**Unit 7: Watershed to the Modern Era**

**Chapter 19: Late Nineteenth-Century Intellectual Changes, 1865-1914**

“The mind of man is capable of anything”

—Joseph “He’s Not Being Uplifting” Conrad, British novelist, 1899

**Lesson Objective**

Explain intellectual changes by the end of the nineteenth century.

Explain the impact these changes will have on the Populist and Progressive Movements.

**Thesis**

Rapid technological and scientific advancement during the Second Industrial Revolution challenged longstanding philosophical and theological ideas in Western society. This challenge produced both intellectual optimism and anxiety by the end of the nineteenth century. Both feelings intensified as a result of developments in the twentieth century.

1. Overview
   1. Watershed? What’s that?
      1. An event that marks a turning point
      2. So what’s changing?
   2. Long 19th Century (1789-1914) vs. Short 20th Century (1914-1991)
      1. American popular optimism
         1. Long 19th Century (1789-1914): time of progress
            1. Technological growth, increase of democracy, increased prosperity, individualism, general increase of living standards
         2. Short 20th Century (1914-1991): time of victory
            1. WE WON WWI, WWII, AND THE COLD WAR, DEMOCRACY AND CAPTIALISM WORK!
      2. HOWEVER, intellectual pessimism
         1. What will be the result of all this growth?
            1. Brutality of Civil War and poverty of Gilded Age seemed to be results of all of this
         2. Conformism, consumerism, greed, racism, genocide, repression
            1. Technological progress🡪 new ways of killing people

WWI, WWII, Holocaust, Vietnam, etc.

* + - * 1. Prosperity🡪class divisions and corruption
      1. Does democracy work? Return to Tocqueville's criticisms…
         1. Tyranny of the majority…
         2. Is fascism and authoritarianism inevitable?
      2. Institutions questioned🡪 is anything right?
         1. Darwin and Evolution

Bible is scientifically wrong!

Nature is random, nothing is fixed

1. Intellectual Responses
   1. Pragmatism (William James)
      1. Definition: philosophical belief that ideas are true if they can be proven right/correct
      2. Thought process
         1. James: wants religion and science to both be right
            1. Intellectual challenge: determinism (absolutes, nothing can change) vs. indeterminism (random, anything can change)
         2. James: “The only absolute is randomness”
            1. Then what is true?
         3. Unless otherwise proven, personal thought makes truth!
            1. Religion and Science can coexist!
            2. James: as long as there’s no proof to the contrary, you can believe in God!

Cannot ignore scientific facts, but if there is no empirical evidence, experience can be believed

If personal experience says there’s a God, there’s a God!

Harry Potter clip!

Free will! Disproves Social Darwinism

Ends justify the means…

* 1. Pragmatism🡪 Relativism
     1. Definition: truth is relative to the perspective of the viewer, maintains free will and rejects determinism
     2. Background
        1. Philosophy and science question all absolute truths
           1. Einstein’s Theory of Relativity
           2. James’ Pragmatism
        2. There are no absolutes!
     3. Conclusion🡪 there are no absolutes, things CAN change!
        1. Optimism: because nothing is fixed, we can change the world!
           1. Science can fix all our problems!
           2. Reformers

Social Gospel

Jane Addams and Hull House

R.T. Ely: govt. intervention in economy is necessary to correct injustice

John Dewey: public education is necessary for society

* + - * 1. Artists: Thomas Eakins, *The Gross Clinic*
      1. Pessimism: because nothing is fixed, anything is justified…
         1. No meaning

Friedrich Nietzsche: Life is random🡪 no meaning

Encourages materialism

* + - * 1. Art

Artists: Albert Pinkham Ryder (*The Racetrack*), Augustus Saint-Gaudens (Adams Memorial)

Writers: Frank Norris, *The Octopus*

* + - * 1. Science can be used for anything…

Fritz Haber: chemist

Eugenics….

Ends justify the means? Right?

Wouldn’t you want to live in a world without genetic disease?

Anti-“miscegenation” laws, sterilization…

* + - * 1. Politically

Modern age is too changing, we’ve lost our humanity

If only we could go back…return to traditional values...

