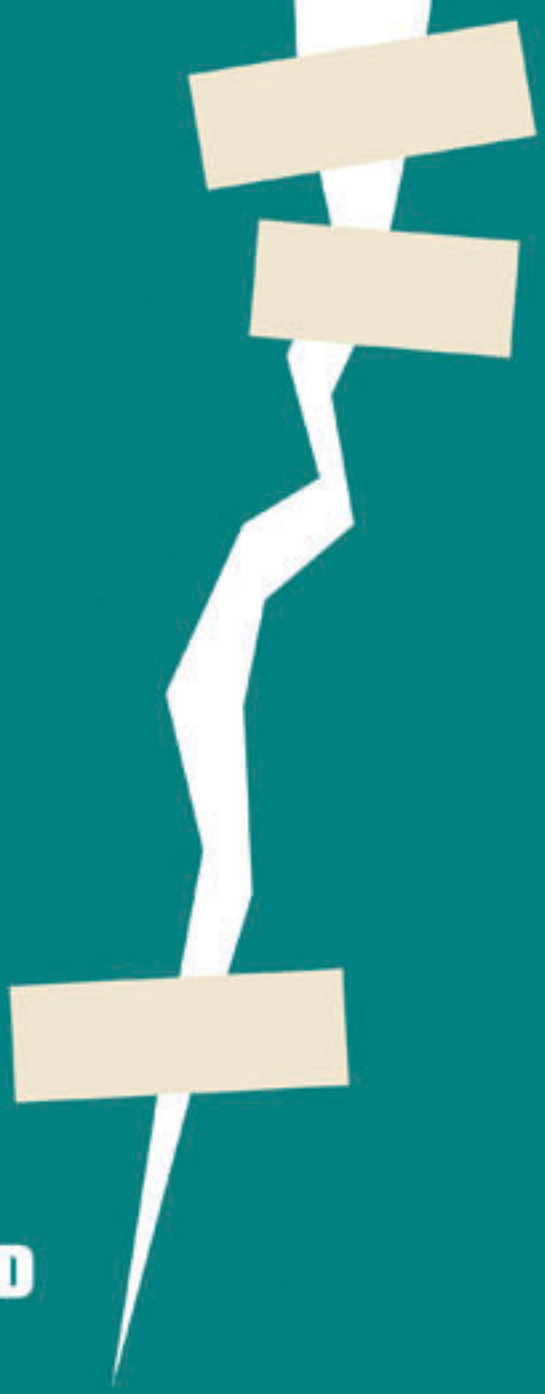

U.S. HISTORY READERS: CONFLICTS AND RESOLUTIONS

The Populist Revolt and the Progressive Movement

SOCIAL STUDIES SCHOOL SERVICE

ZP478

U.S. History Readers

The Populist Revolt and the Progressive Movement

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The Populist Revolt and the Progressive Movement

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The Populist Revolt and the Progressive Movement

This unit asks students to discuss the role of government in the economy, evaluate the policies proposed by reformers, and learn how three different presidents, various politicians, numerous muckrakers, and several important women responded to the problems caused by America's Industrial Revolution. The unit begins by discussing problems experienced by America's farmers in the 1870s, the Grangers' response to these problems, and the Populist revolt of the 1880s and 1890s. A chapter is devoted to the Panic of 1893 and the campaign to restore silver to the U.S. currency, and another chapter covers the election campaign of 1896. A chapter on changing lifestyles, new ways of marketing products, and improved urban transportation builds a bridge to the Progressive era. The unit continues by revealing the sources of the Progressive impulse and includes a chapter highlighting the contributions made by prominent female reformers. One of the five chapters discussing the roles of the three presidents during the Progressive era is devoted to Theodore Roosevelt's foreign policy and another covers the Election of 1912. The last chapter consists of two parts. The first reviews Woodrow Wilson's legislative achievements, his reluctance to pass what he called "class legislation," and his commitment to the rights of the states to regulate hours and wages. The second part discusses the inconsistency between Wilson's desire to enter World War I in order to "save the world for democracy," and the government's violation of civil liberties at home.

Each chapter is designed to accommodate a wide range of student abilities. The first part is written at a lower reading and conceptual level than the second. The two parts are separated by a series of student exercises, including a graphic organizer and several questions intended to help students master basic information and stimulate higher-order thinking skills. The second part of each chapter, "For Further Consideration," is written at a higher reading and conceptual level. It is followed by a question that requires students to write a strong paragraph and/or be prepared to present their opinions in class. In some cases, this section continues the narrative; in others it challenges students to think deeply about issues related to the overarching questions raised in the unit. In addition, I (Inquiry)-Charts are provided to help students optimize what they already know or think about a topic and integrate it with identifiable additional information they find in the text and in other sources. Finally, each lesson includes vocabulary words and key terms in flash-card format; these can be used either for review or reference.

This unit is designed to stimulate informed discussions and higher-order thinking skills rather than recitation and rote learning. Students are provided with the information they need to acquire and share factually supported opinions and/or consider important philosophical issues. Opportunities are provided for simulating the election debates of 1896 and the four-candidate election of 1912. Students are asked to evaluate the contributions of prominent female progressives, decide whether Roosevelt lived up to his admonition that the U.S. treat other nations fairly and assume world leadership, decide whether Taft was right in denigrating Progressives' efforts to

make reforms, and evaluate Woodrow Wilson's domestic legislation and his foreign policy. This unit, as with others in the series, is designed for students to experience the conflicts and passionate viewpoints of the men and women who made history.

Chapter 1. Grangers and Populists Respond to Farmers' Grievances
Teacher Page

Overview:

This chapter lists and explains a number of reasons farmers in the corn, wheat, and cotton belt states complained about the hardships they faced, including prices they had to pay for mortgages and rates charged by railroads and grain warehouses. The chapter quotes Mary Ellen Lease's charge that big businesses and banks controlled the nation's governments and excerpts part of the Populist Party platform, which made essentially the same charges. A brief summary of the formation of the Grange, the Granger laws, and the *Munn* case is followed by a review of the Farmer's Alliances' activities and its merger with the Populist Party. Students are asked to point out the similarities of Lease's charges and the Populist platform and to evaluate the Populists' legislative demands as being too radical or generally reasonable. The "For Further Consideration" section excerpts parts of the majority and minority opinions of the *Munn* v. *Illinois* case and asks students to explain why they agree with one rather than the other.

Objectives:

Students will:

- learn that farmers in post–Civil War America were required to pay high interest rates as well as exorbitant amounts of money to store and ship their crops
- know that farmers formed the Grange and later joined the Populist Party in order to address their grievances
- evaluate the major planks of the Populist Party

Strategies:

Before class: Point out the purpose of this unit as described in the Teacher Introduction. Assign the chapter either up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In class: Ask students what difficulties they might have had if they lived in the late 1800s and their parents had brought them to Kansas in order to start a farm on the plains. Next, ask whether Mother Nature or manmade problems were most responsible for the difficulties faced by 19th-century farmers in Kansas. After you have finished discussing the first two questions, have students share their answers to the Graphic Organizer. Follow up by reviewing their answers to the assigned essay. The question covering the Populist Party platform is more likely to provoke a productive discussion. With careful planning, you should have time left to have students who read the "For Further Consideration" section lead a discussion on the landmark *Munn* decision.

Chapter 1. Grangers and Populists Respond to Farmers' Grievances
I-Chart

	What made life particularly difficult for farmers during the late 19th century?	Who were the Grangers and the Populists and what did they want?	What do I think about the proposals made by the Grangers and the Populists?
What I already knew			
What I learned from Chapter 1, Part I			
What I learned from Chapter 1, Part II and in class			
What I still want to know			

foreclosed on a mortgage	overproduction	Homestead Act
prostrate	Wall Street	downtrodden
aliens	colossal	"Altar of Mammon"

Chapter 1—Grangers and Populists Respond to Farmers' Grievances

When a bank takes possession of a property after the owner does not pay what is owed	When more is produced than people want or can buy	Law granting a free 160-acre plot of land to settlers provided they make improvements on it
Lying face down and helpless	General term referring to the major bankers and stock brokers on the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE); some believe "Wall Street" controls the economy	Dejected and beaten down; oppressed
In a historical context, this term refers to foreigners	Very large; immense	Those who "worship" at the Altar of Mammon are characterized as sacrificing principles for monetary gain

Chapter 1

Grangers and Populists Respond to Farmers' Grievances

Introduction

According to Thomas Jefferson, "Those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God, if ever He had a chosen people." Throughout history, American writers have admired the American farmer for "his honest industry, his independence, his frank spirit of equality, his ability to produce and enjoy a simple abundance."[1]

As admired as they may have been, why then did so many farmers in America in the late 19th century become very angry? This chapter and the next seek to answer that question by describing what farmers tried to do in order to relieve the causes of their discontent and by helping you decide what the U.S. government should have done to help them.

Problems America's Farmers Faced

On June 29, 1871, from her home in Kansas, Mary Chaffe Abell wrote the following letter to her mother back east:

Robert [Mary's husband] got a piece of land that suits him, [through the Homestead Act] and so near market that we can get everything just as cheap as we could in Lawrence…There is a house to be built—a well to be dug and a cow to be got beside a living-for the first year on homestead bring in nothing—for the sod has to rot a year before a crop can be put in…

A sod house in Kansas in the 1880s, typical housing in the treeless plains

1 Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, p. 23

Over two years later, November 1873, Abell again wrote to her family:

> Imagine yourself for instance with nothing but land, house, and stock—for that's where we are. Not a tree, particle of water, grass, stable, fence or anything else...Eastern people may think us homesteaders are doing a fine thing to get 160 acres of land for nothing--all but nothing. Oh, the suffering that the poor people endure here, and the privations you have not the remotest idea of, and poor means nearly all homesteaders.

The interest an unfortunate farmer had to pay on his mortgage and the low prices he received for his wheat were not his problems alone—he had lots of company. Farmers suffered from swarms of grasshoppers in the spring, a lack of rain during the growing season, hail in the summer, and blizzards in the winter. They lived far from their neighbors, worked from sunup to sunset and paid high prices for the tools of their trade, the clothes on their backs, and the few items that provided them with a minimum amount of comfort.

From the late 1860s to the mid 1890s, American farmers did not benefit from the improvements made by increased industrialization. Machines helped them plant and harvest more of their crops, which led to overproduction and caused a steep decline in prices. For example, wheat that sold for $1.45 a bushel in 1867 dropped down to 49 cents in 1895. The price of corn in Kansas fell to 10 cents a bushel and instead of selling it, farmers used it as fuel to cook their food and heat their houses. Meanwhile, farmers had to pay back the money they had borrowed to buy their horses, reapers, and plows. Since all prices were in decline during this period, farmers had to pay their debts with dollars that were worth far more than the ones they had borrowed.

By the 1890s, the people of Kansas owed twice as much money as their land was worth. Farmers often needed to spend most of what they could get for their crops in order to pay their mortgages and transportation. Railroads and grain warehouses consumed a great deal of each farmer's earnings. No community was served by more than one railroad, and farmers had to pay whatever the railroads charged. Interest rates often ran as high as 15 percent, with the interest deducted before the loan was made. Thus, the farmer who borrowed $1000 would only receive $850. Official records showed that in the four years between 1889 and 1893, banks foreclosed on more than 11,000 mortgages.

Taxes posed another problem for downtrodden farmers. Even though they only possessed one-quarter of the nation's wealth, farmers paid an estimated three-quarters of the country's taxes.

As the wife of one farmer put it, "I saw times during those years that I wouldn't have given the snap of my fingers for the whole of Kansas. Everybody wanted to sell and nobody wanted to buy. Few could leave, because they had not the means to get

away with it." However, crop failures and other hardships led 30,000 of the 100,000 early settlers in the western part of the state to return to the East.

An idealistic portrayal of mission and purpose of the Grange

Farmers Organize: The Grange

During the last half of the 19th century, farmers formed two major organizations in order to improve the conditions of their lives. The first, The National Grange of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry, was popularly known as The Grange. Oliver H. Kelley, an employee of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, founded it in 1867. Originally intended as a social organization designed to reduce the sense of isolation farmers experienced, the Grange quickly turned to farmers' economic interests. With the onslaught of a severe but short economic downturn in 1873, Grangers began forming business cooperatives to produce the machines they needed to run their farms and to sell their crops. In addition, Grangers turned to politics, and with the cooperation of the established political parties passed a series of "Granger laws." This legislation gave states the power to regulate the prices charged by railroads and grain storage warehouses. They were opposed by businessmen who claimed their rights to control their own property were being violated by laws giving states the power to set prices. However, an important decision by the Supreme Court supported the Granger laws. In the 1876 case of *Munn* v. *Illinois*, the Court ruled that "[W]hen…one devotes his property to a use in which the public has an interest, he, in effect, grants to the public an interest in that use, and must submit to be controlled by the public for the common good."

The Grange's successes, however, were short-lived. Their businesses often failed because of a combination of inexperience, poor management, insufficient capital, and cutthroat competition. Many of the laws they drafted were not enforced, were often disobeyed, and eventually declared illegal. When economic conditions improved in the late 1870s, membership in the 20,000 Granger lodges decreased noticeably and many closed down altogether. The Grange as a whole still exists to this day, but has played an insignificant role in the nation's politics since the late 1870s. An organization called the Farmers' Alliance took its place.

Farmers Organize The Farmers' Alliance and the Populist Party

The first chapter of the Farmers' Alliance originated in Texas in 1876. Like the Grange, the Alliance was originally formed for social purposes but also organized farm

cooperatives and sponsored businesses that served farmers' needs. Members founded newspapers and magazines, and sponsored lecturers to spread the Alliance's ideas to all farmers. During the 1880s, membership in the Alliance and similar organizations increased throughout the South, and the organization later spread to the Midwestern states, especially to Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and Illinois. As widespread droughts began in 1886 and continued with scarcely any relief for nearly ten years, more and more farmers joined the Alliance.

Mary Ellen Lease Blames Wall Street for Eight-Cent Corn

Mary Ellen Lease, a firebrand orator from Kansas, expressed what many in her state believed were the real causes of the farmers' problems.

It is no longer a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, but a government of Wall Street, by Wall Street, and for Wall Street. The great common people of this country are slaves, and monopoly is the master. The West and South are bound and prostrate before the manufacturing East. Money rules, and our Vice-President is a London banker. Our laws are the output of a system which clothes rascals in robes and honesty in rags. The [political] parties lie to us and the political speakers mislead us. We were told two years ago to go to work and raise a big crop, that was all we needed. We went to work and plowed and planted; the rains fell, the sun shone, nature smiled, and we raised the big crop that they told us to; and what came of it? Eight-cent corn, ten-cent oats, two-cent beef and no price at all for butter and eggs—that's what came of it. The politicians said we suffered from overproduction. Overproduction, when 10,000 little children, so statistics tell us, starve to death every year in the United States...

The Alliances differed from the Grange in three important respects. First, African American chapters of the Alliance arose in the South, and for a time, it worked in an uneasy coalition with white chapters. Second, members of the Alliance were not satisfied with merely cooperating with existing political parties, and they formed the People's Party, which became known as the Populist Party. Third, the Populists supported a radical national legislative program. In 1892, 1300 Alliance/Populist delegates stormed into Omaha, Nebraska and proclaimed their political program. Parts of this program are summarized below (often in the platform's own words):

Summation of Populist Party Beliefs, Demands and Sentiments

PREAMBLE

The conditions which surround us best justify our co-operation; we meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box.... The people are demoralized...public opinion silenced....homes covered with mortgages, labor impoverished, and the land concentrating in the hands of capitalists. The urban workman are denied the right to organize for self-protection, imported pauperized labor beats down their wages...and [we] are rapidly degenerating into European conditions. The fruits of the toils of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind....From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes—tramps and millionaires…

Controlling influences dominating both...parties have permitted the existing dreadful conditions to develop without serious effort to prevent or restrain them. Neither do they now promise any substantial reform...They propose to sacrifice our homes, lives, and children on the alter of mammon; to destroy the multitude in order to secure corruption funds from the millionaires...

PLATFORM

- The government should…own and manage all the railroads, telephone, and telegraph companies.
- A national currency, safe, sound, and flexible, should be issued by the general government.
- We demand a free ballot, and a fair count in all elections.
- Savings banks should be established by the government.
- Lands owned by aliens and by railroads and corporations exceeding their needs be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.
- Revenue from a graduated income tax be used to reduce the burden of taxation.
- Restrict undesirable immigration.
- Shorten hours of workers.
- We commend to the favorable consideration of the people...the initiative and referendum [which allow voters to propose and ratify legislation without the formality of using the legislature].
- Limit President and Vice President to one term.
- Elect Senators by direct vote of the people.

Student Activities

A. Graphic Organizer:

1. Describe, identify, or define and elaborate on each of the following:

Term	Definition, description, or identification elaborated
a. Three farmers' grievances	
b. The Grange	
c. What Granger laws regulated	
d. *Munn* v. *Illinois*	
e. The Farmers' Alliance	
f. Sentiments expressed by Mary Lease	
g. Three major differences between Granges and Alliances	

B. Essay:

In no fewer than 150 words, answer the following essay question:

Do you view the Populist Party platform as a collection of practical ideas that might have improved conditions in the United States or as a collection of radical and ridiculous ideas that deserved to be rejected?

For Further Consideration:
Munn V. *Illinois*, the Grain Elevator Case

For years, Ira Munn and George Scott operated a grain elevator with a capacity of 200,000 bushels before they were charged with violating an Illinois law regulating the activities of people in their line of business. Munn and Scott had failed to apply for a license and had agreed with eight other elevator companies to charge more than the legislated ceiling price of 2 cents per bushel. Believing the law deprived them of their right to control their own property, Munn and Scott refused to lower their prices. The case first went to court in Illinois and was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. Excerpts from the majority and minority decisions are provided below:

In the words of Associate Justice J. Field, "[t]he question presented, therefore, is one of the greatest importance—whether it is within the competency of a State to fix the compensation which an individual may receive for the use of his own property in his private business and for his services in connection with it."

Chief Justice C.J. Waite	**Associate Justice J. Field**
Property does become clothed with a public interest when used in a manner to make it of public consequence and affect the community at large. When, therefore, one devotes his property to a use in which the public has an interest, he, in effect, grants to the public an interest in that use, and must submit to be controlled by the public for the common good, to the extent of the interest he has thus created. He may withdraw his grant by discontinuing the use, but, so long as he maintains the use, he must submit to the control… …the government regulates the conduct of its citizens one towards another, and the manner in which each shall use his own property, when such regulation becomes necessary for the public good. In their exercise, it has been customary in England from time immemorial, and in this country from its first colonization, to regulate ferries, common carriers, hackmen (carriage drivers), bakers, millers, wharfingers	If this be sound law, if there be no protection, either in the principles upon which our republican government is founded or in the prohibitions of the Constitution against such invasion of private rights, all property and all business in the State are held at the mercy of a majority of its legislature. The public has no greater interest in the use of buildings for the storage of grain than it has in the use of buildings for the residences of families, nor, indeed, anything like so great an interest, and, according to the doctrine announced, the legislature may fix the rent of all tenements used for residences, without reference to the cost of their erection. If the owner does not like the rates prescribed, he may cease renting his houses. He has granted to the public, says the court, an interest in the use of the buildings, and "he may withdraw his grant by discontinuing the use, but, so long as he maintains the use, he must submit to the control." The public is interested in the

wharfingers (wharf owners), innkeepers, &c., and, in so doing, to fix a maximum of charge to be made for services rendered, accommodations furnished, and articles sold. To this day, statutes are to be found in many of the States upon some or all these subjects; and we think it has never yet been successfully contended that such legislation came within any of the constitutional prohibitions against interference with private property.	manufacture of cotton, woolen, and silken fabrics, in the construction of machinery, in the printing and publication of books and periodicals, and in the making of utensils of every variety, useful and ornamental; indeed, there is hardly an enterprise or business engaging the attention and labor of any considerable portion of the community in which the public has not an interest in the sense in which that term is used by the court in its opinion…

With whose opinion do you agree: Justice Waite's or Justice Field's? Write a strong paragraph responding to this question and come to class prepared to present your opinion, listen to the opinion of others, defend your own, or change your mind.

Chapter 2. The Money Question
Teacher Page

Overview

This chapter should help students understand the very complex and contentious economic question posed in the election of 1896: whether the U.S. should meet the demands of Populists and Democrats by inflating the currency through massive open-market purchases and coinage of silver. In order to provide students with the concepts and information to grasp this topic, the chapter begins by explaining the meanings of the terms inflation and deflation. It proceeds by explaining why inflation during the 19th century would have hurt the nation's bankers and men of means, while deflation would have hurt debtor-farmers by requiring them to pay their debts back with money more valuable than the dollars they had borrowed. The narrative proceeds by explaining the meaning of a mathematical formula, P = M/T, that describes the relationship between prices, money in circulation, and the total value of the goods and services this money could buy. More economics follows: Students are introduced to the premise that the U.S. currency was backed by both gold and silver, with each gram of gold equal in value to 16 grams of silver. Since 16 grams of silver sold in the open market for more than 1 gram of gold, silver miners refrained from selling their specie to the government. The chapter explains why Congress was accused of committing the "Crime of 1873" after it failed to provide for further coinage of silver. The remainder of the chapter describes the subsequent attempt by debtor-farmers and silver-mine owners to require the government to buy and coin an unlimited amount of silver. Students are presented with a series of review questions that should help them understand what could happen if the debtor-farmers demands were met.

The "For Further Consideration" section provides excerpts from William Jennings Bryan's "Cross of Gold" speech and asks them to indicate why they agree or disagree with his major ideas.

Objectives:

Students will:

- learn which groups in the 19th century tended to benefit from or get hurt by inflation and by deflation
- learn why the increasing coinage of silver had the potential to break the deflationary cycle that plagued debtor-farmers
- understand the unintended consequences of minting too much silver
- explain the effects of the major currency legislation enacted during the 19th century

Strategies:

Before class: Assign the chapter up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In class: There are at least two different ways you can successfully teach students the facts and concepts covered in this chapter.

1. Start by taking a dollar out of your pocket and asking students whether they can take it to the U.S. treasury and get gold or silver for it, and if not, why it has value. You might have them look for the words "legal tender" on the bill and then explain that it is fiat money but universally accepted because it can be exchanged for goods and services. You can then proceed by reviewing what each of the Currency Acts listed at the end of the chapter did and how they affected the value of the dollar. Move on by discussing students' responses to each of the Questions to Answer section. After students understand the correct answers, proceed by first discussing their responses to the essay question and then encouraging students who read the "For Further Consideration" section to explain their position on Bryan's "Cross of Gold" speech.

2. After a suitable introduction, divide students into an equal number of groups who will represent the interests of debtor-farmers and the interests of Eastern financiers. Make sure that members of each group understand the basic economic terms and the legislation covered in this chapter. Next, help students employ these concepts when arguing for or against the Populists' demand for "the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1."

