**Social Science Department**
**United States History I**
**May 25-29; June 1-5**

**Greetings Freshman USI Students!** We hope you are safe and well with your families!
Below is the lesson plan for the next 2 weeks:

**Content Standard(s):**

**Topic 7. Progressivism [USI.T7]**
***Supporting question: Which should take priority, domestic issues or our status as an international power?***

1. Explain what Progressivism meant in the early 20th century and analyze a text or images by a Progressive leader; 2. Research and analyze one of the following governmental policies of the Progressive Period, determine the problem it was designed to solve, and assess its long and short-term effectiveness; 3. Analyze the campaign for, and the opposition to, women's suffrage in the late 19th and early 20th centuries; describe the role of leaders and organizations in achieving the passage of the 19th Amendment; 4. Analyze the strategies of African Americans to achieve basic civil rights in the early 20th century, and determine the extent to which they met their goals by researching leaders and organizations

**Practice Standard(s):**

1. Demonstrate civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions; 2. Organize information and data from multiple primary and secondary sources; 3. Analyze the purpose and point of view of each source; distinguish opinion from fact; 5. Argue or explain conclusions, using valid reasoning and evidence; 6. Determine next steps and take informed action, as appropriate.

**Weekly Learning Opportunities:**

**The Progressive Era: 1890-1920**

1. Gilded Age Active Read and Questions
2. **Interview with an Icon:** Progressive Era Problems Research
3. **Progressive Era Reformers:** Areas of Influence, Significance, and Impact on the Movement
4. **Women's Suffrage Reformers:** Research and Political Cartoon Analysis
5. **African American Suffrage Reformers:** Research and Reflection
6. Problems of the Progressive Era and Today Brochure

**Additional Resources:**

- Progressive Era Primary Source Analysis Activity

- **Upton Sinclair's "The Jungle", Chapter 14:** https://etc.usf.edu/lit2go/77/the-jungle/1276/chapter-14/

- **Major American Fires: Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire- 1911:** https://library.massasoit.edu/americanfires/trianglefactory

**Note to students:** Your Social Science teacher will contact you with specifics regarding the above assignments in addition to strategies and recommendations for completion. Please email your teacher with specific questions and/or contact during office hours.

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# Progressive Era: The Roaring Twenties

By Joshua Zeitz, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, adapted by Newsela staff on 12.15.16
Word Count **988**
Level **1200L**

TOP: Russell Patterson's "Where There's Smoke There's Fire," showing a fashionably dressed woman of the time, often called a flapper, was painted around 1925. Courtesy of Library of Congress. BOTTOM: Calvin Coolidge in the late 1910s. Photo courtesy of Wikipedia.

The 1920s heralded a dramatic break between America's past and future. Before World War I (1914-1918), the country remained culturally and psychologically rooted in the past. In the 1920s, America seemed to usher in a more modern era.

The most vivid impressions of the 1920s are of flappers, movie palaces, radio empires, and Prohibition, the nationwide ban on alcohol that led to people making alcohol and drinking it in secret. But also during this era, scientists shattered the boundaries of space and time, aviators made men fly, and women went to work. The United States was confident and rich.

### A time of contradiction

But the 1920s were also an age of extreme contradiction. The unmatched prosperity and cultural advancement was accompanied by intense social unrest and reaction. The same decade also reintroduced the Ku Klux Klan, discrimination against immigrants, and pitted religious fundamentalism against scientific findings.

America stood at a crossroads between advancement and tradition.

Many of the trends that converged to make the 1920s distinct had been building for years.

It was an era of liberation for women as the decade gave rise to flappers, who were young women who dressed and acted boldly for that time. Meanwhile, a powerful women's political movement demanded and won the right to vote in 1920.

### Independent women

Spurred on by economic growth that required a larger female labor force, young women now were able to lead independent lives and, as such, many female workers lived alone in private apartments or boardinghouses, free from the watchful eyes of their parents.

The 1920s are often thought of as an era of prosperity and, in many respects, Americans had never lived so well. Advancement in machinery and technology made it possible for people to work fewer hours and earn more money. Furthermore, people also had more opportunities to buy material things, thanks to new methods of production and distribution. By 1929, American families spent over 20 percent of their household earnings on factory-made furniture, radios, electric appliances, cars, and entertainment, such as going to movie theaters or amusement parks.

The proliferation of advertising helped expose people to lives associated with the purchase of goods and services by selling them their dreams, or what companies wanted people to think their dreams were.

### American urbanization

For the first time ever, more Americans lived in cities than in villages or on farms during the 1920s. This urbanization also included economic growth, as machines increased productivity in manufacturing, railroads, and mining. Much of this was due to technological advancements, including electricity, which almost two-thirds of households had by the mid-1920s. The electric vacuum cleaner, the electric refrigerator and freezer, and the automatic washing machine became staples in middle-class homes, and cars became affordable and trustworthy.

As a sign of the advancements in daily life, the most common sources of disagreement between teenagers and their parents during the mid-1920s were: going out on school nights, the times they must be home, their grades, spending money, and use of the car.

Meanwhile, film and radio advanced during the 1920s. On November 2, 1920, a radio station in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, broadcast the presidential election returns for the first-ever live radio news. Shortly thereafter, Americans were listening to music, live baseball games and more on the radio.

### Presidents of the 1920s

Warren G. Harding was America's 29th president, serving from 1921 until he died while still in office in 1923. Although his administration was full of scandal, Harding was widely admired by the American voters.

Harding was replaced by Calvin Coolidge, who may have been the most quiet man ever to occupy the White House. "Silent Cal" slept 11 hours each day, vetoed far more laws than he proposed, and claimed that his only hobby was "holding public office." In 1928, Coolidge announced unexpectedly that he did "not choose to run for president" again.

Herbert Hoover took the oath of office as the nation's 31st president in 1929, with the Great Depression beginning only months later. The country's despair profoundly affected him. However, Hoover did not initiate strong action during this time of widespread unemployment and starvation, and he became one of the most despised men in America.

### At odds with the revolution

The great revolution that was sweeping through America didn't meet with uniform approval from everyone.

In 1925, a young high school science teacher in Tennessee named John Scopes violated the state's law that evolution could not be taught. Evolution is the scientific process of a gradual, natural development of living things over time. This process was at odds with many religious beliefs. In Tennessee, a battle between science and fundamentalist Christianity followed, as did a trial in court. The anti-evolution law remained until the 1960s.

