He oversaw a major expansion of its social-service efforts, as the League became a significant conduit for the federal government to establish programs and deliver services to aid urban communities, and brokered fresh initiatives in such League programs as housing, health, education and minority business development. Jordan also instituted a citizenship education program that helped increase the black vote and brought new programs to such areas as energy, the environment, and non-traditional jobs for women of color- and he developed The State of Black America report.

In 1982, John E. Jacob, a former chief executive officer of the Washington, D.C. and San Diego affiliates who had served as Executive Vice President, took the reins of leadership, solidifying the League's internal structure and expanding its outreach even further.

Jacob established the Permanent Development Fund in order to increase the organization's financial stamina. In honor of Whitney Young, he established several programs to aid the development of those who work for and with the League: The Whitney M. Young, Jr. Training Center, to provide training and leadership development opportunities for both staff and volunteers; the Whitney M. Young, Jr. Race Relations Program, which recognizes affiliates doing exemplary work in race relations; and the Whitney M. Young, Jr. Commemoration Ceremony, which honors and pays tribute to long term staff and volunteers who have made extraordinary contributions to the Urban League Movement.

Jacob established the League's NULITES youth-development program and spurred the League to put new emphasis on programs to reduce teenage pregnancy, help single female heads of households, combat crime in black communities, and increase voter registration.

Hugh B. Price, appointed to the League's top office in July 1994, took over the reins at a critical moment for the League, for Black America, and for the nation as a whole. In the early 90's, the fierce market-driven dynamic of "globalization," was sweeping the world, fundamentally altering the economic relations among and within countries and reshaping the link between the nation's citizenry and its economy, fostering enormous uncertainty among individuals and tensions among ethnic and cultural groups.

This economic change and the efforts of some to rollback the gains African Americans fashioned since the 1960s, made the League's efforts all the more necessary. Price, a lawyer with extensive experience in community development and public policy issues, intensified the organization's work in three broad areas: in education and youth development, individual and community-wide economic empowerment, affirmative action and the promotion of inclusion as a critical foundation for securing America's future as a multi-ethnic democracy.

Among Prices most notable achievements was establishing the League's Institute of Opportunity and Equality in Washington, DC, which conducted a research and public policy analysis of urban issues and the Campaign for African American Achievement, a community mobilization and advocacy initiative created to raise awareness and promote the importance of achievement through through the formation of the National Achievers Society, Doing the Right Thing recognition in local communities and the Nation Urban League's Scholarship Program.

On May 15th, 2003 the board of Trustees of the National Urban League Voted overwhelmingly to appoint former New Orleans Mayor Marc H. Morial as the league's eighth President and Chief Executive Officer. As New Orleans Chief Executive, he was one of the most popular and effective Mayors in the city's history, leaving office with 70% approval rating. After being elected as one of the youngest Mayors in the city's history, crime plummeted by 60% a corrupt Police Department was reformed, new programs for youth were started , and stagnant economy was reignited.

Since his appointment to the National Urban League, Morial has worked to reenergize the movement's diverse constituencies by building on the strengths of the NUL's 95 year old legacy and increasing the organization's profile both locally and nationally.

In his first year, Morial worked to streamline the organizations' headquarters, secured over \$10 million dollars in new funding to support affiliate programs, created the first Legislative Policy Conference "NUL on the Hill", revamped the State of Black America report, created profitability for the annual conference, and secured a \$127.5 million equity fund for the minority businesses through the new markets tax credit program. He introduced and developed a stronger strategic direction of the organization with a "five point empowerment agenda' that focuses on closing the equality gaps which exist for African Americans and other emerging ethnic communities in education, economic empowerment, health and quality of life, civic engagement, and civil rights and racial justice.

Source 3: Excerpt from Booker T. Washington's autobiography (From <http://www.nps.gov/archive/bowa/btwbio.html>)

Booker T. Washington recalled his childhood in his autobiography, *Up From Slavery*. He was born in 1856 on the Burroughs tobacco farm which, despite its small size, he always referred to as a "plantation." His mother was a cook, his father a white man from a nearby farm. *"The early years of my life, which were spent in the*



Booker T. Washington
Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-5512

little cabin," he wrote, "were not very different from those of other slaves."

