1. Politics in the Gilded Age
   a. term “Gilded Age” came from Mark Twain to describe the new wealth gained in the last years of the 19th century
   b. age of “forgettable” presidents and politicians who ignored problems caused by industrialization and urbanization
   c. Causes of Stalemate
      i. belief in limited government
         1. jived with laissez-faire economics and social Darwinism
         2. courts narrowly interpreted government’s powers to regulate business
         3. federal government’s only responsibilities:
            a. delivering the mails
            b. maintaining a national military
            c. conducting foreign policy
            d. collecting tariffs and taxes
         4. exceptions:
            a. subsidies and grants for railroads
            b. use of military and police to stop strikes (Pullman Strike)
            c. pension system for Civil War veterans
               i. reformers wanted to make the system permanent and expand it for all Americans
               ii. but other reformers believed pension system was a symbol of graft, corruption and party rule
      5. most powerful political institutions were the two political parties and the federal courts
      6. government most powerful on the local level
      7. concerned with winning elections and controlling patronage
         ii. industrialists controlled politics
         iii. campaign strategy
            1. elections were close, so both Republicans and Democrats avoided taking strong positions, which might have alienated the voters
            2. despite lack of discussion about the issues, turnout was 80 percent due to:
               a. strong party identification and loyalty
               b. regional, religious, and ethnic ties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- waved the &quot;bloody shirt&quot;</td>
<td>- won all elections in the former states of the Confederacy</td>
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<tr>
<td>- retained the votes of reformers and blacks,</td>
<td>- northern votes came from political machines and immigrants</td>
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<tr>
<td>- made up of men in business and middle-class, white, Protestants</td>
<td>- made up of Catholics, Lutherans, and Jews who objected to temperance and prohibition crusades</td>
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<tr>
<td>- remained supportive of high protective tariffs for business</td>
<td>- believed in states’ rights and limited federal government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- bulwark against slavery and treason for North</td>
<td>- symbol of white supremacy for South</td>
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<tr>
<td>- favored restricting immigration</td>
<td>- appealed to Catholic voters, immigrants, workers</td>
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<tr>
<td>- supported temperance legislation</td>
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i. Party patronage
   1. politics was a game of gaining office, holding office and providing government
jobs to the party faithful
2. Stalwarts and Halfbreeds were political factions of the Republican party with no real differences between them other than patronage
3. Mugwumps sat on the fence, wanted to elect an honest Democrat

b. Presidential Politics
   i. Rutherford B. Hayes (Republican)
      1. ended Reconstruction by withdrawing last federal troops from the South
      2. temperance reformers
      3. vetoed efforts to restrict Chinese immigration
      4. wanted to create a civil service system, but no one supported it
   ii. James Garfield (Republican)
      1. this “Halfbreed” president ran on the same ticket as “Stalwart” Chester A. Arthur in order to win the popular vote against the Democrats
      2. Garfield went against party patronage, gave Stalwarts government jobs, which bred resentment
      3. killed because of shot in the back and poor subsequent medical care
   iii. Chester A. Arthur (Republican)
      1. supported bill reforming the civil service (Pendleton Act)
      2. approved development of modern American navy
      3. questioned high protective tariff

c. Congressional lawmakers had long but undistinguished careers, some potential, but ruined by connection with corruption

d. The election of 1884
   i. Cleveland was Democratic nominee
   ii. attacked for his illegitimate child and Catholicism
   iii. supported by Mugwumps (neutral Republicans) and Catholics
   iv. Republican Blaine lost because he seemed to tolerate Protestant minister calling the Democrats the party of “rum, Romanism, and rebellion”

e. Cleveland’s First Term
   i. believed in frugal and limited government
   ii. signed into law the Interstate Commerce Act and the Dawes Act
      1. ICA banned discrimination in rates between long and short hauls, declared that all interstate rail rates must be “reasonable and just”
      2. like Sherman Act, was narrowly interpreted and poorly enforced
      3. Dawes Act gave land to individual natives; purpose was to assimilate
   iii. fought against political machines, reformed the civil service system
   iv. vetoed private pension bills falsely claiming to have been injured during the Civil War
   v. rejected tariffs because he believed the surplus tempted Congress to pass reckless and extravagant legislation