Meanwhile, the Ku Klux Klan had faded away until 1915, when it was reorganized. The new Klan included among its list of enemies Jews, Catholics, Asians, and "new women." By 1925, the organization claimed at least 5 million members, with the Klan controlling politics in several states and helping put in place anti-immigration laws that would last for years.

### A weak economy

Amid the great prosperity and excess of the 1920s, America's economy was weak. There were massive gaps between the rich and poor, with those living in the countryside being affected the most as farm prices hit rock bottom while cities prospered.

Such glaring inequality had consequences. Boom times relied on mass consumption, and eventually, working people reached their limit. The very wealthy could only buy so many cars, washing machines, radios, and movie tickets. When consumer demand bottomed out, America's economy simply stopped functioning.

The stock market collapsed in 1929, and the influences of under-consumption and over-estimating the success of stocks began wreaking havoc on the American economy as the nation's first modern decade drew to an end.

*Joshua Zeitz is an author and has taught American history at Harvard University and Cambridge University.*

# Ida Tarbell: Relentless and determined, she beat giant Standard Oil

By Smithsonian.com, adapted by Newsela staff on 03.01.17

Word Count **1,529**

Level **1190L**

Ida Tarbell, via Wikimedia

Ida Tarbell was 14 years old when she witnessed the Cleveland Massacre, a battle in "the oil war" of 1872. Dozens of small oil producers in Ohio and Western Pennsylvania battled 32-year-old John D. Rockefeller Sr. and his newly incorporated Standard Oil Company.

At the time, Frank Tarbell, Ida's father, owned one of the oil companies refining oil for fuel in Cleveland, Ohio. Rockefeller offered Ida's father and the other oil company owners an ultimatum. They could sell their businesses to him or they could try to compete with Standard Oil and undoubtedly fail.

Though Tarbell did not understand what was going on at the time, she would never forget the effects of the Cleveland Massacre. Rockefeller and his Standard Oil Company left Cleveland owning 85 percent of the city's oil refineries.

### Relentless Search For Facts

Almost 30 years later, journalist Ida Tarbell would search for the facts and write about "the oil war" in a 19-part series in McClure's magazine. This masterpiece of journalism exposed the truth and brought down one of history's greatest tycoons and effectively broke up Standard Oil's monopoly. Her "steady, painstaking work," unearthed damaging internal documents, which were supported by interviews with employees, lawyers and the powerful vice president of Standard Oil, Henry H. Rogers.

She became one of the most important muckrakers who reported about greed and corruption in big business and the government. "They had never played fair," Tarbell wrote of Standard Oil, "and that ruined their greatness for me." She was an important part of the Progressive Era that began around 1890 and ended near the end of The Great War in 1920. Progressives fought for honest and fair rules in business and government and voting rights for all Americans. They also worked to reduce the fear of immigrants coming to America.

**Railroad Scheme Revealed**

Ida Minerva Tarbell was born in 1857, in a log cabin in Hatch Hollow, in Western Pennsylvania's oil region. Her father, Franklin Tarbell, spent his early years building oil storage tanks. He switched to refining oil into fuel and became rich. "There was ease such as we had never known; luxuries we had never heard of," she later wrote. Her town of Titusville and surrounding areas in the Oil Creek Valley "had been developed into an organized industry which was now believed to have a splendid future. Then suddenly this gay, prosperous town received a blow between the eyes."

That blow came in the form of the South Improvement Company, a corporation established in 1871. Secretly, Rockefeller and the three major railroads that ran through Cleveland—the Pennsylvania, the Erie and the New York Central, made a secret deal. The railroads agreed to raise shipping fees, but would still give Rockefeller and Standard Oil some money back.

Word of the South Improvement Company's scheme leaked to newspapers, which outraged independent oilmen in Ohio and Pennsylvania. There were speeches calling for violence as train cars filled with oil were raided and buyers of oil were turned away.

Franklin Tarbell and the other small oil refiners pleaded with state and federal officials to crack down on the business practices that could ruin them.

**"Hate, Suspicion And Fear"**

By April of 1872, the Pennsylvania Legislature repealed the South Improvement Company's charter before a single transaction was made, but the damage had already been done. In just six weeks, Rockefeller was able to buy 22 of the 26 oil companies in Cleveland that competed with Standard Oil.

When buying out the competing oil companies, Rockefeller encouraged the other company owners to invest in his company by taking stock instead of money. "Take Standard Oil Stock," Rockefeller told them, "and your family will never know want." Most who accepted the buyouts did indeed become rich, but Franklin Tarbell did not. His daughter wrote that she was devastated by the "hate, suspicion and fear that engulfed the community." Franklin Tarbell's partner killed himself, and the Tarbells were forced to sell the family home back to the bank to pay for his company's debts.

At the time, Rockefeller said there was no secret deal to raise shipping fees and to give him some money back. But years later, he said that the practice was common and those fighting it did not know much about business. He explained that a company that ships 5,000 barrels of oil a day should not have to pay as much for a barrel as a company that only ships 50 barrels a day.

Ron Chernow, Rockefeller's biographer, wrote: “Once he had a monopoly over the Cleveland refineries, he then marched on and did the same thing in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York and the other refining centers. So that was really the major turning point in his career, and it was really one of the most shameful episodes in his career.”

### Writing Put Her On A Path

Still a teenager when all this happened, Ida Tarbell never forgot what Rockefeller had done. “There was born in me a hatred of privilege, privilege of any sort,” she later wrote. “It was all pretty hazy, to be sure, but it still was well, at 15, to have one definite plan based on things seen and heard." These feelings would drive her to write about fairness and justice in the future.

At age 19, she went to Allegheny College in Meadville, Pennsylvania, and after studying biology, Tarbell came to realize that she preferred writing. She took an editing job for a teaching publication. Eventually, she worked her way up to managing editor before moving to Paris in 1890 to write. It was there that she met Samuel McClure, who offered her a position at McClure’s magazine.

There, Tarbell wrote a long and well-received series on Napoleon Bonaparte, which led to an immensely popular 20-part series on Abraham Lincoln. It doubled the magazine’s circulation, made her a leading authority on the early life of the former president, and landed her a book deal.

### Following The Paper Trail Of Documents

In 1900, nearly three decades after the Cleveland Massacre, Tarbell began a 19-part series that would become a book, “The History of the Standard Oil Company,” that, in her words, "fed the antitrust frenzy by verifying what many had suspected for years: the pattern of deceit, secrecy and unregulated concentration of power."

