

At first, progressivism is optimistic. They believe society is capable of improving, and that that is the nation's destiny. They also believe growth and progress cannot occur as recklessly as in the 19th century. The laws of the marketplace, laissez faire, and social darwinism are not sufficient. Society needs direct, purposeful intervention in social and economic affairs. They don't always agree on form, though, so impulses seem to have little in common. One powerful impulse was antimonopoly, a vaguely populist impulse that appealed to workers, farmers, and the middle class, encouraging the gov to regulate and break up trusts. Another impulse was social cohesion, meaning that each person's welfare is dependent on the welfare of society. This leads to concern about people with difficult lives. Another impulse was faith in knowledge - possibilities of applying principles of nature and social sciences to society. Knowledge is to make society equitable and humane. They also believe that the modern gov must improve and stabilize society, because life is too complex to be left in the hands of party bosses and the like. The first to articulate these reforms were journalists, known as muckrakers, who were committed to exposing scandal, corruption, and injustice. Their major targets were trusts and railroads, with exposes beginning as early as the 1880s when Charles Fancis Adams Jr discovered railroad corruption. Ida Tarbell's study of standard oil trust was also notable. But by the turn of the century, muckrakers have turned their attention to urban political machines. Lincoln Steffens wrote *The Shame of the Cities*, which aroused sentiment for urban political reform. Muckrakers reach the peak of influence in the 1910s, and inspire other Americans to take action. Growing outrage creates many reformers committed to the pursuit of social justice, which means seeking justice for society as a whole, many believe in an egalitarian society and support for poor and oppressed. This led to the Social Gospel, which was powerful in Protestantism, and is concerned with redeeming the nation's cities. Salvation Army, beginning in England but spreading to the States, is an example of the fusion of religion and reform. It was a Christian social welfare organization with a vague military structure that offered material aid and spiritual service to the urban poor. Many clergy serve in troubled cities. Charles Sheldon's *In His Steps* is one of the most successful novels of the time, telling the story of a minister who abandoned a comfortable post to work among the needy. Walter Rauschenbusch published a series of influential discourses on human salvation through Christian reform. He thinks individuals should work to ensure a humane evolution of society. Father John Ryan takes the pope's warning about rich man and poor being little better than slavery, and expanded the scope of Catholic social welfare organizations. The belief in individual development is also important. Progressives think that poverty and criminality are because of an unhealthy environment. Jacob Riis photographs show the horrid immigrant neighborhoods. One response to this, the Settlement house, was borrowed from England. The most famous and first was Hull House in 1889 because of Jane Addams. Settlement houses help immigrants adapt to the new country, and embrace a belief that middle class Americans must help immigrants to live middle-class lifestyles. Young college women were important for this movement because it is consistent with the belief that women need to be sheltered from difficult environments. This makes it a model for immigrant women and an appropriate site for elite women. Settlement houses also lead to social work as a profession. Progressives placed high value on knowledge and expertise, so only enlightened experts and well-designed bureaucracies create the stability America needed. Some reformers spoke of creating a new civilization, in which the expertise of scientists and engineers can fix the economy and society. Thorstein Veblen proposed an economic system in which power resides in highly trained engineers, so that the machine process by which modern society must be governed would exist. Late 19th century sees a rise in administrative and professional tasks, creating what historians call a new middle class, which placed a high value on education and individual accomplishment. By the early 20th

century, they were building organizations to secure positions in society. Professionalism had been frail even as late as 1880, as both skilled and amateurs can claim to be skilled, with no distinction between the two. In 1901, the medical profession is one of the first to respond by reorganizing the American Medical Association, of which in 1920 nearly two-thirds are members. They call for strict standards, and state gov passing laws requiring physicians licenses. Medical education starts to compare to that of europe. There are similar movements in other professions - bar associations in lawyers, the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Farm Bureau Federation. Admission requirements limited excessive competition and granted status. Women were excluded, but a number of middle-class college women entered professional careers, with them making up 5 percent of physicians until 1960. Most turn to helping professions considered suitable for women. In the late 19th century, almost 90 percent of professional women are teachers. Segregated schools lead to a market for black teachers. They also begin to dominate nursing, and find more professional opportunities.