Chapter 2. The Money Question
I-Chart

	Why did debt-ridden farmers want more money in circulation and why did financiers want less?	What did the advocates of each of the following hope this legislation would accomplish: The Bland-Allison Act, The Sherman Silver Purchase Act, and the repeal of Sherman Act?	What were the intended and unintended consequences of the unlimited coinage of silver and gold?
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 2, Part I			
What I learned from Chapter 2, Part I and in class			
What I would still like to know			

greenbacks	deflation	inflation
gram	market price and government price	bimetallism
sufficient	equivalent	stupendous

Chapter 2—The Money Question

Paper money issued during the Civil War	When prices drop and money becomes more valuable	When prices rise and money becomes less valuable	
An official unit of measurement weighing about as much as a grain of wheat	The former is the price set by interaction of buyers and sellers; the latter is the official price set by the government	Government policy to use two precious metals to back up its currency	
Enough	Roughly equal to	Huge or enormous	

Chapter 2
The Money Question

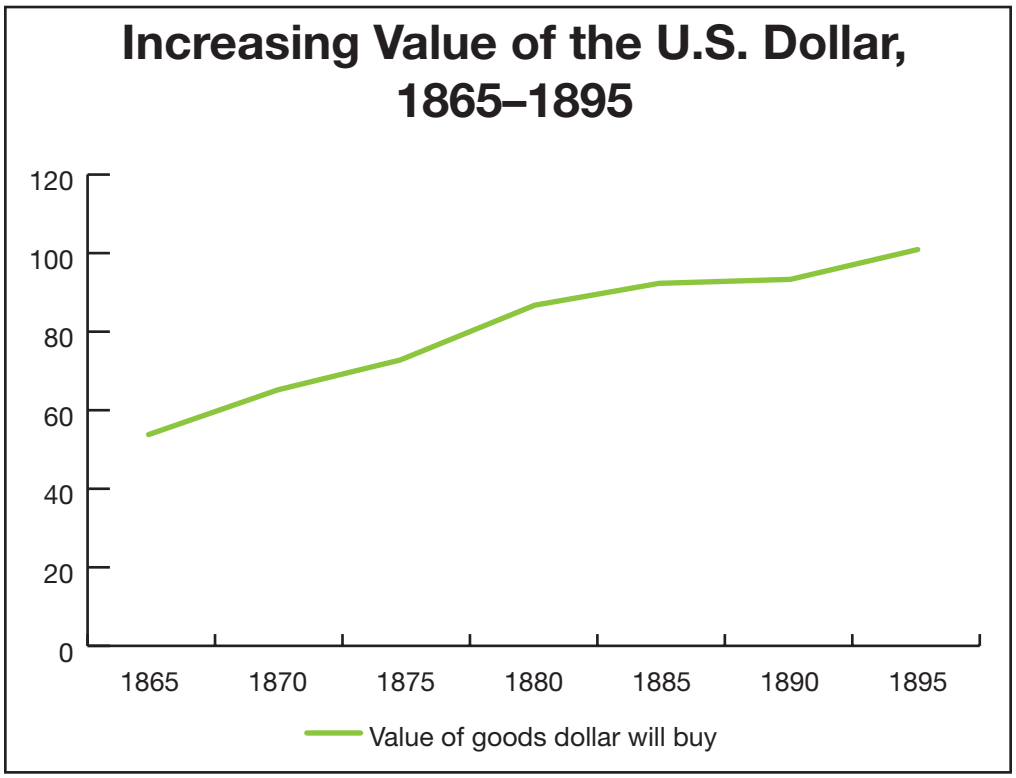
Introduction

The Populist Party platform of 1892 included a demand for a "safe, sound, and flexible currency." For a number of reasons, this desire for a flexible currency found a concrete expression in a demand for "a free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the legal ratio of 16:1." This chapter explains the reasoning that led to this proposal.

The Value of the Dollar

As illustrated by the accompanying chart, $2.04 worth of goods in 1896 could have been bought for $1.11 in 1866. In other words, the dollar in 1896 was worth almost twice as much as the dollar was worth in 1896. The term used to describe the dollar becoming more valuable is deflation. The opposite of deflation is a more familiar term: inflation.

During times of inflation, each dollar becomes less valuable.



Winners and Losers

When money becomes more valuable (during times of deflation), those who already have money and those who are owed money tend to be better off. During periods of deflation, debts must be repaid with dollars that are more valuable than the dollars lent.

Who stands to be hurt by periods of inflation? Those who stand to lose during times of inflation are the people who already have money, and those who have lent their money. During the post–Civil War Era, most of the nation's farmers were debtors and preferred an increase in prices so that they could repay their loans in dollars that were worth less than the dollars they had borrowed.

The Cause of Inflation and Deflation

What causes the value of money to increase and to decrease? The easy answer to this question is the commonsense version of the law of supply and demand. The more there is of something or the fewer people who want it, the lower the price. Stated in a more sophisticated manner, prices (P) increase when the amount of money (M) increases, or the total (T) amount of goods and services that money could buy decreases. A mathematical expression of this same idea follows:

P (prices) = M (amount of money)/T (Total goods and services that money can buy), or P = M/T[1]

The Greenback

A greenback dollar. The term "Legal Tender" authorized its use for trade. However, it was not backed either by gold or silver.

In order to pay the costs of fighting the Civil War, the U.S. government eventually printed 382,000,000 dollars worth of "greenbacks" (called so because of the green ink used to print them) and made them "legal tender" (authorized by law to pay) for all debts, public and private. As a result of the government issuing so much currency, prices in the North almost doubled; or, to put it another way, the value of each dollar decreased by about 40 percent.

It is important to note that the greenbacks issued during the Civil War could not be redeemed (exchanged) for either gold or silver. After the war, people who wanted

1 Economists realize that the speed with which money passes from one person or business to the next also figures in the equation and thus would add the letter V for Velocity to M. Thus, the more formal use of this formula would read P = MVT.

to deflate the currency pressured Congress to recall all of the greenback dollars and replace them with dollars backed by gold or silver. Other people wanted to inflate the currency by printing more greenbacks. Despite this opposition, Congress passed the Specie Resumption Act in 1875. It stated that by 1879 all greenback dollars had to be exchanged for dollars backed by gold.

In response to the Specie Resumption Act, supporters of inflation formed the Greenback Party. It received a total of one million votes in the midterm election year of 1878. However, two years later its candidate for president, James Weaver, received only 300,000 votes. His resounding defeat sounded the death knell for the Greenback Party.

The Gold and Silver Issue

It is now necessary to step back somewhat in order to help you understand the next episode in the extremely complex controversy involving those who favored inflation and those who were willing to tolerate deflation. You should now be familiar with the term "specie" and understand that U.S. dollars before the Civil War could be redeemed (exchanged) for gold or silver. Under the Coinage Act of 1834, the prices of these two metals were fixed so that 16 grams of silver would be worth the same as a single gram of gold. Thus, 23.2 grams of gold and 371 grams of silver were the equivalent of a single dollar.

Since silver miners could sell 371 grams of silver on the open market (to jewelers or silversmiths) for more than a dollar, they did not take their silver to the U.S. mint, and some people who had silver dollars melted them down and sold the silver on the open market. Consequently, silver disappeared entirely from the currency. In 1873, Congress passed a Coinage Act, which, either by oversight or design, made no provisions for the U.S. Treasury to purchase silver. At first, no one seemed to notice this omission. A few years later, however, new silver mines opened in the West. As large amounts of silver ore flooded the country, the market price of silver dropped to the point that purchasers demanded more than 371 grams of silver for a dollar. Mine owners who tried to sell their silver to the U.S. Treasury discovered that it was no longer buying any silver at all. Miners and people who wanted to increase the money supply in order to inflate the currency were outraged. They denounced the Coinage Act as "The Crime of 1873," characterizing it as the "greatest legislative crime and most stupendous conspiracy against the welfare of the people of the United States and of Europe this or in any other age has witnessed."

Strong language? Maybe. However, it reflected the beliefs of millions of farmers who were unable to pay their debts or railroad and storage charges and faced losing the homes and farms on which their livelihoods depended.

More Silver?

President Grover Cleveland's determination to protect the gold standard split the Democratic Party

Those who advocated restoring silver currency pressured Congress into passing the Bland-Allison Act in 1878. This law required the government to buy a monthly total of between 2 to 4 million dollars worth of silver at the market price. However, the government purchased only the lower amount, which was not enough to either raise the price of silver or end deflation. It took silver advocates 12 years to pass legislation that forced the government to purchase more silver. Enacted in 1890, the Sherman Silver Purchase Act required the U.S. Treasury to purchase an amount of silver equivalent to the production of all of the country's mines. Even this amount was not sufficient to bring silver into its 16:1 ratio with the price of gold. As a consequence of this law, speculators began to exchange their dollars for gold and began draining the Treasury of its reserves. Democratic President Grover Cleveland, fearing that the Treasury would have to implement a silver standard, called Congress into special session to repeal the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. After a heated debate in both houses, Cleveland got his wish. However, gold still poured out of the Treasury and Cleveland felt forced to appeal to the country's richest bankers (including J.P. Morgan) to exchange $65 million worth of gold for government bonds. The bankers made a hefty profit by reselling these bonds, but the gold the government acquired helped stop the run on the Treasury and temporarily saved the gold standard. As you shall see, this turn of events angered the nation's farmers and led to a divisive election in 1896, which focused on the silver question.

Currency laws mentioned in this chapter

What did each one do?

- Coinage Act of 1834
- Coinage Act (Crime of) 1873
- Redemption Act of 1875
- Bland-Allison Act, 1878
- Sherman Silver Purchase Act, 1890
- Repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, 1893

Student Activities

A. Questions to Answer

1. Explain the meaning of the term “deflation” and explain who benefited from it during the 19th century.

2. Explain the meaning of the term “inflation” and explain who benefited from it during the 19th century.

3. In your own words, explain the meaning of the formula, P = M/T.

4. a. Explain what happens to prices and the value of each dollar when M increases more rapidly than T.
   b. Explain what happens to prices and the value of the dollar when T increases more rapidly than M.

5. Under the Currency Act of 1834, what would happen to gold in the currency if it were selling in the market for 20 grams to the dollar? Explain your reasoning. (Hint: According to the official ratio, it would take 23 grams to get a dollar from the Treasury.)

6. Under the Currency Act of 1834, what would happen to silver in the currency if it were selling in the market for 400 grams to the dollar? Explain your reasoning.

7. Why did the Bland-Allison Act fail to accomplish what debtor-farmers and silver miners wanted it to?

B. Essay

In an essay of no fewer than 100 words, answer one of the two following essay questions:

1. What do you think would have happened to the value of the dollar and the price of silver if the Populists had been able to get the U.S. government to buy an unlimited amount of silver at the fixed ratio of 16 grams of silver to 1 gram of gold?

2. Do you think that buying an unlimited amount of silver at its fixed ratio with gold of 16:1 would have solved the problems faced by the majority of America's farmers?

For Further Consideration: The "Cross of Gold" Speech

At the Democratic convention in 1896, a forceful advocate for silver gave a speech that caused a major uproar. This speech, perhaps the most memorable ever given at a political party convention, made William Jennings Bryan a hero of the free-silver movement. It also earned him the Democratic Party's nomination for president, and soon afterwards, the nomination of the Populist Party. The speech also defined the major issue of the hotly contested presidential campaign. Parts of the speech appear below; you will be asked whether you agree with the ideas Bryan expressed.

Bryan speaking during the 1896 presidential campaign

…this [is] a struggle between the idle holders of idle capital and the struggling masses who produce the wealth and pay the taxes of the country…

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

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

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

Choose three major ideas expressed in Bryan's speech and write a short paragraph explaining why you agree or disagree with each of them. Come to class prepared to present your opinion, listen to the views of others, and defend yours or change your mind.

Chapter 3. Depression and the Election of 1896
Teacher Page

Overview:

This chapter takes on the contentious debate over maintaining the gold standard or having the national government buy an unlimited amount of silver at the ratio of 16 ounces for every ounce of gold. Students are introduced to the issue with a description of the serious depression that followed the Panic of 1893. They are provided with enough information to make a reasonably sound argument for each of three "causes" of the depression: overproduction, the farmers' problems, and bimetallism. The "For Further Consideration" section presents documents (including excerpts from speeches by William Jennings Bryan and William McKinley) favoring the positions of each candidate in the election. Advanced students have to present an argument favoring one side or the other in this election.

Objectives:

Students will:

- learn the extent of the depression of 1893–97
- understand at least two arguments explaining the causes of the depression
- decide whether Bryan or McKinley should have won the election of 1896

Strategies:

Before class: Assign the chapter either up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In class: Prepare students to understand the debate over bimetallism by explaining that increasing purchases of silver would raise its market value, and that buying enough silver would restore the market value to the ratio of 16 ounces of silver to one ounce of gold as advocated by Bryan's followers. Also note that the problem was that no one knew for certain how much silver the government had to purchase in order to restore the market value of silver to its legal ratio with gold. After providing this background, review the material in the chapter and discuss the conflicting views over whether overproduction or bimetallism caused the depression. Once students understand these arguments, they will be ready for the McKinley ("gold bug") Republicans and the Bryan (silverite) Democrats to present their speeches supporting their candidates. It might take two classes to bring students to the point that they can appreciate the arguments on each side of this debate.

Chapter 3. Depression and the Election of 1896
I-Chart

	The Panic of 1893 and the Depression that followed	Two opposing explanations for the Depression of the 1890s	Who voters should have elected president in 1896 and why
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 3, Part I			
What I learned from Chapter 3, Part II and in class			
What I would still like to know			

Chapter 3—Depression and the Election of 1896

abandoned	lavishly	dispirited
equivalent	advocated	transcontinental
protectionism	unalterable	panacea

Chapter 3—Depression and the Election of 1896

Deserted	Extravagantly or generously	Dejected or disheartened
Equal to	Plead in favor of; supported	Across the continent
Policy of restraining trade in order to protect native industries	Impossible to change	A cure-all

Chapter 3
Depression and the Election of 1896

Introduction

> ...According to the best authorities, the floating population is about 30,000 single men, who are living at this present moment in lodging houses...Within a stone's throw of one of Chicago's best private hotels can be found one of these lodging houses. Its sleeping accommodation consists of the one hundred and fifty beds which occupy the ground floor and basement. Upon entering the front door one is almost overcome by the odor, which more resembles that of a long disused tomb than that of a human dwelling place... Following the direction pointed out, the investigator entered the sleeping room. For a few moments it was impossible to see anything in the place, the only light coming from a dirty lamp at the farther end of the room, which was about fifty by twenty-five feet in dimensions. The beds consisted of a piece of canvas, which was fastened to the wall on one side, while on the other they were supported by upright wooden poles which ran from the floor to the ceiling. They were arranged in tiers, four deep, and the covering on each bed consisted simply of one thin blanket. In this place one hundred and fifty men sleep...
>
> —Florence Kelley, social worker

Florence Kelley was describing the conditions in which thousands upon thousands of the unemployed and homeless men had to live during the depression of 1893–97. Four million Americans, an estimated 16 percent of the work force, could not find jobs. Led by Jacob Coxey, an army of unemployed men marched on Washington in order to ask Congress for relief, but they were arrested under the pretense that they were illegally walking on the grass. Thousands of dispirited farmers abandoned their farms in the West to find refuge in the East. In the cities, whole families got forced out of their homes and onto the streets because they could not afford to pay their rent. Fifteen thousand businesses failed; 158 national banks and a far larger number of state banks collapsed. One out of every four of the nation's railroads (including the Erie, the South Pacific, and the mighty Union Pacific) could not pay their bills. This depression was the worst Americans endured until the Great Depression of the 1930s.

This chapter reviews several different explanations of the causes of the depression and explains why President Cleveland asked Congress to repeal the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. The "For Further Consideration" section provides arguments for and against the Democratic Party's call for the unlimited coinage of silver to help end the crisis. You will be asked to decide whether the voters should have heeded that call.

Causes of the Depression of 1893–97

Year	Total Miles	Miles per Decade
1860	30,636	22,249
1870	52,885	40,786
1880	93,671	69,916
1890	163,587	29,734
1900	193,321	47,093
1910	240,414	8,286

Source of information: Davis, Hughes, *American Economic History*, McDougall

There were three major explanations for the cause of the Depression: a) overproduction, b) the farmers' problems, and c) the introduction of silver into the currency. Read the following description and decide for yourself which of the three you find the most believable.

Railroads became the major industry in the country after the Civil War. Thousands of men using tons of raw materials bridged rivers, tunneled through mountains, and spanned the Great Plains in order to provide an efficient means of transportation. As the chart on the left shows, far more track was laid out during the 1880s than in any other decade. In the words of historian John Hicks:

> Transcontinental railroads had been built, one after another, and over the whole country improvements in railroad transportation had been made, sometimes far beyond any genuine need or any hope of immediate returns. A rapidly expanding economy tempted manufacturers, also, to expand their establishments…Industrial expansion meant larger cities and new cities, nearly all of which spent lavishly on public improvements. During these years the greater portion of the trans-Mississippi West had been developed, almost exclusively on credit. With expenditures and investments rising each year to higher and higher figures, it was inevitable that they should ultimately exhaust the resources available for such purposes. By the year 1893 that time had come: credit was used up, prosperity was at an end.[1]

Cartoon depicting farmers as victims of the greed of landlords, "money lords," railroad management, and politicians

Hard times had reached Western farmers and Southern cotton growers before the depression began. With corn selling at 15 cents a bushel and cotton going for five cents a pound, farmers both in the West and in the South could not pay their mortgages and faced foreclosures. This put pressure on banks that had lent them the money. Crop failures in 1893 and in 1894 added to the farmers' troubles.

1 John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*, University of Nebraska Press, 1961, p.309

Meanwhile, problems in Europe had indirectly affected the American economy. The failure of the Baring Brothers bank, which had extended too much credit to Argentina, caused British bankers to become more cautious and reduced their loans to American corporations. On May 4, 1893, a combination of American rope manufacturers known as the National Cordage Company declared bankruptcy. Immediately thereafter, the American stock market went into a tailspin. Panicked customers ran to their banks in order to withdraw their money before the banks closed their doors. Banks recalled loans and paid depositors as long as they could, but many went belly-up. The general effect on the American economy is illustrated by the following description of what happened even in faraway Seattle, Washington:

> Within a year, some 11 Seattle banks went out of business. By the end of the depression, 14 of Seattle's 23 banks, plus all three King County banks outside of Seattle were forced out of business.
>
> Seattle banks, out-of-state banks, and investors who made loans in King County were desperate for money. They called in their loans. Once the flow of loans stopped, development and building was greatly retarded and the spiral continued downward into a depression. People stopped moving to Puget Sound and Puget Sound exported few goods. Except for the Great Northern Railway, all the major railroad lines that passed through King County failed and went into receivership…In Seattle and King County, of about 11 electric and cable streetcar lines, eight failed and went into receivership.
>
> The depression affected not only the poor but also the middle class and the rich… [For example, a] lavish hotel under construction when the Panic hit did not open its doors to its first guest for another 10 years.[2]

Repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act

In 1890, silver advocates managed to convince Congress to pass the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. It required the government to buy four and a half million ounces of silver every month and issue Treasury Notes that could be exchanged for either silver or gold at the rate of one dollar for every 371 grams purchased. By this time, the market price of silver stood at barely half of its value in the currency. People had depleted the U.S. Treasury by exchanging silver dollars for gold. In order to preserve the Treasury's gold reserves, President Cleveland resolved to obtain the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. Blaming the entire depression on the silver in the currency, Cleveland called Congress into a special session in August 1893.

"Our unfortunate financial plight," he told Congress, "[is] principally chargeable to Congressional legislation touching the purchase and coinage of silver by the General Government." After bitter debates in both the House and the Senate, Congress repealed the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. However, the repeal did not halt the

2 The Free Online Encyclopedia of Washington State History

draining of gold from the Treasury. Cleveland issued government bonds that he used to acquire the gold needed to preserve the gold standard, but people continued to exchange silver dollars for gold, taking it out of the Treasury as quickly as it entered. When the government sold $65 million dollars worth of bonds to J.P. Morgan for an equivalent amount of gold, the run on the Treasury finally stopped. However, the depression continued for another two years.

Thomas Nast, Milk Tickets For Babies
Source: David A. Wells, Robinson Crusoes Money (1876).

Cartoon making the case that an unlimited coinage of silver would decrease the value of the dollar

Silver miners and debtor-farmers were furious and called Cleveland and his supporters (called "gold bugs") every name in the book. They were now more determined than every to achieve what the Populist Party had proposed in 1892: the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the legal ratio of 16 ounces of silver for every one ounce of gold. In a tumultuous convention, energized by the dramatic "Cross of Gold" speech delivered by William Jennings Bryan, the Democrats chose Bryan as their standard bearer. Their platform came out in favor of an income tax and supported tariff reform, but all issues were secondary to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Free silver was the panacea the Democrats believed would solve America's problems.

The Republicans chose William McKinley of Ohio to represent their party in the presidential election. Their platform emphasized the party's unalterable opposition "to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country." Protectionism in the form of a higher tariff was an important issue, but secondary to the money question.

The stage was now set for a rousing presidential campaign.

Student Activities

A. Graphic Organizer

Explain as best you can what each of the following had to do with causing the depression of 1893–97:

Cause	Effect
Overextension of railroads	
Farmers' depression	
Collapse of Baring Brothers	
Bankruptcy of National Cordage Company	
Sherman Silver Purchase Act	

B. Essay

In an essay of no fewer than 200 words, describe the extent of the depression of 1893–97 and then use one or two of the following explanations to show what caused it:

a. speculation and overproduction in the industrial sector
b. the farmers' problems
c. the effects of and the concerns over the purchase of silver

For Further Consideration: The Presidential Election of 1896

The election of 1896 was one of the most contentious in American history. On the one side stood William McKinley and his wily campaign manager, Mark Hanna. Hanna let the nation's major corporations believe that, if Bryan were elected and enacted his silver coinage platform, the value of the dollar would drop to 50 cents, and the U.S. economy would never recover. He used these scare tactics to collect and spend a hitherto unheard of 16 million dollars on the campaign, printing and distributing more than 100 million pieces of campaign literature, and paying thousands of speakers to predict a revolution and anarchy if Bryan were elected. On the other side stood William Jennings Bryan, who acted as his own campaign manager and had practically no money to spend except what he collected from silver-mine owners. He traveled over 18,000 miles by railroad coach and gave more than 600 speeches. McKinley stayed home and received visiting delegations whose fares from their hometowns were kindly paid for by the railroads.

The following are some of the arguments used by both sides on the most important issue of the campaign. Read them and (as your teacher assigns you) prepare a speech on the money question that you think will win the support of your classmates in a mock election pitting the nation's farmers against its financiers.

For McKinley and Gold	For Bryan and Silver
The people of the United States are entitled to a sound and stable currency and to money recognized as such on every exchange and in every market of the world. Their Government has no right to injure them by financial experiments opposed to the policy and practice of other civilized states, nor is it justified in permitting an exaggerated and unreasonable reliance on our national strength and ability to jeopardize the soundness of the people's money. —President Cleveland, speech to Congress on Repeal of Sherman Act	[O]n the strength of a mere rumor that Congress would pass a free coinage act, and that [President] Harrison would sign it, [the price of] silver went in London to $1.21 an oz., or within 8 cents of gold. Had the act passed 16 oz. silver would have been equal to 1 oz of gold in ten minutes, and in the Bank of England. —A pamphlet advocating unlimited coinage of silver
If prices would rise we would have a glow of satisfaction. It is the kind of glow of satisfaction which comes to the inebriate after he has been supplied with drink after he has been thirsty a long while. For example take a pair of gloves worth 100 cents in gold. It would exchange for about 210 cents in silver. A dozen	What is the test of honesty in money? It must certainly be found in the purchasing power of the dollar. An absolutely honest dollar would not vary in its general purchasing power; it would be absolutely stable when measured by average prices. A dollar which increases in purchasing power is just as dishonest as a

of eggs now selling at 15 cents would sell for about 30 cents, and everything we buy would rise in proportion, since the intrinsic value of the pure dollar is worth but 51 cents.