Ironically, Tarbell began her research by interviewing Henry H. Rogers, who knew her father and had a similar business in Pennsylvania. After the Cleveland Massacre, Rogers spent 25 years working alongside Rockefeller, building Standard Oil into one of the first and largest multinational corporations in the world. Rogers, it seems, might have been under the impression, after the McClure’s series on Lincoln, that Tarbell was writing a flattering piece on him; he reached out to her through his good friend Mark Twain. Meeting her in his home, Rogers gave her papers that explained how Standard Oil got some of its refunded money from the railroads.

Franklin Tarbell warned Ida that Rockefeller and Standard Oil were capable of crushing her, just as they had crushed her hometown of Titusville, but his daughter was relentless. As the articles began to appear in McClure’s in 1902, Rogers continued to speak with Tarbell, much to her surprise. He went on the record defending Standard Oil's business practices, but “his face went white with rage” to find that Tarbell had uncovered documents that showed the company was still secretly working with the railroads to hurt the business of other oil companies.

### Simple Yet Dramatic

In "The History of the Standard Oil Company," she combined a thorough understanding of the inner workings of Rockefeller’s oil businesses with simple, dramatic writing:

> *It takes time to crush men who are pursuing legitimate trade. But one of Mr. Rockefeller’s most impressive characteristics is patience. There never was a more patient man... Everything must be ready before he acted, but while you wait, you must prepare, must think, work. “You must put in, if you would take out.” His instinct for the money opportunity in things was amazing... And nothing was too small: the corner grocery in Browntown, the humble refining still on Oil Creek, the shortest private pipe line. Nothing, for little things grow.*

Ida Tarbell described Rockefeller as a “living mummy,” adding, “our national life is on every side distinctly poorer, uglier, meaner, for the kind of influence he exercises.”

In 1911, the public anger that followed led to the breakup of Standard Oil after the U.S. Supreme Court ruled the company was violating the Sherman Antitrust Act. Small companies were being hurt by larger companies and this led to higher prices for things that people bought. Ultimately, Standard Oil was broken into “baby Standards,” which today include ExxonMobil and Chevron. Rockefeller was deeply stung by Tarbell’s investigation. He referred to her as “that poisonous woman.”

Almost 40 years after the Cleveland Massacre, Ida Tarbell, in her own way, defeated Rockefeller and Standard Oil. She died in Connecticut in 1944, at the age of 86. New York University placed her book, "The History of the Standard Oil Company," at number 5 on a list of the top 100 works of 20th-century American journalism.

# Upton Sinclair's "The Jungle" Leads to Meat Inspection Laws

By Encyclopaedia Britannica, adapted by Newsela staff on 05.26.17

Word Count **941**

Level **1150L**


Men wearing bloody butcher coats and carrying animal carcasses gather in a street in front of Peter Britten and Sons while other men look on during the 1904 Stockyards Strike in Chicago, Illinois, August 8, 1904. From the Chicago Daily News.

On June 30, 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt signed into law the Meat Inspection Act, reforming the meatpacking industry. The act prohibited the sale of contaminated or mislabeled food products that came from animals. It also made sure that livestock such as cattle, swine, sheep, goats and horses were killed and processed under sanitary conditions.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) was now required to inspect all livestock both before and after slaughter and processing. The law also applied strict inspection standards on imported meat products. Previous laws that had allowed the USDA to conduct such inspections had proven ineffective. For example, the Meat Inspection Acts of 1890 and 1891 had done little to change many unsafe and unsanitary practices by the meatpacking industry. Later laws such as the Wholesome Meat Act of 1967 continued to address this issue.

**Unsafe practices draw attention**

Beginning in the 1880s government reports noted the health risks of contaminated foods. Processed foods such as canned meat contained impurities and chemicals to preserve or color them. American chemist Harvey W. Wiley, chief of the Bureau of Chemistry of the USDA, was an early proponent of change. He authored and sent reports to industry organizations such as the Association of Official Agricultural Chemists. He also began lobbying for federal legislation to govern the packing and purity of food products.

The first widespread public attention to these unsafe practices came in 1898, when the press reported that Armour & Company, a Chicago meat packer, had supplied tons of rotten canned beef to the U.S. Army in Cuba during the Spanish-American War. The meat had been packed with a visible layer of boric acid, which was thought to preserve meat, and was used to mask the smell of the rotted product. Troops who ate the meat fell ill and were unfit for combat. Some died. Roosevelt, who served in Cuba as a colonel, testified in 1899 that he would have eaten his old hat as soon as eat what he called "embalmed beef."

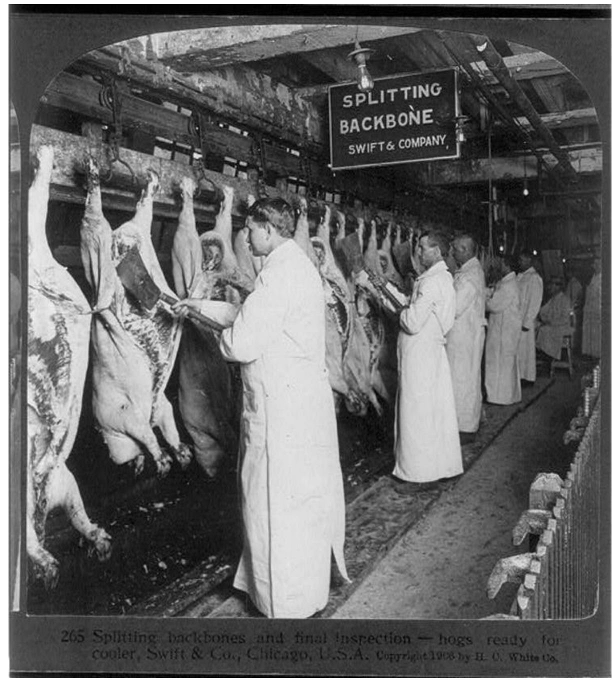
**"Beef Trust" at center of outrage**

The canned-meat scandal prompted a former superintendent for Armour & Company named Thomas F. Dolan to provide a sworn statement that government inspectors were ineffective and the company's practices were disgraceful. In fact, Dolan said the company's common practice was to pack and sell decaying meat, or "carrion." The New York Journal newspaper published Dolan's statement on March 4, 1899. As a result, the Senate formed the Pure-Food Investigating Committee. From 1899 to 1900, the committee held hearings in Chicago, Washington, D.C., and New York City. It determined that chemicals commonly added to preserve meats, such as borax, salicylic acid and formaldehyde, were "unwholesome." The press attended the hearings and reported that foreign or inferior substances were added to some foods, making them impure. These concerns were in addition to the health problems posed by the packaging of substandard or condemned meat products.