One of the most important features of progressivism was the prominence of women, despite lack of voting, public office, professions, and believed unsuitability for the public world. The new women was therefore a product of social and economic changes impacting the world, even if mostly the middle class. By the end of the 19th century, income producing activities moving out of the home, technological innovations, and children were spending more time in school, make the home no longer an all consuming place. There's also a decline in family size and an increase in lifespan. Some educated women think they can only play a role in the public if they are single, notable examples being Jane Addams and Lillian Wald of settlement houses, Frances Willard of temperance, and Anna howard Shaw. Many lived with other women in long-term relationships called Boston marriages. Divorce rates rise, most initiated by women. There are a number of women's clubs showing up in the 1880s and 1890s as cultural organizations for the middle and upper clas. In 1892, they form the General Federation of Women's Clubs, rising to over a million members in 1917. By the early 20th century, they are more concerned with social betterment. Also, because women cannot vote, clubs have an image that makes them difficult to dismiss. Black women occasionally join clubs, but most exclude blacks, so they form their own some part of the General Federation, but most as part of the National Association of Colored Women, and take positions on issues like lynching and segregation. These clubs don't really challenge the role of women in society. Few women will accept the arguments of committed feminists like Charlotte Perkins Gilman, who argued in her book *Women and Economics* that gender roles were exploitative and obsolete, instead having the clubs create a public space for women without challenging the male order. Most clubs have uncontroversian activities, but they are important in passing state and federal laws on women and child labor, gov inspection of workplaces, food and drug industry regulation, policies on Indian tribes, standards to urban housing, and temperance. Also important for mother's pensions, which becomes part of the Social Security system. In 1912, they pressure congress into creating the Children's Bureau in the Labor Department. They also form alliances with the Women's Trade Union League. The largest reform movement of the progressive era and perhaps American history was the fight for women's suffrage. At the time, suffrage was seen as a radical demand because of the rationale, presenting it as a natural right. There was a powerful anti suffrage movement that had the support of women. Some support suffrage with divorce, along with promiscuity, immorality, and child neglect. In the early twentieth century, suffragists start to become more politically sophisticated than their opponents. Anna Howard Shaw, social worker, and Carrie Chapman Catt, Iowa, help the National American Woman Suffrage Association grow from

13000 in 1893 to almost 2 million in 1917. They start claiming female suffrage is important because women have a calming, maternal influence that could help curb belligerence of men, and will give the temperance movement strength. Some also argue that because black men have the right to vote, well-born women should also. In 1910, Washington extends suffrage to women, with several other West states following. In 1913, Illinois was the first state east of the Mississippi to give women the right to vote. By 1919, 39 states granted the right to vote in some elections; 15 in all. In 1920, the 19th amendment is ratified. Some, however, don't see this as a complete victory. Alice Paul, head of the National Woman's Party, does not accept separate spheres. She thinks the 19th is not enough; women need an amendment that provides legal protection and will prohibit discrimination based on sex. Her argument has limited favor even from important leaders.

All progressive goals eventually need the government, especially to fight private interests. However, due to inefficiency and corruption, the government isn't suitable for this task, and progressives believe this is because of political parties. Attacks on party dominance were frequent in the late nineteenth century, examples being Greenbackism, Populism, and Independent Republicans. They have limited success. For example, in the 1880s and 1890s, most states adopt secret ballots, which does chip away at the power of parties. Progressives, like Lincoln Steffens, think the party rule is damaging in cities, and municipal government becomes the first target of political reform. Muckrakers strike a chord. Since the civil war, upper class has avoided participating in municipal government. But, by the end of the 19th century, they have a growing interest in the government. Reformers faced many opponents - businessmen, party bosses, political machines, working class - but they gradually gain strength. One of the first major successes was in Galveston, Texas, in which local businessmen had a new city charter. Commission plan, which cities follow. City-Manager plan involves city managers taking control of the city. By the end of the 1920s, almost 445 cities follow this plan. In urban areas, there are less absolute victories. Some make elections nonpartisan, other moves elections to when there are no federal elections, and trying to limit city boss power while expanding mayor power. Tom Johnson, reform mayor Cleveland, imposes municipal ownership on some basic utilities. Assault on party bosses doesn't always produce results, though, so progressives look at the state government for reform. The populists proposed two important changes in the 1890s. The initiative allowed submission of legislation directly to voters, and the referendum allowed legislature to be returned to the electorate for approval. By 1918, more than 20 states had one or both of these reforms. The direct primary and recall also limit party and improve the quality of elected officials. The recall gives voters a right to remove public officials at a special election. By 1915, every state has primary elections for some offices. Between 1903 and 1908, states pass laws restricting lobbying business interests in state legislatures, and 22 states banned campaign contributions by corporations, and 24 forbid public officials to accept free passes from railroads. Many states try to create compensation for workers injuries, and in 1911 pensions for widows with dependent children. Politicians also are important, with New York Governor Charles Evans Hughes creating a commission to regulate public utilities, Governor Hiram Johnson in California limiting political power of Southern Pacific Railroad, and Woodrow Wilson in New Jersey tries to end trusts. Robert M. La Follette is the most celebrated state-level reformer, and turned Wisconsin into the laboratory of progressivism. They have direct primaries, initiatives, and referendums, regulated railroads, utilities, and the workplace, and compensation, graduated taxes on inherited fortunes, and double levies on corporate interests. So reforms to cause a decline in party

influence, and thereby cause the voter turnout to decline. Never again does voter turnout reach as high as 70 percent. The secret ballot and changing power centers have also caused this.