f. Civil service reform
   i. outraged after the assassination of President Garfield in 1881
   ii. Congress wanted to remove certain government jobs from party patronage
   iii. Pendleton Act of 1881 created system based on competitive examination, prohibited civil servants from making political contributions (signed into law by Chester A. Arthur)
      1. initially only applied to 10%, but grew to apply to almost all jobs
   iv. now, politicians rely on the rich rather than their party to fund their campaigns

g. Money question
   i. expand money supply or not?
   ii. tension between the “haves” and the “have-nots”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;have-nots&quot;-- debtors, farmers, and start-up businesses</th>
<th>&quot;haves&quot;-- bankers, creditors, investors, and established businesses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- borrow money at lower interest rates</td>
<td>- wanted sound (hard) money</td>
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<tr>
<td>- pay off loans more easily with inflated dollars</td>
<td>- as economy and population grew, gold-backed dollars would gain in value</td>
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<tr>
<td>- blamed the gold standard for restricting money supply and causing Panic of 1873</td>
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a. Greenback party
   i. paper money unbacked by specie called greenbacks
   ii. had been issued as emergency measure for financing Civil War
   iii. Northern farmers liked it b/c associated it with prosperity; creditors/investors saw it as a violation of natural law
   iv. Specie Resumption Act (1875)- withdrew greenbacks from circulation
   v. party became popular in the 70s, but died out with the Panic of 1873

b. tariff issue
   i. during Civil War, Republican government enacted high tariff to protect US industry and also fund the Union government
   ii. Democrats objected because the taxes raised the price of consumer goods
   iii. other nations retaliated by placing taxes of their own on US farm products, so America lost a share of the overseas market
   iv. it seemed that industry was growing rich at the expense of rural America

2. The Growth of Discontent, 1888-1896
   a. the Populist party and the depression in 1893 broke the atmosphere of complacency
   b. Harrison and the Billion-Dollar Congress
      i. The election of 1888
         1. Democrats wanted Cleveland and lower tariff
         2. Republicans wanted Benjamin Harrison and high tariff
         3. Republicans played on corporate fear to rally industrialists and workers
         4. Harrison won
      ii. Billion-dollar Congress
         1. Republicans had control over both houses of Congress and the presidency, very productive
         2. McKinley Tariff of 1890- raised the tax on foreign products to a peacetime high of over 48 percent
            a. public didn’t like it, so got rid of Republicans in next election
         3. monthly pension increase to Civil War veterans, widows and children
         4. Sherman Antitrust Act (1890)- outlawed “combinations in restraint of trade”
            a. response to the people’s complaint that state legislation was ineffective
            b. ironically, mostly used to fight unions
      iii. Return of the Democrats
         1. Midwest votes replaced Republicans with Democrats because they didn’t like the tariff
         2. immigrants (Catholics) reacted to the prohibition of alcohol and Sunday closing laws-- didn’t like the legislation of public morality
   c. Rise of the Populists (People’s Party)
      i. Republicans also began to lose b/c of agrarian discontent
      ii. Farmers’ alliances elected government officials like Oliver H. Kelley
      iii. put down- Wabash ruled the Granger Laws in Illinois to be unconstitutional and infringing upon Congress’s right to control interstate commerce
iv. sometimes anti-Semitic, but not reflective of entire party
v. ideas only became reality around 1915
vi. reaction against the unresponsive, stagnant government