**Chapter 20: Goodbye Yellow Brick Road: Farmers and the Rise of Populism, 1860s-1896**

“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.”

—William Jennings Bryan, Populist presidential candidate, 1896

**Lesson Objective**

Explain the causes and the results the Populist Movement.

Evaluate the successes and failures of agrarian political organization during the late nineteenth century.

**Thesis**

The Populist Movement emerged as a reaction to the dehumanizing effects of industrial capitalism. While it may not have been immediately successful, future reform organizations absorbed the ideas of the Populists, making their demands federal policy by the 1930s.

1. Historiography
   1. Richard Hofstadter (Neo-Con), “Myth of the Yeoman Farmer”
      1. Farmers were provincial hicks that had nothing to complain about
         1. They were bad capitalists
         2. Yeoman Farmer ideal did not really exist
      2. Farmers issues were not more extreme in 1890 than they were in earlier periods of American history
   2. Ray Ginger (Progressive), “Age of Excess”
      1. Farmers had legitimate grievances (things they could not control)
         1. Drought, locusts
         2. Homestead Act had failed
         3. Northern capitalists were threatening independence of western farmers, predatory banks
      2. Economic difficulty
         1. Decline in food prices internationally
         2. High interest rates
         3. Numbers don’t lie
            1. 1859: 31% of national income
            2. 1889: 16% of national income
   3. Henry Littlefield: “The Wizard of Oz: Parable on Populism”
      1. The whole story is an allegory
         1. Dorthy: the common man
         2. Wicked Witch of the East/West: Eastern capitalists/Western bonanza farmers
         3. Yellow Brick Road: gold standard
         4. Kansas: center of populism
         5. Oz: Washington D.C.
         6. SILVER SLIPPERS
      2. IT ALL WORKS (it’s fake. Frank Baum was a staunch Republican)
2. Context
   1. What is populism? Political idea of organizing “the people” against “the elite”
      1. Vague political leanings
      2. Common in American history (Jackson, Bryan, Trump, Sanders)
      3. The Populist Party: political party that emerged in 1880s that was absorbed into Democratic Party by the early 1900s
         1. Poor Southern and Western farmers
   2. Economic and Geographic Divisions
      1. Middle Class is content in 1880
         1. No foreign policy issues
         2. Prices falling🡪 easier to buy stuff!
            1. Development of popular culture
         3. Urbanization thanks to New Immigrants
      2. Rural vs. Urban Society
         1. Urban culture: sophisticated, theater, art
         2. Rural culture: characterized as “ignorant, backwards, traditional”
            1. “Hayseeds and Jays”
            2. Chautauqua: travelling circus like education centers
            3. Religious revivals
            4. Sears Catalogue: participation in consumer culture
      3. Economic difficulties
         1. Farming: a tough business
            1. Easy to get into

1865-1900: farms double (2 to 4 million)

* + - * 1. Tough to maintain

Hard work

Expensive: take loans for seeds, tools

Economically unstable

Foreign competition: Argentina, Russia, Canada, Europe

Machines increase output, but lower prices

Farmers want high prices/inflation

Hard to pay back loans

* + - 1. Monetary issues
         1. Industrial competition🡪 deflation spiral in prices
         2. Not enough money in circulation

Greenbacks were pulled out of circulation after Civil War

Banks hesitant to give out loans🡪 high interest rates

* + - 1. Other issues
         1. Tariffs: discouraged trade with foreign markets
         2. Homestead Act failures

Lack of water

Railroads buy up available land

* + - 1. Cycle of Debt
         1. Buy machines to increase output to sell more
         2. More supply🡪lower prices
         3. Less money in circulation🡪 harder to get loans, high interest rates
         4. Hard to pay back loans

1. The Rise of the Populists
   1. Political organization before 1890
      1. Difficult to organize farmers: too many of them, individuals
      2. The National Grange (1867)
         1. Oliver H. Kelly, founder
         2. Goals
            1. Currency Reform

Wanted more money in circulation

More money🡪 higher prices

Wants more silver in economy (silver declined because of Coinage Act of 1873, Crime of ’73)

Bland-Allison Act (1878): some silver accepted, but not a lot

* + - * 1. Railroads

Wanted state govts. to regulate RRs

RRs were price gauging

Some successes

Munn v. Illinois (1877)