While the middle-class in the East dominate progressivism, blacks, working class, westerners, and party bosses were important for reforms. While the American Federation of Labor remained aloof, some unions were important. The Union Labor Party made California pass a child-labor law, workmen's compensation, and limits on working hours for women. Unions demand similar laws in other states as well. One result of the assault on the parties is a change in party organizations, sometime to help with social reform. New York City's Tammany Hall, under Charles Francis Murphy, fused the boss rule with social reformers by improving working conditions, child laborers, and the worst parts of the industrial economy. In 1911, there was the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire in New York City, causing many deaths because people were locked in the building. This led to a state commission studying the fire and the general condition of industrial workplace, and two Tammany Democrats, Senator Robert Wagner and Assemblyman Alfred Smith pass laws for strict regulations on factory owners and mechanisms for enforcement. The West produced some of the most notable progressive leaders of the time, such as Hiram Johnson, George Norris, and William Borah, almost all who spend time in the Senate. The West targets the fed gov because it exerts more authority over important issues like water disputes, land, resources. Most of the West is public lands, and most growth is because of federally funded water projects. The question of race receives little attention from whites, but for blacks, progressivism produced significant challenges to social norms. Many followed Booker T. Washington's advice to work for self-improvement instead of long-range social change, but not all are content with this. W E B Du Bois had not been a slave, but as a black person, he wants to eliminate prejudice and injustice. In *The Souls of Black folk*, he attacks Washington by saying whites are imposing segregation. He advocates blacks should accept no less than University education, profession, and should fight for civil rights. Him and supporters meet at the Canadian side of Niagara Falls and launch the Niagara Movement, eventually forming the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Whites hold most offices at first, but Du Bois still guides them. They win victories in *Ginn v. United States* 1915, saying the grandfather clause was unconstitutional. In *Buchanan v. Warley* 1917, a law on residential segregation is deemed unconstitutional. This is one of the leading black organizations, particularly after Booker Washington's death. Du Bois was a critic of lynching and wanted it to be illegal, but the most determined opponents of lynching were southern women, both white and black.

Reformers also wanted to eliminate alcohol, curb prostitution, limit divorce, and restrict immigration. Many think eliminating alcohol will restore society. Notably, attacking alcohol will attack saloons, therefore limiting the power of party bosses. Temperance existed since before the civil war. The Women's Christian Temperance Union, led after 1879 by Frances Willard, was one of the largest organizations by 1911. In 1893, the Anti-Saloon league joined and asked for legal abolition of saloons, eventually prohibition of sale and manufacture of alcohol. By 1916, 19 states passed prohibition laws, but alcohol consumption has increased. In 1920, the 18th amendment takes effect, ratified by all except Connecticut and Rhode Island. All reformers agree on the problem of immigration, but not on how to deal with it. Some think assimilation, some think limiting. Eugenics supported the idea that human inequalities were hereditary, and support forced sterilization of mentally retarded criminals. Madison Grant's *The Passing of the Great Race* established himself as an important nativist, and talked of protecting the purity of

anglo-saxons from pollution by Eastern Europeans, Latin Americans, and Asiana. A federal commission led by Senator William P Dillingham issued a study that argued that newer immigrants primarily south and east Europeans were less assimilable, so immigration should be restricted by nationality. Those who reject racial arguments still support limiting immigration. These concerns win nativists the support of leading progressives, notably Theodore Roosevelt. Opponents manage to block restriction for a time, but by World War 1, which temporarily blocked immigration, nativists had gained strength.