vii. National Grange Movement (1868)
1. originally organized by Oliver H. Kelley as a social and educational organization for farmers; they were lonely!
2. strong in the Old Northwest (now called the Midwest)
3. established cooperatives - businesses owned and run by the farmers to save the costs charged by middlemen
   a. bought supplies in bulk to save money
   b. only Montgomery Ward and Company was successful, mail-order business
4. lobbied their states to pass laws regulating the railroad and elevator rates
5. made it illegal for railroads to fix prices and to give rebates to privileged customers
6. attempted to teach new scientific agricultural techniques to keep farming “in step with the music of the age”
7. declined by the late 1870s because of political inexperience of Grange leaders and the agricultural prosperity of the 1870s
8. replaced by farmers’ alliances, which had similar problems and goals

viii. Omaha platform adopted by People’s Party
1. farmers’ alliance supported Ocala Demands was a precursor to the Omaha platform, winning some government positions
2. wanted to do something about the concentration of economic power in the hands of trusts and bankers
3. supported by Alliance members and some Knights of Labor people
4. politically wanted:
   a. direct popular election of US senators (instead of indirect)
   b. state laws by voters themselves through initiatives and referendums
5. economically wanted:
   a. unlimited coinage of silver to trigger inflation (free silver)
   b. graduated income tax
   c. government ownership of railroads, telegraph and telephone
   d. loans and federal warehouses for farmers to enable them to stabilize prices for their crops
   e. elimination of nationally owned banks (“money trust”)
   f. 8 hour work day
   g. restriction of immigration
6. revolutionary:
   a. attacked laissez-faire capitalism
   b. wanted progress and growth to continue, but more defined by needs of individuals and communities; not challenging industrialization or capitalism as a whole
   c. attempted to form political alliance between poor white and poor blacks, though anti-Semitic, intellectual and urban
   d. Munn v Illinois - Supreme Court upheld the right of a state to regulate the businesses of a public nature, like railroads

ix. Populist Constituency
1. appealed to geographically isolated farmers whose operations were only
minimally mechanized, dependent on one crop, and not consolidated
2. failed to attract labor because their interests conflicted
   a. exception: attracted miners on Rockies b/c they endorsed the “free silver” agenda
3. only accepted blacks if white supremacy was maintained
4. leaders were members of the middle class: professional people, editors, and lawyers, longtime politicians and agitators
5. women were full fledged members
   “Raise less corn and more hell.”- Mary E. Lease
6. temperance- women were against drinking, felt it was necessary for rural stability
7. Southern leaders aroused resentment against the Bourbons
d. The election of 1892
   i. Populist ticket (James B. Weaver) lost in the South and failed to attract urban workers in the North
   ii. southern Democrats afraid of Populists uniting poor black and white folk, so they tried to disenfranchise African Americans
   iii. Cleveland won b/c of the unpopularity of the McKinley Tariff, which he got rid of
e. Depression Politics
   i. Panic of 1893
      1. stock market crashed because of over speculation
      2. overbuilt- dozens of railroads went into bankruptcy b/c they expanded beyond market demand, became unable to pay back loans
      3. farmers had low purchasing power b/c low prices in agriculture
      4. 20% unemployed
      5. Cleveland championed the gold standard and kept a hands-off policy
   ii. Demands for silver money (decline of gold reserve) (bimetallism)
      1. Crime of 1873- stopped the coining of silver since, at the time, silver had a commercial value higher than the “mint ratio” of 16 to 1
      2. discovery of silver revived demands for use of silver by silver miners and farmers who wanted currency inflation (“free silver”)
         a. silver was a “people's money” in contrast to gold, the money of oppression and exploitation
      3. Bland-Allison Act- allowed for limited coinage of silver each month, but farmers, debtors, and western miners still wanted unlimited coinage of silver
      4. Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890- required government to purchase but not to coin silver and to pay for it in gold, increased the coinage of silver, but in amounts too small to satisfy farmers and miners
         a. Cleveland believed that this weakened gold reserves
      5. decline in silver prices encouraged investors to trade their silver dollars for gold dollars
      6. gold reserve fell, forcing Cleveland to repeal the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, but that didn’t work anyways
      7. president had to borrow $65 million in gold from JP Morgan and friends to support the dollar
      8. Americans felt that Washington was a tool of bankers
      9. workers even unhappier when government used injunctions and federal troops to crush the Pullman strike
   iii. Wilson-Gorman Tariff was more popular
      1. reduced tariff rates
2. 2 percent income tax on incomes more than $2,000
3. but declared unconstitutional