As free coinage of silver would inevitably result in a rise of prices it would immediately result in the fall of wages. Its first effect would be to diminish the purchase power of all our wages. The man who gets $500 or $1000 a year as a fixed rate of wages or salary will find he can buy just half as much as now. Yes, but some one said the employer will raise his wages. Now, will he? The facts on that are clear and indisputable. It has been one of the undisputed facts of history that when prices rise the wages of labor are the last to advance, and when prices fall the wages of labor are the first to decline. Free coinage of silver would make all the articles of the laborer's consumption cost him 100 per cent more unless he can get a rise in his wages by dint of strike and quarrels and all the consequent dissatisfaction arising from friction between the employer and employee. He would be able to buy only half as many articles of consumption as he bad before.

In short, a rise of prices necessarily results in a diminution of the enjoyments of the laboring class until they can force the employers through a long process of agitation -to make an increase in their wages. Are we willing to sacrifice the interests of the laboring class to the demands of certain owners of silver mines who hoodwink people with the cry of more money?

—Economics professor James Laurence Laughlin, replying to a pro silver book

dollar, which decreases in purchasing power.

Taxes have not been perceptibly decreased, although it requires more of farm products now than formerly to secure the money with which to pay taxes. Debts have not fallen. The farmer who owed $1000 is still compelled to pay $1000, although it may be twice as difficult as formerly to obtain the dollars with which to pay the debt. Railroad rates have not been reduced to keep pace with falling prices, and besides these items there are many more. The farmer has thus found it more and more difficult to live. Has he not a just complaint against the gold standard?

A gold standard encourages the hoarding of money because money is rising; it also discourages enterprise and paralyzes industry. On the other hand, the restoration of bimetallism will discourage hoarding, because, when prices are steady or rising, money cannot afford to lie idle in the bank vaults. The farmers and wage-earners together constitute a considerable majority of the people of the country. Why should their interests be ignored in considering financial legislation? A monetary system which is peculiarly advantageous to a few syndicates has far less to commend it than a system which would give hope and encouragement to those who create the nation's wealth.

The professional classes—in the main—derive their support from the producing classes, and can only enjoy prosperity when there is prosperity among those who create wealth.

—Bryan, in his speech accepting the Democratic nomination

Chapter 4. Leisure-Time Activities, Department Stores, and Urban Transportation
Teacher Page

Overview:

Because the hours the average American worked during the last half of the 19th century declined, this chapter focuses on what the people in the early 20th century did with their newfound leisure. The rationale for placing this chapter between the Populist Revolt and the Progressive Era is that it provides students with the opportunity to see a different side of life in America rather than just focusing on the problems faced by the discontented. The chapter covers the beginning of the three most popular sports in the United States (baseball, football, and basketball), the uses of Central Park, and the vast number of attractions at Coney Island. The Student Activities segment contains matching questions and has students write an essay on recreational activities and social class. The "For Further Consideration" section discusses the use of advertising to increase demand for products and the development of department and catalogue stores to sell them. The chapter ends with a discussion of urban transportation ranging from horse-drawn trolleys to subways.

Objectives:

Students will:

- learn of the origins and early history of three major American sports
- find out how Central Park and Coney Island served New Yorkers
- realize the importance of mass marketing, department stores, and urban transportation

Strategies:

Before class: Assign the chapter either up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In class: I suggest that you start class on a lighthearted note by asking students what sports they play, how important sports are to their lives, and in what ways they and their peers spend their free time. You might also ask students to discuss what current athletes they think will be remembered 100 years from now. Spend some time reviewing students' answers to the matching questions and, if some do not agree with an answer, ask them to cite the reasons for their disagreement. Divide the remaining time between a discussion of the social-class dimension of sports and the section on mass marketing and urban transportation. You may wish to ask whether sports tend to unite different races and classes or if they foster divisions between these groups.

Chapter 4. Leisure-Time Activities, Department Stores, and Urban Transportation
I-Chart

	How did Americans start playing baseball, football, and basketball?	What places did New Yorkers visit for amusement and what did they do there?	How were mass produced goods sold to Americans and how did intra-city transportation develop?
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 4, Part I			
What I learned from Chapter 4, Part II and in class			
What I would still like to know			

accommodate	flying wedge	allure
inception	authorize	“March Madness”
replica	patrons	promenading

To make arrangements for	Football formation in which players lock elbows in order to prevent the opposing team from tackling the ball carrier	Attraction
Beginning	To officially give power to	Term applied to the annual NCAA basketball tournament for the best college teams in the country
A copy of something	Customers or sponsors	Walking for pleasure and to be seen by others

Chapter 4

Leisure-Time Activities, Department Stores, and Urban Transportation

Introduction

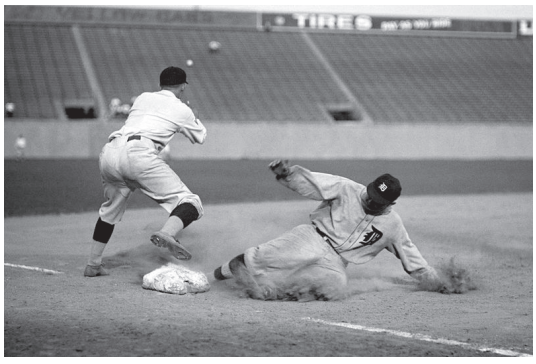
Between 1860 and 1900, the number of weekly hours required of factory workers went down from an average of nearly 70 to slightly less than 60. Though this seems high from a modern perspective (the 21st-century work week averages fewer than 40 hours), it represented a significant improvement for Americans at the time. People enjoyed considerably more leisure time during the early part of the 20th than during the 19th century.

This chapter will acquaint you with some of the ways people used their newfound leisure time. It is important that you know that history is not just the study of problems people had and how they solved or failed to solve them. You should also realize that with more and more people living in cities, Americans during this era had the opportunity as well as the time to watch and participate in team sports, enjoy open fields and vistas, and find other forms of public amusement. Keep these things in mind as we focus on life in the cities.

Americans had always enjoyed many different kinds of sports. Horseback riding was more than a means of transportation and cycling became popular in the 1890s, but the introduction of the automobile diminished its allure. The upper classes participated in sports such as tennis, golf, and polo, but these remained out of the reach of average Americans. This chapter focuses on baseball, football, and basketball, three sports that became popular during the early part of the 20th century. The chapter also examines other forms of recreation that occupied people's leisure time. Central Park in New York City provided millions with a chance to escape city life without leaving their metropolitan area, and other cities soon imitated it by creating parks of their own. Similarly, Coney Island, the world's largest amusement park, provided a model for another form of leisure activity.

The Great American Pastime: Baseball

What we call baseball today was an early 19th-century offshoot of a British game known as "rounders." It was originally called "bases" or "town ball." The first organized baseball game was played in New Jersey in 1846, a year after Alexander Cartwright wrote a formal set of rules for the sport. Baseball, known worldwide as America's "favorite pastime," was



Ty Cobb sliding into third base

already popular before the Civil War, and became even more popular afterwards. In fact, the first professional baseball team, the Cincinnati Red Stockings, was formed in 1869, and the first professional baseball league began shortly afterwards. The current National League was founded in 1875, 26 years before the American League. In 1903, the Boston Red Sox won the first World Series by beating the Pittsburgh Pirates. Major league attendance increased from 1.6 million at the turn of the century to 6.7 million in 1909 and remained at that level for more than ten years. Some of the greatest players during those early years, included Honus Wagner, the Pirates' outstanding shortstop, and the legendary Ty Cobb, who won 11 batting titles and ended his career with a lifetime batting average of .367. Pitchers Christy Mathewson and Cy Young (for whom the Cy Young award is named) complete the roster of the best players during the first decades of the 20th century.

Football

A Native American and an Olympic champion, Jim Thorpe was also a star football player who became president of the first pro football league

While baseball attracted players and spectators from all social classes, football—an outgrowth of rugby and soccer—began as a semi-exclusive sport played on college campuses. The first formal football game was played between Rutgers and Princeton in 1869. As football's popularity grew in the ensuing years, its players suffered from a variety of injuries; in one year, 18 players died. President Theodore Roosevelt threatened to ban the sport unless players agreed to change the rules. The new rules prohibited the flying wedge, established the seven-man line of scrimmage, and permitted the forward pass. Starting with Harvard and Penn State, colleges began building stadiums to accommodate their many fans. The popularity of football spread to high schools (56 rivalries are now at least 100 years old.) The first professional football league, the American Professional Football Association, was formed in 1920, but soon after changed its name to the National Football League.

Basketball

James Naismith

In December 1891, James Naismith was looking for a way to interest bored physical education students confined to indoor activities by the cold winter weather. He ordered the school's janitor to nail peach baskets to the balconies at either end of the school's gymnasium. He divided his class of 18 into two teams, gave one team a soccer ball, devised some simple rules, and thus invented the game of basketball. When his students went home for Christmas vacation, they introduced basketball to their local Young Men's Christian Associations (YMCAs) and the new

game spread rapidly. The very next year, the women of Smith College began playing basketball. By 1901, 90 colleges had established basketball teams, and in 1905 Ivy League champion Columbia claimed to have won a national title after beating two teams from the Midwest. Could "March Madness" have been far away?

Central Park and Coney Island

Popular recreation in New York City during the late 19th and early 20th centuries included strolling through Central Park as well as enjoying the thrilling rides at Coney Island.


Concert in Central Park, 1912

Authorized by the New York State legislature in the 1850s, New York City acquired 700 acres of land in Manhattan. The city employed a team of architects under the leadership of Frederick Law Olmsted to design what became the world's greatest city park. Twenty thousand workmen removed more than three million cubic yards of soil, planted 270,000 trees, and built more than 40 bridges. From its inception, the park was designed for the amusement of New York City's most fashionable citizens. They arrived in their finery by the thousands in horse-drawn carriages to see and be seen promenading through the park or being conveyed along its many sunken roads. Prohibitions against group picnicking, sports, and commercial traffic limited many recent immigrants and lower-class citizens from using the park. Nevertheless, the park soon attracted seven million visitors a year. Later, rules for using the park were democratized and, with the addition of a zoo as well as playgrounds and softball diamonds, the park became more welcoming to all potential visitors.

Coney Island, a forerunner of Disneyland, became the world's most popular amusement park. Initially situated on an island separated from Brooklyn, Coney Island attracted a variety of pleasure seekers. Hotels, restaurants, and bathing houses enticed crowds of wealthy patrons, but also a large number of lowlife operators engaged in shady activities such as gambling. At the turn of the century, entrepreneurs added a number of attractions to draw even larger crowds, including a gigantic Ferris Wheel; a six-rail, 1100-foot-long track featuring mechanical horses for customers to race up and down inclines; and a 60-passenger mechanism designed to give the illusion of a trip to the moon. Gigantic birdlike wings, rolling canvas scenery, and painted moon craters helped create the impression that this vehicle had actually flown into space and completed a lunar landing before returning its awestruck occupants to earth. Visitors were also drawn to a rival amusement area, appropriately named Dreamland. It

included a three-ring circus, a wild animal show, rides through replicas of Swiss Alps, a Lilliputian land with 300 real-live midgets, a replica of the San Francisco earthquake with a quaking machine that caused buildings to fall and fires to erupt for firemen to extinguish, a giant incubator which contained real premature babies, a lagoon used to complete a boat slide, a steel pier extending half a mile into the ocean, and the world's largest ballroom. Annual changes made to the exhibitions attracted repeat visitors. During the peak of the tourist season, these two competing amusement parks attracted up to 90,000 visitors a day.

Dreamland entertained hundreds of thousands of visitors
until it burned to the ground in 1911

Student Activities

A. Matching

Match the name of the items in column B to the clue in column A. (Note: the same clues can be used to answer different questions).

Column A.	Column B.
1. A game played in YMCAs	a. basketball
2. People attended to see others and to be seen	b. football
3. Contained numerous joy rides	c. bicycling
4. Began as a college sport	d. baseball
5. Not mentioned in reading	e. ice hockey
6. Banned group picnics	f. Central Park
7. Stars included Honus Wagner and Ty Cobb	g. Coney Island
8. Known as “America’s favorite pastime”	
9. Played in women’s colleges	
10. Offered a simulated trip to the moon	

B. Essay

Write an essay of no fewer than 100 words in which you respond to the following question. Support your position with examples from the reading and from what you already knew.

In what ways did social-class divisions determine which recreational activities people chose?

C. Extra Credit

Read and take notes on the “For Further Consideration” section.

For Further Consideration:
Mass Marketing and Urban Transportation

In order to continue mass production, manufacturers needed to reach a large number of consumers. What better way to sell a product than to let people know of its existence and unique qualities? As a result, the American Industrial Revolution was accompanied by a revolution in advertising.

Primitive forms of advertising can be found in the ruins of ancient cities such as Pompeii. Though it existed in colonial times, advertising in the U.S. only became a profession when Frances Ayers started his agency in 1869. Almost twenty years later, the founder of Coca-Cola registered his product as a trademark and Frank McClure adopted a strategy of accepting paid advertisements to make up for the cost of lowering the price of his magazine. As American manufacturers required more customers, they placed ads in newspapers and magazines for a variety of items ranging from automobiles to cooking utensils. Patent medicines, soaps, household cleaning materials, and tobacco products were prime subjects for these ads.

Sex appeal, 1890s style, used to sell Coca-Cola

To sell their goods, stores created consumer outlets of greater size and scope, including the large city department store. Offering goods that would attract more affluent customers, Macy's opened its flagship store in New York City, Marshall Field's became the Macy's of Chicago, Filene's and Jordan Marsh competed for customers in Boston, and Wanamaker's attracted shoppers in Philadelphia. These large stores offered a variety of goods. Busy housewives could shop for almost everything they wanted, from perfumes to washing machines, and then lunch in comfortable restaurants during a midday break. The less affluent went to less-expensive chain stores such as Woolworth's "Five and Ten Cent" store. Rural customers shopped by first scouring the catalogues sent to them by Montgomery Ward or Sears Roebuck, and then ordering what fit their fancy and their pocketbook from among the thousands of items offered.

Urban Transportation

America's cities had undergone years of rapid growth during the Industrial Revolution. For example, New York City grew by nearly 60 percent a year during the 50 years preceding the Civil War. As a result of this unprecedented growth, cities had to do much more to meet residents' needs, including fire protection, crime prevention, sanitary water, effective waste disposal, public education, and urban transportation. In this lesson, we will focus on the problem of urban transportation.

In the 1860s, frustrated New Yorkers joked that a person could get halfway to Philadelphia in the time required to walk the length of Broadway. In Chicago, only 600 miles of 2000 miles of streets were paved. Getting from one part of a city to another was an urban nightmare.

New York was the first American city to seriously tackle its transportation problem. In 1870, the city completed an overhead railroad that sent noisy steam engines chugging and belching smoke along a nine-mile elevated track. Twenty-seven years later, Boston became the first city to build an underground, electric-powered railroad equivalent to New York's elevated one. Most people call it a subway, but Bostonians refer to as the "T." In 1904, New York City completed its own version of a subway, including special passenger cars just for women. By the year 1900, more than 890 cities and towns had installed electric trolleys to compete with other forms of urban transportation. With cars causing gridlock daily, public transportation costs skyrocketing, and transport systems going bankrupt during the first decade of the 21st century, one surely might wonder whether Americans have made enough progress in the area of urban transportation.

After completing the extra credit exercise in the Student Activities section, prepare a written report evaluating either the use of advertising today or public transportation in your community.

Chapter 5. From the Populist Revolt to the Progressive Movement Teacher Page

Overview:

This chapter covers several topics related to the Populist and the Progressive movements. It begins by distinguishing between the two, describing the former as primarily a rural movement supported by economically distressed debtor farmers, and depicting the latter as primarily an urban movement supported by middle-class Americans distressed by a combination of corporate power on the one side and an unassimilated urban mass dominated by corrupt city bosses on the other. The chapter concentrates on the Progressives' struggles for reform in America's cities. It contains an excerpt from Lincoln Steffens' description of corruption in Philadelphia, a first-person account of life in a New York tenement, and George Washington Plunkitt's descriptions of "honest graft" and the "strenuous life" of a Tammany district leader. Students are asked to distinguish between Progressives and Populists and to explain why they would or would not vote for a progressive reformer like Lincoln Steffens or a district leader like George Plunkitt.

Objectives:

Students will:

- be able to describe the differences between Progressives and Populists
- list muckrakers' contributions to the Progressive movement
- describe life in an early 20th-century New York City tenement house
- analyze Plunkitt's intriguing explanation that the money made by machine politicians really was "honest graft"

Strategies:

Before class: Assign the chapter either up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In class: I suggest that you start by asking students what questions they might pose to a person at the time in order to determine whether he or she was a Progressive or a Populist. Follow this up by reviewing students' answers to both the Graphic Organizer and the Matching questions. Spend some time reviewing the contributions muckrakers made to the Progressive movement, what life was like in a tenement, and how district leader George Washington Plunkitt responded to the widespread criticism of the city's politicians made by reformers. In discussing the ethics of the Plunkitts of this world, you may want to use an observation made by a former student of mine, that "Plunkitt spent his time attending funerals rather than preventing them." This observation might help students understand that Thanksgiving Day turkeys and city jobs were paid for by the "honest graft" that lined the giver's pockets.

Chapter 5. From the Populist Revolt to the Progressive Movement I-Chart

	The differences between Populists and Progressives	Who the muckrakers were and what they contributed to the Progressive movement	Why the poor thought that Plunkitt helped them, and what the Plunkitts of this world failed to do
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 5, Part I			
What I learned from Chapter 5, Part II and in class			
What I would still like to learn			

lucrative	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)	workmen's compensation
premises	assessment	optimist
vigilance	permeated	horrendous

Rewarding, profitable, or well paid	America's first organization formed to protect the rights of African Americans	A form of insurance that pays for job-related injuries
The area that a piece of land or a building occupies	A determination of the value of something	Person who believes good things will happen
The state of being watchful	Having spread throughout	Horrible

Chapter 5
From the Populist Revolt to the Progressive Movement

Introduction

While the 1890s was a period of revolt, the early 1900s was a period of reform. While most of the discontented during the last decade of the 19th century were farmers, the reformers of the early 20th century lived in cities. While those who opposed reform during the 1890s were often members of the middle class, men and women from this same class advocated political and economic reforms during the next century.

The first two decades of the 20th century was a remarkable period in American history. These years witnessed a tremendous number of reforms, including four amendments to the Constitution (including the one that gave women the right to vote), a vast reorganization of city governments, laws regulating railroads and businesses, laws protecting workers' right to strike, laws limiting the hours women and children could be required to work, workmen's' compensation laws, and a significant rise in the number of women involved in politics. During this period, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was formed, and reformers made serious attempts to forbid the use of alcoholic beverages, to stop prostitution, and to restrict immigration.

By reading this and subsequent chapters, you will become familiar with a number of the most important changes made during the period of the Progressive era that lasted from 1900 to 1920 and learn a great deal about the men and women who made them. You will be asked why these laws were passed and whether the reforms went far enough in making America a fair and just society that could live up to the "true meaning of its creed."

The Progressives

The typical Progressive was male and lived in a city or a town rather than on a farm or in a village. He was likely to be a lawyer, doctor, architect, professor, clergyman, or a businessman. More often than not, he would be an American-born citizen, a white Protestant, a college graduate, and a fairly wealthy individual. He was unlikely to be a farmer, an unskilled worker, a recent immigrant, or very rich. Female Progressives (and many Progressives were women) were likely to have had a college education and have come from the same social class as their male counterparts. On the whole, Progressives didn't come from the very poor, and only a vocal handful wanted to make radical changes in America's social and economic system.

Most Progressives believed they faced economic and social forces they could not control. On one side they felt overwhelmed by huge corporations such as Standard Oil and U.S. Steel that had driven or threatened to drive the average industrialist or storeowner out of business and to raise the price of every commodity needed to live comfortably. Progressives also thought that cities were the main source of filth, disease, and all sorts of vices. They believed politicians controlled America's cities by buying the votes of ignorant immigrants and by providing them with city jobs and Thanksgiving Day turkeys. These same politicians supposedly enriched themselves with lucrative contracts to remove garbage, to supply gas for lighting homes, and to run streetcars.

Unlike their fathers, Progressives tended not to believe in the theories of *laissez-faire* or survival of the fittest. They assumed that people were not basically evil, but instead were shaped by their environment. Progressives thought that men and women would live good and productive lives if given the opportunity. Furthermore, Progressives thought that all they had to do was to inform people about wrongs such as exploiting child labor, stealing from city coffers, and charging unreasonably high railroad rates and the good people in society would correct the existing conditions by making and enforcing appropriate laws. On the whole, Progressives were optimists who believed that they could correct what was wrong with America.

Philadelphia: Corrupt and Contented

One example of the writings that inspired Progressives to try to reform America's cities appears below. It is an excerpt from an article by Lincoln Steffens titled "Philadelphia: Corrupted and Contented" that appeared in *McClure's Magazine* in 1903:

Two hundred and fifty-two votes were returned in a division that had less than one hundred legal votes within its boundaries...The assessor pads the list with the names of dead dogs, children, and non-existent persons. An orator…reminded his hearers that that was the ward of Independence Hall, and, naming over signers of the Declaration of Independence, he closed his highest flight of eloquence with the statement that "these men, the fathers of American liberty, voted down here once. And," he added, with a catching grin, "they vote here yet."

Lincoln Steffens

The provost [chief operating officer] of the University of Pennsylvania declined to join in a revolt because, he said, it might impair his usefulness to the University. And so it is with others, and with clergymen who have favorite charities; with Sabbath associations and City Beautiful clubs; with lawyers who want briefs; with real estate dealers who like to know in advance about public improvements, and real estate owners who appreciate light assessments; with shopkeepers who don't want to be bothered with strict inspections.

Steffens was one of dozens of men and women who exposed corruption in high places. Ida Tarbell exposed the questionable tactics John D. Rockefeller used to gain control of the oil industry. Jacob Riis took pictures and wrote articles about overcrowded tenement houses where eight to fifteen residents were packed into two-room apartments with no electricity, running water, or toilets. Upton Sinclair exposed conditions in the meatpacking industry where unsanitary conditions existed and men, women, and children sometimes fell into huge vats separating meat from fat, with the product still getting shipped out to the public and sold as pure beef lard. Frank Norris revealed the tactics California railroads used to cheat the farmers who depended on them.

Collectively, these writers were called muckrakers. The name "muckraker" came from a religious book in which a character constantly looked down in the muck and mire that he raked and therefore could not see the light from heaven. In fact, the muckrakers performed a very important public service by calling attention to the problems that plagued America and inspired the Progressives to take steps to initiate reform.

Correcting the Shame of the Cities

Attempts to improve the governance of American cities were inspired in part by Lincoln Steffens's and Jacob Riis's revelations. Dedicated reformers and courageous mayors combined to clean up the vice-ridden, boss-directed urban centers. Committed women like Jane Addams and Florence Kelley founded settlement houses that provided services to immigrants ranging from childcare to English language lessons, civic education, social clubs, sewing classes, and gymnastics. Jane Addams even followed garbage truck drivers through the streets of Chicago to see that they performed their duties, lobbied city officials to clear the streets, and pressured the city government to clean up centers of vice. Municipal charters were altered to give cities control over streetcar lines, provide electricity, supply running water, and pave roads. Public education was expanded; cities opened kindergartens, laws required school attendance until age 12 and extended the school year, and enrollment in high schools rose by 60 percent. Cities also built playgrounds and hired adults to supervise them.