Interstate Commerce Commission (1887)

Problems: not effective

Wabash Cases (1886), corruption

* + - 1. Fell apart because of controversy over Compromise of 1890
         1. Three parts

McKinley Tariff: 48% tariff

Sherman Silver Purchase Act

Govt. has to buy 4.5 million oz per month

Sherman Anti-Trust Act

* + - * 1. Granger leaders accept compromise, farmers don’t like it
    1. Farmers’ Alliances (1877-1890s)
       1. Three related regional/racial movements (West, white Southern, Black)
       2. Somewhat successful🡪1 million votes in 1890 election, showed anger at the compromise
    2. The People’s Party (Populist Party)
       1. Who? Southern/Western farmers, Black sharecroppers, some Eastern workers
       2. Platform
          1. Currency Reform: 16 to 1

16 oz of silver, equal to 1 oz of gold

Unlimited coinage of silver

* + - * 1. Direct Election of Senators, Initiatives, Referendum
        2. Sub-treasury program
        3. Nationalize railroads
        4. Income tax
  1. Election of 1892 and Realignment
     1. Candidates and Issues
        1. Populists: James Weaver
        2. Republicans: Benjamin “The Human Iceberg” Harrison
           1. McKinley Tariff angered farmers
        3. Democrats: Grover Cleveland
           1. Former president, lost in 1888
           2. Maria Halpin Scandal (lol)
     2. Results
        1. Democrats win, but Populists make a good showing (win in silver producing states)
        2. Democrats maintain “Bourbon” South
           1. Populists make appeals to black Southerners

Tom Watson, Populist in Congress

* + - * 1. However, victory of Southern Dems🡪 increase Jim Crow

Literacy tests, poll tax, grandfather clauses

* 1. Cleveland’s 2nd Administration
     1. Panic of 1893: worst depression of 19th century
        1. Causes
           1. Unregulated industrial competition
           2. Overbuilding/speculation🡪 economic instability
        2. High unemployment (20%), business bankrupt
     2. Cleveland’s response: stick with gold
        1. Repealed Sherman Silver Purchase Act🡪 prevent gold
           1. Upsets farmers
        2. Forms alliance with Gold Democrats and Gold Republicans
           1. Upsets farmers
  2. Political Realignment
     1. Farmers’ Angry
        1. Exploited by Railroads
        2. Betrayed by Compromise of 1890
        3. Cleveland sticks with gold, they want silver
     2. Farmer and Worker Protests
        1. Coxey’s Army: farmers want help for unemployed🡪 arrested
        2. Pullman Strike: railroad workers (led by Eugene Debs)🡪 army brought in
     3. Congressional Elections of 1894
        1. Republicans win House, but Populists win West
        2. Democratic Party splits
           1. Southern and Western Democrats desert Cleveland
           2. Cleveland: most unpopular man in America

1. The Election of 1896
   1. Republicans (William McKinley)
      1. Platform
         1. Gold Standard
         2. Blame Dems for Depression
         3. Keep Tariff
      2. Gold Democrats join party, Silver Republicans pushed out
   2. Democrats
      1. National Convention
         1. Cleveland supporters pushed out of Convention
         2. Silver Republicans join party
         3. No Cleveland🡪 rudderless
      2. Until their savior appeared🡪 William Jennings Bryan
         1. Combines People’s Party, Silver Party, Silver Republicans/Democrats
         2. “Cross of Gold” Speech🡪 electrifies support for WJ Bryan
   3. Campaign
      1. Party Realignment🡪 Fourth Party System
         1. Republican Party
            1. Supply Side Economics: decrease regulations, lower taxes
            2. Pro-imperialism
         2. Democratic Party
            1. Percolator Theory (Demand Side Economics): increase employment, provide conditions for demand
            2. 16 to 1 silver
            3. Anti-imperialism
      2. Campaigning
         1. McKinley: Front Porch Campaign
            1. Hanna’s “slush fund:” first campaign donation fund
            2. Leaflets, speakers
         2. Bryan: train campaign, went across South/West
            1. Ignored East Coast…
            2. Industrial workers opposed to silver inflation
         3. McKinley wins
   4. McKinley’s Administration (1897-1901)
      1. Gold standard remains
      2. Populists die off🡪 absorbed into Democratic Party
         1. Gold in Alaska (eased currency problems, gave mild inflation)
         2. European crop failure🡪 markets for farmers
            1. Grain prices rise
         3. Depression ends

**Chapter 21: The Rise of the American Empire, 1890-1899**

“America cannot have an empire abroad and a republic at home.”