iv. jobless on the march

1. **Coxey’s Army**
   a. march to Washington in 1894 by thousands of unemployed
   b. led by Jacob Coxey Populist
   c. demanded that federal government create jobs and greenbacks
   d. government did not respond

v. **Coin’s Financial School**
   1. written by William H. Harvey
   2. taught that troubles were caused by conspiracy of rich bankers
   3. prosperity would only return if silver were coined unlimitedly

f. **Turning Point in American Politics: 1896**
   i. repeal of Silver Purchase Act and Cleveland’s handling of the depression discredited the conservative Democrats
   ii. **Election of 1896**
      1. Democrats
         a. Democrats championed the leading issue of the Populist platform, forcing the Populists to merge with them
         b. Democrats split between prosilver and progold
         c. Democratic national convention dominated by prosilver forces
         d. **William Jennings Bryan** delivered “Cross of Gold” speech
            i. condemned the gold standard
            ii. speech gave him immense political power
               “You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.”
         e. Progold, conservative faction of “gold bug” Democrats formed the National Democratic party or voted Republican
      2. Republicans
         a. nominated McKinley
         b. high tariff and gold standard
   3. **Campaign**
      a. Democratic Bryan convinced farmers and debtors that silver was salvation through his nationwide crusade
      b. egged on by the defection of “Gold Bug” Democrats to their party, Mark Hanna, the financial power behind McKinley, sold him through mass media
      c. Bryan lost because:
         i. rise in wheat prices, so farmers were less desperate
         ii. employers told them that factories would shut down if Bryan was elected
         iii. his campaign all around the country alienated immigrants and Catholics who saw his Protestant morality as an attack
         iv. people felt his campaign was undignified
   4. **Significance**
      a. marked the end of the stalemate and stagnation of the Gilded Age politics
      b. began era of Republican dominance of the presidency
      c. Republican party transitioned from party of “free soil, free labor, and free men” to party of business, industry and strong national government
d. though the Populist party disappeared b/c racism was stronger than reform agenda, their agenda was adopted (graduated income tax and popular election of senators)

e. urban issues dominated over rural issues

f. McKinley was the first modern president, making the US a major player in international affairs

g. Mark Hana, McKinley’s adviser, created a model for organizing and financing a successful campaign focused on winning favorable publicity

h. Bryan was the first president to appear in all parts of the country, while McKinley had a “front-porch” campaign

iii. McKinley’s Presidency
  1. took office just as economy revived
  2. gold discoveries in Alaska provided the inflation that silverites wanted
  3. agrarian and labor dissent was exhausted
  4. passed the Dingley Tariff and made gold the official standard using the Gold Standard Act of 1900
     a. Europe had switched to the gold standard
     b. Industrialists wanted US to switch as well to join the global economy
  5. made the US a world power as a leader during the war with Spain in 1898

Chapter 21: The Progressive Era

1. progressivism- reform movement that developed to improve life in the industrial age, wanted to make moderate political changes and social improvements through government
   a. improved quality of life and provided larger role for people
   b. belief that governmental change was necessary to correct social and economic ills

2. origins of progressivism
   a. state reforms of the 1890s, but only got big with Theodore Roosevelt
   b. lasted with Taft but ended with Wilson
   c. people
      i. just as America was increasingly diverse, the people of the Progressive movement were as well
      ii. Protestant church leaders, blacks, union leaders, feminists
      iii. most were middle-class urban people (doctors, lawyers, ministers, storekeepers, bankers, manufacturing firms and other businesses)
      iv. had strong political leaders like Theodore Roosevelt, Robert la Follete, William Jennings Bryan and Woodrow Wilson

