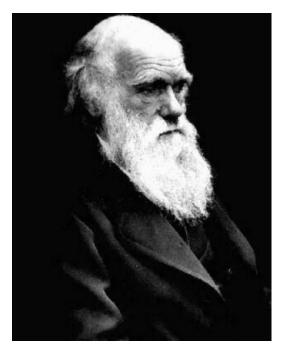
# Reform!

(Well maybe) (some) (at least more than before)

### The biggest obstacle to Progressivism?



Charles Darwin On the Origin of Species (1859)

1809 -1882

# Darwinism.

Why?

### Darwin's theory changed everything.

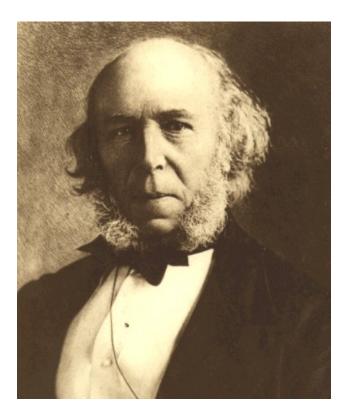
### (Explain How)

(Relate to Society) (Religion?)

### Social Darwinism

### First proposed by Herbert Spencer.

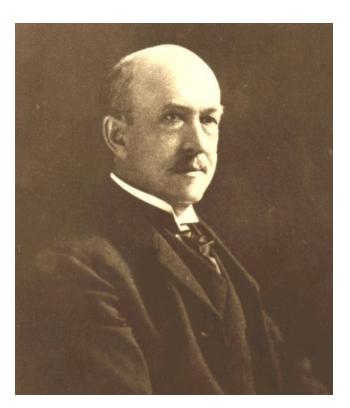
Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) was thinking about ideas of evolution and progress before Charles Darwin *published* The Origin of Species (1859). Nonetheless, his ideas received a major boost from Darwin's theories and the general application of ideas such as "adaptation" and "survival of the fittest" to social thought is known as "Social Darwinism". It would be possible to argue that human evolution showed the benefits of cooperation and community. Spencer, and Social Darwinists after him took another view. He believed that society was evolving toward increasing freedom for **individuals**; and so held that government intervention, ought to be minimal in social and political life.



1820-1903

# Social Darwinism (cont.)

Influential Yale professor and Social Darwinist, American counterpart of the British evolutionary theorist, Herbert Spencer, Sumner defended radical *laissez-faire* as being justified by laws of evolution.



William Graham Sumner

1840-1910

### Then Came...

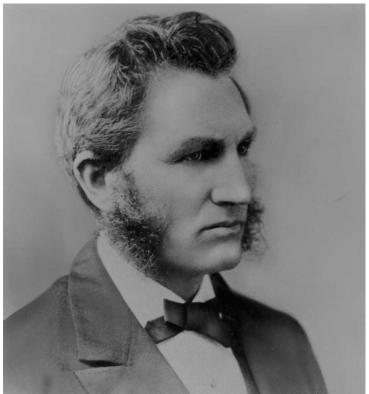
### Reform Darwinism

A challenge to traditional Darwinists

Lester Frank Ward "Father of American Sociology" Dynamic Sociology (1883)

"He just looks nicer than those other guys."

Mr. Taray



June 18, 1841 — April 18, 1913

# Early Progressive Impulses

Pragmatism (Distinctly American)

- Values practical results over theoretical principles.
  - William James
  - John Dewey
- Social Critics
  - Thorsten Veblen
    - Theory of the Leisure Class (1899)
      - "Conspicuous Consumption"

### Early Progressive Impulses (cont.)

### Social Gospel

- Reaction to current middle class Protestantism
- Church realizes the need to reconnect to the working class
  - YMCA (English import in 1850's, growing in 1870's)
  - Salvation Army (London, 1876, U.S., 1880)
  - Catholic Church, Pope Leo XIII Rerum Novarum, 1891 (Of Modern Things)

### Early Progressive Impulses (cont.)

Urban Reform

**Settlement House Movement** 



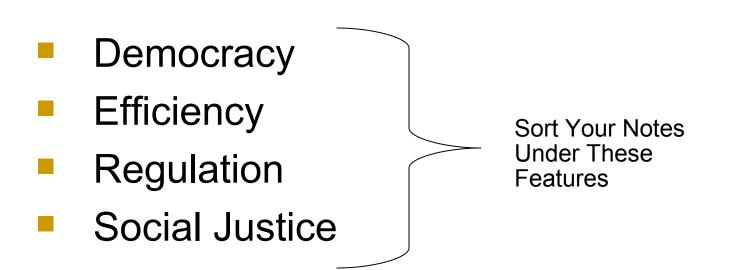
Jane Addams (1860-1935) founded a settlement house in Chicago called the Hull-House. Subsequently, she won the Nobel Peace Prize, worked for suffrage, and opposed World War I.

### Early Progressive Impulses (cont.)

- By the 1880's the "Progressive Impulse" begins at the local level.
  - (For good reason, cities were a mess.)
  - Mugwumps and Muckrakers call for change
  - Middle class magazines like *McClures*, *Puck*, and
  - The Arena provided a forum for muckrakers.
    - Ida Tarbell *The History of the Standard Oil Company*
    - Lincoln Steffens The Shame of the Cities
    - Jacob Riis *How the Other Half Lives*
    - Upton Sinclair *The Jungle*
    - And many, many others

It became clear to progressive thinkers that laissez-faire orthodoxy was inadequate for dealing with social problems.