The Tenement Problem

In his revealing book, *How the Other Half Lives,* Jacob Riis defined a tenement as:

> …a house occupied by three or four more families, living independently and doing their cooking on the premises; or by more than two families on a floor, so living and cooking and having a common right in the halls, stairways, yards, etc.

> The tenement is generally a brick building from four to six stories high on the street, frequently with a store on the first floor which, used for the sale of liquor, has a side opening for the benefit of the inmates and to evade the Sunday law; four families occupy each floor, and a set of rooms consists of one or two dark closets, used as bedrooms, with a living room twelve feet by ten. The staircase is too often a dark well in the centre of the house, and no direct through ventilation is possible, each family being separated from the other by partition.

Riis's revelations of life in tenement houses shocked a nation that was only dimly aware of the horrendous conditions in which thousands upon thousands of city dwellers lived. Below is a description written by a woman who actually lived in the squalor, in a typical tenement house with a dark bedroom, a tiny living room, and practically no daylight:

> What I remember most was the darkness that permeated the whole building, the groping up the stairs and through the hallways into the rooms that were not much brighter. In fact, only our front room was really light, and we had the advantage, too, of living in the front. Both kitchen and bedroom were without any opening for either light or air, and a lamp was always burning.
>
> …Living in the front, however, could not always be looked upon as an advantage, and I have in mind the hard wash-days, with all the necessary water to be pumped and carried from the hall…Then those who live in the back have [clothes] lines, a luxury which can only be truly appreciated by those who must carry every bit of their wash up three or four flights of stairs to the roof, and particularly on cold winter days.

Thousands of city dwellers were crowded, up to 15 to a room, in airless, dark, vermin-infested tenements like the one in the picture above

Riis's book helped awaken middle- and upper-class New Yorkers to the problems faced by the rest of society. His findings helped lead to an investigation of New York's tenement houses and the passage of the Tenement House Law of 1901. The law set minimum room size, light, and ventilation requirements. Improving conditions resulted in a 33 percent reduction in New York City's death rate from one in 50 in 1901 to one in 74 in 1915. Because of the influence of these dedicated reformers, similar progress in providing decent housing was achieved in other—though by no means all—cities in the United States. Enforcement of these new laws, however, depended on the continued vigilance of a public that needed to be informed about the plight of others.

Honest Graft

Many of the problems big cities faced were blamed on crooked politicians who made themselves rich by stealing the money raised to provide city services. City politicians often excused their behavior by pleading what they called "honest graft." The following excerpt from a book by Richard Riordon uses the words of George Washington Plunkitt excusing what he and other politicians did to make themselves rich:

> Nobody thinks of drawin' the distinction between honest graft and dishonest graft. There's all the difference in the world between the two. Yes, many of our men have grown rich in politics. I have myself. I've made a big fortune out of the game, and I'm gettin' richer every day, but I've not gone in for dishonest graft—blackmailin' gamblers, saloonkeepers, disorderly people, etc.—and neither has any of the men who have made big fortunes in politics.
>
> There's an honest graft, and I'm an example of how it works. I might sum up the whole thing by sayin': "I seen my opportunities and I took 'em."
>
> Just let me explain…
>
> I'll tell you of one case. They were goin' to fix up a big park, no matter where. I got on to it, and went lookin' about for land in that neighborhood.
>
> I could get nothin' at a bargain but a big piece of swamp, but I took it fast enough and held on to it. What turned out was just what I counted on. They pay a good price for it. Anything dishonest in that?

How to Be in a Position to Collect Honest Graft

This is a record of a typical day's work in Plunkitt's life, based on excerpts from his diary and first-person observation. Reading the following will help you understand why Plunkitt and the political organization he worked for remained in office year after year.

> 2 A.M.: Aroused from sleep…and found a bartender, who asked him to go to the police station and bail out a saloon-keeper who had been arrested for violating the…law. Furnished bail and returned to bed at three o'clock.
>
> 6 .A.M.: Awakened by fire engines passing his house. Hastened to the scene of the fire… Found several tenants who had been burned out, took them to a hotel…

8:30 A.M.: Went to the police court to look after his constituents. Found six "drunks." Secured the discharge of four and paid the fines of two.

9 A.M.: Paid the rent of a poor family about to be dispossessed…

10 A.M.: Spent nearly three hours fixing things for the four men [looking for a job] and succeeded in each case.

3 P.M.: Attended the funeral of an Italian…Hurried back to make his appearance at the funeral of a Hebrew constituent. Went conspicuously to the front both in the Catholic church and the synagogue…

9 P.M.: …Listened to the complaints of a dozen pushcart peddlers who said they were persecuted by the police…

Student Activities

A. Graphic Organizer:

Which of the following were more likely to be a) a Progressive, b) a Populist, or c) neither? Place the letter a, b, or c where appropriate.

1. A farmer		6. A day laborer	
2. A muckraker		7. Ida Tarbell	
3. Jacob Riis		8. The owner of a small business	
4. George Washington Plunkitt		9. A recent immigrant	
5. John D. Rockefeller		10. The wife of a struggling lawyer	

B. Matching

Match the term in column 2 to the name in column 1 with which it is associated:

Column 1	Column 2
1. Lincoln Steffens	a. Meat packing industry
2. Ida Tarbell	b. Standard Oil Corporation
3. Jane Addams	c. Corruption in Philadelphia
4. George Washington Plunkitt	d. Honest Graft
5. Upton Sinclair	e. Settlement (Hull) House

C. Essay

In no fewer than 150 words, explain what George Washington Plunkitt did to get rich and whether you think he really helped people in his city or just made life bearable without improving the conditions in which people lived.

For Further Consideration

Pretend you are a resident of a tenement much like the one described in this chapter, and in no fewer than 200 words, write why you would vote either for a Progressive like Lincoln Steffens or for a political boss like George Washington Plunkitt. Come to class prepared to present your reasons, listen to the views of others, and defend or change yours.

Chapter 6. Women's Contributions to the Progressive Era
Teacher Page

Introduction:

This chapter begins with a list of women who made significant efforts at reform before and during the early years of the Progressive era. It continues by reviewing the life stories and achievements of three women who made important contributions during the period covered in this unit: Ida B. Wells, a pioneer in addressing the crime of lynching; Jane Addams, who started Hull House, contributed to reform politics, and attempted to create a more peaceful world; and Alice Paul, whose militant leadership was instrumental in securing passage of the 19th Amendment but failed to bring about an equal rights amendment. Margaret Sanger, whose tireless advocacy for birth control and occasional support of eugenics, is covered in the "For Further Consideration" section. The chapter ends with a quote in which Sanger seems to be advocating involuntary birth control for the 'feeble-minded.'

The Graphic Organizer asks students to connect each achievement to the name of the woman associated with it. An essay question asks students to think about which of the women described in this chapter would be best able to make a significant contribution to the world today. Finally, the "For Further Consideration" section asks students whether they agree with Gloria Steinem that Margaret Sanger pioneered a humane political movement or if she should be condemned for encouraging promiscuity, abortion, and possibly forced sterilization.

Objectives:

Students will:

- learn about the lives and achievements of Ida B. Wells, Jane Addams, and Alice Paul
- discuss why more information about women's accomplishments has not been included in many studies of American history
- evaluate the work of Margaret Sanger

Strategies:

Before class: Assign the chapter either up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In class: Ask students if, before they read this chapter, they were familiar with contributions women have made to American society prior to 1900; if they aren't, ask them why. Lead a discussion as to whether part of the problem was that women during that time didn't have many opportunities to make a difference. You may wish to continue this discussion to include contributions made by women in the

21st century, or wait until after you have reviewed students' answers to the Graphic Organizer question.

If you have the time and don't think the topic will offend parents or administrators, you may want to discuss the controversial questions raised by the life and work of Margaret Sanger.

Chapter 6. Women's Contributions to the Progressive Era
I-Chart

	Who were Ida B. Wells and Jane Addams and what did they accomplish?	Who were Alice Paul and Margaret Sanger and what did they accomplish?	What opportunities are available to women today that were not open to them in the 19th century?
What I already know			
What I learned by reading Chapter 6, Part I			
What I learned from reading Chapter 6, Part II and in class			
What I would still like to learn			

Quaker	lynching	unheralded
entrepreneur	suffragette	precursor
Kaiser	phenomenal	persuasion

Member of a religious group that believes that God resides in every person	The act of an angry mob hanging a person suspected of a crime	Not publicly recognized
A businessman who takes risks in order to succeed	Female who campaigned for getting women the right to vote	A person or event that came before someone or something else
German word for emperor	Remarkable, exceptional, or extraordinary	In this case, a set of beliefs

Chapter 6
Women's Contributions to the Progressive Era

Introduction

When given the opportunity, women have played unheralded but important roles in America's history. Abigail Adams, the wife of President John Adams, was her husband's chief advisor and is known for reminding him to "remember the women" when asking England for the colonists' rights. Mercy Otis Warren (a friend of the Adamses) wrote one of the first histories of the American Revolution. Disguised as a man, Deborah Sampson fought in the Revolution under her brother's name and was wounded in battle. During the 1820s to the 1850s, Harriet Tubman, "the Moses of her people," guided dozens of slaves to freedom. Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, aroused anti-slavery sentiment in the North. Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton wrote the now famous Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments, which asserted that women deserved the same rights as men. During the Civil War, women served as soldiers, spies, nurses, and scouts, while others managed affairs at home. Among the heroines of this period was Mary Edwards Walker. She was awarded the Medal of Honor first for her service as a soldier, and then as a nurse and physician. Clara Barton organized nursing services during the Civil War and later founded the Red Cross. During Reconstruction, hundreds of women traveled to the South and taught at schools for African Americans. In the 1880s and 1890s, women became doctors, founded colleges, supported rights for African Americans, and, led by Susan B. Anthony, continued their struggle to win the right to vote. Martha Carey Thomas became the first female college dean and the second president of Bryn Mawr College. During the 1890s, Mary Lease advised Western farmers suffering from adverse economic conditions to raise "less wheat and more hell."

Women played major roles during the Progressive era. Their crowning achievement was winning the right to vote. Women were also prominent in campaigns to prohibit prostitution, end the sale of alcoholic beverages, spread knowledge about birth control, establish settlement houses that would help inner-city residents, and pass a Constitutional amendment giving women the same rights that men enjoyed. Some of the crusades to which women dedicated their efforts are still somewhat controversial, and will be covered in this chapter. Others have become widely accepted and praised.

Ida B. Wells: A Pioneer for the Rights of African Americans

Ida Wells was born in 1862. Though both her parents were slaves, they instilled in her and her siblings a desire to educate themselves and to work hard to improve their lives and the lives of African Americans in general. When Ida was 16, her parents and a younger brother died in a yellow fever epidemic. Ignoring the wishes of surviving

relatives, she decided to keep the remaining six children of her family together. She supported them by teaching school while her grandmother cared for them. She moved to Memphis, Tennessee, when she was 18 and taught school and attended Fiske University during her summers. In 1884, when she was 22, she attempted to sit in a railroad car reserved for whites; it took several men to remove her. Afterwards, she successfully sued the railroad, but the Supreme Court of Tennessee reversed the verdict. Her career as a writer and activist began with her descriptions of and reflections on this incident. Years later, three of her black friends were lynched after opening a grocery store that competed with a white-owned one. Embittered by the lack of sympathy for the victims, Wells decided to leave the "town which will neither protect our lives and property, nor give us a fair trial in the courts, but takes us out and murders us in cold blood when accused by white persons." She began to research each case in which a black person had been lynched and discover the reasons given for these unspeakable crimes. She published her findings in a book titled *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in all its Phases*. Wells concluded that the real reason for the scores of lynchings that occurred every year in the South was the fear of assertiveness by blacks whom whites wanted to "keep in their place." Furthermore, Wells learned that the allegations that black men supposedly raped white women often involved people in consensual interracial relationships; whites who disapproved of black men becoming involved romantically with white women had often made up the charges.

Ida B. Wells

Hostility against her strong stand on racial injustice caused Wells to move from Memphis to Chicago. Her commitment to civil rights led her to work with W.E.B. Du Bois in founding the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909. Her interest in helping black people live their daily lives in dignity motivated her to become a community activist and organizer in Chicago. This did not prevent her from raising a family while she continued her career as a speaker and writer for the causes in which she believed.

After her death in 1931, playwright and actor Tazewell Thompson summarized her life:

> A woman born in slavery, she would grow to become one of the great pioneer activists of the Civil Rights movement. A precursor of Rosa Parks, she was a suffragist, newspaper editor and publisher, investigative journalist, co-founder of the NAACP, political candidate, mother, wife, and the single most powerful leader in the anti-lynching campaign in America...A dynamic, controversial, temperamental, uncompromising woman, she broke bread and crossed swords with some of the movers and shakers of her time: Frederick Douglass, Susan B. Anthony, Marcus Garvey, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, Frances Willard, and President McKinley…

Jane Addams, Settlement Houses, and More


Jane Addams

Jane Addams was born in 1860, the eighth of nine children. Her father, a prosperous banker and successful politician, had helped found the Republican Party and was a friend of Abraham Lincoln. After graduating first in her class from a small college, a series of illnesses forced her to drop out of medical school. During a tour of Europe, she found the inspiration for her life's work at a settlement house in London. Settlement houses involved middle-class reformers living in a house in a poorer neighborhood and aiding, teaching, and creating a community with the residents there. Upon returning from her tour, Addams invested her inheritance in acquiring an old mansion that she named after its original owner, Charles Hull. Her purpose was to "help our neighbors build responsible, self-sufficient lives for themselves and their families." She and other educated women who lived in Hull House provided free kindergarten, parenting classes, counseling, night school, recreation facilities, an open kitchen, and plenty of advice to people in the surrounding area. Within a few years, Hull House reformers were helping 2000 poor immigrants a week and served as models for other women who opened settlement houses in many different cities.

With the help of a dedicated staff and generous contributors, Addams expanded her activities beyond Hull House, becoming involved with local, city, state, national, and international politics. She served Chicago on the city board of education, founded a school of civics and philanthropy, led investigations into midwifery, drugs, and sanitary conditions, and, in the role of her ward's garbage inspector, followed garbage trucks to see whether trash was being collected.

On the state level, Addams and her organization lobbied the Illinois legislature to pass laws to regulate child labor, improve working conditions in factories, limit women's work hours, require children to attend school, and establish a juvenile-justice system. On the national level, Ms. Addams helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the American Civil Liberties Union. She also served as vice-president of the National American Women Suffrage Association, seconded Theodore Roosevelt's nomination to run for president as a Progressive in 1912, and worked in the campaign to elect him.

Addams's work for international peace eventually earned her the Nobel Prize. After World War I began in Europe, she organized the Women's Peace Party and the International Congress of Women, and she participated in making serious attempts to end the war in 1915. She opposed America's entrance into the war in 1917, and in 1919 was elected president of the Women's International League for Peace. She held this position until her death in 1935.

While running Hull House and actively involving herself in dozens of political issues, Addams found time to raise enough money to continue the work of Hull House

and its expansion to 13 buildings, to write ten books and 1000 articles, and to give innumerable speeches.

Long after her death, scholar Nicholas Longo praised Addams's contirbutions:

> During the Progressive Era, Jane Addams was an articulate voice in nearly every reform issue and her settlement house was a practical response to many of these issues. Hull House addressed the political issues as varied as the corruption of elected politicians, labor organizing, arts education, war and peace, treatment of new Americans, and need for sanitary streets. In taking on these issues, Jane Addams was a founder of social work; a champion for children's rights, immigrants' contributions, and international peace: and a powerful woman in times when there were limited opportunities for women in public life. More important…Jane Addams was an educator for democracy.[1]

Alice Paul

Alice Paul

Born in 1885, Alice Paul was the oldest of four children from a prosperous Quaker family. Since her parents taught her to believe in the equality of the sexes and the obligation to contribute to society, it is not surprising that Susan B. Anthony was one of her childhood heroines. Paul's feminist ideals were reinforced at Swarthmore College, where she excelled in sports and academics. While studying in England two years after graduation, she came under the influence of a group of radical British suffragettes and joined them in creating civil disturbances in order to call attention to their cause. Upon returning to the United States, Miss Paul (as she liked to be called) urged American women to continue their more than 50-year-long fight to win the right to vote. She staged a huge suffrage demonstration in Washington, D.C., the day before President Wilson's inauguration. During World War I, Paul and others expressed their anger with the president's lack of support for women's rights by referring to him as "Kaiser Wilson"; they picketed in front of the White House carrying signs demanding to know how the U.S. could fight a war for democracy abroad while denying women the right to vote at home.

Women demonstrating against President Wilson, who initially opposed granting them the right to vote.

1 Nicholas Longo, *Why Community Matters: Connecting Education with Civic Life*, State University of New York Press, 2007, pp.46-47

When fined for their activities, Paul and her followers refused to pay; when imprisoned for disobedience, they demanded to be treated as political prisoners and staged hunger strikes. When the American people learned that the women demanding the right to vote were being held in unsanitary, cold, and rat-infested cells while torturous methods were used to force-feed them, public opinion shifted in favor of the protesters. The women were released and soon afterwards President Wilson reversed his position on granting women the vote. In the following June (of 1919), Congress passed the 19th Amendment, which gave women the right to vote. Three-quarters of the states ratified the amendment in time for women in all of the 48 states to vote in the presidential election of 1920.

Alice Paul was not satisfied that women had received only the right to vote. She wanted women to have all the same rights that men enjoyed. In 1923, she announced that she would begin work to pass an amendment to the Constitution calling for the absolute equality before the law of all men or women. As she put it:

> I never doubted that equal rights was the right direction. Most reforms, most problems are complicated. But to me there is nothing complicated about ordinary equality.

Miss Paul's amendment was introduced to Congress in 1923. Men derided it and most women's groups didn't support it. Many women feared that the amendment would deny them such special protections as shorter working hours, better working conditions, and exclusion from the draft. Furthermore, the idea that women were equal to men was so radical in those days that few people would support such far-reaching legislation. Congress did not pass an equal rights amendment until 1972, 49 years after it was first introduced. However, the proposed amendment was ratified by only 35 of the required 38 states, and the law still doesn't explicitly give women the equal protection Alice Paul desired.

Paul devoted the remainder of her life after 1923 to working for women's rights. She spoke for this cause during her travels through South America and Europe. In 1938, she founded the World's Women's Party and worked with the League of Nations for gender equality. In 1964, she helped get a clause that prohibited sexual discrimination into the Civil Rights Bill of that year. She died in 1977 at the age of 92 without obtaining her goal. Her life might have been best summed up by a fellow feminist in 1923:

> History has known dedicated souls from the beginning, men and women whose every waking moment is devoted to an impersonal end, leaders of a "cause" who are ready at any moment quite simply to die for it. But is it rare to find in one human being this passion for service and sacrifice combined first with the shrewd calculating mind of a born political leader, and second with the ruthless driving force, sure judgment and phenomenal grasp of detail that characterize a great entrepreneur.

Student Activities

A. Graphic Organizer

Which of the following statements are true and which are false? In the chart provided, write the facts supporting or refuting each of the following statements.

Statement	True or False	Write a true statement about this woman based on information in this chapter
Abigail Adams was a nurse.		
Deborah Sampson was an abolitionist		
Elizabeth Cady Stanton opposed rights for women.		
No woman served as president of a college until 1920		
Ida Wells opposed lynching		
Jane Addams and Ida Wells had nothing to do with the NAACP		
None of the women mentioned in the chapter attended college (if you think this statement is false, name three who did)		
Other than Ida Wells, none of the women mentioned here were interested in international peace		
Jane Addams's spent her entire life trying to get women the vote		
Alice Paul fulfilled her life mission when women won the right to vote		

B. Matching:

Match each accomplishment in the second column with the name of the woman in the first column.

Column A	Column B
1. Alice Paul	a. The Red Cross
2. Ida B. Wells	b. President of Bryn Mawr
3. Martha Carey Thomas	c. Equal Rights Amendment
4. Jane Addams	d. Anti-lynching campaign
5. Clara Barton	e. Hull House

C. Essay: Answer the following essay question in no fewer than 150 words.

Which of the three women described in this chapter do you think would have been best equipped to make a significant contribution in the world today?

For Further Consideration: Margaret Sanger

Margaret Sanger's mother experienced 18 pregnancies, but gave birth to only 11 live children. As the sixth child, Margaret did her share of caring for her younger brothers and sisters. She studied nursing for a few years, married William Sanger, and, after experiencing a difficult pregnancy, gave birth to her first child when she was 24. She found employment as a visiting nurse, and in this capacity, visited the homes of some of the poorest families in New York City. Time after time, she met impoverished young mothers in ill health, unable to care for their children and unable to prevent future pregnancies. In her autobiography, Sanger described one case in particular. It involved a young wife, Sadie Sachs, whom she helped recover from the effects of a nearly fatal self-induced abortion. The mother pleaded in vain with Sanger for help in preventing another pregnancy, and the attending doctor could only offer the advice that her husband sleep on the roof. Several months later, Sanger was called to the same apartment and arrived ten minutes before her former patient died from the effects of her desperate attempt to abort another child. After hours of wandering in despair through the streets of New York, Sanger arrived home, looked down upon the dimly lighted street, and recalled thinking: "Its pain and grief crowded in on me…women writhing in travail to bring forth little babies; the babies themselves, naked and hungry, wrapped in newspaper to keep them from the cold; six-year-old children with pinched, pale, wrinkled faces, old in concentrated wretchedness, pushed into gray and fetid cellars, crouching on stone floors…I could bear it no longer."

Science and Invention for January, 1922

Mrs. Margaret Sanger, the great birth control advocate, and her two sons

"WOMAN AND THE NEW RACE"

By Margaret Sanger

This book, just published, is Margaret Sanger's greatest effort for the birth control movement. It contains the very essence of her life's work. It instructs the women of the world in the greatest step of their emancipation. "WOMAN AND THE NEW RACE" contains the sum total of Margaret Sanger's experience and knowledge on this vital subject—knowledge she dared to utter and print—knowledge for which she faced jail and fought through every court to establish as woman's inalienable right.

PART OF CONTENTS

Woman's Error and her Debt	Continence: Is it Practicable or Desirable?
The Struggle for Freedom	Contraception or Abortion?
Two Classes of Women	Are Preventive Means Certain?
Immorality of Unwanted Large Families	Battalion of Unwanted Babies Cause of War
Cries of Despair	Woman and Morality
Women who plead for Abortion	Legislating Woman's Morals
When should a Woman avoid having children?	Why not Birth Control Clinics in America?

Any one chapter is worth the price of this book

THE KNOWLEDGE IS PRICELESS

This book, "Woman and the New Race," by Margaret Sanger, contains so much that is vital, thorough and necessary to every married couple, that it would require a book to describe it. THE KNOWLEDGE OF BIRTH CONTROL WILL BRING HAPPINESS TO EVERY MARRIAGE.

Price Only $2.00 Sent Prepaid
Order at Once. Don't Delay.

TRUTH PUBLISHING CO.
1400 Broadway Dept. 5-G New York

Advertisement for book by Sanger that was published in 1922

That morning, Sanger decided that she had to do something to help women prevent unwanted pregnancies. She soon directed her efforts to publishing an eight-page monthly newsletter, *The Woman Rebel*, which advocated the use of contraceptives and urged every woman to become "the absolute mistress of her own body." Her advocacy put her in conflict with the law, which characterized her newsletter as "obscene" material. In 1915, she was arrested and convicted, but escaped prison by fleeing the country. She returned to the U.S. the next year, having discovered that women in Holland were successfully preventing pregnancies by using

a dome-shaped device known as a diaphragm. She brought samples with her for distribution in the U.S. The next few years were rife with activity. She opened the first family planning clinic in the U.S., wrote two books on what every mother and every girl should know about sex, founded the American Birth Control League (which eventually became Planned Parenthood), and gave hundreds of lectures on birth control. Her work continued during the 1930s and 1940s and culminated in the development and success of the contraceptive pill, now the primary form of birth control. In 1965, a year before Sanger died, the Supreme Court overturned a Connecticut law that forbade the sale and use of contraceptive devices—even by married people.