   d. motives/ideas
      i. felt they had a civic responsibility to solve unrest among the poor, excesses of the rich, corruption in government and decline in morality
      ii. part of a reform tradition, committed to democratic values and that good laws could change human welfare
      iii. a partial missionary ethic-- (The Social Gospel)- Christians have a responsibility to reform cities and govs
         1. The Salvation Army offered material aid and spiritual service to the urban poor
         2. Charles Sheldon’s In His Steps is the story of a minister who abandoned his job to help the needy
         3. Walter Rauschenbusch preached on The Social Gospel
         4. religion never the major focus of the Progressives
iv. believed that many bad things were due to environment, not inherent human nature
   1. settlement houses like Jane Addams’ Hull House
   2. middle-class “settling” in the inner city and bringing civilization to them
   3. gave women respected job as college educated “social worker”
   4. allowed women to still do their “female duties”

v. revolution in thought
   1. pragmatism- William James and John Dewey defined truth as a concrete thing in laws; things needed to WORK
      o education- students must be invested in what they were learning
      curriculum should be relevant to students' lives
      learning by doing and development of practical life skills
   2. liked scientific management (Taylorism) so they rejected the political machine b/c it was antidemocratic and an inefficient way to run things
   3. social science- the use of science to study society and its institutions
   4. interconnectivity of people- the poor welfare of an individual translated to the welfare of society as a whole

vi. against concentrated power and wanted to limit/disperse authority and wealth

e. Muckrakers
   i. muckraker- writer specializing in in-depth, investigative stories about party politics and the horrible conditions in factories and slums
   ii. exposed all the evils of society and reflected progressive impulses
   iii. origin: Henry Demarest Lloyd's *Wealth Against Commonwealth* exposed the corruption and greed of the oil monopoly but failed to suggest how to control it
   iv. magazines like *Mcleure's, Collier's* and *Cosmopolitan* ran muckraking articles like:
      1. Lincoln Steffens’ *Tweed Days in St. Louis*
      2. Ida Tarbell’s *The History of the Standard Oil Company*- uncovered corruption

v. books described cities
   1. Jacob Riis’ *How the Other Half Lives*
   2. Lincoln Steffens’ *The Shame of the Cities*- uncovered corrupt machine government politics

vi. novels
   1. Theodore Dreiser’s *The Financier* and *The Titan* portrayed the greed and ruthlessness of an industrialist
   2. Frank Norris’ *The Octopus* (on the tyrannical power of railroad companies) and *The Pit* (grain speculation)

vii. decline of muckraking
   1. became more difficult to top the sensationalism of the last story
   2. economic pressure from banks and advertisers to tone down their treatment of business
   3. 1910, corporations were developing the field of public relations
   4. impact: educating the public about corruption in high places