Public outrage centered on a group of meat packers known as the "Beef Trust." It consisted of the five largest meatpacking companies and its base of packinghouses in Chicago. The Beef Trust was representative of the rising power of business and industry in the 19th century. During the following Progressive Era, journalists responded by reporting on corruption by those in power — journalists who wrote such pieces were called "muckrakers." Muckrakers detailed the unjust working conditions and unsanitary workplaces of the Beef Trust. They also exposed their methods to evade any government inspection. Of those journalists, American writer Charles Edward Russell is perhaps best known. He wrote a series of articles about the Beef Trust that were published as "The Greatest Trust in the World" (1905).

**Public response follows "The Jungle"**

The work of Upton Sinclair created broad public support for change. In 1904, Sinclair covered a labor strike at Chicago's Union Stockyards for the magazine Appeal to Reason. The magazine was a voice of socialism — the idea that the community, not business, should regulate or own resources. Appeal to Reason commissioned Sinclair to spend a year in Chicago to research and write about the Beef Trust's treatment of workers. "The Jungle," published in 1906, was Sinclair's best-known novel. It vividly described the horrific working conditions and food-preparation practices at meatpacking plants. Appeal to Reason published Sinclair's articles in several installments beginning on February 25, 1905. Doubleday, Page & Company published the complete novel a year later.




Roosevelt was sent an advance copy of "The Jungle." The president was known as a "trustbuster" who believed in limiting the power of large and corrupt institutions. He sent Labor Commissioner Charles P. Neill and social worker James Bronson Reynolds to investigate the Beef Trust. They confirmed Sinclair's portrayal of the conditions at the packinghouses. Sinclair's novel was an instant international best-seller and prompted massive public outrage about food contamination and sanitation. Sinclair's primary intent, however, had been to promote socialism. Other muckrakers and Progressive activist also called for reform in government regulation of industry, contributing significantly to the broad public response. There also was growing support for regulation among those in the industry because of the heightened public awareness.

Legislation to address food safety had been proposed in 1905, but by 1906 it had stalled in Congress. Both the Meat Inspection Act and the Pure Food and Drug Act did not pass until Roosevelt threatened to reveal Neill and Reynolds' findings. The acts were passed into law on that same day.

# Primary Sources: W.E.B. Du Bois' Criticism of Booker T. Washington

By W.E.B. Du Bois, adapted by Newsela staff on 12.14.17
Word Count **1,215**
Level **1200L**

Image 1. W.E.B. Du Bois around 1911. Photo from the public domain

*Editor's Note: W.E.B. Du Bois' book "The Souls of Black Folk" (1903) contains one of the most influential critiques of Booker T. Washington's Atlanta Compromise. The Compromise was an agreement reached in 1895 between Washington, other African-American leaders and Southern white leaders. It stipulated that Southern black people would accept white political rule without protest, in return for a guarantee that Southern white people would provide them with a basic education and some legal rights. The terms of the agreement were never written down, but were outlined in a speech delivered by Washington.*

*An essential part of the Compromise was Washington's promise that black people would agree not to protest, ask for the vote or seek further civil rights. While they would receive a free education, that education would be limited to industrial training. Black people could be trained to become businessmen or tradesmen, but many higher areas of study would be closed to them.*

*Washington was one of the period's most prominent African-American leaders. Born a slave, he grew up to become the principal of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, which was founded to* *provide black students with the skills to work in the nation's booming industrial economy. Du Bois acknowledged Washington's achievements, and recognized his popularity among both black and white Americans, Northerners and Southerners alike. Nonetheless, he firmly disagreed with Washington's approach to solving the social and economic problems of African-Americans.*

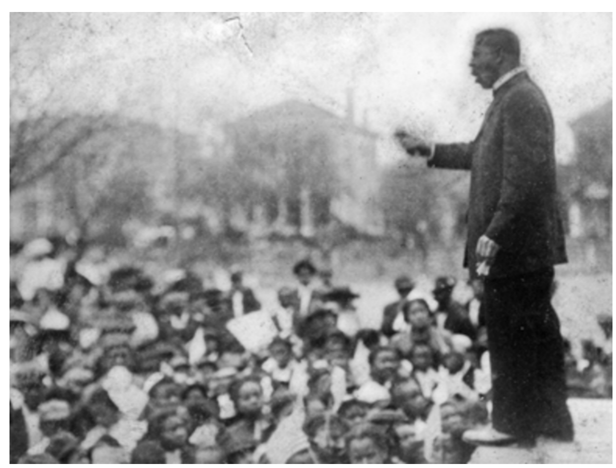
*Below are several passages from "The Souls of Black Folk."*

**"The Rise Of Mr. Booker T. Washington"**

Easily the most striking thing in the history of the American Negro since 1876 is the rise of Mr. Booker T. Washington. It began at the time when memories of the Civil War were rapidly passing, and a period of astonishing commercial development was dawning. After slavery had been erased, a sense of doubt and hesitation overtook the freedmen's sons. Then it was that Mr. Washington's leading began. He came up with a simple definite program, just as the nation was feeling a little ashamed of having bestowed so much attention on Negroes, and was concentrating its energies on dollars.

Washington's program combined industrial education for Negroes with appeasement of the South and submission and silence as to civil and political rights. It startled the nation to hear a Negro advocating such a program after many decades of bitter complaint. It won the applause of the South and the admiration of the North — and after a confused murmur of protest, it silenced the Negroes themselves, though many were not truly converted.

To gain the sympathy and cooperation of the white South was Mr. Washington's first task. At the time Tuskegee was founded, this seemed nearly impossible for a black man to achieve — and yet ten years later, it was done through the words spoken at Atlanta.



This "Atlanta Compromise" is surely the most notable thing in Mr. Washington's career. Many in the South interpreted it as a complete surrender of the demand for civil and political equality, and today, Washington is quite a popular man there.

Next to this achievement comes Mr. Washington's work in gaining favor in the North. He grasped the commercial mood that was dominating the North, and spoke the language of business and industry. His focus on industrial training struck Northerners as eminently practical. To many, the idea of a black boy studying French grammar or some other "impractical" subject seemed simply absurd when there was money to be made.