Four Features of Progressivism



Immediate Causes of Progressive Reform (1900-1917)

- Severe Depression of 1890's
- <u>Muckrakers</u> bring myriad problems into the public eye.
- Trusts, holding companies, big businesses had gained enormous advantages.
- Middle-class professionals' status anxiety? (Hofstadter)
- "To use the government as an agency of human welfare."

### Urban Reforms

### Evidence

Growing cities magnified problems of poverty, disease, crime, and corruption



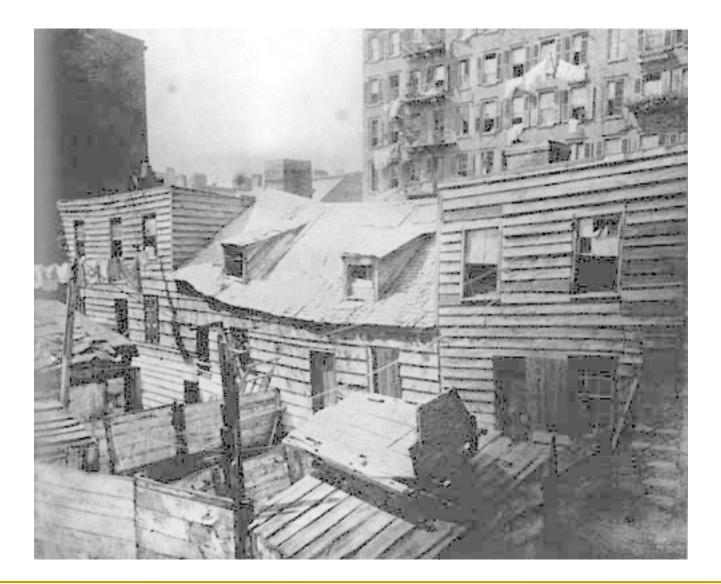
Mulberry Street, New York City, ca. 1900



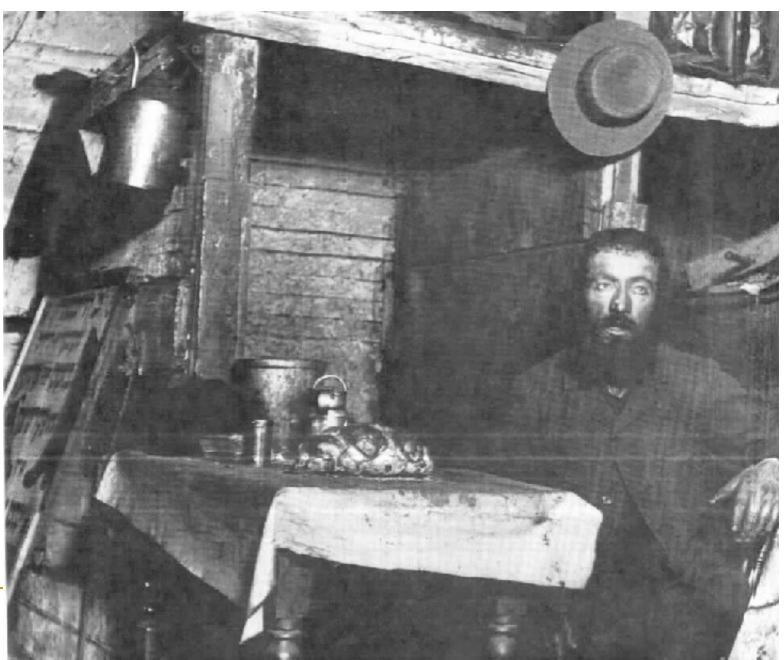
Communal Toilet in a New York City Tenement



Urban Children Play Next to a Horse Carcass



JACOB RIIS "Ready for Sabbath Eve in a Coal Cellar" (c. 1895)



### **Conservation** (Regulation and Efficiency)

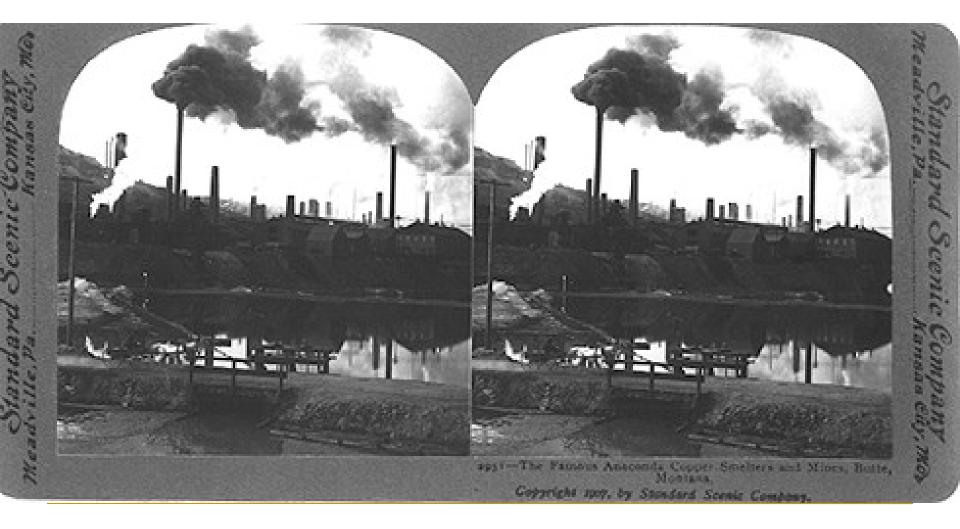
### Evidence

In the mid to late 19th century, **natural resources** were heavily exploited, especially in the West. Land speculators and developers took over large tracts of forests and grazing land. Acreage important to waterpower was seized by private concerns. Mining companies practiced improper and wasteful mining practices. Assuming a seemingly inexhaustible supply of natural resources, Americans developed a "tradition of waste."