3. Political Reforms in Cities and States
   a. Progressives believed that, given a chance, the majority of voters would elect honest officials
   b. wanted to break the power of party politics by increasing the power of the people or placing more power in the hands of nonpartisan, nonelective officials
   c. before, people didn’t participate in city politics b/c they viewed it as dirty
   d. reform opposed by saloon owners, brothel keepers, businessmen, and immigrants
   e. but reformers gained in strength b/c of numbers and of the failures in existing political leadership
   f. reform happened more quickly in the West, where the federal government was stronger b/c
western states always fought over rivers and streams
g. voter participation
   i. Australian, or secret, ballot
      1. before: political parties intimidated voters by watching them vote >:c
      2. Massachusetts first to adopt the secret ballot
   ii. Direct primaries
      1. before: state and federal officers were nominated in state conventions dominated by party bosses
      2. after: nomination done by voters
      3. limited effectiveness in overthrowing boss rule b/c politicians confused voters and split the antimachine vote
      4. only became nationalized with the 17th amendment
   iii. direct election of US senators
      1. before: chosen by the majority vote of the state legislatures
      2. so Progressives believed that the Senate had become dominated by big business
   iv. initiative- voters forced legislature to consider bill
   v. referendum- citizens vote on proposed laws printed on their ballots
   vi. recall- allowed voters to remove corrupt/unsatisfactory politicians from office
h. social welfare
   i. people: Jane Addams, Frances Kelly etc
   ii. lobbied for better schools, juvenile courts, liberalized divorce laws and safety regulations
   iii. believed in rehabilitative justice system-- parole system, separate reformatories for juveniles and limits on the death penalty
i. municipal reform
   i. directly electing the heads of city departments (fire, police and sanitation) was not effective
   ii. commissions- replaced mayor and council with elected, nonpartisan commission
   iii. more effective was an expert manager directing the work of various departments of city government (manager-council plan)
   iv. changed the election of mayors
      1. made it nonpartisan (parties did not choose candidates)
      2. not during presidential or congressional races were in progress, to reduce the influence of large turnouts
v. Samuel M. “Golden Rule” Jones was mayor of Toledo Ohio
   1. introduced free kindergartens, night schools and public playgrounds
vi. Tom L. Johnson supported tax reform and three-cent trolley fares
   vii. Progressives also pushed for public ownership of public utilities like gas lines, electric power plants and urban transportation systems
j. state reform
   i. politicians:
      1. NY’s Charles Evans Hughes created a commission to regulate public utilities
      2. California’s Hiram Johnson limited the power of the Southern Pacific Railroad
      3. Wisconsin’s Robert La Follette did it all:
         ○ direct primaries, initiatives, and referendums
         ○ regulated the workplace and provided compensation for injured laborers
         ○ graduated taxes and increased taxes on railroads and other corporate interests
   ii. limited the power of business:
1. banned corporations from contributing to campaigns
2. forbade public officials from accepting free passes from railroads

k. impact
i. voter turnout decreased along with party influence
ii. interest groups became the main way to influence politics
iii. in order to survive, Tammany Hall realized it needed to push reform on the state and national level
iv. example: after the horrors of the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory, it was Tammany Democrats who pushed for reform

4. Political Reform in the Nation
a. Theodore Roosevelt
i. believed that president should do more than lead executive departments--should also set the legislative agenda
ii. “Square Deal” for labor
1. in the 19th century, presidents favored business (Hayes in railroad strike and Cleveland in the Pullman strike)
2. Roosevelt favored neither business nor labor
3. mediated anthracite coal mine dispute b/w union leader and coal miner owners in the White House
4. mine owners didn’t want to compromise, so in order to protect consumers, president threatened to take over the mines with federal troops
5. owners agreed to 10 percent wage increase and nine-hour day for miners
6. no union recognition though
iii. trust-busting
1. Roosevelt was first president to enforce the Sherman Antitrust Act
2. wanted to bust Northern Securities Company
3. Supreme Court supported his decision
4. wanted to bust “bad trusts” which harmed the public and stifled competition, but wanted to regulate “good trusts” dominated a market through efficiency and low prices
iv. persuaded a Republican majority to pass the following railroad laws:
1. Elkins Act- authority to stop railroads from granting rebates to favored customers
2. Hepburn Act- strengthened the Interstate Commerce Act by allowing govt to set maximum rates, inspect a company’s books, and investigate railroads, sleeping car companies, oil pipelines, and other transportation firms.
v. The Jungle caused Congress to enact:
1. Pure Food and Drug Act- forbade the manufacture, sale, and transportation of adulterated or mislabeled foods and drugs
2. Meat Inspection Act- federal inspectors must audit meatpacking plants to ensure that they met minimum standards of sanitation
vi. conservation
1. Forest Reserve Act of 1891- set aside 150 million acres of federal land as national reserve that can’t be sold to private interests
2. Newlands Reclamation Act- provided money from the sale of public land for irrigation projects in western states
3. National Conservation Commission established under Gifford Pinchot

b. William Howard Taft
i. more trust-busting and conservation
1. ordered prosecution of twice the number of antitrust cases
2. attacked US Steel, which included merger by Roosevelt, so Roosevelt viewed it as a personal attack