**"The Old Attitude Of Adjustment And Submission"**

Mr. Washington represents in Negro thought the old attitude of adjustment and submission. However, his brand of adjustment arrived at such a peculiar time as to make his program unique. This is an age of unusual economic development, and Mr. Washington's program naturally takes an economic cast, becoming a gospel of work and money to such an extent as to almost completely overshadow the higher aims of life. Moreover, Mr. Washington's program practically accepts the supposed inferiority of the Negro races. Mr. Washington withdraws many of the high demands of Negroes as men and American citizens.

Mr. Washington distinctly asks that black people give up three things — political power, insistence on civil rights and higher education of Negro youth. Instead, Negroes are to concentrate all their energies on industrial education and the accumulation of wealth.

Washington's policy has been insistently advocated for over 15 years, and has been triumphant for perhaps 10 years. What has been the return? In these years, Negroes have lost many of the civil and political rights won through the Civil War. The courts have defined the Negro as legally inferior, and money has been steadily withdrawn from those educational institutions that offer the Negro higher training.

**"Helped Them Occur More Rapidly"**

Not all of these changes are a direct result of Mr. Washington's teachings, but his views have, without a doubt, helped them occur more rapidly. The question then comes: Is it probable that Negroes will make effective progress if they are deprived of the right to vote, made legally inferior and kept out of higher education? If history and reason give any distinct answer to these questions, it is a resounding NO.

For the Negro to truly succeed, he must demand three things of this nation — the right to vote, civic equality and the education of black youths according to their ability. There must be well-equipped colleges and universities throughout the South to train the best of the Negro youth as teachers, professional men and leaders.

The way for a people to gain their reasonable rights is not by voluntarily throwing them away and insisting that they do not want them. On the contrary, Negroes must insist continually that the right to vote is necessary, that color discrimination is barbarism, and that black boys need education as much as white boys.

**"Dangerous Half-Truths"**

Mr. Washington's program creates two terribly harmful impressions. One is that the Negro's failure to rise more quickly is due to his wrong education in the past. The other is that his future rise depends primarily on his own efforts. Both of these ideas are dangerous half-truths. Black education was necessarily slow in planting because it had to await the black teachers trained by higher institutions. And while it is a great truth to say that the Negro must strive mightily to help himself, it is equally true that unless his striving is encouraged by those who now have far greater wealth and power he cannot hope for much success.

In his failure to realize this last point, Mr. Washington is especially to be criticized. His doctrine has tended to make the whites, North and South, shift the burden of the Negro problem to the Negro's shoulders, and away from their own shoulders. In fact, the burden belongs to the entire nation. None of our hands are clean if we do not bend our energies to righting these great wrongs.

# Numerous reform movements changed the U.S. during the 1800s

By National Geographic Society, adapted by Newsela staff on 05.16.19

Word Count **911**

Level **1070L**

Image 1. A statue at Seneca Falls, New York, depicting the first meeting of feminist activists (from left) Susan B. Anthony, Amelia Bloomer and Elizabeth Cady Stanton after they attended an anti-slavery lecture by William Lloyd Garrison on May 12, 1851. Renowned sculptor and artist A.E. Ted Aub crafted the statue. Photo by Epics/Getty Images

The 1800s in the United States included two periods of reform activity. The first was the pre-Civil War years beginning in approximately 1830, and the second was the 1890s, which ushered in the Progressive Era. While historians do not agree on what caused the earlier "Era of Reform," they have identified a number of likely contributing factors. The American Revolution, within living memory, had transformed the American way of life. The Second Great Awakening combined democratic thinking with Christian ideals of charity. As a result, Americans began to focus on the moral improvement of themselves and their nation.

**Abolition**

The great American problem of the 19th century was slavery. Both black and white abolitionists made it impossible to ignore, and the division between slave and free states grew ever wider until the Civil War erupted. Like the American Revolution itself, the anti-slavery movement grew out of Boston, Massachusetts. Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison began publishing the Liberator newspaper there in 1831. Garrison also led the American Anti-Slavery Society. It was one of many abolitionist societies in which both men and women lectured and campaigned against slavery.


SLAVES HORSES & OTHER CATTLE TO BE SOLD AT 12 OC.

THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. I.] WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND ISAAC KNAPP, PUBLISHERS. [NO. 17.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.] OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE MANKIND. [SATURDAY, APRIL 23, 1831.

THE LIBERATOR IS PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT NO. 11, MERCHANTS' HALL.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

TERMS.

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THE LIBERATOR.

'Is not the plea, that emancipation is impracticable, the most impudent hypocrisy and the most glaring absurdity ever propounded for contemplation?—Can any suppositious expediency, any dread of political disorder, or any private advantage, justify the prolongation of corruption, the enormity of which is unequalled, or repel the holy claim to its extinction? The system is so entirely corrupt, that it admits of no cure but by a TOTAL and IMMEDIATE abolition. For a gradual emancipation is a virtual recognition of the right, and establishes the rectitude of the practice. If it be just for one moment, it is hallowed for ever; and it be inequitable, not a day should it be tolerated.'

two committee men and a constable interfered, and would not permit him to take his seat! He was finally driven away, and the pew passed into other hands.

We purpose shortly to visit all our meeting-houses, and ascertain what places are provided for the accommodation of our colored people. A house dedicated to the worship of Almighty God, should be the last place for the exercise of despotic principles.—But here is the extract:

'With deep regret we have observed some articles in the columns of the "Liberator," of Boston, apparently from this city, in which its inhabitants are implicated; and which we believe the editor of that publication will deem very injudicious, as well as unkind, when knowing the truth in the case. So far from wishing to deprive the colored population of an opportunity to worship God, by the co-operation of the friends of religion with that part of the inhabitants, a good and convenient house was erected a few years since; clergymen of different denominations have often officiated, gratuitously, from Sabbath to Sabbath; and when disappointed in the labors of a Minister, lay brethren have attended at their request, and made exertions to promote the prosperity of their congregation; for many years a Sabbath School has been taught, composed entirely of colored children and adults; in addition to this, if we mistake not, at their request the public school money is given them in proportion to the number of their children, and they thus have a day school of their own.