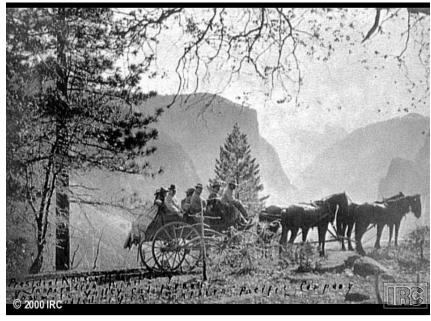
Steel Works Near Pittsburgh

A copper smelting facility pours smoke into the air at Butte, Montana, site of the world's richest copper deposits and home to the Western Federation of Miners. (This double view was designed for viewing in a stereoscope, which gave the illusion of three dimensions.)



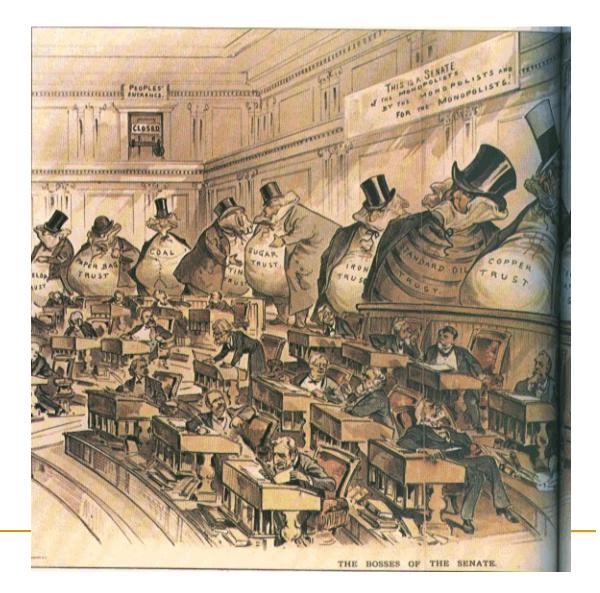
### TR and Conservation

- Roosevelt's conservation policies, influenced primarily by Gifford Pinchot, would be considered very mild by today's standards. The main idea was to preserve resources for future use.
- TR's main contribution may be his willingness to put the Federal Government in charge of resource management.



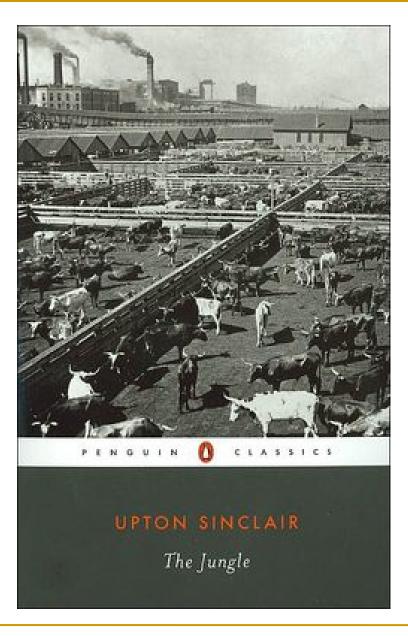
Dedicated Conservationist, Theodore Roosevelt, Visits Yosemite Valley, 1903

### Anti-Trust Momentum





Ida M Tarbell (1857-1944) Her Investigation of Standard Oil Resulted in



# Fifteen years Ago..

Mergers, Concentration, and the Erosion of Democracy by Richard B. Du Boff and Edward S. Herman

Table 1

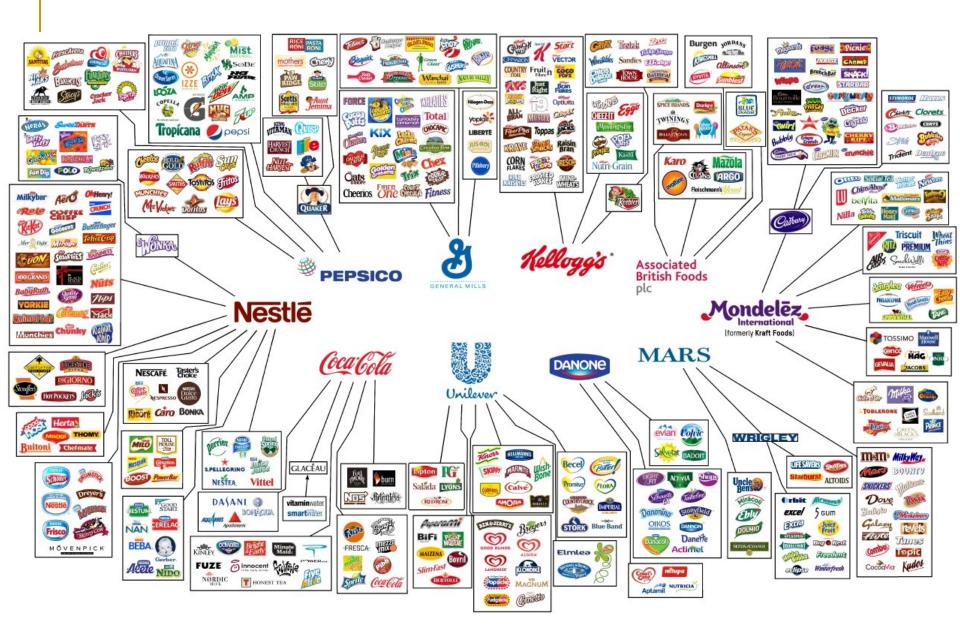
### 25 LARGEST U.S. MERGERS & ACQUISITIONS, 1998 - 2000