Feminists such as Gloria Steinem have praised Sanger's life and achievements:

> Sanger led by example. Her brave and joyous life included fulfilling work, three children, two husbands, many lovers and an international network of friends and colleagues…She never abandoned her focus on women's freedom and its larger implications for social justice)…Indeed, she lived as if she and everyone else had the right to control her or his own life. By word and deed, she pioneered the most radical, humane and transforming political movement of the century.[2]

However, others criticized Sanger for encouraging sexual promiscuity, supporting (if not actually advocating) a woman's right to abort a fetus, and coming out in favor of some form of population control by weeding out "undesirables"—not unlike practices in Hitler's Germany. Though she never advocated forced sterilization, she made statements like the following in her book *The Pivot of Civilization*:

> Modern studies indicate that insanity, epilepsy, criminality, prostitution, pauperism, and mental defect, are all organically bound up together and that the least intelligent and the thoroughly degenerate classes in every community are the most prolific. Feeble-mindedness in one generation becomes pauperism or insanity in the next…eugenists have pointed out, a feeble-minded peril to future generations—unless the feeble-minded are prevented from reproducing their kind. To meet this emergency is the immediate and peremptory duty of every State and of all communities.

In a paragraph or two, explain why you agree or disagree with Gloria Steinem's evaluation of Margaret Sanger's life and work. Come to class prepared to present your opinion, listen to the opinions of others, and defend your own or change your mind.

2 Gloria Steinem, "Margaret Sanger, Her Crusade To Legalize Birth Control Spurred The Movement For Women's Liberation," *Time,* April 13, 1998

Chapter 7. Theodore Roosevelt: The First Progressive President
Teacher Page

Overview

This chapter on Theodore Roosevelt deals primarily with his domestic policies; the next chapter examines his foreign policies. Here, Roosevelt is portrayed as a vigorous and charismatic man. His elevation from governor of New York to Vice-President of the United States resulted from political bosses putting him on the Republican ticket in order to stop him from making more reforms. Readers learn that the Republican Party's conservative leadership never really trusted Roosevelt, and that he promised to follow the assassinated President McKinley's policies. The domestic achievements covered in this chapter include the Bureau of Corporations, the Pure Food and Drug and Meat Inspection Acts, and the Hepburn Act. In addition, Roosevelt prosecuted the Northern Securities Company and 44 more anti-trust cases. Students are not told how Roosevelt dealt with the anthracite coal strike of 1902. Instead, they are given a series of options that Roosevelt might have pursued and are asked to decide which he should have followed.[1] The chapter devotes considerable space to the Hepburn Act and the issues raised in the debate over its key provisions. The "For Further Consideration" section deals with Roosevelt the conservationist and raises a question concerning the long-standing debate over building a dam in Yosemite National Park in order to create a reservoir to provide San Francisco with an adequate water supply.

Objectives:

Students will:

- realize that Theodore Roosevelt was an activist president with an agenda to make significant reforms
- understand the issues involved in obtaining effective railroad regulations
- take a stand on the conflict between those who want significant commercial development and those who seek to preserve the environment

Strategies:

Before class: Assign the chapter either up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

1 Roosevelt enlisted the support of J.P. Morgan to pressure the vehemently anti-union head of the negotiators, George F. Baer, to accept binding arbitration. There is no mention of the difficulty Roosevelt had in getting the mine owners to agree to the appointees. The reading also does not tell students that the panel reduced the miners' working hours from ten to nine hours a day, increased their wages by 10%, and failed to require the owners to recognize the American Miner's Union as the miners' official representative.

In class: Start by asking students what they would do if given the power to improve the lives of Americans living in the early part of the 20th century, and write a list of reforms they might make on the board. Next, ask students to answer the Graphic Organizer question, then make them state the reasons they chose the answers they gave. Lead a discussion on either one or both of the two essay questions, but be sure you let students know that Roosevelt used J.P. Morgan's cooperation to get the mine owners to accept binding arbitration. Time permitting, allow students who read the "For Further Consideration" question to summarize Roosevelt's contribution to the conservation movement and have them report on the two sides of the question on flooding the Hetch Hetchy Valley.

Chapter 7. Theodore Roosevelt: The First Progressive President
I-Chart

	How good a president do you think Theodore Roosevelt was?	What did Roosevelt decide to do about the coal strike and the Hepburn Act? Do you think he made the right decision?	What did Roosevelt do to promote conservation? Do you think he was right to support turning the Hetch Hetchy Valley into a reservoir for San Francisco?
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 7, Part I			
What I learned from Chapter 7, Part II and in class			
What I would still like to learn			

tacit	"learn their place"	complimentary railroad passes
financial empire	holding company	"creatures of the state"
binding arbitration	omnipotent	labor "agitators"

Implied but not expressed	Refers to teaching black people to respect whites and not ask for their rights	Railroads in the past gave congressmen free tickets as a way of getting votes on favorable legislation
Businesses controlled by a wealthy individual	A corporation that owns enough stocks in other corporations to control them	Refers to businesses authorized by the government
When parties to a dispute agree to allow a third party to settle the differences between them	All powerful	People who supposedly tried to stir up trouble between workers and their employers

Chapter 7

Theodore Roosevelt: The First Progressive President

Introduction

Many historians consider Theodore Roosevelt one of America's greatest presidents; he was certainly one of the most colorful. The first son of a wealthy New York City family, "Teddy" was a sickly child. He suffered from a variety of childhood ailments, and severe asthma caused him many a sleepless night as he struggled to breathe. Shy and scrawny as a youngster, TR resolved to whip himself into shape. His father provided him with a personal trainer and a boxing instructor. Young Roosevelt spent hours exercising with bodybuilding equipment, boxed while in college, and even sparred with professionals while president. In a lifetime of strenuous activities, he punched out barroom bullies, threatened others with his six-gun revolver, rode for hundreds of hours herding cattle on his Western ranch, led a famous cavalry charge against an entrenched enemy during the Spanish-American War, hunted big game in the American West and in Africa, and was a constant advocate for living an active and "manly" life. His political career included three years in the New York State legislature, a stint in the National Civil Service Commission, service as chief of the New York City police department, a term as mayor of New York, a position as assistant Secretary of the Navy, governor of New York State, Vice-President of the United States, and, at the age of 42, the youngest to become President of the United States. TR's literary output included 35 books, 150,000 letters, as well as hundreds of articles and book reviews. He also authored hundreds of political speeches and many formal presidential announcements.

Roosevelt and the "Rough Riders" after taking San Juan Hill in Cuba during the Spanish-American War

In this chapter, you will learn a great deal about this remarkable man's domestic policy as president and what he actually accomplished. You will then be asked to evaluate some of the decisions he made.

Demoted Upward and Becoming President

Theodore Roosevelt came close to refusing an offer to run for the office of Vice-President. As governor of New York State, Roosevelt had called for a higher

tax on corporations and an investigation of alleged fraud in the administration of the Erie Canal. Thomas Platt, a powerful Republican political boss in New York, informed Roosevelt that he (Platt) would not support him for any political position if Roosevelt did not accept an offer to serve as President William McKinley's running mate in the year 1900. Roosevelt regarded the vice-presidency as a dead-end, do-nothing job, but feared he could not run for another term as governor without Platt's support.

TR not only accepted the opportunity to run for vice-president, but he also played a major part in the presidential campaign. He traveled 21,000 miles through 24 states giving speeches in favor of the McKinley-Roosevelt ticket. After he and McKinley won the election, TR spent some very boring months as vice-president. Denied access to McKinley's inner circle, which wanted none of his advice, Roosevelt spent most of the summer of 1901 sailing, reading, and writing. While vacationing in the Adirondacks, Roosevelt got word that McKinley had been shot by a deranged man, Leon Czolgosz, on September 6, 1901. Eight days later, September 14th, McKinley died and Roosevelt took the presidential oath of office and promised to follow McKinley's policies.

Popular as he was with the American people, Roosevelt was not well liked by the upper ranks of the Republican Party. National Party Chairman Mark Hanna referred to Roosevelt as "that damned cowboy" when he heard that his dear friend William McKinley had died. Renowned historian Edmund Morris described McKinley's Cabinet as follows:

> A more orthodox phalanx of Republicans would be difficult to assemble. To a man, these conservatives believed in the sanctity of property and the patrician responsibilities of wealth and power.
>
> …They were accustomed to luxury travel on complimentary railroad passes and a myriad of other corporate privileges. They were prepared, in return, to give trust lords such as J.P. Morgan their favorable support in disputes between capital and labor, or local and interstate commerce. They tacitly acknowledged that Wall Street, rather than the White House, had executive control of the economy, with the legislative cooperation of Congress and the judicial backing of the Supreme Court…[2]

President Roosevelt Challenges His Republican Detractors

Very early in his presidency, Roosevelt learned a difficult political lesson. Unaware of Southern sensitivities, he invited Booker T. Washington to dine with him in the White House. Roosevelt did not realize that this was the first time a "colored man" had dined with a president. The resulting uproar was unexpectedly vicious. It included this incredible statement by South Carolina Senator Ben Tillman:

2 Edmund Morris, *Theodore Rex*, Random House, 2001, p.33.

TR and Booker T. Washington

> entertaining that n_ will necessitate our killing a thousand n_ in the South before they will learn their place again.

Roosevelt learned from this incident. Although he believed people should "treat the individual Negro just as we treat the white man," he never again invited an African American to the White House.

In the area of taking a stand against the large corporations, however, Roosevelt proved more daring. In a speech given before 20,000 people in Providence, Rhode Island in August 1902, Roosevelt declared his anti-trust policy:

> The great corporations which we have grown to speak of rather loosely as trusts are *the creatures of the State*, and the State not only has the right to control them, but it is duty bound to control them wherever the need of such control is shown.

Part of Roosevelt's anti-trust policy involved first determining which corporations were the "wrongdoers." In order to secure useful information, Roosevelt proposed that Congress establish a Commerce Department to investigate any wrongdoing. Before Congress could act, Roosevelt was shocked to learn of a major challenge to the Sherman Anti-Trust Act's rule against monopolizing or attempting to monopolize. Along with railroad magnates E.H. Harriman and James J. Hill, the powerful banker J.P. Morgan had formed the Northern Securities Company, a gigantic corporation. Northern Securities had formed a holding company that included the major railroads in the West, and would control all railroad traffic between the Great Lakes and the Pacific Ocean. After years of corporations forming huge combinations in nearly all major industries from alcohol to tobacco, Roosevelt thought it was time to take a firm stand against monopolies and had his attorney general institute a case against Northern Securities. Learning of this unexpected attack on his financial empire, Morgan rushed down to Washington, D.C. to confront the president. Simple negotiations, Morgan claimed, could have corrected any problem Roosevelt might have had with the merger. Would Roosevelt attack any other of his interests? Not if they behaved themselves, the unyielding president responded. The conflict resulted in a case that came before the Supreme Court in 1904, *Northern Securities Co.* v. *United States.* The decision warmed Roosevelt's heart:

> The Securities Company is guilty of the mischief the law is designed to prevent—namely, it brings transportation trade through a vast section of a country under the controlling interest of a single body. To deny that this is a combination challenges common intelligence. To deny that it is in restraint of trade challenges the authority of this court.

Before the end of Roosevelt's second term as president, his attorney general prosecuted 44 more large corporations. TR's successor, William Howard Taft, oversaw the prosecution of 90 cases in a single term.

The Coal Strike

> The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for—not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God in his great wisdom has given the control of the property interests of this country, and of the successful management of which so much depends.
>
> …always remember that the Lord God Omnipotent still reigns and that his reign is one of law and order, and not of violence and crime.

A cartoon about the 1902 coal strike

The previous statement expressed the sentiment of George F. Baer the spokesperson for the owners of the coal mines that 120,000 anthracite coal miners went on strike against in 1902. The miners wanted union recognition, a 20 percent increase in wages, and an eight-hour workday.

Management, under Baer's leadership, refused to bargain with the union or accept the union's offer to submit to binding arbitration. With winter approaching, a shortage of coal threatened the entire Northeast section of the country, which depended heavily on coal to heat homes, schools, hospitals, and factories. Meanwhile, hungry miners were threatening to use any means necessary to stop strikebreakers from taking their place in coal mines. President Roosevelt faced a major dilemma. He had several courses of action available to him, each fraught with danger:

a. He could do nothing and allow the strike to continue until one side or the other gave in.
b. He could declare a national emergency and take the unprecedented step of bringing in federal troops to operate the mines.
c. He could ask J.P. Morgan to urge the mine owners to accept binding arbitration.
d. He could get a court order to stop the strike and arrest the strike leaders if they refused to obey it.

Your teacher will tell you what Roosevelt actually did.

Roosevelt's Second Term as President

Settling the coal miners' strike and winning the Northern Securities Company case, in addition to his sparkling personality and vigorous campaigning, enabled

Roosevelt to win an overwhelming electoral victory in 1904. No longer beholden to the conservative leadership in the Republican Party, TR attempted to institute many progressive reforms. During what amounted to his second term as president, he called for more power to regulate railroads and large corporations, laws to prevent contaminated food and drugs from being sent across state lines, a shorter work day for children and railroad laborers, workmen's compensation for federal workers injured on the job, inheritance and income taxes, prohibitions on injunctions to force unions to end strikes, tariff reform, limitations on corporate campaign contributions, regulation of the stock market, a national health insurance, and much more.

Opposition in Congress prevented Roosevelt from obtaining all but four of the major pieces of domestic legislation that he wanted passed. Publication of *The Jungle*, Upton Sinclair's muckraking novel about the meat industry, created a public outcry that made passage of the Meat Inspection Act possible.[3] Passing the Hepburn Act, however, proved much more difficult.

Before the widespread use of trucks and cars, Americans depended on the railroads for rapid, long-distance transportation. For many years, railroads used their monopoly positions in many markets to charge shippers and passengers extremely high rates. Attempts to regulate the railroads dated back to the Ranger laws passed by states in the 1870s. Federal regulation began with the Interstate Commerce Act, which in 1886 established a commission that prohibited specific practices by the railroads and demanded that rates be "reasonable and just." One question was left unanswered: how could the government determine what was reasonable and just? The Elkins Anti-Rebate Act, passed in 1903, did nothing to solve the basic problem regarding railroad regulation. Roosevelt was determined to give the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to be effective in assuring that rates would be fair for both the railroads and shippers. He managed to secure legislation with passage of the Hepburn Act in 1906. This law allowed the Interstate Commerce Commission to set rates and to review the railroads' accounts, but not to determine the value of their property in order to establish the individual railroad's rate of return on investment. Without this power, the commission would have had difficulties proving that the rates they set were reasonable and just. Although Roosevelt could claim a partial victory with the Hepburn Act, many Progressives criticized him for not obtaining an effective law with which to strictly regulate the nation's railroads.

Securing passage of the Hepburn Act marked the end of Roosevelt's domestic legislative achievements. In 1908, he made good on his pledge not to seek a second full term as president. He supported and managed to secure the election of his good friend, Secretary of War William Howard Taft. In his four years as president, Taft proved unable to maintain the support of Congressional Progressives, and a bitterly disappointed Roosevelt decided to run for a second full term. As you shall see in chapter nine, this led to a very contentious election campaign in 1912.

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3 Congress had already passed the Pure Food and Drug Act.

Student Activities

A. Graphic Organizer

Place each of the following terms in their proper place in the chart below. Be prepared to explain your reason for each choice.

Progressives	Consumers	Meat Act	Ben Tillman
Monopolists like John Rockefeller	Won Northern Securities Case	Booker T. Washington	Effective railroad regulation
Sons of wealthy	Upton Sinclair	J.P. Morgan	Railroad workers
Conservative Republicans	Was reelected president	Gave ICC power to evaluate property	Led successful cavalry charge
James J. Hill	William Howard Taft	E.H. Harriman	Hepburn Act

Roosevelt's Achievements or probable supporters	**Roosevelt's Failures or probable opponents**

B. Essay Questions

Answer either one of the following questions in an essay of no fewer than 150 words:

1. Which of the alternatives mentioned in this chapter do you think Roosevelt should have followed in dealing with the coal strike? Why? Which of the following do you think he definitely should not have followed? Why?

2. Do you think that Roosevelt should have signed the Hepburn Act as it was passed or should he have refused to sign it unless Congress included the power to evaluate the railroads' property? Why or why not?

For Further Consideration: Theodore Roosevelt, Conservationist

When he was seven years old, Teddy Roosevelt found the skull of a dead seal on a street in New York City. He took it home with him and started his own Museum of Natural History. Soon, he added birds that he shot and learned to stuff and preserve from a local taxidermist. By the time he was 11, his private museum contained more than 1000 specimens. Along with his love for collecting, young Teddy developed a love for the outdoors, hunting, and birds and animals in their natural habitat. As a Civil Service Commissioner in Washington, D.C. in 1891, he lobbied Congress in favor of passing the Forest Preservation Act, and three years later helped prevent a railroad from despoiling Yosemite Park. As governor of New York, he worked to close the Adirondack and Catskill Mountains to development. As president, Roosevelt influenced conservation policy in many ways. Almost continually working against the entrenched interests of miners, foresters, cattle ranchers, railroads, and others seeking development, Roosevelt managed to accomplish a great deal. Among his achievements:

- Securing passage of the Newlands (Reclamation) Act, which allowed the federal government to irrigate parched areas and sell this reclaimed land for commercial use. Included in this process was the authorization to build dams to form lakes and produce and sell electric power.
- Setting 150 million acres (an area greater than the size of France) aside for public use rather than for commercial development.
- Adding five national parks to the five already in existence, and designating the Grand Canyon as a national monument.
- Increasing public awareness of the need for preservation of forests, wildlife, and natural monuments, as well as historic sites such as Civil War battlefields.

Roosevelt and Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot

Despite his commitment to the preservation of natural beauty of the United States, Roosevelt occasionally ran up against the leaders of the conservation movement, John Muir and the Sierra Club. One of the most contentious battles over conservation that arose during Roosevelt's presidency was whether San Francisco should be permitted to build a dam in the scenic Hetch Hetchy Valley, part of Yosemite National Park, in order to create a reservoir to supply the city with water. Roosevelt initially opposed giving San Francisco permission. However, advised by his pragmatic Chief Forester, Gifford Pinchot, Roosevelt changed his mind. Pinchot believed the issue was, whether "leaving this valley in a state of nature is greater than using it for the benefit of the city of San Francisco." Below, you will find two conflicting views on this issue:

Opposed to the Hetch Hetchy Project	Favoring the Hetch Hetchy Project
Sad to say, this most precious and sublime feature of the Yosemite National Park, one of the greatest of all our natural resources for the uplifting joy and peace and health of the people, is in danger of being dammed…thus flooding it from wall to wall and burying its gardens and groves one or two hundred feet deep. This grossly destructive commercial scheme has long been planned and urged (though water as pure and abundant can be got from sources outside of the people's park, in a dozen different places) because of the comparative cheapness of the dam... —John Muir, "The Yosemite"	San Francisco needs a new and adequate water supply. The water supply that she has now has been developed from time to time during the last 50 years, and the city has outgrown it. The situation in San Francisco now is that there are many homes where sufficient water can not be had for a bath; where it is necessary in the new and growing portions of the city to leave a spigot turned on at night in order to get sufficient water for the morning breakfast. —Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane

Do you think Roosevelt's support for the Hetch Hetchy Valley construction project tarnished his reputation as a conservationist, or did it merely show that environmental concerns must often be deferred in favor of development?

Whether to dam the river flowing through the Hetch Hetchy Valley was a major issue separating conservationists from developers for over 100 years

Chapter 8. President Theodore Roosevelt and the World
Teacher Page

Overview:

Students reading Part I of this chapter will learn that Roosevelt favored a naval buildup, had a hand in imposing American rule on the Philippines, expanded the application of the Monroe Doctrine, and used somewhat questionable means to obtain the land from Colombia in order to build the Panama Canal. By reading the "For Further Consideration" section, students will learn about America's Open Door policy regarding China. They also will be informed that Roosevelt played a major role in ending the Russo-Japanese War and earned the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts. In addition, students learn that Roosevelt pledged to carry out a foreign policy that would be both just and fair in treating weaker nations and that the United States would accept a leadership role in the world. Finally, the chapter poses the question as to whether the president who asserted these claims lived up to them.

Objectives:

Students will:

- learn that Roosevelt had a hand in imposing American rule on the Philippines, used questionable means to obtain the land on which the U.S. built the Panama Canal, and expanded the application of the Monroe Doctrine
- know that Roosevelt's diplomacy ended the Russo-Japanese War and resulted in his being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize
- evaluate Roosevelt's foreign policy according to his belief in fairness and assertion of world leadership

Strategies:

Before class: Assign this chapter either up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In class: You might begin by asking students what they knew about Roosevelt's foreign policy before they read the chapter, and then ask them what they have learned. Steer the discussion toward the standards that Roosevelt set for American foreign policy and then tell students they will be asked whether they think he lived up to these standards. Prepare students for this discussion by reviewing their answers to the Graphic Organizer question and making sure that they understand the facts that support each of the right answers. Next, have students who read the "For Further Consideration" section explain to the class how Roosevelt convinced the reluctant Russian and Japanese governments to make concessions that neither wanted to make. Have the student presenters tell their classmates that Roosevelt won the prestigious Nobel Peace Prize for his diplomatic efforts and have them speculate why he sent the "Great

White Fleet" on a goodwill mission around the world. After that, ask students to provide and explain their answers to the discussion question. Use the board to write the main ideas given by those students who can provide convincing evidence to support their opinions. You might want to point out that whatever they think of Roosevelt's foreign policy initiatives, his policies extended America's power in the Caribbean and its authority into world affairs.

Chapter 8. President Theodore Roosevelt and the World
I-Chart

	U.S. actions regarding the Philippines and Colombia	The Monroe Doctrine and the Roosevelt Corollary	Reason for terms of the Treaty of Portsmouth
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 8, Part I			
What I learned from Chapter 8, Part II and in class			
What I would still like to learn			

province	Filipino	insurrection
amicable	candor	ingenuity
flagrant	impotence	arbitration

Chapter 8—President Theodore Roosevelt and the World

Similar to a state	Resident of the Philippines	Rebellion
Friendly, good-natured	Frankness or honesty	Inventiveness
Over-the-top	Inability to act	When a third party is asked resolve a dispute

Chapter 8
President Theodore Roosevelt and the World

Introduction

In 1901, the year Theodore Roosevelt became president, the major powers of the world all stood ready to expand their influence to different areas of the world. The United States, with the fifth-largest navy in the world, had just freed Cuba from Spanish rule, taken Puerto Rico, and acquired the Philippines. Americans were also eyeing the Colombian province of Panama and a part of Nicaragua in order to obtain land on which to build a canal that would connect the Caribbean with the Pacific Ocean. At the time, Great Britain had the world's most powerful navy and the world's largest colonial empire. Germany was beginning to challenge Great Britain by building up its navy, trying to acquire colonies in Africa, and building an army that was becoming as powerful as France's. Conditions in Russia had begun to deteriorate under the ineffective and authoritarian rule of Tsar Nicholas II. In Asia, Japan was building a powerful navy and stood ready to challenge France, Russia, Britain, and Germany for access to markets in China. The U.S. had negotiated an agreement among these five countries stating that none of them would prevent businessmen from any of the other countries (the U.S. included) from investing or trading in the parts of China they controlled. This was called the "Open Door" policy. Meanwhile, Japan and Russia sat on the verge of squaring off over access to the Chinese province of Manchuria.