He went to school in Franklin County - not as a student, but to carry books for one of James Burroughs's daughters. It was illegal to educate slaves. *"I had the feeling that to get into a schoolhouse and study would be about the same as getting into paradise,"* he wrote. In April 1865 the Emancipation Proclamation was read to joyful slaves in front of the Burroughs home. Booker's family soon left to join his stepfather in Malden, West Virginia. The young boy took a job in a salt mine that began at 4 a.m. so he could attend school later in the day. Within a few years, Booker was taken in as a houseboy by a wealthy towns-woman who further encouraged his longing to learn. At age 16, he walked much of the 500 miles back to Virginia to enroll in a new school for black students. He knew that even poor students could get an education at Hampton Institute, paying their way by working. The head teacher was suspicious of his country ways and ragged clothes. She admitted him only after he had cleaned a room to her satisfaction.

In one respect he had come full circle, back to earning his living by menial tasks. Yet his entrance to Hampton led him away from a life of forced labor for good. He became an instructor there. Later, as principal and guiding force behind Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, which he founded in 1881, he became recognized as the nation's foremost black educator.

Washington the public figure often invoked his own past to illustrate his belief in the dignity of work. *"There was no period of my life that was devoted to play,"* Washington once wrote. *"From the time that I can remember anything, almost everyday of my life has been occupied in some kind of labor."* This concept of self-reliance born of hard work was the cornerstone of Washington's social philosophy.

As one of the most influential black men of his time, Washington was not without his critics. Many charged that his conservative approach undermined the quest for racial equality. *"In all things purely social we can be as separate as the fingers,"* he proposed to a biracial audience in his 1895 Atlanta Compromise address, *"yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."* In part, his methods arose for his need for support from powerful whites, some of them former slave owners. It is now known, however, that Washington secretly funded antisegregationist activities. He never wavered in his belief in freedom: *"From some things that I have said one may get the idea that some of the slaves did not want freedom. This is not true. I have never seen one who did not want to be free, or one who would return to slavery."*

By the last years of his life, Washington had moved away from many of his accommodationist policies. Speaking out with a new frankness, Washington attacked racism. In 1915 he joined ranks with former critics to protest the stereotypical portrayal of blacks in a new movie, "Birth of a Nation." Some months later he died at age 59. A man who overcame near-impossible odds himself, Booker T. Washington is best remembered for helping black Americans rise up from the economic slavery that held them down long after they were legally free citizens.

Source 4: The Chicago Race Riot (From <http://homicide.northwestern.edu/crimes/raceriot/>)

The Race Riot in Chicago in the summer of 1919 left 38 dead, including twenty three black men and boys; and 537 injured, of whom 342 were black, and hundreds homeless. Race riots in other Midwestern and northern cities took place about the same time, as social tensions were aggravated by economic and labor problems after the World War I armistice.

The Coroner's report on the riot described the events as follows: "Five days of terrible hate and passion let loose, cost the people of Chicago 38 lives (15 white and 23 colored), wounded and maimed several hundred, destroyed property of untold value, filled thousands with fear, blemished the city and left in its wake fear and apprehension for the future...."

Chicago as a national railroad hub, and with its booming industrial economy during the war, had been a magnet for black workers from the South from 1918 onward. The black population in Chicago increased 148 per cent from 1916 to 1919. The Great Migration of blacks from the South to the urban and industrial north and Midwest, encouraged by reports of available jobs in the stockyards and the meat packing industry, by the leading black American newspaper, *The Defender*, published in Chicago, resulted in dramatic changes in the demographics of many inner city wards, and the creation of new, vibrant black neighborhoods in the city.

The trigger for the riot was the drowning of Eugene Williams at the 298th street beach on a sweltering July afternoon. Eugene Williams was hit by a stone thrown by a white man on the breakwater. The man had been throwing rocks at the black boys in the water prior to hitting Eugene Williams, but when he was identified the police would not arrest him. Once the riot started, armed gangs roamed the street looking for people to kill. Snipers shot from encampments behind windows; and confrontations between police and citizens were violent. At one point at the corner of Wabash and 35th street, a crowd of 1,500 blacks challenged 100 armed police. At the end of two days of violence, and the burning of neighborhoods, more than 6,000 state militia had been called to the city. On the third day, twelve to fifteen thousand black men and women returned to work at the stockyards under a cover of machine guns. Although more officers, eleven, were killed in 1919 than in any year prior to that time, the only police officer killed in the riot was Patrolman John Simpson, 31, an African American working out of the Wabash Avenue Station.