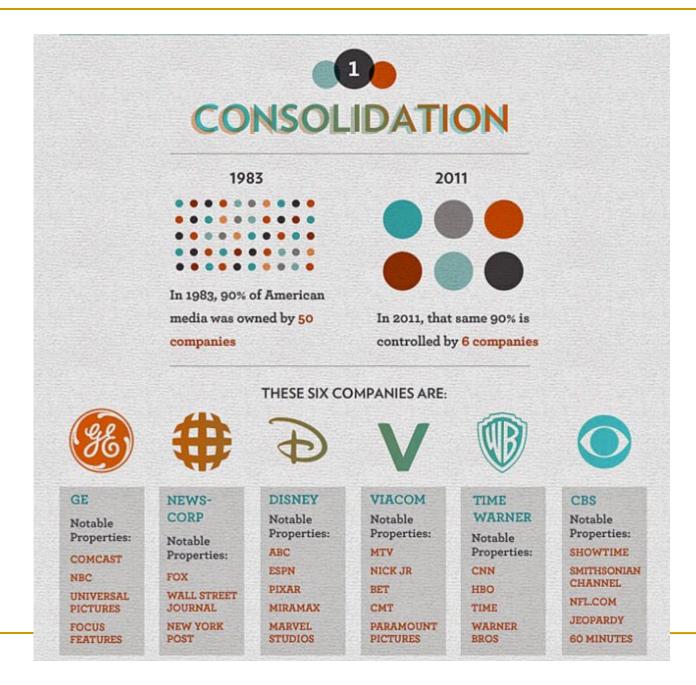
Buyer	Seller	Year	Transactio n Value (billions of dollars)
America-On-Line	Time Warner	2000	106.0
Exxon	Mobil	1998	86.4
Travelers Group	Citicorp	1998	72.6
SBC Communications	Ameritech	1998	72.4
AT&T Corp	Tele-Communications Inc.	1998	69.9
Vodafone Group PLC (UK)	Airtouch Communications	1999	62.0
NationsBank	BankAmerica	1998	61.0
Bell Atlantic (now Verizon)	GTE Corp.	1998	60.0
AT&T Corp.	MediaOne Group	1999	55.0
BP (British Petroleum; UK)	Amoco	1998	55.0
Viacom	CBS Corp.	1999	50.3
General Electric	Honeywell	2000	44.
Deutsche Telekom (Germany)	VoiceStream Wireless	2000	41.0
Daimler Benz (Germany)	Chrysler	1998	40.
JDS Uniphase Corp.	SDL Inc.	2000	38.
Chase Manhattan	J.P. Morgan	2000	36.
Chevron Corp.	Texaco	2000	35.
Qwest Communications	US West Inc.	1999	34.
Norwest	Wells Fargo	1998	34.
Citigroup Inc.	Associates First Capital	2000	30.
Banc One	First Chicago	1998	29.
BP Amoco PLC (UK)	ARCO	1999	26.
Monsanto Co.	Pharmacia & Upjohn Inc	1999	25.
Lucent Technologies	Ascend Communications	1999	24.

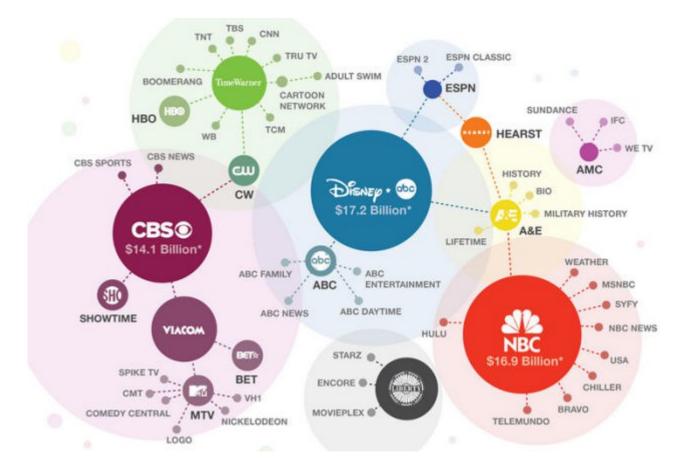
Sources: Mergerstat releases and Mergerstat Review, various issues