In this chapter, you will learn how President Roosevelt handled foreign relations. "We should," he once said, "deal in a spirit of justice and fairness with weaker nations, and we should show to the strongest that we are able to maintain our rights," and as "a mighty nation…see to it that we accept with confidence a place of leadership in the world." You will be asked to decide if Roosevelt, in fact, lived up to this standard.

The Philippines

While he was Undersecretary of the Navy in 1898, Roosevelt took it upon himself to order the U.S. fleet to sail from Hong Kong to Manila, the Philippine capital, as soon as the United States declared war on Spain. He announced that the purpose of the war was to free Cuba, but the Philippines were also a Spanish colony. The only plausible explanation for Roosevelt's action was that he wanted a base or a colony in the Pacific Ocean. Indeed, after the war ended Roosevelt strongly advocated keeping the Philippines. When

American soldiers fighting in the Philippines

the Filipinos rebelled against American rule, Roosevelt noted that "The Republic has put its flag in those islands, and the flag will stay there." As president, Roosevelt supported measures to suppress the rebellion. Even though the fighting continued for several more years, Roosevelt declared the insurrection over on July 4, 1902. The conflict had cost 4200 American lives and resulted in the deaths of about 200,000 Filipinos. The U.S. made provisions for the Philippines to gradually move from colonial status to full independence. The process took 47 years, from 1899 to 1946.

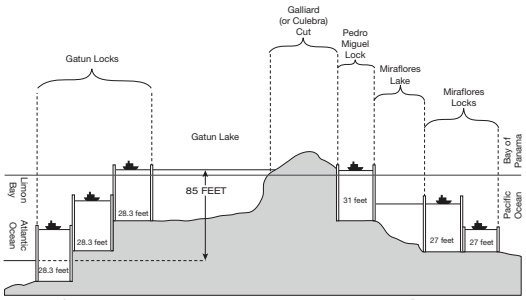
Sea Power and the Panama Canal

Roosevelt's interest in a strong navy became evident when, at the age of 24, he published a book on the War of 1812. Roosevelt believed the U.S. could have avoided the war if the country had been more prepared to fight it. Long before he became president, Roosevelt advocated having a powerful navy, and his first message to Congress focused on enlarging the U.S. Navy. Under Roosevelt's leadership during his eight years in office, the strength of the Navy doubled.

In order to use the Navy in both the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean and to facilitate trade between America's east and west coasts, Roosevelt wanted to build a canal between the two oceans that would save all ships, commercial and otherwise, from having to travel the lengthy current route, which took ships 8000 miles around South America.

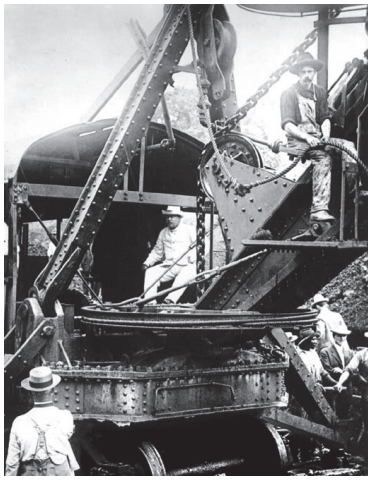
Roosevelt favored building a costly canal through Panama which would require lifting ships by filling a series of locks similar to football-field-long bathtubs. An alternate route through Nicaragua would allow for a sea-level excavation without a series of locks. A Congressional committee proposed the Nicaragua route, but Roosevelt favored going through Panama, which was a province of Colombia at the time. Complicating the matter, the Panama Canal Company, a French enterprise, had earlier tried unsuccessfully to build a sea-level canal through Panama and left structures and equipment behind, which it offered to sell to the U.S. for $40 million dollars. Roosevelt was willing to pay the money; however, Colombia asserted it had the rights to these improvements and machinery. When the Colombian senate refused to ratify a treaty giving the United States the right to dig a canal through Panama, Roosevelt was furious. Rather than renegotiate the treaty, he supported the efforts of the Panama Company's agent, Philippe Bunau-Varilla, to start a revolution in Panama. Shortly

before the expected revolution occurred, Roosevelt sent the destroyer *U.S.S. Nashville* (along with several other ships) into Panamanian waters to stop Colombia from defeating the revolution. After the U.S. recognized Panamanian indpendence, it wasted no time negotiating a treaty with Panama's representative—the same Bunau-Varilla who worked for the Panama Canal Company. The resulting Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty (Hay was the U.S. Secretary of State) gave the U.S. the right to build a canal through Panama and was similar in many respects to the treaty rejected by the Colombian senate. Though he energetically denied any wrongdoing, years later President Roosevelt boasted, "I took the Canal Zone and let Congress debate. And while the debate goes on, the canal does also."



Cross section of the Panama Canal
Each lock is 74 feet tall and 110 feet wide (or 33.5 meters).

The canal took 10 years to build and was completed about the time World War I began. It represented a remarkable triumph of American ingenuity and it was counted as one of the world's most astonishing building projects. Following the advice that the French had refused to heed, the U.S. built a "lock" canal. Coming from either ocean, a ship would enter each lock when the water level was low. Water would then be pumped into the lock until the ship was high enough to float into the next lock. Upon reaching the high point, the ship travels through a lake in the middle of Panama. After that, it would move to a full lock that would be gradually drained and in three stages get the ship back down to sea level on the other side of the isthmus.



Roosevelt (center) visiting a construction site on the Panama Canal in 1906

The Dominican Republic and the Roosevelt Corollary

In the 1820s, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France were plotting to help Spain regain the colonies in South America that it had lost when revolutions broke out there. The U.S. president at the time, James Monroe, decided to make a statement warning European countries not to "extend their system" into the Western hemisphere:

> We owe it…to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers [Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France], to declare, that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety.

In 1903, Roosevelt detected what he thought was a direct challenge to the Monroe Doctrine. Germany (along with Great Britain and Italy) had blocked several

Venezuelan ports because Venezuela refused to repay debts owed to private citizens in their country. At first, TR did little to interfere in this dispute. However, Germany pressed its case by firing shells into a Venezuelan port and refused to accept international arbitration. Roosevelt responded by informing German Emperor Wilhelm II that he had sent the U.S. fleet to Venezuelan waters and that Germany could avoid a confrontation if it agreed to arbitrate its dispute with Venezuela. Since Roosevelt did not make this threat public, the emperor could accept binding arbitration without appearing to have given in to threats from the United States. Thus, Roosevelt reasserted the principles of the Monroe Doctrine and avoided a more serious conflict with Germany.

The possibility of more European interference in Central and South America occurred once again, this time in the Dominican Republic. Again, a government had borrowed more money than it could repay. Again, creditors from European countries pressured their governments to act as debt collectors. This time Germany, France, and Italy threatened a government in the area covered by the Monroe Doctrine. Roosevelt used the occasion to issue what has become known as the Roosevelt Corollary (addition) to the Monroe Doctrine:

> Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power.

In the case of the Dominican Republic, the practical application of Roosevelt's interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine was for the United States to take control of Dominican finances. The U.S. appointed a customs collector and a director of finance and divided the customs collected, with 45 percent going to the Dominican government and 55 percent allocated to paying the Dominican debt to foreign lenders. Because this agreement was not well received by the foreign press or by the U.S. Senate, it prevented Roosevelt from applying the principles behind his doctrine to other countries south of the U.S. border. However, subsequent presidents have used the logic behind the Monroe Doctrine and the Roosevelt Corollary to justify numerous interventions into the affairs of Latin American countries.

Critics of Roosevelt's foreign policy used his words "speak softly but carry a big stick" to portray him as a reckless imperialist

Student Activities

A. Graphic Organizer

Place two terms from the second chart in the proper blank spaces in the first chart.

Topic	Term 1	Term 2
Venezuela		
Monroe Doctrine		
Philippines		
Panama		
Dominican Republic		
U.S. Navy		*No answer required here*

Terms to Place Across from Topics **(two terms can be used twice)**		
Germany shelled port	Revolt led to treaty	Cut ships' traveling time
Could or would not pay debts	Roosevelt ordered U.S. fleet to the Philippines	Led to the Roosevelt Corollary
Revolted against U.S. occupation	Expansion helped make the U.S. a world power	Warned European powers in 1823

B. Essay

In an essay of no fewer than 150 words, explain whether you think that, as president, Roosevelt lived up to his own belief that the U.S. should "deal in a spirit of justice and fairness with weaker nations." According to what you think international standards should be, do you consider his actions excusable? In answering this question, you should think of U.S. actions taken in the Philippines, Panama, and the Dominican Republic while Roosevelt was president.

For Further Consideration: The Portsmouth Agreement

While Part I of this chapter explored President Roosevelt's policy decisions regarding Latin America, Part II deals with events outside of the Western Hemisphere that ocurred around the same time.

You may remember reading about America's Open Door policy regarding China. Before Roosevelt became president, Secretary of State John Hay managed to get five countries (Germany, France, Great Britain, Russia, and Japan) to allow business interests from all of the other nations to trade and to invest in their sector of China.The United States, which had not participated in dividing China into spheres of influence (that is, giving each of the nations mentioned control over a certain area of China), received access to the areas dominated by these countries.

While most of the five nations with special privileges in China were at peace with one another, Japan and Russia were not. Without warning, in February 1904 the Japanese fleet launched an attack on Russian city of Port Arthur, located in Manchuria.

Shortly afterwards, Japan not only took control of neighboring Korea but also sank the fleet Russia sent to defend Port Arthur. As the two countries engaged in desperate battles with one another, Roosevelt was content to see each weaken the other and thus maintain a balance of power between the two. However, the war was destabilizing the Russian government as the tsar's subjects began trying to overthrow him; in addition, Japan lay on the verge of bankrutcy. Roosevelt not only offered to host peace talks between Russia and Japan but convinced each country that the other wanted a way out of their conflict. The opposing sides met in Portsmouth, New Hampshire and with Roosevelt's inspired diplomatic touch managed to reach an agreement that the president later boasted was good for both countries. Russia surrendered its claim to the Manchurian Railroad and Port Arthur, both sides agreed to honor the Open Door policy, and Russia agreed to pay Japan for half of the Sakhalin Peninsula instead of the indemnity (compensation for loss suffered) which Japan had desired. Thus, Japan received money for half of the peninsula which Russia, on the grounds of honor, had refused to pay as an indemnity. In separate talks, the U.S. agreed to recognize Japan's conquest of Korea, and Japan pledged not to attack the Philippines. The international community was so pleased with the outcome of these talks that the Nobel Prize Committee awarded Roosevelt its prestigeous prize in 1906.

In the following years, from 1907 to 1909, Roosevelt ordered a U.S. fleet of 18 ships painted white instead of battle-ready gray, and sent it on a goodwill mission

around the world. Despite some reservations about not receiving all they desired in the Portsmouth Treaty, the Japanese welcomed the U.S. fleet, joyously waving American flags; the fleet was universally aclaimed as a goodwill gesture by the U.S., although it also was meant to show America's military might. In keeping with a famous aphorism attributed to him, Roosevelt spoke softly, but also showed that the U.S. carried a big stick.

Prepare a written report on President Roosevelt's role in ending the Russo-Japanese war. Be prepared to share your opinion on the following question: Given the fact that Roosevelt's Latin American and Philippine policies were not always peaceful, do you think he deserved the Nobel Peace Prize?

Chapter 9. The Taft One-Term Presidency

Overview:

This chapter informs readers that William Howard Taft really wanted to become Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and that he only reluctantly agreed to run for president. Readers learn that, once he was elected, President Taft made four major tactical blunders that split the Republican Party into two wings: one conservative and the other progressive. The narrative continues by describing these mistakes: the Payne-Aldrich tariff debacle, the attempt to unseat House Speaker Joseph Cannon, the Ballinger-Pinchot Affair, and Taft's effort to unseat Midwestern Progressive Republicans who opposed his policies. In addition to completing the Graphic Organizer exercise, all students are required to write a short essay either criticizing or defending the stands taken either by Taft or by the Progressives who opposed him.

The "For Further Consideration" section directs advanced students to read the next chapter and prepare themselves to present a speech supporting one of the four candidates in the election of 1912. They will deliver the actual speeches after the entire class has read the next chapter, which covers the election.

Objectives:

Students will:

- know the facts concerning President Taft's disagreements with his party's Progressive wing concerning the Payne-Aldrich tariff, the fight to unseat Speaker Cannon, the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy, and the attempts to unseat progressive Republicans
- be aware that some Progressive legislation was passed while Taft was president
- understand why the Republican Party split in 1912

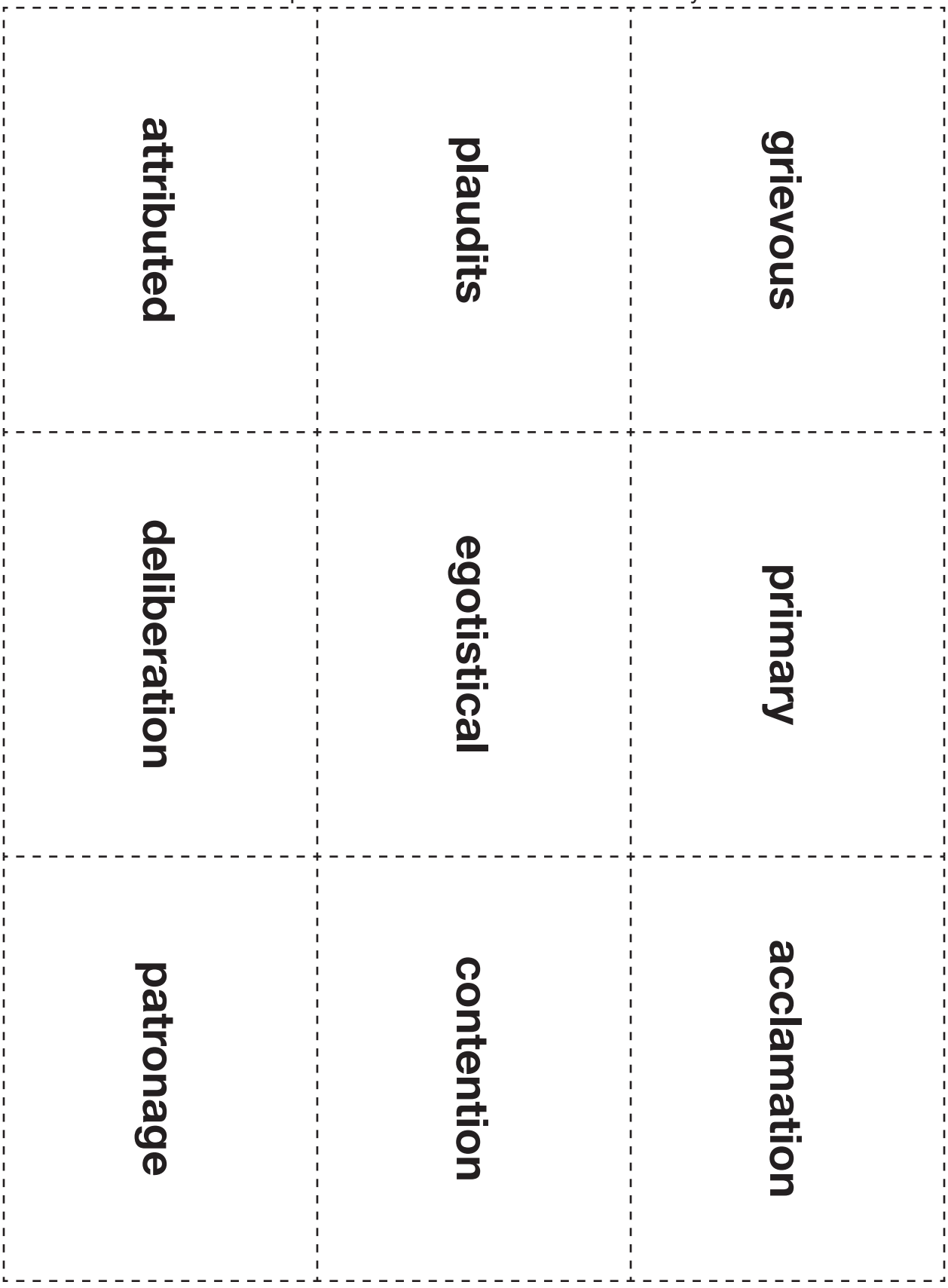
Strategies:

Before class: Make the usual assignment with the exception that you direct advanced students to read the next chapter and be prepared to present a speech supporting one of the candidates the day after the entire class has read Chapter 10.

In class: You can begin by asking students to describe a situation in which they (like Taft) made a mistake that put them into a position where they did not want to be and did not know how to escape. After allowing suitable opportunities for personal revelations, spend enough time reviewing Graphic Organizer questions to make sure that every student understands each of the four mistakes Taft made. Before discussing students' speeches, ask them to read Taft's speech in the next chapter, in which he berates the Progressives for being too radical. Finally, assign advanced students to prepare speeches based on the documents in the next chapter so that the views of at least three different candidates will be represented the next time the class meets.

Chapter 9. The Taft One-Term Presidency
I-Chart

	The powers wielded by Speaker Joe Cannon and why this was important	Either the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy or the Payne-Aldrich controversy	Reasons for blaming the Republican Party split on the Progressives or on President Taft
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 9, Part I			
What I learned from Chapter 9, Part II and in class			
What I would still like to learn			



Chapter 9—The Taft One-Term Presidency

Very serious	Praise	Gave credit for something
Election to determine which candidate will represent his or her party in the general election	Conceited or self-centered	Careful thought
Enthusiastic approval by voice vote	An assumption in an argument	Political favors done for someone

Chapter 9
The Taft One-Term Presidency

Introduction


Taft as President in 1908

William Howard Taft was born in 1857, graduated from Yale 21 years later, and returned to his native Ohio, where he earned admission to the bar and taught law. His rise to Chief Executive can be partially attributed to the ambitions of his wife, Helen, as well as to President Roosevelt's urging. However, he really wanted to become Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, a goal he reached in 1921, years after his presidency had ended. Earlier in his career, Taft had served in government as a prosecutor, tax official, circuit court judge, governor of the Philippines, and Secretary of War. Large enough to outsize most professional-caliber football linemen, jovial and good-natured, Taft succeeded in all of his positions, particularly as governor of the Philippines from 1900 to 1904. Though he had opposed the U.S. keeping the Philippines, he reluctantly accepted the governorship and did his best to earn the respect of what he called his "little brown brothers." He believed they needed material and moral assistance from the U.S., and thought they were not yet ready for independence.

After he was elected president, Taft responded to congratulations from fellow Yale alumni:

> It is better to leave office with the plaudits of your countrymen than to enter it with them. The opportunities for mistakes…are so many that I look forward…with great reluctance to the result for the next four years.

As you shall see, President-elect Taft was correct: he had plenty of opportunities to make mistakes—which he did. This chapter reports on four of Taft's most grievous errors and explains why they split the Republican Party into two wings. The Progressive wing split from the Republican Party in 1912 and united behind former President Theodore Roosevelt. The conservative wing remained loyal to Taft. The exciting story of the election that followed is covered in Chapter 10.

Taft Supports Some Progressive Reforms

It needs to be stated at the outset that the Taft presidency was not a complete failure. Taft was instrumental in getting the 16th Amendment to the Constitution passed by Congress and played a role in getting the states to ratify it. The amendment gave the federal government the power to tax incomes, corporations, and inheritances. He also extended the reach of the Hepburn Act. Taft also prosecuted twice as many anti-trust cases in four years than Roosevelt had prosecuted in seven years; furthermore, he withdrew more land from the public domain than Roosevelt had. However, Progressives ignored these achievements and focused instead on Taft's political blunders. These mistakes convinced them that Taft opposed their political agenda and should not run for office on the Republican ticket in 1912.

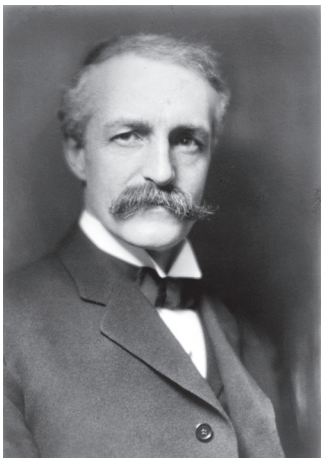
Unfortunately, Taft was not a natural politician. Before running for president, he had campaigned for only one political office. He was not an inspiring speaker, lacked the ability to instantly size up a situation, and preferred the quiet deliberation needed to make judicial decisions to the give-and-take of politics. Furthermore, he was a conservative at heart and resented the outspoken criticisms Progressives often made about the government, the wealthy, and the country. He developed an intense dislike for the Progressive leaders and considered them rude, arrogant, egotistical lightweights who advocated radical and socialist ideas. They just were not his kind of people!

The First Mistake: Tariff Reform

The Republican Party Platform of 1908 called for tariff revisions. During the political campaign, Taft made it clear that he wanted to reduce taxes on imports. Eager to honor his campaign promise, he called for a special session of Congress shortly after his election. Sereno Payne of New York introduced a tariff bill in the House of Representatives that substantially lowered rates on most imports. When the bill reached the upper chamber, however, the Senate raised more than 600 tariff schedules. Though many of these changes were reduced in the conference committee, the final bill protected big businesses in the East and lowered protection on agricultural products in the Midwest. Taft had remained largely passive during the floor fight and later praised the Payne-Aldrich tariff as the best ever. Progressives—especially those from Midwestern states—were outraged.

The Second Mistake: the Ballinger-Pinchot Controversy

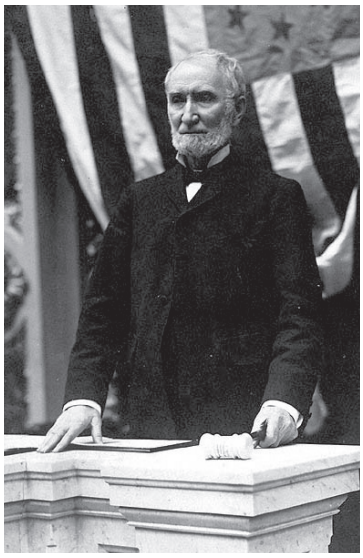
Another major mistake Taft made became known as the Ballinger-Pinchot Controversy. Richard Ballinger was the new Secretary of the Interior who Taft appointed in place of a Roosevelt loyalist by the name of James Garrison. Ballinger was rumored to have had ties with Westerners who opposed Roosevelt's conservation policies. Not long after taking office, Ballinger expressed his opposition to Roosevelt having withdrawn hundreds of sites that could be used to generate electric power on the grounds that they were needed for ranger stations. Taft agreed with Ballinger and



Chief Forester
Gifford Pinchot

removed them from the public domain. While this incident infuriated conservationists like Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot, their real grief came from the revelation that Ballinger had secretly committed valuable government coal land in Alaska to a syndicate headed by J.P. Morgan. A hurried review cleared Ballinger of this charge, but Pinchot was not satisfied, and publicly called for a Congressional investigation of the incident. Taft charged Pinchot with insubordination and fired him. A friend of Roosevelt's, Pinchot hurried to Europe where the former president was vacationing and gave him his version of the story. The muckraking magazines and the progressive press sided with Pinchot while a Congressional committee appointed by Taft's political allies found no evidence of wrongdoing. Nevertheless, the Ballinger-Pinchot affair became the source of much popular discontent with President Taft.