One issue that overshadowed and shaped all others in the minds of reformers was the industrial economy, because most problems can be traced back to it. Between 1900 and 1914, radical critiques of capitalism gained the most support. The Socialist party never rivaled the major parties, but grows with considerable strength. Their candidate Eugene V Debs gained 1 million votes. Socialists are strongest in urban immigrants, mainly Germans and Jews, and Protestant farmers. They win election to state and local offices, and have the support of intellectuals like Lincoln Steffens, Walter Lippmann, Florence Kelley, and Frances Willard. Socialists agree to change the economy, but differ on how. Some endorse the goals of European Marxists, others want small-scale private enterprises but nationalized major industries. Some reform through politics, other militarily. This included the Industrial Workers of the World, known to opponents as Wobblies, and under William Haywood, they advocate a single union and abolition of the wage slave system, but reject political action in favor of strikes. They champion unskilled workers and are strong in the west. In 1917, a strike by timber workers shut down production, and brought the union the wrath of the fed gov, leading to laws in 1917 and 1919 outlawing them. They survive, but never recover. Moderate socialists dominate the socialist party, and emphasise gradual change. However, they did not support World War 1, and are dramatically weakened by it. So most progressives want to restore the economy to a more human scale, arguing the fed gov should break up large combinations and balance bigness with competition. Louis D Brandeis, a lawyer and supreme court justice, wrote about the curse of Bigness. Him and supporters see bigness as inefficient and a threat to freedom. Other progressives think efficiency is important and encouraged economic concentration, therefore, the gov should fight abuses of power by large institutions, distinguish between good and bad trusts. Herbert Croly's book *The Promise of American Life* is an influential progressive document. Walter Lippmann writes in *Drift and Mastery* that society must act on coordinating the industrial economy. So to some, businesses must learn self regulation or have the gov play a more active role in economic life. Theodore Roosevelt endorses the later position fully after 1910, and becomes the most powerful symbol of the reform impulse at the national level.

Theodore Roosevelt was an admired public figure and an idol, though he was decidedly conservative. He brought to office broad conception of powers and made presidency something like its modern status at the center of national political life. President William McKinley was assassinated in 1901, leaving Roosevelt the youngest to ever assume presidency. He was seen as a wild man, but as president, rarely rebelled against party leaders, making him a champion of cautious change. He thought reform was for protecting society against radical challenges, not for remaking American society. He allied himself with progressives urging regulation of trusts, and wanted the government to have the power to investigate corporations and publicize results, leading to the Department of Commerce in Labor and the Bureau of Corporations. He was not a trustbuster at heart, but has some highly publicized efforts. In 1902, he invoked the Sherman Antitrust Act against a railroad monopoly in the Northwest, the Northern Securities Company led by J P

Morgan, who found this puzzling. However, Roosevelt doesn't have many other serious efforts against economic concentration. Roosevelt also considered Unions, such as when the 1902 United Mine Workers strike, he asked for operators and miners to accept impartial federal arbitration, leading to a ten percent wage increase, a 9 hour workday, but no recognition of their union. He occasionally ordered federal troops to intervene in strikes on behalf of employers, though. He was principally concerned with being reelected, so neutralized opposition by 1904 by dispensing patronage, winning the support of businessmen and gesturing to reformers. He won against Alton B. Parker, a conservative Democrat. He boasted to provide all with a square deal. The Interstate Commerce Commission had limited its influence, but Roosevelt asked to increase power to oversee railroad rates. Then the Hepburn Railroad Regulation Act of 1906 established some gov authority, but is so cautious that it satisfies few progressives. He also pressured for the Pure Food and Drug Act, restricting the sale of dangerous and ineffective medicines, and the Meat Inspection Act. In 1907, he proposed more reforms on the workday, compensation, inheritance and income taxes, regulation of stock market, and criticized Congress and judiciary obstructing these programs, creating a wide gulf between him and the party conservatives. This was also caused by his policies on conservation. He added millions of acres to the national forest system, and was the first president to take an active interest in the conservation movement. At first, conservationists like Pinchot, the first director of the National Forest service promote policies for carefully managed land development. The Old Guard also supported public reclamation and irrigation projects. In 1902, the National Reclamation Act, also known as the Newlands Act, provided fed funds for dams, reservoirs, and canals in the West. Roosevelt also shares concern for Preservation. Early in his presidency, he camped in the Sierras with John Muir, the nation's leading preservationist. He also added to the National Park System with Crater Lake, Mesa Verde, Platt, and Wind Cave. The contending views of conservatism come to head in the controversy over Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park which was seen as the ideal place for a reservoir. In 1906, San Francisco has a fire and earthquake, strengthening sympathy for the dam. Roosevelt originally favored Muir, but turns the decision to Gifford Pinchot, who approves the dam. This battle consumed naturalists for the rest of Muir's life, leading to a referendum question on the 1908 ballot, which failed. This setback was not total defeat for naturalists, though, and mobilized more people to be committed to preservation. Despite reforms, Roosevelt had little control over the economy, which became clear with a panic and recession in 1907. Conservatives blame Roosevelt for the disaster, who disagreed but reassured business leaders he would not interfere with recovery efforts. J P Morgan wanted to purchase Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, and Roosevelt agreed. The panic soon subsided. Roosevelt loved being president, but as his popularity decreased, and with a promise in 1904 to step down in 1908, he briefly retired from public life.