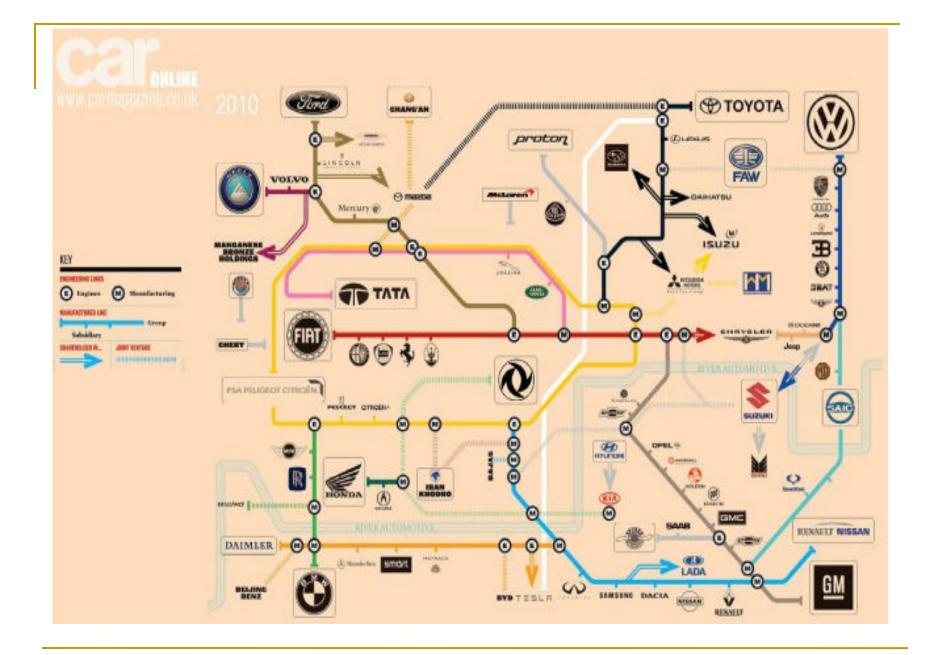
What about now?

Following data are from Gizmodo (Based in UK)











# Regulation

- Aim was to put the government in a position to "clean up" industries.
  - Included working conditions AND consumer goods

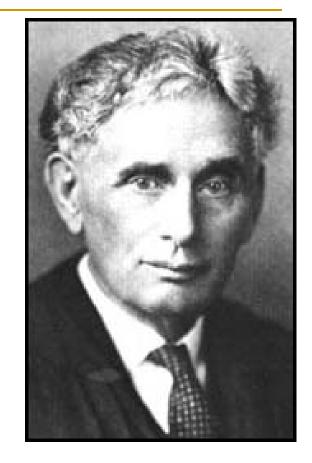
Regulation would also be the way to deal with trusts and monopolies.

- Some initial success
  - Later on many of the industries facing regulation were able to place their representatives on the regulating boards.

### **Protecting Workers**

# Regulating Hours Muller v. Oregon, 1908 Influenced by Brandeis Brief" Used statistical data to show how harsh conditions harmed female employees. Upholds 10 hour workday for women

- Bunting V. Oregon, 1917
  - Upholds 10 hour workday for men and women



Louis Brandeis 1856-1941

Progressive Supreme Court Justice

1916-1939

# Child Labor



- •Factory children became prematurely aged by overwork.
- •As they were forced to work long hours, opportunity for schooling was scarce.
- •Later became a reform demand of labor unions.

The 1890 census revealed that more than one million children, ten to fifteen years old, worked in America. That number increased to two million by 1910. Industries employed children as young as five or six to work as many as eighteen to twenty hours a day.

http://xroads.virginia.edu/



This photo by noted American photographer Lewis Hine shows young boys working at a spinning machine. Hine's photographs led to the passing of the first child-labor laws.





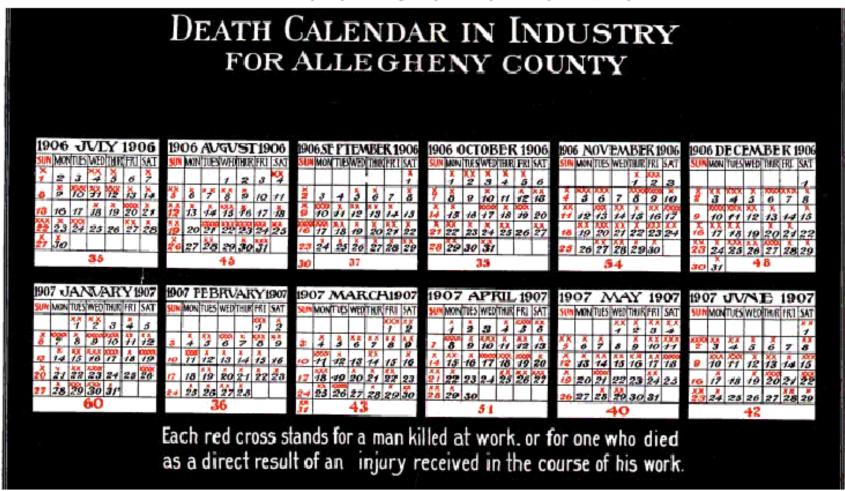
Child Labor Used in the Oyster Plants, Louisiana, 1911

#### **Protecting Workers**

#### Response to **Triangle Shirtwaist Fire**, 1911 146 killed because employers had chained fire exits



FIGURE 1. Number of work-related deaths, by day — Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, July 1906–June 1907\*