The Third Mistake: the Speaker Joe Cannon Controversy



Speaker Joseph Cannon calling
the House to order

Joseph Cannon was speaker of the House of Representatives during most of the Progressive era. Among his many powers was the authority to assign Congressmen to serve on committees that wrote bills. Furthermore, the Speaker had the power to appoint members of the Rules Committee, which determined the order in which bills would be considered. During Congressional debates, the Speaker would decide who could speak and when. Cannon used these immense powers to prevent the House from passing bills the Progressives wanted to become laws. President Taft had on several occasions hinted that he would support efforts by Progressives to deprive speaker Cannon of his powers "so that Cannon will not be the sole tyrant in the House." This encouraged 30 Progressive Congressmen to challenge the rules that gave Cannon his immense powers. However, Cannon, Senator Nelson Aldrich, and Congressman Sereno Payne warned Taft that an attempt to change the rules would result in the defeat of Taft's attempt to reduce the tariff. Taft decided to stay out of the fight in exchange for support for his tariff reform. Despite his promises to the contrary, Aldrich presided over the Senate while it supported upward revisions of what became the Payne-Aldrich tariff.

The Fourth Mistake: Taking the Gloves Off

The conflict between Taft and the Progressive wing of his party came to a head during the prelude to the 1910 midterm elections. As early as 1909, the president had made it known that he was formulating plans to defeat Progressives in the upcoming

primary campaigns. During the fight with Speaker Cannon, Taft deliberately ignored requests from Progressives to appoint their supporters to state offices, a practice known as patronage. Furthermore, he directed the Republican Party to give campaign contributions to conservative (Taft) Republicans rather than to Progressives. In addition, Taft sent speakers to campaign against Progressive candidates. In other words, Taft engaged in full political warfare against his opponents. Progressives responded in kind and began to think that Taft should not run for president in 1912. The question remained: who would be their candidate?

Theodore Roosevelt Throws his Hat in the Ring

Shortly after his good friend William Howard Taft became president, Theodore Roosevelt left the country to hunt big game in Africa and to meet the heads of state in Europe. He killed his share of rhinoceroses and lions in Africa, and he impressed kings and commoners alike in Europe with his natural enthusiasm, immense knowledge, and outgoing personality. His meeting with Pinchot in Europe convinced him that things were not going well back home. He returned to America in June 1910 to a rousing reception by thousands of well-wishers. His political friends wasted no time in asking Roosevelt to run for president. Roosevelt held himself out of contention until February 1912, when he announced, “My hat is in the ring.” Unable to obtain the Republican Party’s nomination, Roosevelt and his political supporters founded a new party, the Progressive Party, and nominated the energetic former president by acclamation.

Student Activities

A. Graphic Organizer

Write the correct phrase opposite the term or name with which it is most closely associated.

Name or term	Correct Phrase
Taft wanted to become	
Richard Ballinger	
Gifford Pinchot	
William Taft	
16th Amendment	
Joe Cannon	
James Garfield	
J.P. Morgan syndicate	
Payne-Aldrich Bill	
Theodore Roosevelt	

Chief Justice of Supreme Court	Speaker of House of Representatives	Allegedly obtained lease on Alaska coal lands
Progressive Party candidate for president	Fired by Taft for insubordination	Allowed Senate to raise rates
Gave Congress power to tax incomes	Secretary of Interior under Roosevelt	Failed to reduce rates as much as expected
	Antagonized Progressives	

B. Essays

Write an essay of no fewer than 100 words on one of the following:

1. Assume the role of President Taft and defend yourself from the constant stream of criticism by the Progressives, whom you consider socialistic and too radical.

2. Assume the role of some of the Progressives and criticize the actions of President Taft, whom you dislike because you consider him too conservative and opposed to making important reforms.

For Further Consideration: The Election of 1912

Read the next chapter and prepare to assume the role of one of the candidates who ran for President in 1912. Your choices are: Theodore Roosevelt, Progressive Party; Woodrow Wilson, Democratic Party; William Howard Taft, Republican Party; or Eugene Debs, Socialist Party. Check with your teacher to help him/her make sure that there is at least one student representing each candidate (with the possible exception of Debs).

Chapter 10. The Election of 1912
Teacher Page

Overview:

The purpose of this chapter is to engage students in an informed discussion of the issues raised by the election of 1912. The chapter provides excerpts from important speeches by each of the four candidates: Wilson, Roosevelt, Taft, and Debs; it also includes a section on each party's platform. Questions in the Graphic Organizer help students analyze the speeches and the platforms. Students are asked to write a statement about why they would or would not support either Debs or Taft, and whether they would or would not support either Roosevelt or Wilson. Advanced students are instructed to prepare a brief speech supporting one of the candidates.

Objectives:

Students will:

- know the major planks of the four political party platforms of 1912
- understand the major premise of a speech given by each candidate
- decide for whom they would have voted in 1912

Strategies:

Before class: Assign the chapter either up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In class: Teachers can teach this chapter using one of two approaches and achieve basically the same goals.

If you wish to teach this lesson in a conventional manner, start by asking students why they agreed or disagreed with one of the four speeches. Write the idea that struck students as either particularly appealing or particularly disagreeable on the board and invite all students to respond. Continue using this basic approach by having students react to the planks of the platforms of each of the four political parties and conclude class by asking students for whom they would have voted in 1912 and why. Keep score by recording each vote on the board. End class by telling students that Wilson won with 42 percent of the popular vote as opposed to 27 percent for Roosevelt, 23 percent for Taft, and a mere 6 percent for Debs.

The more controversial but probably more satisfying way of teaching this lesson is to conduct it as a simulation of the election debate. Assign students to role-play one of the four candidates. Your most liberal student should be Eugene Debs and your most conservative student will probably feel at home representing President Taft's

views. Start by dividing your class into four and give all candidates about eight to ten minutes to electioneer with each group. After all candidates have their presentations, open discussion for the entire class by asking with which ideas they agree and with which they disagree. After providing students a chance to vote for their favorites, end class by telling students who won the election.

Chapter 10. The Election of 1912
I-Chart

	The New Freedom Wilson's argument for it, and legislation to implement it	**New Nationalism** Roosevelt's argument for it, and legislation to implement it	**Who I would have voted for in 1912 and why**
What I already know			
What I learned from Chapter 10, Part I			
What I learned from Chapter 10, Part II and in class			
What I would still like to learn			

Chapter 10—The Election of 1912

benevolent	colossal	incumbent
indemnity	injunction	"put on their mettle"
supplementary	millennium	oligarchy

Chapter 10—The Election of 1912

Kind	Huge	Person holding a position or office
Payment for loss	Court order	Give someone a good run for their money
In addition to	A period of 1000 years	Rule by a few

Chapter 10
The Election of 1912

Introduction

The election of 1912 presented perhaps the most intriguing alternatives of any in American history. It featured four candidates with markedly different political philosophies. The best known of the four was former "Rough Rider" and president Theodore Roosevelt, who became the standard-bearer for the Progressive (Bull Moose) Party on a platform calling for more federal regulation. The champion of stand-pat Republicans was the incumbent president, William Howard Taft, who was just completing his first term in office. Woodrow Wilson, a comparative newcomer to politics, ran as a Democrat and advocated what he called the "New Freedom." The fourth candidate, dynamic labor leader, Eugene Debs, spoke for the Socialist Party and offered a stinging critique of capitalism. This chapter presents you with the candidates' ideas and their party's platforms and provides a chance for you to reenact this controversial and important election.

The Progressive Party: Candidate Theodore Roosevelt Advocates a "New Nationalism"	**The Democratic Party: Candidate Woodrow Wilson Advocates a "New Freedom"**
Released from the need to please the conservative wing of the Republican Party, ex-President Roosevelt was free to propose a bold new program to reform America. **<u>The New Nationalism</u>** The people of the United States have but one instrument which they can efficiently use against the colossal combinations of business—and that instrument is the Government of the United States. All that these great corporations ask is that the power of the Government shall be limited. Remember that it is absolutely impossible to limit the power of these great corporations whose enormous power constitutes so serious a problem in modern industrial life except by extending the power of the Government.	The successful governor of New Jersey, Woodrow Wilson, advocated a program of reforms appropriately called the "New Freedom." **<u>The New Freedom</u>** If the government is to tell big business men how to run their business, then don't you see that big business men have to get closer to the government even than they are now? Don't you see that they must capture the government, in order not to be restrained too much by it?... I don't care how benevolent the master is going to be, *I* will not live under a master. That is not what America was created for. America was created in order that every man should have the same chance as every

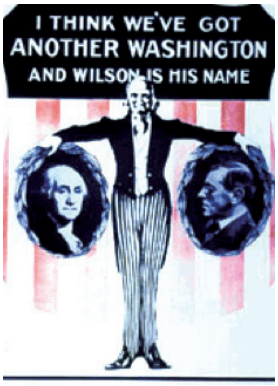
We propose…to extend governmental power in order to secure the liberty of the wage workers, of the men and women who toil in industry, to save the liberty of the oppressed from the oppressor. Mr. Wilson stands for the liberty of the oppressor to oppress. We stand for the limitation of his liberty not to oppress those who are weaker than himself.

Progressive Party Platform

We pledge ourselves to work unceasingly in State and Nation for:

1. Securing equal suffrage to men and women,
2. Legislation that will compel strict limitation of all campaign contributions and expenditures,
3. Preventing issuance of injunctions in cases arising out of labor disputes,
4. Prevention of industrial accidents, occupational diseases, overwork, involuntary unemployment,
5. The fixing of minimum safety and health standards for the various occupations,
6. The prohibition of child labor,
7. Minimum wage standards for women, to provide a "living wage,"
8. The establishment of an eight-hour day for women and young persons,
9. 1 day's rest in 7 for all wage workers,
10. Compensation for death by industrial accident and injury and trade disease,

other man to exercise mastery over his own fortunes...If you will but hold off the adversaries, if you will but see to it that the weak are protected, I will venture a wager with you that there are some men in the United States, now weak, economically weak, who have brains enough to compete with these gentlemen and who will presently come into the market and put the "gentlemen on their mettle"...



The Democratic Party Platform

The high Republican tariff…is a system of taxation which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer; under its operations the American farmer and laboring man are the chief sufferers; it raises the cost of the necessaries of life to them, but does not protect their product or wages.

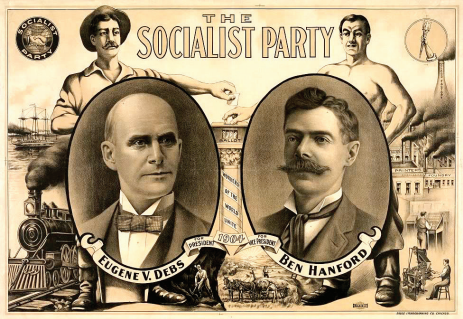
A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable, we therefore favor the vigorous enforcement of the criminal as well as the civil law against trusts and trust officials, and demand the enactment of such additional legislation as may be necessary to make it impossible for a private monopoly to exist in the United States..

…we denounce as usurpation the efforts of our opponents to deprive the States of any of the rights reserved to them, and to enlarge and magnify the powers of the Federal government.

11. The protection of home life against the hazards of sickness, unemployment & age, 12. Strong National regulation of corporations, 13. Strengthening the Sherman Law by prohibiting agreement to divide territory or limit output; refusing to sell to customers who buy from business rivals; to sell below cost in certain areas while maintaining higher prices in other places…and other unfair trade practices.	We believe that injunctions should not be issued in labor disputes… ...labor organizations and their members should not be regarded as illegal combinations in restraint of trade. We pledge the Democratic party, so far as the Federal jurisdiction extends, to an employees' compensation law providing adequate indemnity for injury to body or loss of life.

The Socialist Party: Candidate Eugene Debs Advocates for Socialism	**The Republican Party: Candidate William Howard Taft Advocates for Continued Progress**
Jailed for his role in the 1894 Pullman strike, Eugene Debs became a socialist and called on Americans to make drastic changes to the country's economic system. **<u>Capitalism is the Culprit</u>** It is this capitalist system that is responsible for the increasing burden of armaments, the poverty, slums, child labor, most of the insanity, crime and prostitution, and much of the disease that afflicts mankind. Under this system the working class is exposed to poisonous conditions, to frightful and needless perils to life and limb, is walled around with court decisions, injunctions and unjust laws, and is preyed upon incessantly for the benefit of the controlling oligarchy of wealth. Under it also, the children of the working class are doomed to ignorance, drudging toil and darkened lives.	Having kept control of the Republican Party, candidate Taft opposed making the radical changes he claimed the other parties wanted to make. **<u>False Charges Produced Discontent</u>** We are living in an age in which by exaggeration of the defects of our present condition, by false charges and responsibility for it against individuals and classes, by holding up to the feverish imagination of the less fortunate and the discontented the possibilities of a millennium, a condition of popular unrest has been produced… A National Government cannot create good times. It cannot make the rain to fall, the sun to shine, or the crops to grow, but it can, by pursuing a meddlesome policy to change economic conditions, and frightening the investment of capital, prevent a prosperity and a revival of business that which otherwise

We declare, therefore, that the longer sufferance of these conditions is impossible, and we purpose to end them all.



Socialist Party Platform

We advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

1. The collective ownership and democratic management of railroads, wire and wireless telegraphs and telephones, express service, steamboat lines, of all large-scale industries
2. The immediate acquirement by the municipalities, the states or the federal government of all grain elevators, stock yards, storage warehouses
3. The extension of the public domain to include mines, wells, forests & waterpower
4. The collective ownership of land and the banks when possible
5. The extension of all useful public works under a work day of not more than eight hours to relieve public unemployment.
6. Shortening the workday and forbidding employment of children under 16
7. Forbidding the interstate transportation of all uninspected factories and mines
8. Establishing minimum wage scales
9. Insurance against unemployment, industrial accidents and death
10. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage
11. A graduated income tax

might have taken place. And, in view of the experience of the past, it can halt enterprise, paralyze investment, and throw out of employment hundreds and thousands of working men.

Republican Party Platform

On the Tariff

The Republican tariff policy has been of the greatest benefit to the country, developing our resources, diversifying our industries, and protecting our workmen against competition with cheaper labor abroad, thus establishing for our wage-earners the American standard of living.

On Monopolies

The Republican party favors the enactment of legislation supplementary to the existing anti-trust act which will define as criminal offences those specific acts that uniformly mark attempts to restrain and to monopolize trade, to the end that those who honestly intend to obey the law may have a guide for their action and those who aim to violate the law may the more surely be punished.

On States Rights

The Republican party is now, as always, a party of advanced and constructive statesmanship. It is prepared to go forward with the solution of those new questions,

12. Abolition of the monopoly patents ownership 13. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for women 14. Abolition of the Senate and of the veto power of the President 15. The election of the President and Vice-President by direct vote of the people 16. Immediate curbing of the power of the courts to issue injunctions	which social, economic and political development have brought into the forefront of the nation's interest. It will strive, not only in the nation but in the several States, to enact the necessary legislation to safeguard the public <u>On Workers' Rights</u> The Republican party…will strive, not only in the nation but in the several States, to enact the necessary legislation to safeguard the public health; to limit effectively the labor of women and children, and to protect wage earners engaged in dangerous occupations; to enact workman's compensation laws…

Student Activities

A. Graphic Organizer: Understanding speeches and platforms

In the spaces provided in the accompanying chart, write the name of the candidate or the party platform that answers each question and give an example of the evidence that led you to this conclusion:

1. Which candidate wanted to make the most radical changes?
2. Which candidate wanted to make the fewest changes?
3. & 4. What two parties' platforms seemed not to support what its candidate said in his speech?
5. With the exception of Eugene Debs, which candidate wanted to give most power to the national government?
6. Which two platforms supported giving women the right to vote?
7. Which platform seemed to be most in favor of states' rights?
8. Which platform, the Progressive or the Democratic, would have been most opposed by big businesses?
9. Which platform offered the most to workers?
10. Which candidate's speech do you think was the most convincing? Give reasons to support your answer.

Candidate or Party	Evidence that supports your answer
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	

5.	
6.	
7.	
8.	
9.	
10.	

B. Statement of Belief

Including specific legislative proposals, write a statement explaining why you would vote:

1. Either Republican or Socialist

2. Either Progressive or Democrat

For Further Consideration

Write a speech that would take no more than four minutes to deliver in support of one of the four candidates for president. Base your speech on your candidates' words and his party's platform.

Chapter 11. Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom at Home and Abroad Teacher Page

Overview

Students are informed that Woodrow Wilson won the election of 1912 with 42 percent of the popular vote and began to implement his New Freedom program immediately after taking office. The chapter describes how Wilson's skilled political maneuvering resulted in a significant tariff reduction, explains how the Federal Reserve Banking System works, clarifies the differences between the Clayton and the Federal Trade Commission acts, and mentions a provision in the Clayton Act that was designed to protect labor unions. Students may be surprised to learn that these four laws more or less completed Wilson's domestic agenda and that the president initially opposed laws protecting women and children, providing workman's compensation, and establishing an eight-hour day on the grounds that the U.S. Constitution assigned these powers to the states. The chapter points out that Wilson reluctantly supported this aforementioned social legislation in 1916 to win the support of Progressives who had voted for Roosevelt's New Nationalism in 1912. Finally, students are provided with a list of laws that President Wilson reluctantly supported. They learn that in its legislative accomplishments, Wilson's "New Freedom" more closely resembled Roosevelt's "New Nationalism."

The "For Further Consideration" section covers Wilson's reluctant decision to enter World War I, his hope to "save the world for democracy," and the Fourteen Points he set forth to achieve his goal. This section also discusses Wilson's failure to get the Senate to ratify the Versailles Treaty and his failure to address the egregious violations of civil liberties in the U.S. during the war and shortly thereafter. Though most of intolerance occurred while Wilson was in Paris negotiating the treaty and recovering from the stroke that left him powerless during his last two years in office, men he appointed carried it out. Students reading this section are asked to evaluate Wilson's contributions to the Progressive era based on his domestic as well as his foreign policies.

Objectives:

Students will:

- learn that the three major domestic accomplishments of the Wilson presidency were the Underwood-Simmons Tariff, the Federal Reserve Act, and the Federal Trade Commission Act
- understand that Wilson reluctantly signed laws he once had thought were intruding on states' powers and regarded as "class legislation"
- realize that Wilson fought WWI to "save the world for democracy" but that civil liberties violations during his tenure threatened democracy at home

Before class: Assign the chapter either up to or including the "For Further Consideration" section and inform students they will be expected to write their answers to all the Student Activities questions covering the assigned section(s).

In class: I suggest you spend two days on this chapter: one focusing on domestic policy, and the other on World War I and the violations of civil liberties during and immediately after the war.

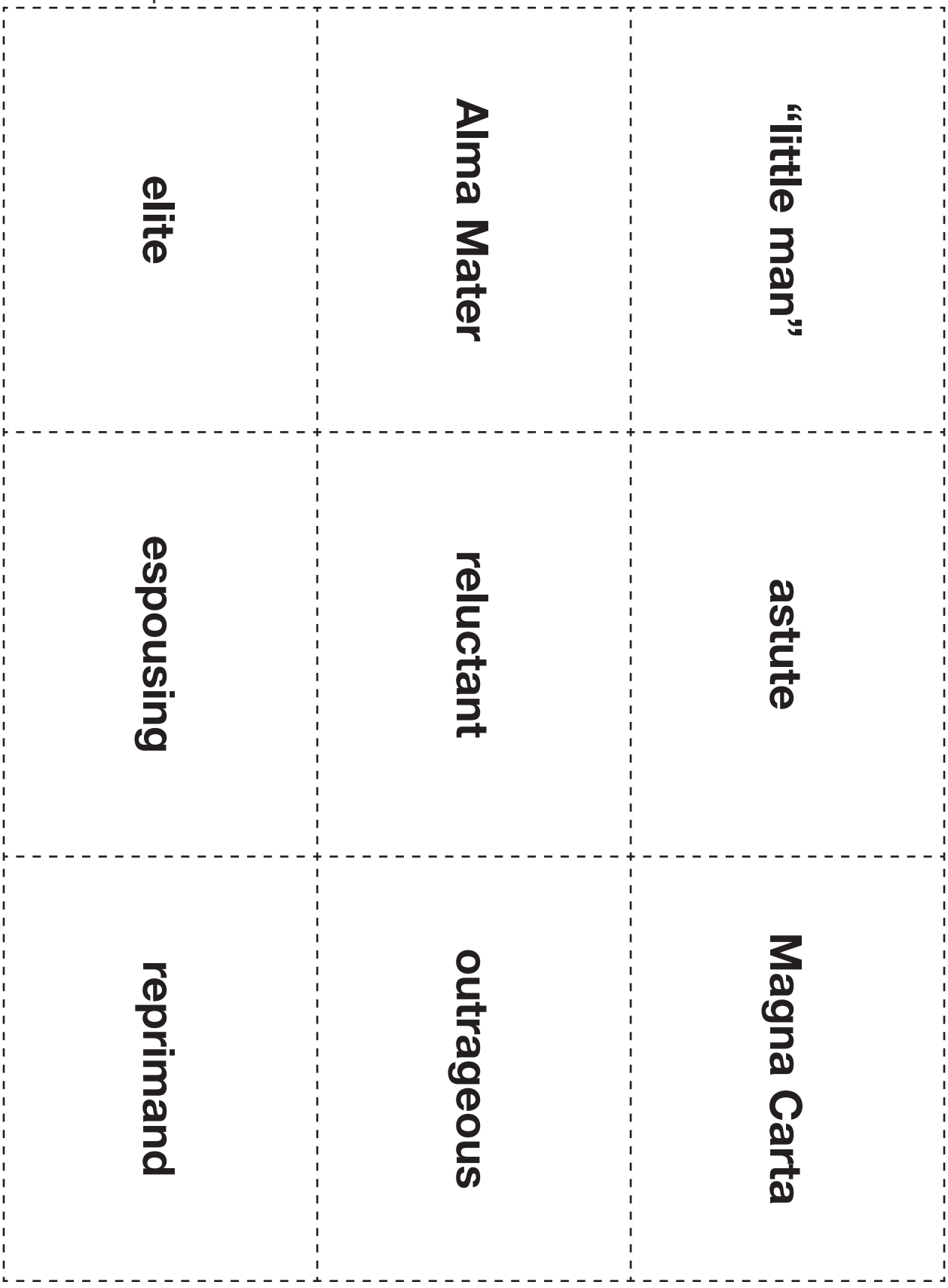
Day one: To begin on domestic affairs, ask students to recall what they remember about the differences between the New Freedom and the New Nationalism from the previous chapter. Next, ask students which laws passed while Wilson was president were examples of the New Freedom, and which ones Wilson only reluctantly signed, and why he was reluctant. You may also want to help students understand the efforts Wilson made to secure passage of the Underwood-Simmons tariff. Hopefully, this episode will clarify for students how the Federal Reserve Bank Board of Governors can stimulate economic growth or reduce inflation by manipulating the discount rate. Finally, you can probably get a good discussion from your students by asking them whether they believe the reforms made during Wilson's first term in office went too far, not far enough, or were adequate for the country's needs.

Day two: Many of your students may already know enough about World War I for this chapter to serve as a reminder. Help students review and understand the period of U.S. involvement in WWI, beginning with America's reluctance to get involved in a European war, the purpose for which Wilson said the U.S. was fighting, the key provision in the League of Nations Treaty labeling the conflict as the "war that would end all wars," and finally the disgraceful violation of civil liberties during and after the war. Finally, ask students how they think all this contributes to their understanding of the Progressive era and Wilson's role in it.