—Mark Twain, Samuel Clemens Impersonator, 1898

**Lesson Objective**

Explain the rise of the United States as a world power during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Explain the causes and effects of the Spanish American War.

**Thesis**

The intentions of the American Empire were hotly debated by the contemporaries of the late nineteenth century: promotion of Aryan “supremacy,” spread of humane democracy, liberation of foreign markets, etc. Regardless, the emergence of industrial capitalism and the near extinction of Native Americans made it possible.

1. Changes in Foreign Policy
   1. Context: Foreign Policy, 1790-1880
      1. Influence of Washington’s Farewell Address, 1796
      2. 19th Century: Dark Ages of FP
         1. Few goals, limited interest in outside world
            1. Focus: internal settlement/Western expansion
            2. Exception: Mexican-American War, Perry’s Mission

Monroe Doctrine

* + - 1. Post-Civil War: Small navy/army
      2. Diplomats/Sec of State: not a lot of prestige
    1. HOWEVER, some plans
       1. Young America…
       2. William Seward (Lincoln/Johnson’s Sec of State)
          1. Desires to expand into Pacific
          2. Help build trans-continental railroad
          3. Alaska (Seward’s Folly), 1867
  1. Changes by 1890
     1. West: settled/conquered
     2. Economic argument for expansion
        1. Need markets for industrial/agricultural goods
        2. Depression of 1893
        3. Need to distract workers…
     3. Mission Ideal
        1. Rudyard Kipling’s “White Man’s Burden”
        2. Bring Christianity and civilization
           1. Josiah Strong: *Our Country*

USA=Anglo-Saxon civilization

Spread our way of life to “backwards people”

* + 1. “Intellectual” arguments
       1. Frederick Jackson Turner: we’ve run out of frontier
          1. American democracy formed because there was land to settle on
          2. Let’s keep going!
       2. Social Darwinism: strong nations need to prove themselves
          1. Alfred T. Mahan

National greatness is measured in naval power

Need to build our navy both in the Atlantic and Pacific

Need a canal…

* + - * 1. Theodore Roosevelt

Need a new nationalist spirit

Prove ourselves to Europe by building our own empire!

It’s the manly thing to do

* 1. New Foreign Policy
     1. Formal vs. Informal Empire
     2. Interest in Pacific🡪 Hawaii, 1895
        1. Missionaries and sugar/pineapple companies since 1820s
           1. Lots of American expats
        2. McKinley Tariff threatens profits🡪 American businessmen overthrow Queen Liliuokalani🡪 ask for annexation
        3. Cleveland says no, too controversial, not worth the money (for now)
     3. Revival of Monroe Doctrine for Latin America
        1. “Hands off of South America…It’s ours!”
        2. Aggressive attitude towards nations
           1. Threats of war over German Samoa
           2. Threats of war with Italy over lynching in New Orleans
           3. Threats of war with Chile over USS Baltimore (1891)
           4. Tensions over British/Venezuela controversy (1895)

British Guiana and Venezuela border dispute

Cleveland threatens UK to step off

Irish Americans like this

* + - * 1. Tensions with Canada over baby seal hunting
      1. “The risking of war over minor disputes demonstrated a new national mood…the demand for empire”

1. The Spanish American War and the Creation of the American Empire
   1. Context
      1. Cuba: Spanish colony in Caribbean, independence movement since 1860s
         1. BUT significant Americans business interests (esp. sugar)
            1. USS Maine sent to Havana harbor…just to…you know…protect Americans…in case something…bad happens
         2. Economic crisis of 1890s intensifies class struggle🡪 Cuban Rebellion
            1. Bloody suppression of Cuban rebels
            2. The Butcher Weyler and concentration camps
      2. Public outrage in the United States
         1. Sympathy for Cuban rebels
         2. Yellow Press and Jingoism
            1. William Randolph Hearst🡪 sell more papers!
            2. Atrocities reported and some manufactured
         3. De Lome Letter: Spanish criticize McKinley as weak
         4. USS Maine explosion
            1. Mysterious explosion! Who did it?!
            2. “REMEMBER THE MAINE, TO HELL WITH SPAIN!”