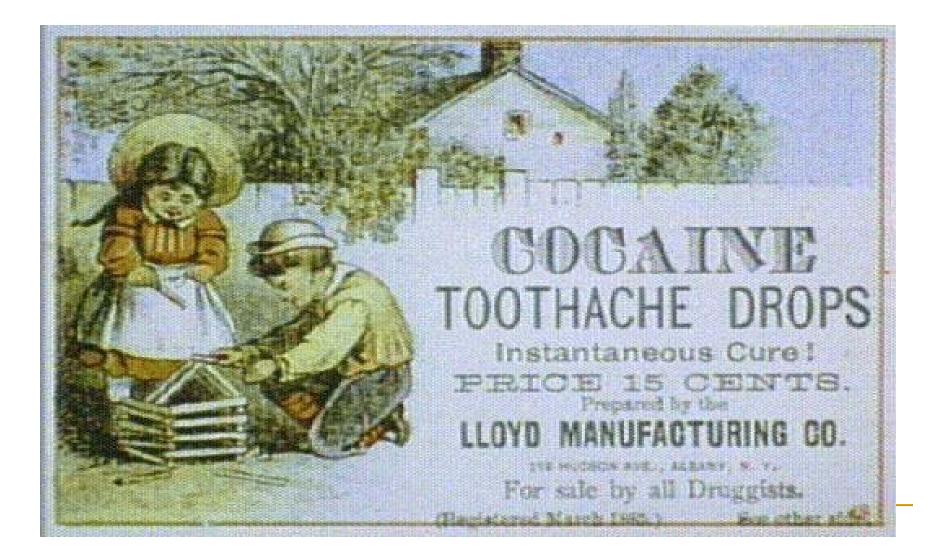
\*In the original figure, each X is in red.

Reprinted by permission of the Russell Sage Foundation (1).

## Business Regulation and Antitrust Legislation

- During Industrialization Employers A void the Law
  - Used the "laissez-faire doctrine" as well as the sanctity of contract principles to substantiate treatment
  - Would not "ensure" safe working conditions
  - States that passed safe-work laws faced outmigration of businesses to other states. Ex.
     Massachusetts textile industry to Georgia and Carolina.

## Food and Drug Regulation





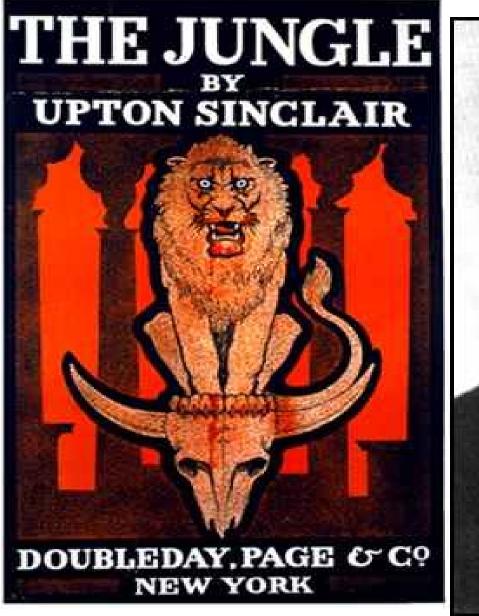
Pope Leo XIII endorses Vin Mariani (along with Thos. Edison)

Mortimer Street, London, W., price 4 - per Single Bettle, 22.0 bulldozen, 43 - dozen, and is sold by Chemists and Stores.

# Patent Medicines could cure anything from the common cold to chronic inebriation.



"I aimed at the public's heart, and by accident I hit it in the stomach," he said.







In the following excerpt you will be able to visualize what exactly Upton Sinclair saw while he researched in the area of the meat packing industry.

"There would be meat that had tumbled out on the floor, in the dirt and sawdust, where the workers had trapped and spit uncounted billions of consumption [tuberculosis] germs. There would be meat stored in great piles in rooms;... and thousands of rats would race about on it.... A man could run his hand over these piles of meat and sweep off handfuls of dried dung of rats. These rats were nuisances, and the packers would put poisoned bread out for them; they would die, and then rats, bread, and meat would go into the hoppers together.... There were things that went into the sausage in comparison with which a poisoned rat was a tidbit."

## Government Reform

## State

- Direct Primary
- Initiative
- Referendum
- Recall



Robert "Fighting Bob" LaFollette (1855-1925)

These measures aimed to put more power into the hands of voters and less power into the hands of the parties.

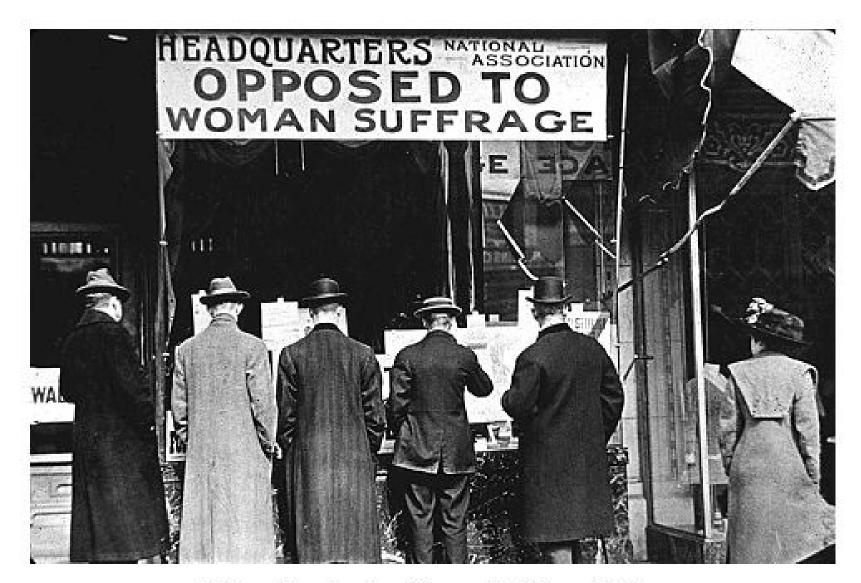
**State Reforms** From Regents Prep: U.S. History: Reform: **Progressive Era Reform** Reform governors such as **Theodore Roosevelt** of New York, Robert M. LaFollete of Wisconsin, and Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, all helped get reforms passed in their respective states. In addition, reforms first proposed by the Populist Party were enacted in order to make state governments more responsive to the needs of the people.