After such interest had been shown for that class of people, was it to be expected that an attack should be made upon the very persons who have shown such liberality? This is indeed gratifying to

be elevated and improved in this country; unanimous in opposing their instruction; unanimous in exciting the prejudices of the people against them; unanimous in apologising for the crime of slavery; unanimous in conceding the right of the planters to hold their slaves in a limited bondage; unanimous in denying the expediency of emancipation, unless the liberated slaves are sent to Liberia; unanimous in their hollow pretence for colonizing, namely, to evangelize Africa; unanimous in their *true motive* for the measure—a terror lest the blacks should rise to avenge their accumulated wrongs. It is a conspiracy to send the free people of color to Africa under a benevolent pretence, but really that the slaves may be held more securely in bondage.* It is a conspiracy based upon fear, oppression and falsehood, which draws its aliment from the prejudices of the people, which is sustained by duplicity, which is impotent in its design, which really upholds the slave system, which fascinates while it destroys, which endangers the safety and happiness of the country, which no precept of the bible can justify, which is implacable in its spirit, which should be annihilated at a blow.

These are our accusations; and if we do not substantiate them, we are willing to be covered with reproach.

In attacking the principles, and exposing the evil tendency of the Society, we wish no one to understand us as saying, that all its friends are equally guilty, or actuated by the same motives. Nor let him suppose, that we exonerate any of them from

virtue. I doubt not this conviction will ultimately prevail in every community, where the obligations of religion and philanthropy are acknowledged; though the process may be slow; having to contend with much ignorance prejudice and error. This conviction, however, is but the first step towards a result so desirable as the total abolition of slavery. Every long established custom acquires a strong hold on the feelings of those who are habituated to its control; we know that its power in many cases is almost unconquerable; and this is especially the case, where a custom, however injurious in its tendencies, is a source of pecuniary emolument, or worldly aggrandizement to those interested in its continuance. It therefore becomes necessary for the attainment of this great and good object—the universal emancipation of our colored brethren—the complete overthrow of this abominable traffic in human flesh—to investigate the whole subject fairly and calmly; to discuss it fully and freely; to ascertain, as far as possible, what are the best means and methods for the accomplishment of this great end. On this point, I find there is great diversity of opinion. Men of equal talents, equal piety, and equal benevolence, take different and almost opposite views of the whole subject: my mind has been much perplexed, by hearing what seemed to me very strong arguments on both sides of the question.

With regard to the main subject, universal emancipation, as I before remarked, I have no doubt. I think it may, and it ought to be accomplished; but with regard to the means of its accomplishment, I do

### Education Reform

Before the 1800s, students were charged fees in order to attend school. Most people had only as much education as their parents could afford to buy. Teachers' credentials were often poor, and many schools followed the "Lancaster system" of relying on "monitors" — older students — to pass on what they learned from their teacher to the younger pupils. Reformer Horace Mann advocated for "common schools," in which all children would receive the fundamentals of learning and also a shared moral vision of citizenship. Mann's "common values" were influenced by his own class and religion, but his vision took hold. Universal free elementary education became a reality — for white Americans. Most African-Americans, including nearly all who were enslaved, had few or no educational opportunities until after the Civil War. Even then, Jim Crow laws barred them from equal participation.

### Prison Reform

Prison reformers wanted to abolish imprisonment for people who owed debts. They also wanted to improve conditions in prisons and change the purpose of prison from punishment to rehabilitation. Reformers like Dorothea Dix helped introduce libraries, literacy classes and Sunday school to prisons. In doing so, the reformers brought positive change to the lives of the incarcerated.

### Labor Reform

During the 19th century, machines replaced handcrafting in many industries, and the demand for workers grew. As more and more work was being done in factories, individual laborers came to have less control over the conditions they worked in. Even before the rise of labor unions, some workers protested by means of strikes. During a strike, workers stop working in order to demand better pay or better treatment from their bosses. The mill workers of Lowell, Massachusetts, were some of the first factory workers to strike for better conditions. Most of them were young women and girls.

The first organized labor unions, including the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor, appeared after the Civil War. They grew slowly, though. It was not until the first half of the 20th century that unions would gain the power to bargain on equal terms with business owners.

### Temperance

The temperance movement began side by side with the other reform movements of the 1830s. Initially, its supporters advocated moderation in the use of alcohol. Over time, their position shifted to a demand for an outright ban on selling and drinking alcohol, which led to the Prohibition Era. The 18th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, approved in 1919, made it illegal to make, transport or sell alcoholic beverages. However, the law was difficult to enforce, and shifting public opinion made it less and less popular, which led to the repeal of Prohibition in 1933.

**Votes For Women**

From the beginning of the reform era, women involved themselves in various movements. Many became notable activists, writers and lecturers. Both women of color and white women took leading roles in the abolitionist movement. As part of education reform, women's and coeducational schools were established, and women increasingly questioned the status quo that limited the vote to white men. When the 14th and 15th Amendments affirmed the citizenship and voting rights of all adult men, it energized the women's suffrage movement. Suffrage is the right to vote, and the movement became the women's suffrage movement. In 1869, the new territory of Wyoming was the first part of the United States to give women the right to vote.

Leaders of the movement disagreed on several points, most importantly on whether their movement should include black women. For a time, two separate national suffrage associations existed. In 1890, they reunited as the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Three years later, Colorado amended its constitution to include women's suffrage. However, the United States would not follow its lead for nearly three more decades.