(it probably was an accident, maybe a flaseflag?)

* + 1. Declaration of War
       1. McKinley doesn’t initially want war (Civil War veteran)
       2. Called weak by Yellow Press…and it’s an election year…
          1. “The gods of war got their wish”—Mark Twain
  1. “The Splendid Little War,” 1898
     1. Easy American victory
        1. US quickly takes Manila (the Philippines) and Cuba
           1. Filipino and Cuban rebels help out
        2. Guam taken and Hawaii annexed to resupply Philippines
        3. Puerto Rico taken to provide canal protection
        4. War quickly over
     2. Results
        1. New territory
        2. Rise of Theodore Roosevelt🡪 picked as VP in Election of 1900
  2. Historiography
     1. Neo-Conservatives (Samuel Bemis)
        1. Pro-Intervention (US doesn’t do bad stuff)
        2. Formal empire was not goal, no desire before 1890
           1. Happened accidently, McKinley caved to pressure
        3. American imperialism is better than European/Japanese imperialism
     2. New Left
        1. William A. Williams: Tragedy of American Diplomacy
           1. Economic elites dominated FP
           2. FP dominated therefore by capitalism

Desire to spread markets

* + - * 1. Military=tool of capitalism

True in Cuba in 1898, True in Iraq in 2003

* + - 1. Walter LaFeber: The New Empire
         1. American Empire began well before 1898
         2. Always a desire to spread markets
         3. What changed in 1898 is where we focused on (Latin America)
    1. Post 9/11 Historians
       1. Ernest May: Imperial Democracy
          1. Empire happened accidently
          2. McKinley tried to avoid war

Spain refused to give independence

* + - * 1. Hey, we didn’t keep Cuba! It’s not the 51st state! How can we be imperialist?
      1. Stanley Lebergott: American Imperialism: The Myth
         1. Imperialism is not bad (wut)
         2. We helped increase capitalism across Latin America

Living conditions went up!

* + - * 1. Europeans benefited more from post-Spanish American war than the USA
  1. Treaty debates: are we becoming an empire?
     1. Treaty of Paris (1899)
        1. Philippines purchased for $20 million
        2. Cuba independent
        3. US gets Guam and Puerto Rico
     2. Ratification debate at home
        1. Anti-treaty arguments (Anti-Imperialist League)
           1. Members: Mark Twain, Jane Addams, John Dewey, Samuel Gompers, Benjamin Harrison (for some reason), Grover Cleveland, William James, William Jennings Bryan
           2. Remember Washington’s Farewell Address?
           3. We will be involved in all the competition for China…
        2. Pro-treaty arguments
           1. Everyone else was doing it, mom
           2. Good for business, easier to trade with China
           3. Spread democracy and Christianity
           4. It’s our Anglo-Saxon tradition to spread civilization

“We will come to the Philippines as ministering angels and be greeted as heroes”

* + - 1. McKinley torn…but ultimately approves of treaty
         1. It’s an election year…

McKinley wins 1900 election, TR as VP

* 1. How will we treat this new empire?
     1. Philippines
        1. Filipino Rebellion (1899-1902)
           1. Emiliano Aguinaldo betrayed: Cuba was freed, why not us?
           2. Americans kill thousands

Concentration camps, racial segregation

Expansion of anti-immigrant, anti-Native American, pro-Jim Crow ideas to Philippines

* + - * 1. Public outrage🡪 US distances from formal empire

Build schools, promote local government

William Howard Taft sent in

* + 1. Cuba
       1. Teller Amendment: we will never annex Cuba
       2. Platt Amendment: we get a naval base in Cuba (Guantanamo Bay)
          1. Cuba cannot make treaties compromising independence
          2. USA can send in troops when it deems it necessary…

Americans in the 1960s: “Why does this Castro guy hate us?”