Secret Ballot	Privacy at the ballot box ensures that citizens can cast votes without party bosses knowing how they voted.		
Initiative	Allows voters to petition state legislatures in order to consider a bill desired by citizens.		
Referendum	Allows voters to decide if a bill or proposed amendment should be passed.		
Recall	Allows voters to petition to have an elected representative removed from office.		
Direct Primary	Ensures that voters select candidates to run for office, rather than party bosses.		

## Social Justice and Women's Suffrage







National Headquarters Opposed to Women Suffrage

## Success?

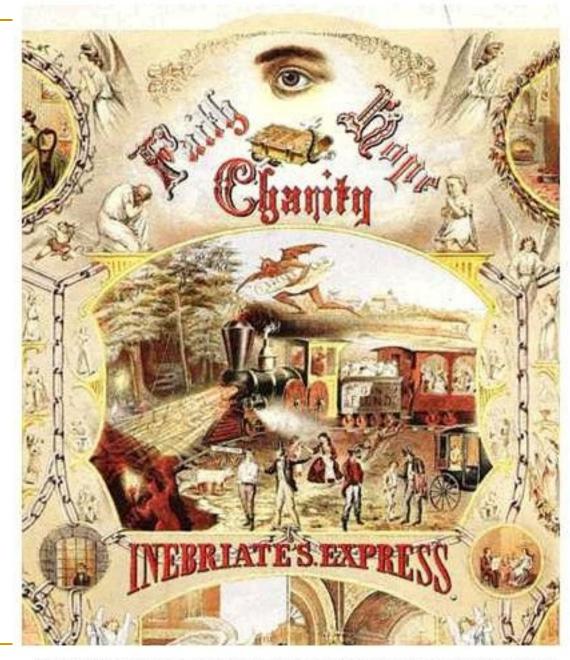
- 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment guarantees women the right to vote
- But over time, the question of whom women voted for would be raised.

# Reforming Society



Dramatic Anti-Saloon League Poster

Women were at the forefront of the Temperance Movement



"The Inebriate's Express" Vividly Details Drunken Riders Going Into Hell

## Progressivism Had Its Negative Side

# Most Progressives (like most people in society at the time) were racist.

## Social Order and Reform

#### Immigration restriction

- Progressive reform efforts here were rooted in Nativism.
- Great concerns among Progressives about the mongrelization of Anglo-American Culture.



#### Progressive Racism

Many racial supremacists and eugenicists

- Building a superior race consistent with building better society
- Southern racial segregation intensified under Progressive auspices (including administration of Woodrow Wilson)

#### Social Order and Reform



Proponents
 Dr. JH Kellogg

 (brother to the
 cereal magnate,
 but partially responsible
 for the discovery of
 cornflake technology.)

 Harry Laughlin

(see next page)



Dr. Kellogg

with family

Advocacy in favor of sterilization was one of Harry Laughlin's first major projects at the Eugenics Record Office (in VA). In 1914, he published a Model Eugenical Sterilization Law that proposed to authorize sterilization of the "socially inadequate" people supported in institutions or "maintained wholly or in part by public expense. The law encompassed the "feebleminded, insane, criminalistic, epileptic, inebriate, diseased, blind, deaf; deformed; and dependent" – including "orphans, ne'er-do-wells, tramps, the homeless and paupers." By the time the Model Law was published in 1914, twelve states had enacted sterilization laws.

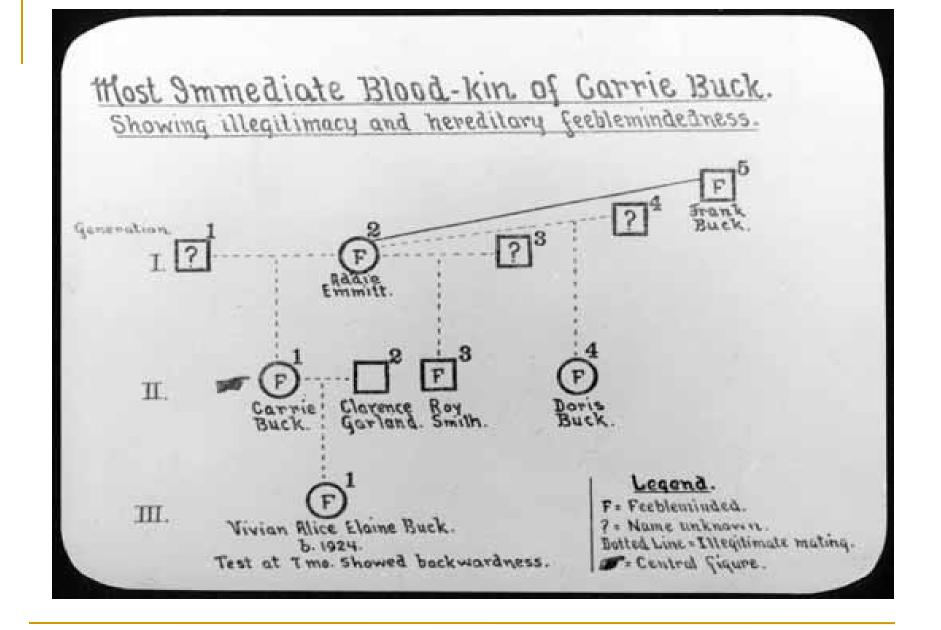


Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory. Noncommercial, educational use only. Officials at the Virginia Colony said that Carrie and her mother shared the hereditary traits of "feeblemindedness" and sexual promiscuity.