3. **Mann-Elkins Act** gave the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to suspend new railroad rates and oversee telephone, telegraph and cable companies

4. **16th Amendment**- authorized US government to collect income tax
   ○ supported by Progressives b/c it only applied to the wealthy initially

5. established **Bureau of Mines**, added large tracts in the Appalachians to the national forest reserves and set aside federal oil lands

ii. split in the Republican party
1. Republican Progressives didn’t like Taft; thought he joined the conservative wing of the party. Reasons:
   ○ **Payne-Aldrich Tariff**- promised to lower tariff, but raised the tariff and supported it
   ○ **Pinchot-Ballinger Controversy**- public respected chief of the Forest Service **Gifford Pinchot** distrusted Taft’s secretary of the interior (Richard Ballinger) since he opened public lands for private development
     i. when Pinchot criticized Ballinger, Taft fired Pinchot for insubordination
   ○ **House Speaker Joe Cannon**- Taft didn’t reduce the powers of Congress’s leading conservative, Speaker of the House Joe Cannon
2. fought back against Progressive critics by supporting conservative candidates in the midterm elections
3. conservatives lost to the Progressives
4. Republican party split right down the middle, between Taft and Conservatives & Roosevelt and Progressives

c. **Rise of the Socialist Party**
   i. even more radical than Progressives; wanted public ownership of the railroads, utilities and major industries like oil and steel
   ii. **Eugene V. Debs**
      1. former union leader, one of the founders of the Socialist party
      2. candidate for president in five elections
   iii. influence
      1. Progressives only agreed with Socialists about workers’ compensation and minimum wage
      2. otherwise, they only wanted mild reforms, not radical causes
      3. but, some socialist ideas were eventually accepted like public ownership of utilities, 8-hour workday and pensions for employees

d. **The Election of 1912**
   i. Candidates
      1. Taft was renominated by Republicans
      2. Roosevelt nominated by Progressive Republican party (Bull Moose party)
         ○ “We stand at Armageddon and we battle for the Lord” Roosevelt’s announcement when he lost the nomination at the Republican convention
         ○ “Fit as a bull moose”
      3. Woodrow Wilson nominated by Democrats
   ii. Campaign
1. came down to Theodore Roosevelt vs Wilson
2. Roosevelt pledged **New Nationalism**, more government regulation of business and unions, women’s suffrage and more social welfare programs
3. Wilson wanted **New Freedom**, which would limit both big business and big government, reform by ending corruption and revive competition by supporting small business

iii. Results
1. Wilson easily won since the Republicans were split
2. but Progressive reform efforts would continue since Wilson was a minority president
3. the idea of Roosevelt’s New Nationalism (strong federal government regulations helping people) did have a lasting influence for much of the century

e. Woodrow Wilson's Progressive Program
   i. like Roosevelt, believed in an active president
   ii. attacked “the triple wall of privilege”: tariffs, banking, and trusts
   iii. tariffs
      1. directly addressed Congress about tariffs
      2. **Underwood Tariff** lowered tariffs for the first time in over 50 years
      3. compensated for with the **Underwood bill**
   iv. banking
      1. persuaded that the gold standard was inflexible and banks were too much influenced by stock speculators on Wall Street
      2. passed the **Federal Reserve Act** in 1914 which created a national banking system which supplied Americans with Federal Reserve Notes (dollar bills)
   v. business regulation
      1. **Clayton Antitrust Act**
         ○ strengthened the Sherman Antitrust Act
         ○ exempted unions from being prosecuted as trusts
      2. **Federal Trade Commission**
         ○ empowered to investigate and take action against any “unfair trade practice” in every industry except banking and transportation
   vi. other reforms which Wilson was initially opposed to
      1. **Federal Farm Loan Act**- 12 federal farm loan banks established to provide farm loans at low interest rates
      2. **Child Labor Act**- favored by settlement house workers and labor unions
         ○ prohibited the shipment in interstate commerce of products manufactured by children under 14 years old
         ○ found unconstitutional in the 1918 case of **Hammer v. Dagenhart**