The armed confrontations may have been over, but aftereffects smoldered longer than the charred remains of the burned buildings. Ironically, the beach where the black boys had gone to swim was not a segregated beach.

Source 5: Photo from the Chicago Race riot (From *The Chicago Daily News* at <http://memory.loc.gov/>)



Race Riot Started at Nashville, Tenn.

NASHVILLE, Tenn., Nov. 20.—Race riots broke out at the Old Hickory Powder Plant shortly after 12 o'clock Saturday, just as a train of fourteen coaches filled with about 1,200 employees of the operating department was about to pull out for the Union station in Nashville.

It is estimated that nearly three hundred white men and Negroes participated in a general melee.

Bruised faces, bleeding noses and a railroad coach battered and with every window smashed when the train pulled into the city before 2 o'clock in the morning bore evidence of the fracas.

The riot was started when white men ordered about a dozen Negroes to vacate one of three cars which had been reserved for them and which the white men wanted, as they could not find seats in other parts of the train.

Fifty-seven arrests were made by the powder plant police.

Source 7: Article from the *Union* (From <http://dbs.ohiohistory.org/africanam/page1.cfm?ItemID=698>)

Volume: 13
Issue Number: 16
Page Number: 01
Date: 04/19/1919

**SEVEN DEATHS REPORTED
IN RACE RIOTING
POLICEMAN MARSHALL AND FIVE
NEGROES ARE KILLED.**

(Associated Press Dispatch.)

Mullen, Ga., April 14.—Seven fatalities were reported today in race riots begun yesterday at Buckhead church, this county. County policeman W. C. Brown, T. H. Stephens, night marshal, and four negroes were killed and another negro was taken from the jail and lynched. Seven negro lodge and church buildings have been burned, and it is feared that the trouble is not yet over.

Business Reform:

Breaking up trusts was viewed by Progressives as a way to stop abuses that developed because wealth and industrial power were concentrated in the hands of a few.

Theses:

- Teddy Roosevelt and Wilson were anti-business.
- Teddy Roosevelt and Wilson, while “trust busters,” should not be considered anti-business.

Things to Consider:

- The Sherman Antitrust Act (and its enforcement):
- How did Teddy Roosevelt decide which trusts to “bust”?
- Federal Trade Commission:
- Northern Securities and other trusts “busted”:

Sources:

Begin by reading about business reform during the Progressive Era in your text. Then read the attached sources. For those with access to the NY Times Historical Newspapers, visit <http://hn.bigchalk.com/hnweb/hn/do/document?set=searchera&start=1&rendition=x-article-image&inmylist=false&urn=urn%3Aproquest%3AUS%3BPQDOC%3BHNP%3BPQD%3BHNP%3BPROD%3Bx-article-image%3B104993005&mylisturn=urn%3Aproquest%3AUS%3BPQDOC%3BHNP%3BPQD%3BHNP%3BPROD%3Bx-citation%3B104993005>.

Source 1: Labor Relations and Trust Busting (From http://www.gilderlehrman.org/teachers/module14/intro_pop4.html)

In 1902, President Theodore Roosevelt became the first president to intervene on the side of workers in a labor dispute. He threatened to use the army to run the coal mines unless mine owners agree to arbitrate the strike. The president handpicked a commission to mediate the settlement.

In 1902, President Roosevelt instructed his attorney general to file suit against Northern Securities, a railroad holding company, and the beef trust in Chicago, for illegal constraint of trade. The U.S. Supreme Court ultimately ruled on the government's behalf.

Source 2: Anti-Trust (From http://www.gilderlehrman.org/teachers/module14/intro_pop12.html)

One of the most significant issues Roosevelt confronted as president was how best to deal with the growth of corporate power. Between 1897 and 1904, 4,227 firms merged to form 257 corporations. The largest merger combined nine steel companies to create U.S. Steel. By 1904, 318 companies controlled about 40 percent of the nation's manufacturing output. A single firm produced over half the output in 78 industries.