28

BUCK v. BELL In 1924, Virginia, like a majority of states then. enacted eugenic sterilization laws. Virginia's law allowed state institutions to operate on individuals to prevent the conception of what were believed to be "genetically inferior" children. Charlottesville native Carrie Buck (1906-1983). involuntarily committed to a state facility near Lynchburg, was chosen as the first person to be sterilized under the new law. The U.S. Supreme Court. in Buck v. Bell. on 2 May 1927. affirmed the Virginia law. After Buck more than 8,000 other Virginians were sterilized before the most relevant parts of the act were repealed in 1974. Later evidence eventually showed that Buck and many others had no "hereditary defects." She is buried south of here.

DEPARTMENT OF WISTORIC RESCORCES, 2002



## Social Order and Reform

#### Eugenics Movement (cont.)

- "Three generations of imbeciles are enough."
  - Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes delivering the majority opinion in:

#### Buck v. Bell, 1927

- Would lead to 200,000 sterilizations in Germany.
- Mississippi Appendectomies
- Also "dirty little secret" about newborns in U.S.

## Social Order and Reform

#### Eugenics Movement

- Resulted in sterilization of 67,000 Americans.
  - CA-20,108
  - VA-7,450
  - NC-6,297

#### Federal Reserve Act

#### Wilson's main domestic accomplishment

#### Federal Reserve Act

Dispersed throughout 12 USC; ch. 6, 38 Stat. 251 (December 23, 1913)

To provide for the establishment of Federal reserve banks, to furnish an elastic currency, to afford means of rediscounting commercial paper, to establish a more effective supervision of banking in the United States, and for other purposes.

#### Federal Reserve Act

#### Functions of the Federal Reserve System

By 1913, America's economic growth both at home and abroad required a more flexible, yet better controlled and safer banking system. The Federal Reserve Act of 1913 established the Federal Reserve System as the central banking authority of the United States.

Under the Federal Reserve Act of 1913 and amendments over the years, the Federal Reserve System:

- Conducts America's monetary policy.
- Supervises and regulates banks and protects consumers' credit rights.
- Maintains the stability of America's financial system
- Provides financial services to the U.S. Government, the public, financial institutions, and foreign financial institutions.

<b>Progressive Era Amendments</b>		
16th(1913)	Granted Congress the power to tax income.	
17th (1913)	Provided for the direct election of U.S. Senators.	
18th (1919)	Prohibited making, selling, or transporting alcohol.	
<b>19th</b> (1920)	Provided women suffrage (voting).	

Progressive Era Federal Legislation				
Newlands Reclamation Act (1902)	Encouraged conservation by allowing the building of dams and irrigations systems using money from the sale of public lands.			
Elkins Act (1903)	Outlawed the use of rebates by railroad officials or shippers.			
<b>Pure Food and Drug Act</b> (1906/1911)	Required that companies accurately label the ingredients contained in processed food items.			
<b>Meat Inspection Act</b> (1906)	In direct response to Upton Sinclair's <i>The Jungle</i> , this law required that meat processing plants be inspected to ensure the use of good meat and health-minded procedures.			
Hepburn Act (1906)	Strengthened the Interstate Commerce Commission, allowing it to set maximum railroad rates.			
Federal Reserve Act (1913)	Created 12 district Federal Reserve Banks, each able to issue new currency and loan member banks funds at the prime interest rate, as established by the Federal Reserve Board.			
<b>Clayton Antitrust Act</b> (1914)	Strengthened the Sherman Antitrust Act by outlawing the creation of a monopoly through any means, and stated that unions were not subject to antitrust legislation.			
Federal Trade Act (1914)	Established the Federal Trade Commission, charged with investigating unfair business practices including monopolistic activity and inaccurate product labeling.			

Muckraker	Work	Subject	Results
Thomas Nast	Political Cartoons	Political corruption by NYC's political machine, Tammany Hall, led by Boss Tweed.	Tweed was convicted of embezzlement and died in prison.
Jacob Riis	How the Other Half Lives (1890)	Living conditions of the urban poor; focused on tenements.	NYC passed building codes to promote safety and health.
Ida B. Wells	<i>A Red</i> <i>Record</i> (1895)	Provided statistics on the lynching of African-Americans.	NAACP joined the fight for Federal anti-lynching legislation.
Frank Norris	The Octopus (1901)	This fictional book exposed monopolistic railroad practices in California.	In <i>Northern Securities v. U.S.</i> (1904), the holding company controlling railroads in the Northwest was broken up.

			I	
Id	la Tarbell	"A History of the Standard Oil Company" <i>McClure's</i> <i>Magazine</i> (1904)	Exposed the ruthless tactics of the Standard Oil Company through a series of articles published in <i>McClure's</i> <i>Magazine</i> .	In <i>Standard Oil v. U.S.</i> (1911), the company was declared a monopoly and broken up.
	Lincoln Steffens	The Shame of the Cities (1904)	Examined political corruption in cities across the United States.	Cities began to use city commissions and city managers.
	Upton Sinclair	<i>The Jungle</i> (1906)	Investigated dangerous working conditions and unsanitary procedures in the meat-packing industry.	In 1906 the Meat Inspection Act and Pure Food and Drug Act were passed.

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