Chapter 11. Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom at Home and Abroad
I-Chart

	Three major laws passed in Wilson's first two years in office	How does the Federal Reserve System work?	What laws did Wilson sign reluctantly and why?	What was inconsistent about Wilson's WWI policies?
What I already know				
What I learned from Chapter 11, Part I				
What I learned from Chapter 11, Part II and in class				
What I would still like to learn				

Chapter 11—Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom at Home and Abroad



Chapter 11—Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom at Home and Abroad

Wilson's term for the average American	Place from which someone has graduated	A privileged and powerful minority
Clever and perceptive	Not wanting to	Advocating; speaking out in favor of
The document granting rights to King John's subjects that British nobles forced him to sign in 1215	Shocking	To tell someone off

Chapter 11
Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom at Home and Abroad

Introduction

In many respects, Woodrow Wilson was well prepared to become President of the United States. Born and raised in the South, he practiced law before finding that his real calling was teaching and writing. After a brief interlude as a professor of political science and history at a number of small colleges, he accepted a job offer at his Alma Mater, Princeton University. Instantly successful as a teacher and famous for his book, *Congressional Government*, Wilson became president of Princeton in 1902. During his eight years as president, Wilson made a name for himself by enlarging the faculty, changing the curriculum, and attempting to curb the "elite" eating clubs that dominated campus life. Urged to run for governor of New Jersey in 1910, Wilson won the election and quickly established a reputation as a reformer. Even before he had completed two years as governor, Wilson entered the race to represent the Democratic Party in the 1912 presidential election. In a bitterly divided convention, the delegates needed 46 ballots to finally nominate him. Espousing what he called the "New Freedom" in a four-candidate race (see Chapter 10), Wilson won the election with 42 percent of the popular vote and 435 electoral votes. Now the scholarly author of several books on government, former college president, and one-term reform governor of New Jersey stood ready to put his scholar's knowledge of government to the test after only two years in elected politics.

Woodrow Wilson, scholar and president

When he became president, Wilson had four specific goals in mind. First and foremost, he wanted significant tariff reduction. Second, he hoped to reform the banking system. Third, he intended to prevent anti-competitive behavior by big businesses. Finally, he wanted to protect the workers' right to withhold their labor (i.e., go on strike) in order to achieve legitimate goals.

This chapter discusses the laws Congress passed at Wilson's urging, and subsequent measures that Congress passed with Wilson's reluctant consent. As you will see, the first set of laws fit into Wilson's pledge for opening the economic system for the "inventive genius" of the "little man," and "give him a chance to show [the elite and well-connected] that he has the brains to compete with them." The second set of laws more closely resembled the "New Nationalism" platform advocated by Wilson's rival in the 1912 presidential race, Theodore Roosevelt.

The Underwood-Simmons Tariff

Tariff reform was uppermost on the list of changes Wilson wanted to make. He regarded the tariff as a special privilege given big businesses that protected them from competition with cheaper goods from foreign countries. These tariffs, Wilson believed, not only raised prices for consumers but also enabled big businesses to continue their monopolistic practices.


Oscar Underwood

Wilson was well aware of the difficulties encountered by other presidents who wanted to reduce tariffs. The most recent example was William Howard Taft's experience with the Payne-Aldrich tariff. Unlike Taft, Wilson boldly broke precedent and spoke directly to Congress in order to outline his case against the tariff. Under the leadership of Representative Oscar Underwood, the House of Representatives passed a bill reducing the tariff from 40 percent of the value of goods imported to 27 percent. When the bill bearing Underwood's name reached the Senate, astute lobbyists began using their influence to have senators raise many of the individual tariff schedules on the 1351 different items contained in the bill. Rather than sit by helplessly as Taft had done while the Senate raised schedules on the Payne tariff bill, Wilson lashed out against the lobbyists. He characterized them as "great bodies of astute men [who] seek to create an artificial opinion and to overcome the interest of the public for their private profit."

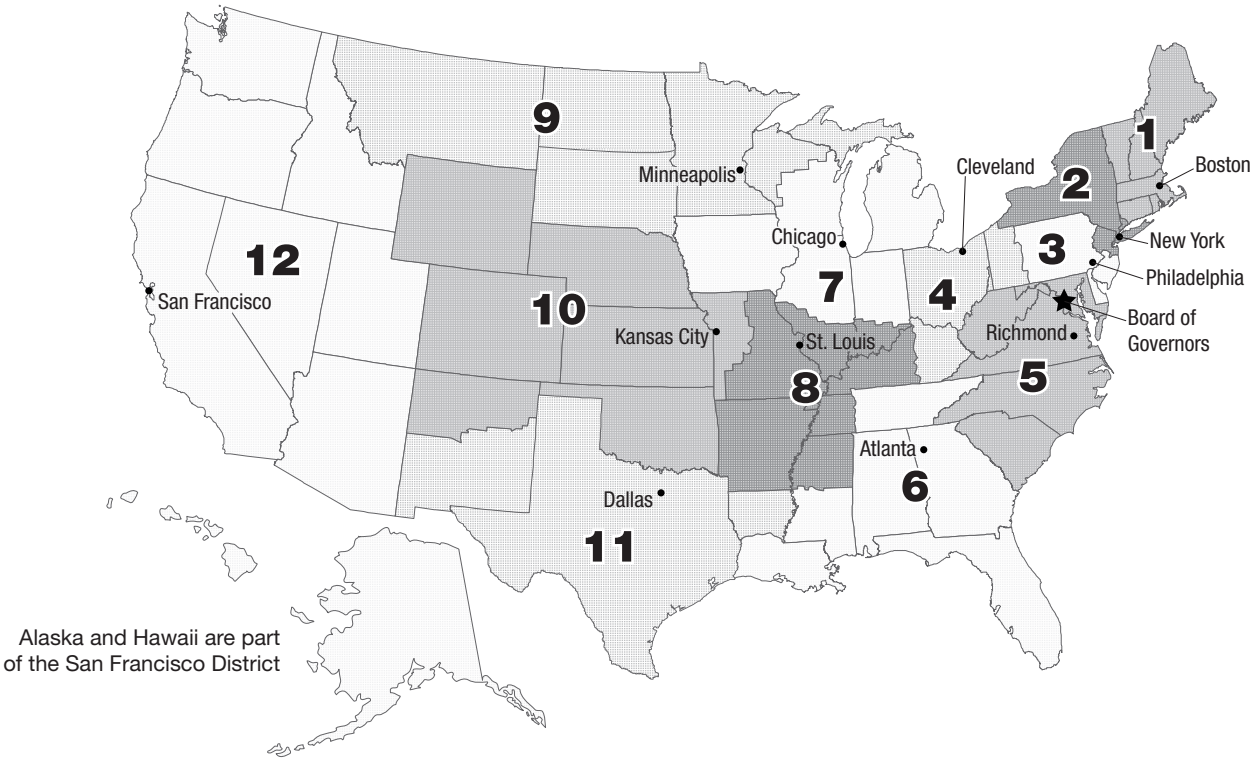
Wilson's strong reprimand worked. The final bill, the Underwood-Simmons tariff, reduced the import taxes on 958 individual items and, for good measure, imposed the first tax on incomes to replace the revenues lost by reducing the tariffs. The tax was light, ranging from only 1 percent on taxable incomes over $3000 to 6 percent on taxable incomes over $500,000. This established the principle that richer people should pay a higher percent of their income in taxes than poorer people did.

The Federal Reserve System Established

With the 18-month-long battle over tariff reform still in progress, Wilson began working on his second long-term project: banking and currency reform. Aware of the chaotic nature of America's financial system and the lack of federal control over the operation of the nation's banks, Wilson knew he had to do something. Unlike other industrial countries, the United States lacked a central bank, and hadn't had one since Andrew Jackson had vetoed the bill to extend the charter of the Second Bank of the United States in the 1830s. By 1913, informed Americans knew that the U.S. currency could not be increased as needed, as the long battle to include silver in the currency had revealed. They knew that funds could not readily be transferred from one part of the country to another, and that the government had no control over the banking system. In addition, farmers knew from bitter experience that it was almost

impossible to borrow the money they desperately needed without paying outrageous interest rates.

The Federal Reserve Banking system emerged from this myriad of different needs. It consists primarily of 12 Federal Reserve Banks, loosely controlled by a seven-person Board of Governors. Each bank is in a different region of the country; Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Richmond, Atlanta, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Minneapolis, Dallas, and San Francisco all have Federal Reserve Banks. The average American can't use these banks because they are "bankers' banks"; that is, the customers of the Federal Reserve Banks are other banks.



Location of the 12 Federal Reserve Banks and the Board of Governors

Created by Congress, an institution called the Board of Governors controls the Federal Reserve Banks. This board has seven members, each of whom serves a 14-year term. The president in whose term they serve appoints no more than a few members, thus making the Federal Reserve Board independent of the president's wishes.

In 2009, the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board was Ben Bernanke. Many regard the chairman as the second most powerful person in the United States. This power comes in part from the degree of respect the chairman commands from other members of the board and from members of Congress, economists, and leaders in

business. In addition, the Federal Reserve Board has tremendous powers.

The board can control the amount of money in the United States in three different ways: by changing reserve requirements, through open-market operations, and by altering the discount rate or the federal funds rate. Each of these tools has a potentially powerful effect on the money supply and the direction of the economy, but this chapter will cover only one of them.

Changing the Discount or the Federal Funds Rate

The main tool the Federal Reserve System uses to affect the money supply is to change the discount or the federal funds rate. The discount rate is the rate of interest the Federal Reserve Banks charge the member banks; the federal funds rate is the rate charged by member institutions for overnight loans. When Federal Reserve Banks raise the rate they charge member banks, these banks then have to raise the rates they charge their customers. With higher interest rates, people borrow less money from the banks, and the system in general creates less money. Lowering the discount rate has the reverse effect. It causes member banks to charge their customers less for making loans. Thus, the banks lend more money, people buy more goods, manufacturers produce more goods, and employment rises.

The Federal Trade Commission and the Clayton Acts

During the election campaign, President Wilson advocated breaking up the nation's large businesses in order to prevent them from forcing out their smaller competitors. He opposed Roosevelt's proposal to regulate the businesses because he feared that they would be able to control the regulators. While Wilson was president, Congress passed two laws regulating business: the Federal Trade Commission Act, and the Clayton Act.

The Trade Commission Act established a board that would issue "cease and desist" orders when it found that a business engaged in what they regarded as unfair competition. The accused company could then appeal to the courts or obey the order. The commission Wilson appointed investigated more than 2000 cases and issued 379 cease-and-desist orders. During the 1920s, however, the commission acted more as a friend of business rather than as a policeman stopping unfair competition.

Also passed in 1914, the Clayton Act made specific business practices illegal, including price discrimination that might eliminate competitors, forbidding customers from purchasing products from competing producers, and acquiring stock in a competing corporation. Wilson complained that the bill had been "made so weak that you can not tell it from water," but he did nothing to make it stronger. He had put his faith in the Trade Commission in order to prevent unfair competition, but then appointed commissioners who were friendly to business.

Wilson's desire to protect strikers from prosecution under the Sherman Anti-trust Act resulted in a provision union leaders hailed as labor's "Magna Carta," althoutgh according to at least one historian, "it did not change labor's standing before the law."

Wilson and the Progressives

President Wilson played a major role in getting Congress to pass tariff, banking, and anti-trust legislation, as well as a law protecting unions from the Sherman Act. He believed these laws accomplished his New Freedom agenda by providing an opportunity for the "inventive little man to compete with the elite and well connected." Progressives who had voted for Roosevelt, however, thought much more needed to be done. Wilson resisted their demands for the better part of two years. He believed that much of what the Progressives wanted qualified as "class legislation"—laws designed to help one group of people or another but not necessarily good for America as a whole. He did not think government should favor any single interested party, but should provide equal opportunities to all. Furthermore, Wilson assumed that states bore the responsibility for solving many of the problems people in the country faced. The Constitution, Wilson believed, never gave the federal government the power to make laws for the states governing working hours, minimum wages, child labor, workman's compensation, etc. The following chart lists a series of laws Progressives wanted, Wilson's original reaction to their demands, and the date when Progressives passed each of the following into law with Wilson's blessing.

Wilson and African Americans

Woodrow Wilson was born in the South before the Civil War and never completely shed the racial prejudices common to that region of the country (and most of the North as well). While in office, he reneged on a promise to appoint a committee to study the problem of race relations in the U.S., allowed racial segregation to take root in government departments where it had not existed earlier, and permitted the dismissal of many African American civil servants and the demotion of others.

Proposed legislation	Wilson's original response	Year passed or ratified
Direct election of Senators instead of by state legislatures	Originally opposed	17th Amendment 1913
Prohibition of manufacturing and sale of alcoholic beverages	Favored	18th Amendment 1919
Constitutional Amendment granting women the right to vote	Originally opposed	19th Amendment 1920
Establish rural banks to lend money at easy terms to farmers who would use their land as collateral	Originally opposed	Federal Farm Loan Act, 1916
A bill prohibiting goods produced by children under 14 to cross state lines	Originally opposed	Keating-Owen Act, 1916[1]
Shorten workday to eight hours for all workers	Originally opposed	Adamson Act, 1916 (only for railroad workers)
Provide financial assistance to all workers injured on the job	Originally opposed	Workman's Compensation Act, 1916 (for federal workers)
Restrict immigration to foreigners literate in their native language	Consistently opposed	Vetoed by Wilson

One might wonder why Wilson changed his mind on so many Progressive proposals in 1916. Perhaps he felt that he needed the support of Progressives in both political parties in order to win reelection. Whatever the reason for Wilson's change of heart, it became apparent that he was willing to abandon some of his principles concerning "class legislation" and the powers granted the federal government. Much of the Progressive legislation passed at that time was more in keeping with the principles that former president Theodore Roosevelt had advocated under the banner of "New Nationalism" than Wilson advocated under the banner of the "New Freedom."

1 In 1918, the Supreme Court declared the Keating-Owen Act unconstitutional because its purpose was not to regulate commerce, but to regulate child labor. The Court ruled that regulating the labor of children was a power reserved to the states.

Student Activities

A. Graphic Organizer

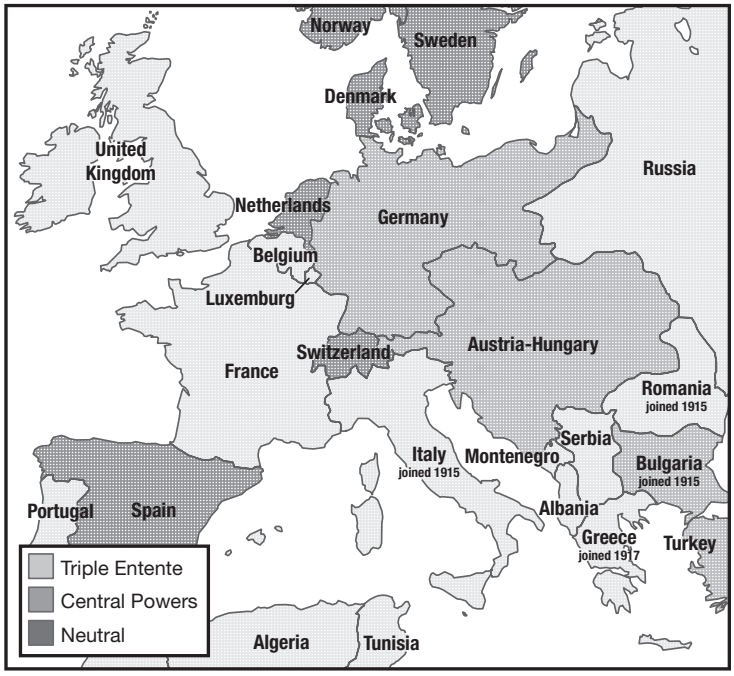
Label each of the laws passed by Congress and signed by Wilson as more in keeping with Wilson's concept of the New Freedom or with Roosevelt's New Nationalism. Next, in the space provided give a reason why Wilson wanted the law or really did not want it.

Legislation	New Freedom or New Nationalism	Reason Wilson did or didn't really want the proposed law
Underwood-Simmons tariff		
Federal Reserve System Act		
Federal Trade Commission Act		
Clayton Act on Labor		
Federal Farm Loan Act		
Keating-Owens Act		
Adamson Act		
Workman's Compensation Act		

B. Essay:

Briefly summarize the provisions of the tariff, banking, business, and labor legislation passed during Wilson's first two years in office, and explain why you think they did or did not go far enough in making the United States a significantly better place for most Americans.

For Further Consideration: Woodrow Wilson and World War I



When Woodrow Wilson was elected in 1912, the world was at peace. However, in June of 1914 a Serbian student assassinated Franz Joseph, the heir apparent to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Franz Joseph was on a goodwill mission to Bosnia, a province that Austria had claimed despite the fact that most of the people living there were Serbs. Immediately, diplomats from two competing alliances—one consisting of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy; the other including Great Britain, France, Russia, and Serbia—began meeting. Soon, Austria-Hungary made ten demands on Serbia that would be impossible for the Serbs to meet and gave Serbia 48 hours to agree to them. Russia backed Serbia, and Germany backed Austria-Hungary. Germany mobilized its army—usually a sign that war would begin. Austria withdrew its diplomats from Serbia and invaded the country. Germany attacked France by first marching through Belgium. Great Britain came to the aid of Belgium and France. The Russians declared their support for Serbia and attacked Germany. All of Europe was now at war.

President Wilson observed events in Europe with great trepidation. He did not want the United States to get drawn into a war that did not seem to involve America's vital interests. However, he could not remain completely neutral after Great Britain sowed mines in the North Sea to prevent neutral countries from trading with Germany—an illegal act under international law. In January 1915, Germany responded to the blockade by declaring a 300-mile zone around England where it would use submarines to sink neutral ships. Wilson warned the Germans that he would hold them "strictly accountable" if this act resulted in the loss of American lives or American property. He did not ask (as Thomas Jefferson had in similar circumstances in 1807) Americans to refrain from traveling in the war zone or trading with any of the warring countries. Germany failed to heed the warning. On May 7, 1915, a German submarine sunk a British passenger liner, the *Lusitania*, which resulted in the deaths of nearly 1200 people—including 124 Americans. Wilson responded by sending a series of strong notes to the German government demanding that it end its submarine policy and allow the U.S. to trade with Britain. Following a long diplomatic exchange, Germany promised not to sink any more neutral ships and kept this promise until February 1917. In the meantime, Wilson won reelection in a close race, having gained support by

promising that he would keep the United States out of the war. However, after Germany declared unrestricted submarine warfare, Wilson could no longer remain neutral. In April 1917, he asked Congress to declare war on Germany in order to "make the world safe for democracy." Congress responded favorably, and the president who had kept the United States out of the war for 32 months now had to lead it into battle.

American troops arrived in Europe in the spring of 1918, just in time to turn back a powerful German attack in France. American soldiers then played a major role in driving German armies out of the land they had occupied for years. Realizing its cause was hopeless, Germany surrendered to the allies on November 11, 1918, an event now commemorated in the U.S. as Veterans' Day.

Wilson saw the need to enter World War I as an opportunity to fight for a worthwhile cause: to end all future wars before they could start. To accomplish this laudable goal, he outlined a plan that became known as the Fourteen Points. The first five of these points involved getting rid of the causes of wars. Points 6–13 involved redrawing the map of Europe so that each major ethnic group would have a country of its own, and point 14 called for establishing a league of nations that would come to the aid of any country that attacked them.

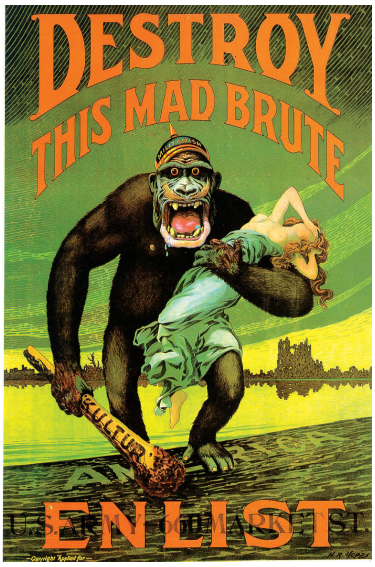
Wilson managed to achieve some of his objectives when, during the spring of 1919, he negotiated with the 32 countries that had engaged in World War I. The resulting Versailles Treaty treated Germany harshly, did not admit the newly formed Soviet Union as a member, made a gallant attempt to create new nations based on ethnic identities, and provided for the creation of the League of Nations. Article X of the League charter contained the mutual-protection clause that Wilson thought would prevent all future wars.

Wilson (right) with Allied leaders at Versailles

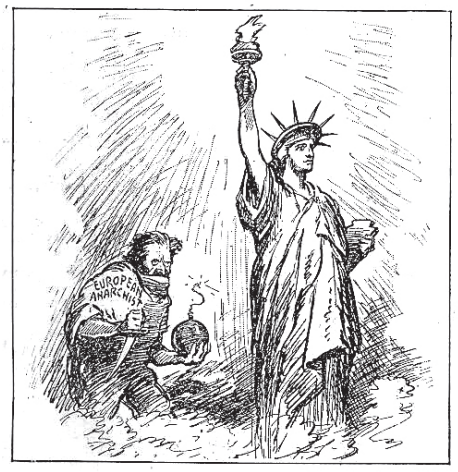
When he returned to the United States with the treaty in hand, Wilson found that there was determined resistance to Article X. While willing to make other changes in the League charter, Wilson refused to give ground on Article X. As a result, the United States never ratified the treaty.

Wilson suffered a stroke while on a speaking tour trying to rally support for the League. Severely stricken, he spent most of his last year as president in bed under the watchful eyes of his devoted wife and his doctor, who shielded him from unwelcome news and unwanted visitors.

During and after the war, the government took several actions that either stirred up hatred for certain groups or threatened civil liberties. While still in possession of all of his faculties, Wilson had allowed George Creel and others to conduct a propaganda



campaign to gin up support for the war. Posters like the one shown here stirred up hostile feelings not only against Germany but also against German-Americans. The government prevented Germans from working in defense industries, and Americans renamed sauerkraut "liberty cabbage," dropped German from high school curriculums, and banned music by German composers from concerts. In addition to the countless number of discriminatory actions against Germans, people in the U.S. became deathly afraid that communists, anarchists, and socialists were planning to overthrow the government. In 1919, a number of letter bombs mailed to notable people and an explosion that rocked a J.P. Morgan bank on Wall Street frightened many Americans. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer took it upon himself to stop "the blaze of revolution" sweeping America "like a prairie fire…crawling into the sacred corners of American homes…churches and schools." In one night, his agents arrested more than 6000 suspected communists, of which 500 were eventually sent off to Russia on a boat nicknamed the "Soviet Ark." Palmer had expected to find caches of arms during the raids, but found only three weapons. After the raids, Palmer also incarcerated people who attempted to visit jailed relatives and friends.



"COME UNTO ME, YE OPPRESS!"
—Alley in the Memphis *Commercial Appeal.*

A cartoon playing on Americans' fears of anarchist attacks

Thus, a spirit of war-created domestic furor drowned out the dying voices of the Progressive era.

Write an essay of no fewer than 250 words answering the following question: Did President Wilson live up to the ideals of the Progressive era?

Be sure you mention what the ideals of the Progressive era were, the reforms Wilson made and proposed, and Wilson's policies during and after World War I. Come to class prepared to present your opinion, listen to the ideas of others and defend your own or change your mind.