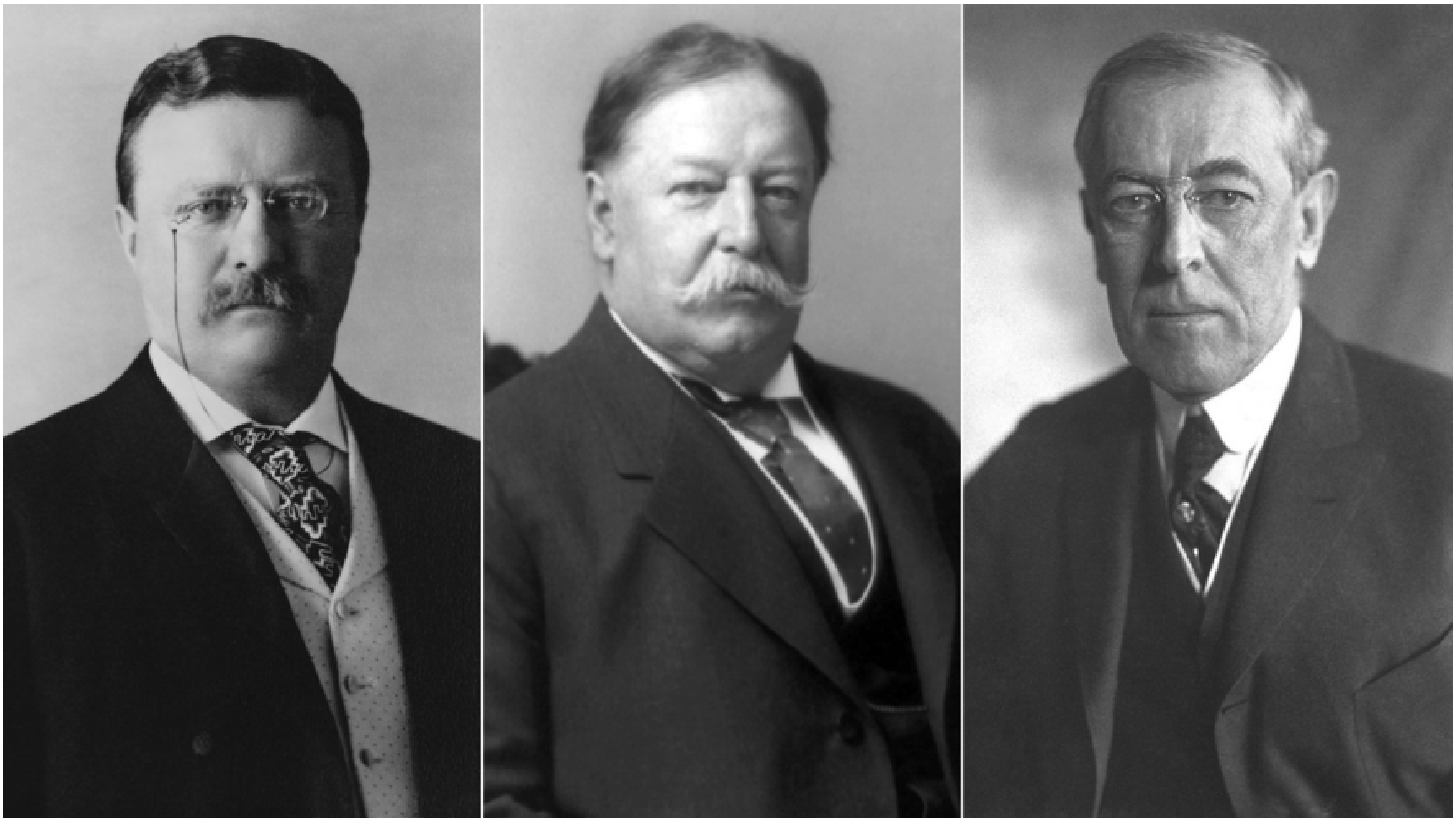
**What It All Means**

The many reform movements of the 1800s each had a distinct focus. However, they all shared the principles of democratic and Christian ideals. These movements, combined with the pressures of industrial change and westward expansion, meant that 1900 opened on a nation much changed from the United States of 1800.

newsela

# Progressivism sweeps the nation

By USHistory.org on 08.26.19
Word Count **1,239**
Level **MAX**



(From left) Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft and Woodrow Wilson served as the 26th, 27th and 28th presidents of the United States, respectively. Photos via Wikimedia Commons

Conservatives beware! Whether they liked it or not, the turn of the 20th century was an age of reform. Urban reformers and populists had already done much to raise attention to the nation's most pressing problems.

America in 1900 looked nothing like America in 1850, yet those in power seemed to be applying the same old strategies to complex new problems. The populists had tried to effect change by capturing the government. The progressives would succeed where the populists had failed.

The Progressives were urban, Northeast, educated, middle-class, Protestant reform-minded men and women. There was no official Progressive Party until 1912, but progressivism had already swept the nation.

It was more of a movement than a political party, and there were adherents to the philosophy in each major party. There were three progressive presidents — Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft and Woodrow Wilson. Roosevelt and Taft were Republicans and Wilson was a Democrat. What united the movement was a belief that the laissez-faire, social Darwinist outlook of the Gilded Age was morally and intellectually wrong. Progressives believed that people and government had the power to correct abuses produced by nature and the free market.

The results were astonishing. Seemingly every aspect of society was touched by progressive reform. Worker and consumer issues were addressed, conservation of natural resources was initiated and the plight of the urban poor was confronted. National political movements such as temperance and women's suffrage found allies in the progressive movement. The era produced a host of national and state regulations, plus four amendments to the Constitution.

When the United States became involved in the First World War, attention was diverted from domestic issues and progressivism went into decline. While unable to solve the problems of every American, the Progressive Era set the stage for the 20th-century trend of an activist government trying to assist its people.

**Roots Of The Movement**

The single greatest factor that fueled the progressive movement in America was urbanization. For years, educated, middle-class women had begun the work of reform in the nation's cities.

Jane Addams was a progressive before the movement had such a name. The settlement house movement embodied the very ideals of progressivism. Temperance was a progressive movement in its philosophy of improving family life. "Social gospel" preachers had already begun to address the needs of city dwellers.

Urban intellectuals had already stirred consciences with their controversial treatises. Henry George attracted many followers by blaming inequalities in wealth on land ownership. In his 1879 work, "Progress and Poverty," he suggested that profits made from land sales be taxed at a rate of 100 percent.

Edward Bellamy peered into the future in his 1888 novel, "Looking Backward." The hero of the story wakes up in the year 2000, and looks back to see that all the hardships of the Gilded Age have withered away thanks to an activist, utopian socialist government.

In "The Theory of the Leisure Class" (1899), Thorstein Veblen cited countless cases of "conspicuous consumption." Wealthy families spent their riches on acquiring European works of art or fountains that flowed with champagne. Surely, he argued, those resources could be put to better use.

Underlying this new era of reform was a fundamental shift in philosophy away from social Darwinism. Why accept hardship and suffering as simply the result of natural selection? Humans can and have adapted their physical environments to suit their purposes. Individuals need not accept injustices as the "law of nature" if they can think of a better way.

Philosopher William James called this new way of thinking, "pragmatism." His followers came to believe that an activist government could be the agent of the public to pursue the betterment of social ills.

The most prolific disciple of James was John Dewey. Dewey applied pragmatic thinking to education. Rather than having students memorize facts or formulas, Dewey proposed "learning by doing." The progressive education movement begun by Dewey dominated educational debate in the entire 20th century.

The populist movement also influenced progressivism. While rejecting the call for free silver, the progressives embraced the political reforms of secret ballot, initiative, referendum and recall. Most of these reforms were on the state level. Under the governorship of Robert La Follette, Wisconsin became a laboratory for many of these political reforms.

The populist ideas of an income tax and direct election of senators became the 16th and 17th Amendments to the United States Constitution under progressive direction.

Reforms went further by trying to root out urban corruption by introducing new models of city government. The city commission and the city manager systems removed important decision-making from politicians and placed it in the hands of skilled technicians. The labor movement contributed the calls for workers' compensation and child labor regulation.