* + 1. Puerto Rico
       1. Foraker Act (1900)
          1. PR gets a limited self-government
          2. President appoints governor
          3. Puerto Ricans are citizens of Puerto Rico

Citizenship by 1917

* + 1. Supreme Court and Empire
       1. Insular Cases: series of Supreme Court cases that gave varying degrees of citizenship to residents of American territories overseas
       2. Downes v. Bidwell (1901): Constitution does not necessarily apply to US territories, Congress can regulate what goes on there
          1. “We recoiled from making barbarians part of the US”
  1. Informal American Empire: Latin America and China
     1. Latin America: keep Monroe Doctrine, expand US trade presence
        1. Roosevelt: a man, a plan, panama
     2. China
        1. US Missionaries first
        2. Desire for Chinese market
           1. Export textiles, food, railroad materials
        3. Europeans + Japan make Spheres of Influence: areas were foreigners have exclusive trade privileges
        4. John Hays (Sec of State): “First Open Door Note”
           1. Diplomatic policy of the United States that China should be open to free trade equally between Europeans, the Japanese, and the United States
           2. No colonies in China
           3. China has to treat everyone the same (no tariffs)
        5. Chinese resistance🡪 Boxer Rebellion (1902)
           1. Brutally suppressed
           2. Hay repeats thoughts in “Second Open Door Note”

1. Progressive Imperialists: Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson
   1. Theodore Roosevelt, 1901-1909
      1. Background
         1. Pro-domestic reform, pro-imperialism VP of McKinley
         2. McKinley gets shot by ~~a cool guy~~ an anarchist🡪 President
         3. VERY AGGRESSIVE foreign policy (“Bad Neighbor Policy” or “Big Stick Policy”)
            1. Wants to make Caribbean an “American Lake”
      2. Roosevelt Corollary (1904)
         1. US has right to intervene in Latin America to stabilize economies, Europe should not do that
            1. Background: UK + Germany blockaded Venezuela over debt dispute in 1902
      3. The Panama Canal
         1. Something dreamed about since 1850s
            1. Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 1850
         2. Desire now because of Spanish American War🡪 get to Hawaii/Philippines easier
         3. Where to build? Panama or Nicaragua
            1. France (Phillipe Bunau-Varilla) sells material to Americans for $40 million
            2. Nicaragua's a go🡪 then Mt. Pelee explodes🡪 Panama it is
            3. Problem? Panama’s a part of Colombia

Colombia doesn’t want to sell (6 miles for $10 million and $250,000 a year)

TR supports Panama revolt🡪 Panama’s independent now!

Hay-Buanu Varilla Treaty: US owns it now

Weaker LA nations🡪 American puppets…

* + 1. USA in international affairs
       1. Portsmouth Treaty (1905)
          1. Russo-Japanese War (1904)

Japan kicks Russia’s butt

* + - * 1. Roosevelt brokers peace agreement🡪 US is an equal player in international politics

Noble Peace Prize for some reason

* + - 1. The Gentlemen's Agreement (1907)
         1. 1905 War🡪increased Japanese immigration to USA
         2. San Francisco mayor wants to segregate to avoid the “yellow peril”
         3. TR to Japan: end immigration, we won’t segregate

Japan agrees, unhappily

US-Japanese tensions…who will control the Pacific…

* 1. William Howard Taft (1909-1913)
     1. Ally to Roosevelt, handpicked successor
        1. Will break because of domestic disagreements, but that’s next chapter
     2. “Dollar Diplomacy”
        1. Invest and send aid, not the military
        2. Invest in foreign projects or the Germans/Japanese will
           1. Bank loans to Latin America
           2. Manchurian Railroad
        3. Ironically though, when Latin America can’t pay back loans🡪 military intervention
           1. Haiti, Dominican Republic, Nicaragua
  2. Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921)
     1. “Missionary Diplomacy”
        1. Avoid TR Big Stick Policy AND Dollar Diplomacy
           1. Suspicious of military and Wall Street
        2. Tries to be more peaceful, ends up with more military intervention….
     2. Intervention in Latin America
        1. THIS IS THE PRIMARY FOREIGN POLICY CONCERN OF WOODROW WILSON BEFORE 1917
        2. Dominican Republic
        3. Mexico
           1. Mexican Revolution threatens US backed dictator (and US business)
           2. US refuses to back new dictator Huerta