Many Progressives feared that concentrated, uncontrolled corporate power threatened republican government. Public opinion feared that large corporations could impose monopolistic prices to cheat consumers and could squash small independent companies.

Roosevelt's Justice Department launched 44 anti-trust suits, prosecuting railroad, beef, oil, and tobacco trusts. Henry Clay Frick, the steel baron, complained, "We bought the son of a bitch and then he didn't stay bought." The most famous anti-trust suit, filed in 1906, involved John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company. It took five years for Roosevelt to win his case in the Supreme Court. But in the end Standard Oil was broken into 34 separate companies.

Theodore Roosevelt did not oppose bigness in and of itself. He only opposed irresponsible corporate behavior. He distinguished between "good trusts" and "bad trusts" and advocated regulating big corporations in the public interest by means of a government commission.

Source 4: A modern look back at the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and the FTC (From <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?index=13&did=27569151&SrchMode=1&sid=1&Fmt=3&VIn st=PROD&VType=PQD&RQT=309&VName=PQD&TS=1202755351&clientId=29227>)

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

Centennial Journal: 100 Years in Business --- Two Watchdogs for the Price of One, 1914

Wall Street Journal. (Eastern edition). New York, N.Y.: Mar 14, 1989. pg. 1

Full Text (301 words)

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(During its centennial year, The Wall Street Journal will report events of the past century that stand as milestones of American business history.)

THE BATTLE TO CONTROL business trusts proved a classic example of the endless tug of war among Congress, the courts and the executive branch. Congress passed the Sherman Antitrust Act in 1890; court rulings made it a dead letter for a decade. With trust-busting Teddy Roosevelt in the White House, the law regained momentum and landmark Supreme Court decisions broke up J.P. Morgan's railroad monopoly, Rockefeller's Standard Oil and Buck Duke's tobacco trust. But Congress worried that the courts were writing law, not just ruling on it. So in 1914, Congress tried again.

This time the lawmakers used a dual approach. Independent administrative agencies such as the Interstate Commerce Commission had gained stature as regulators of business. The Sherman Act, after a weak start, had proved itself potent. Why not give business two watchdogs, one administrative and one legal?

With President Woodrow Wilson's backing, Alabama's Democratic Rep. Henry De Lamar Clayton supplied both barrels for the new antitrust weapon -- the Federal Trade Commission and the Clayton Antitrust Act. His bills creating both were passed and signed that fall, with the Clayton Act spelling out the antitrust duties of the FTC.

The two combined went a long way toward satisfying those who wanted rules and precedents established by a gradual process of interpretation and action. Businessmen had found the Sherman Act's uncertainties exasperating and while the new bills did not spell out just what was and was not wrong, the FTC gave them a chance to get guidance in advance. The Clayton Act pleased labor by exempting unions from antitrust laws, but qualifications and unsympathetic court decisions eventually made them ineffective. The constitutional tug of war would continue.

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Source 5: Progressive Reform and the Trusts (From http://www.gilderlehrman.org/teachers/module14/tool_is_pop5.html)

Reading 1:

The dull, purblind folly of the very rich men; their greed and arrogance...and the corruption in business and politics, have tended to produce a very unhealthy condition of excitement and irritation in the popular mind, which shows itself in the great increase in the socialistic propaganda.

Theodore Roosevelt, 1906

Reading 2:

I think we are in a position, after the experience of the last 20 years, to state two things: in the first place, that a corporation may well be too large to be the most efficient instrument of production and distribution, and, in the second place, whether it has exceeded the point of greatest economic efficiency or not, it may be too large to be tolerated among the people who desire to be free.

Louis Brandeis, 1911

Reading 3:

1898 was the beginning of great industrial organization....Within a period of three years following, 149 such reorganizations were effected with total stock and bond capitalization of \$3,784,000,000....The success of these [re-]organization led quickly on to a consolidation of combined industries, until a mere handful of men controlled the industrial production of the country....

No student of the economic changes in recent years can escape the conclusion that the railroads, telegraphs, shipping, cable, telephone, traction, express, mining, iron, steel, coal, oil, gas, electric light, cotton, copper, sugar, tobacco, agricultural implements and the food products are completely controlled and mainly owned by these hundred men....With this enormous concentration of business it is possible to create, artificially, periods of prosperity and periods of panic. Prices can be lowered or advanced at the will of the "System."