William Taft is president in 1909, winning victory over William Jennings Bryan. However, he left office as the most defeated president of the 20th century because his party was deeply divided and he left the fed gov in the hands of Democrats for the first time in 20 years. His first problem is when he asks for lower tariff rates, but doesn't try to oppose the Old Guard because that would violate the separation of powers. This led to the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, which hardly reduced tariffs and in some places raised them. He doesn't champion reform or stability. In 1912, he created the federal Children's Bureau, which Julia Lathrop of Hull House makes a source of progressive change in all levels. Controversy in 1909 ended Taft's popularity with reformers because he replaced the sec of interior, James Garfield, a conservationist, with Richard Ballinger, a conservative corporate lawyer, who tried to invalidate Roosevelt's removal of

forests and mineral reserves from private development. Louis Glavis, an Interior Department investigator, charged Ballinger with trying to use valuable public lands for personal profit. He took the charges to Pinchot, who took them to Taft. Taft thought them groundless, and fired Glavis, so Pinchot asked Congress to investigate, and the president discharged him, so old Guard Republicans exonerate Ballinger, but progressives supported Pinchot. All this alienated supporters of Roosevelt. At this time, Roosevelt was in Africa and Europe, but the newspaper intensely covered his every move. Upon returning to the States, he thinks only he is able to reunite the Republican party. The sign of this decision came when he outlined New Nationalism in a speech on 1 September 1910, which makes it clear he favors strong social justice with vigorous federal government efforts, supporting graduated income and inheritance taxes, workers' compensation, regulation of women and child labor, tariff revision, and regulation of corporations. The elections of 1910 further showed divisions. Democrats win control of the House of Representatives for the first time in sixteen years. Roosevelt wants to pressure Taft to return to progressive policies, but is then accused of acting improperly in the 1907 panic, and eventually announced his candidacy after Senator La Follette failed. The Republican nomination was split between Taft and Roosevelt, Taft remained a choice of party leaders, and Taft wins nomination. Roosevelt summons supporters to create the Progressive Party, nicknamed the Bull Moose party, which is notable for commitment to progressive causes like industry and trust regulation, government reforms, compensation, pension, and women's suffrage, but he is aware that presidency is hopeless, partially because of the Democratic candidate.

The 1912 election was a battle between conservatives and reformers, the brands of progressivism. Reform sentiment was gaining strength in the Democratic Party, and Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey and the only progressive candidate in the race is nominated. He was known for progressive legislation in the statehouse, and presented New Freedom. He thinks, like Louis Brandeis, that monopolies must be destroyed. In campaign, Taft Resigns, and Roosevelt was forced to the sidelines because of a gunshot wound. Wilson wins the election, and is bold and forceful, having firm control over his cabinet. His most powerful advisor, Colonel Edward House, was a Texas whose only claim to authority was knowing the president. Wilson skillfully lowered the protective tariff substantially with the Underwood-Simmons Tariff, which introduces real competition to America therefore hurting trusts. Congress passes a graduated income tax, allowed by the 16th amendment. Then the Federal Reserve Act created twelve regional banks, each holding assets of their member banks to support loans to private banks, and issue a new type of paper currency, Federal Reserve notes, that become the medium of trade, and can shift funds to help imperiled banks. This is supervised by the national Federal Reserve Board, whose members were appointed by the president. Almost half the nation's banking resources are represented by the system in a year, and 80 percent by the late 1920s. In 1914, he signs bills creating the Federal Trade Commission Act, which creates a regulatory agency that can attack unfair trade practices, and the Clayton Antitrust Act, which he does not have much interest in. By the fall of 1914, he thinks New Freedom is complete and reform will subside. He refuses national women's suffrage, and condones segregation, and dismisses many progressive proposals as unconstitutional and unnecessary. His complacency is shattered in the 1914 congressional elections, for Democrats suffer major losses. So in 1915 he supported a flurry of reforms. He appointed Louis Brandeis to the Supreme Court, who was a Jew and the most progressive justice to serve there. Wilson further supported measures making it easier for farmers to receive credit and creating compensation for federal employees. He also expands the power of the federal government, like in the Keating-Owen Act, which was the first federal law on child labor. Goods produced by children cannot be

shipped over state lines. He then supports measures that use the fed taxing authority for social change. The Court struck down Keating-Owen and subsequent laws on child labor. The Smith-Lever Act of 1914 demonstrates how the fed gov influences local behavior by matching fed grants to support agricultural extension education. These uses of government overcome constitutional objections and become the foundation of long-term growth in federal power over the economy.