US marines in Veracruz to protect US interests

* + - * 1. Poncho Villa raids in New Mexico

John Pershing invades northern Mexico

**Chapter 22: The Progressive Era, 1890s-1920s**

“The scope of a modern government in what it can and ought to accomplish for its people has been widened far beyond the principles laid down by the old ‘laissez faire’ school of political writers, and this widening has met popular approval.”

—William “No I Did Not Get Stuck in the Bathtub” Taft, Big Boy, 1909

**Lesson Objective**

Explain the causes and effects of Progressive politics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Explain the policies of various Progressive political figures.

**Thesis**

The Progressivism of the early twentieth century was a steam valve: reducing class tensions by addressing the most glaring problems of the Gilded Age. As such, while significant changes were made, not were not done with the intention of radically altering gender, racial, or class hierarchies.

1. Roots of Progressivism
   1. Characteristics – Definition
      1. Mood of reforming government and the economy
         1. Fight “corruption”
         2. Regulate business: Granger-Populists
         3. Reform social ills--slums, child, & women labor
   2. Who is a Progressive?
      1. Moralist/paternalistic, moderate, WHITE middle class
         1. Man is good-evil in institutions
         2. Opposed to Social Darwinism and Laissez Faire
         3. Social Gospel
         4. Most successful, arguably
      2. Intellectuals-Reform w/o radicalism
         1. Academics
         2. Social scientists--R T Ely, John Dewey
      3. Writers and Artists
         1. Muckrakers: "Something is wrong. . .”
            1. Magazines-McClure’s
            2. Believed

Elite controlled rich lawyers and threatened democracy

Religion had become materialistic

Monopolies grew

Elites controlled politicians who were often immoral

Wanted Stronger Sherman & ICC.

* + - * 1. Journalists

Henry Demarest Lloyd--Standard Oil

Lincoln Steffens--corruption in city politics

Ida Tarbell--Standard Oil.

* + - 1. Art in Progressive Mind- Ash Can School
         1. Henri, Sloan, Lukes
         2. City and slums as models.
    1. Radical reformers: least successful, no one likes them
       1. Socialists: Eugene V. Debs
       2. Big Bill Haywood -IWW
  1. Contradictions
     1. Improve working conditions - oppose unions
     2. Favor local socialism - oppose nationalization of RR
     3. Favored individualism - support prohibition
     4. Increase democracy - oppose African Americans.

1. Progressivism in Action
   1. City reforms: "Political corruption root of problem"
      1. San Fran, Rudolph Spreckles
      2. Toledo-Sam "Golden Rule" Jones - minimum wage
      3. New York - Seth Lowe - tenement reforms
      4. City manager - Galveston - “Home Rule.”
   2. State Reform
      1. Boss run machines
         1. N. Bosses ran state machines
         2. Rural pol control state leg
      2. Reform governors
         1. Robert M. La Follette - Wisconsin Idea
            1. Direct primary
            2. Limit campaign $
            3. Income tax
            4. Conservation commissions
         2. Uren - Oregon plan (Initiative, Referendum, Recall)
   3. Social reform
      1. Utility socialism
      2. Women – children
         1. Muller v. Oregon (1908)
            1. Brandeis Brief
            2. Eco - sociological evidence
         2. Triangle Shirtwaist Fire 1911
            1. 146 die--Most immigrants
            2. Outcry for safety laws.
            3. Child labor.
      3. Struggle for women's suffrage
         1. A.W.S.A.
         2. More radical N.W.S.A.--Stanton - Anthony lead it
         3. Arguments favor
            1. Politics be less corrupt
            2. Wars would end.
         4. Argument against
            1. Vote in west
            2. "superior" abandons equality.
         5. Merge in 1890 into NAWSA
            1. Congressional Union
            2. Alice Paul - 19th Amend.
   4. Conservative reaction
      1. Supreme Court - 14th Amendment
      2. Child labor law unconstitutional
         1. Lochner v. NY (1905)-Cannot deprive worker of rights
         2. Hammer v. Dagenhart 1918--Child labor laws UC
         3. Adkins v. Children's Hospital (1923)
            1. Min Wage for women Un Con
            2. Overturned in Hotel v. Parish 1937
   5. Presidential Reform
      1. Theodore Roosevelt
         1. Background
         2. “Go slow”- Between Sumner – Debbs
            1. Support middle class
            2. Oppose “lunatic fringe.”
         3. Domestic program - Square Deal--Three C’s
            1. Conservation-Newlands Act--$ for irrigation in dry west
            2. Control Monopolies - Square Deal part 2