Robert LaFollette, 1908

Reading 4:

If the anti-trust people really grasped the full meaning of what they said, and if they really had the power or the courage to do what they propose, they would be engaged in one of the most destructive agitations that America has known. They would be breaking up the beginning of collective organization, thwarting the possibility of cooperation, and insisting upon submitting industry to the wasteful, the planless scramble of little profiteers.

Walter Lippman, 1914

Reading 5:

The effort to restore competition as it was sixty years ago, and to trust for justice solely to this proposed restoration of competition, is just as foolish as if we should go back to the flintlocks of Washington's continentals as a substitute for modern weapons of precision....Our purpose should be, not to strangle business as an incident of strangling combinations, but to regulate big corporations in a thoroughgoing and effective fashion, so as to help legitimate business as an incident to thoroughly and completely safeguarding the interests of the people as a whole.

Theodore Roosevelt

Reading 6:

Attempt to sweep the country back into the old era of ruthless competition, which would be the direct consequence of a vigorous enforcement of the Sherman [Anti-Trust] law, and there will return the evils of deceit and fraud in business, violent fluctuations in prices, the deliberate driving to the wall of weak concerns, and the eventual creation of monopolies by survivors.

George W. Perkins

Reading 7:

The Democratic party insists that competition can and should be maintained in every branch of private industry; that competition can be and should be restored in those branches of industry in which it has been suppressed by the trusts; and that, if at any future time monopoly should appear to be desirable in any branch of industry, the monopoly should be a public one--a monopoly owned by the people and not by the capitalists.

Louis D. Brandeis

Reading 8:

In particular, the party declares for direct primaries for the nomination of State and National offices, for nation wide preferential primaries for candidates for the presidency; for the direct election of United States Senators by the people; and we urge on the states...the initiative, referendum, and recall....

The Progressive party, believing that no people can justly claim to be a true democracy which denies equal political rights on account of sex, pledges itself to the task of securing equal suffrage to men and women alike.

We pledge our party to legislation that will compel strict limitation of all campaign contributions and expenditures, and detailed publicity of both before as well as after primaries and election....

The Progressive party demands such restriction of the power of the courts all leave to the people the ultimate authority to determine fundamental questions of social welfare and public policy....We believe that the issuance of injunctions in cases arising out of labor disputes should be prohibited when such injunctions would not apply when no labor disputes existed....

We pledge ourselves to work...for:

Effective legislation looking to the prevention of industrial accidents, occupational diseases, overwork, involuntary unemployment, and other injurious effects incident to modern industry;
The fixing of minimum safety and health standards....
The prohibition of child labor;
Minimum wage standards for working women, to provide a "living wage" in all industrial occupations;
The general prohibition of night work for women and the establishment of eight hour day for women and young persons;
One day's rest in seven for all wage workers;
The eight hour day in continuous twenty-four-hour industries;
The abolition of the convict contract-labor system....
Standards of compensation for death by industrial accident and injury and trade disease which will transfer the burden of lost earnings from the families of working people to the industry, and thus to the community....
Establishing...schools for industrial education under public control and encouraging agricultural education and demonstration in rural schools;
The establishment of industrial research laboratories to put the methods and discoveries of science at the service of American producers;
We favor the organization of the workers, men and women, as means protecting their interests and of promoting their progress....

We believe that the remaining forests, coal and oil lands, water powers and other natural resources still in State or National control (exception agricultural lands) are more likely to be wisely conserved and utilized for the general welfare if held in the public hands.

Progressive Party Platform, 1912

Reading 9:

We have itemized with some degree of particularity the things that ought to be altered: A tariff which cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world, violates the just principles of taxation, and makes the government a facile instrument in the hands of private interests; a banking and currency system based upon the necessity of the government to sell its bonds fifty years ago and perfectly adapted to concentrating cash and restricting credits; an industrial system which, take it on all its sides, financial as well as administrative, holds capital in leading strings, restricts the liberties and limits the opportunities of labor, and exploits without renewing or conserving the natural resources of the country....

President Wilson's first inaugural address, 1913