5. African Americans in the Progressive Era
   a. Progressives only thought of the white race, ignored the Africans
   b. Wilson permitted the segregation of federal workers and buildings
   c. **Plessy v. Ferguson** supported “separate but equal”
   d. Progressives didn’t care because:
      i. shared in the general prejudice of their times
      ii. considered other reforms (like lower tariffs) to be more important b/c they affected all Americans
   e. Two Approaches: Washington and Du Bois
      i. **Washington**
         1. head of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama
2. argued that black’s needs for education and economic progress were most important
3. once those were established, could they show they that they deserved political and social equality

ii. Du Bois
   1. wrote *The Souls of Black Folk*
   2. criticized Washington’s approach, instead arguing that political and social rights were a prerequisite for economic independence

f. reasons for black migration to cities:
   i. deteriorating race relations
   ii. destruction of cotton crops by boll weevil
   iii. job opportunities in northern factories that opened up when white workers were drafted in WWI

g. civil rights organizations
   i. **Niagara Movement**- Du Bois met with black intellectuals to discuss how to secure equal rights for blacks
   ii. **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)**
      1. created by Niagara movement and group of white progressives
      2. mission: abolish all forms of segregation and increase educational opportunities for black children

iii. **National Urban League**
   1. “not alms but opportunity”

1. professionalism
   a. response to amateurs simply claiming to practice their trades
   b. created associations like the American Medical Association, bar associations, National Association of Manufacturers, National Farm Bureau Federation
   c. removed the untrained and incompetent, as well as blacks, women, immigrants
   d. protected the professionals from excessive competition, keeping supply down so demand would be high
   e. gave them prestige and status
   f. women were excluded
      i. instead turned to vaguely domestic jobs like teaching, nursing, library and social work

2. women and reform
   a. causes for high women involvement in reform
      i. domestic duties lessened b/c of technological advancements, children going to school longer and at younger ages, declining birth rates-- “gotta find something to do!” ^^
      ii. women were increasingly single and divorce rates increased
      iii. higher level of education
   b. the clubwomen
      i. clubs- cultural organizations to provide middle- and upper-class women with outlet for intellectual energies
      ii. by early 1900s, became less concerned with culture and more with social betterment
      iii. ironically, *because* they were unable to vote, they were nonpartisan, making their complaints even more difficult for politicians to dismiss
      iv. blacks excluded, so they formed their own clubs (*National Association of Colored Women*) and discussed lynching and segregation
      v. impact:
         1. gave women a way to exert influence without challenging the patriarchy
2. access to female community
3. helped cause regulation of conditions of woman and child labor, food and drug regulation, native american policies, temperance, pensions
   vi. women reform reflected the nurturing and protecting stereotypical nature of women

c. women’s rights
   i. by 1900, the old suffragettes (Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton) had passed the movement on to the young people
   ii. early suffragettes argued in terms of natural rights, but their radical challenge to the establishment was met with equal response with antisuffrage movements
   iii. the new movement argued instead, that the unique experiences that women had, as homemakers, wives and mothers, would make important contributions to politics
   iv. also argued that if blacks and immigrants were allowed to vote, then it should be common sense to allow well-off women to vote as well

v. Carrie Chapman Catt was the new president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association
   1. organized the League of Women Voters, a civic organization dedicated to keeping voters informed about candidates and issues

vi. Alice Paul was a militant suffragist who took to the streets with mass pickets, parades and hunger strikes
   1. created the National Woman’s party, which focused on an amendment to the Constitution
   2. wanted an Equal Rights Amendment as well, but was opposed b/c some felt that it would invalidate the special protective legislation for women

vii. dedicated efforts of women on the home front persuaded govt to adopt the 19th amendment, which guaranteed women’s right to vote
viii. also wanted educational equality, liberalizing marriage and divorce laws, reducing discrimination in business and the professions, and property rights
ix. limited impact b/c women didn’t vote...but it was still good