Avoid tariff

Trust Buster: regulate not bust indiscriminately

“Good trusts" and "bad trusts"

Used Sherman Act selectively

Northern Securities Trust

RR holding Co

Dissolved

Meat packers

Standard Oil

American Tobacco.

Strengthen ICC

Elkins Rail Road Act-Disallowed rebates

Hepburn Act

ICC set rates

Inspect records

Outlaw free passes.

* + - * 1. Consumer Protection in Square Deal

Changed attitude toward labor

1902 coal strike

United Mine Workers

John Mitchell vs George Bear.

Meat Inspection (Sinclair's The Jungle). = Pure food and Drug Act

Child labor - factory inspections - Minimum wage (all fail).

* + - 1. Reputation rose with Progressives
         1. Moderate

Reformer, but. . .

Assured business not opposed to them

"Gentlemen's Agreement”

"We check books

You fix things.

Not embarrass conservatives.

* + - * 1. Moving Left

Roosevelt grew more liberal--1908

Income tax

Regulate interstate bus

Attack courts

Lost all reform from the right.

* + 1. William Howard Taft
       1. Election of 1908
          1. Dems: Bryan again
          2. Reps: Referendum on TR.
       2. Listless Conservative-Progressive
          1. Intelligent, experienced, public spirited
          2. “Carry out TR policies”

Enforce Sherman Act

Add to forest reserves

Mann-Elkins Act 1910—strengthened ICC--suspend rate increases.

* + - 1. Problems emerge
         1. Lack of stamina & vigor
         2. Disliked use of executive power.
         3. Refused to smooze Congress
         4. Tariff: Payne Aldrich angered many
         5. Ballinger-Pinchote (Conservation) Affair.
    1. Election of 1912 - Break up of Republican Party
       1. Division in GOP
          1. TR in Africa
          2. Taft allied with Old Guard
       2. TR return in 1910
          1. House Speaker Cannon
          2. TR - "New Nationalism"

Stronger govt

Regulate behemoths.

* + - 1. The Election
         1. Stormy convention
         2. Third party – Progressives

H. Croley

New Nationalism

* + - * 1. Democratic – Wilson

“New Freedom”

Break up trusts.

* + 1. Wilson’s first term
       1. New Freedom in action
          1. 16th Amend (1913)

Income Tax

Underwood Tariff-Reduce rates

* + - * 1. Federal Reserve Act (1913)

Regional banks (begun by Lincoln)

Provided for “elastic currency”

* + - * 1. FTC (1914) (Similar to New Nationalism)

Consumer protection

Regulation of business practices

* + - * 1. Clayton Antitrust Act (1914)

Prohibit monopolies

Forbid “unfair trade.”

* + - 1. Surprisingly he stopped.
         1. Not help farmers, workers, child labor
         2. Against union exemption from anti-trust laws
         3. Opposed women vote
         4. Progressives grumble.
  1. Progressives & minority rights
     1. Reactionary.
        1. "Gentlemen's Agreement"
        2. Dillingham Commission
        3. American Indians
        4. African Americans
           1. Segregated Govt
           2. Ignored increased lynching
     2. Militants break from B.T. Washington.
        1. Increase black militancy
           1. New leaders - W.E.B. DuBois

Represent N. black intellectuals - activists

Outraged by WW racism & BT acquiescence

Niagara Falls Movement🡪 NAACP.

* 1. Conservative reaction
     1. Support concept of individualism - Liberty
     2. Oppose Progressive govt protection - Equal op.