Progressivism came from so many sources from every region of America. The national frame of mind was fixed. Reform would occur. It was only a matter of how much and what type.

**Progressives In The White House**

Theodore Roosevelt was never intended to be President. He was seen as a reckless cowboy by many in the Republican Party leadership. As his popularity soared, he became more and more of a threat. His success with the Rough Riders in Cuba, made him a war hero in the eyes of many Americans. Riding this wave, he was elected as governor of New York.

During the campaign of 1900, it was decided that nominating Roosevelt for the vice presidency would serve two purposes. First, his popularity would surely help President McKinley's reelection bid. Second, moving him to the vice presidency might decrease his power.

Vice presidents had gone on to the White House only if the sitting president died in office. The last vice president elected in his own right had been Martin Van Buren in 1837. Many believed Roosevelt could do less harm as vice president than as governor of New York.

McKinley and Roosevelt won the election, and all was proceeding according to plan until an assassin's bullet ended McKinley's life in September 1901.

Roosevelt did not wait long to act. Before long he lashed out against the trusts and sided with American labor. The Pure Food and Drug Act and the Meat Inspection Act protected consumers. Steps were taken to protect America's wilderness lands that went beyond any previous president.

The worst fears of conservatives were realized as Roosevelt used the White House as a "bully pulpit" to promote an active government that protected the interests of the people over big business. The progressive movement finally had an ally in the White House.

The progressive lock on the presidency did not end with Theodore Roosevelt. His popularity secured the election in 1908, of his hand-picked successor, William Howard Taft. Although Taft continued busting America's trusts, his inability to control the conservative wing of the party led to a Republican versus Republican war.

Teddy Roosevelt challenged Taft for the Republican nomination in 1912, splitting the party wide open. Although the Republicans lost the election, it was not necessarily a loss for progressives. The winning Democrat, Woodrow Wilson, embraced much of the progressive agenda himself.

Before his two terms came to a close, the federal government passed legislation further restricting trusts, banning child labor and requiring worker compensation. The progressive causes of temperance and women's suffrage were embedded into the Constitution.

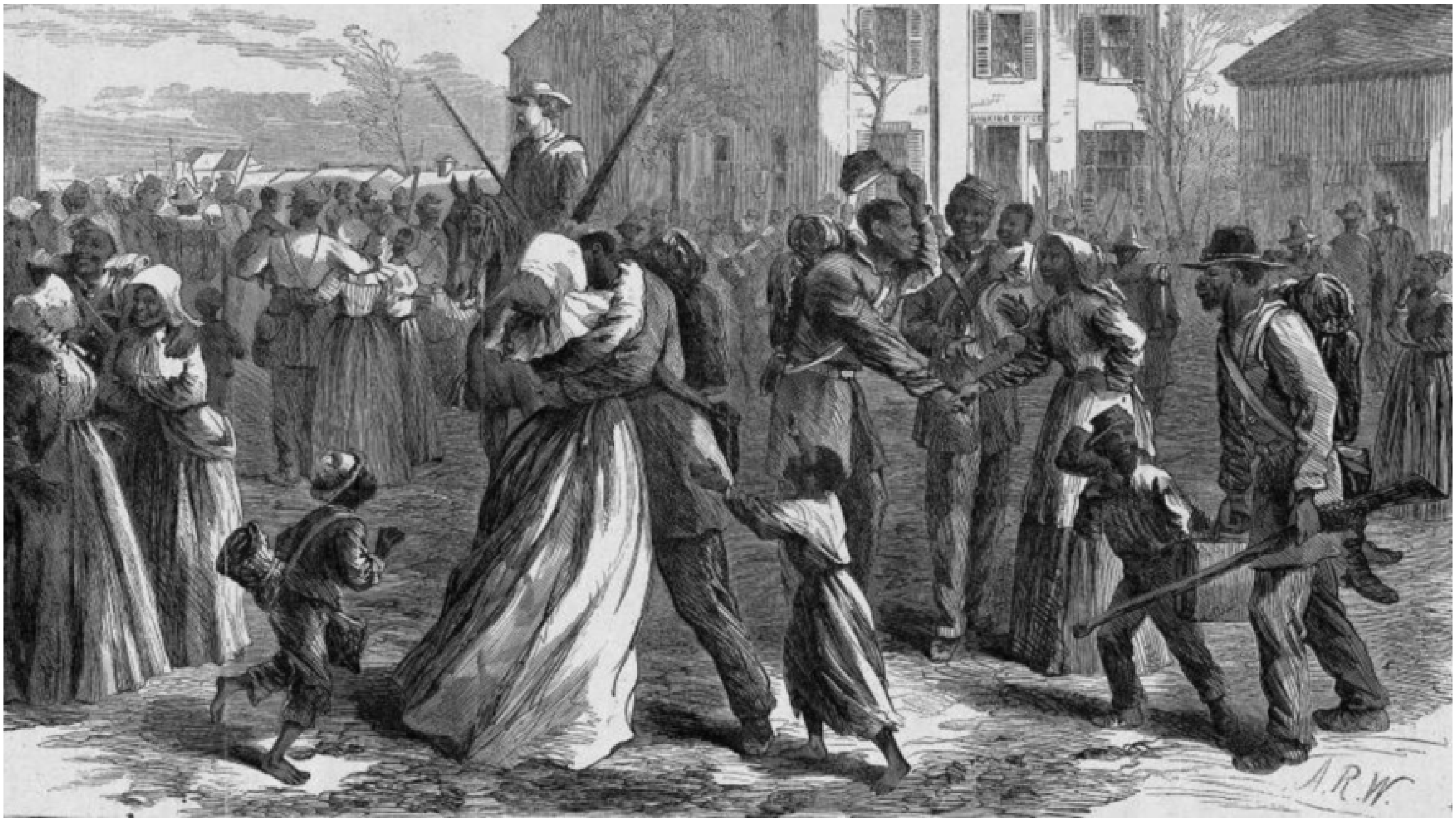
Between 1901 and 1921, the presidents were more active and powerful than any since the days of Abraham Lincoln.

# Abolition and antebellum reform

By Ronald Walters, The Gilder Lehrman Institute, adapted by Newsela staff on 09.12.19

Word Count **978**

Level **1230L**



A drawing by Alfred Rudolph Waud of black volunteer troops assembling in Arkansas, which appeared in an edition of Harper's Weekly in 1866. Freed and fugitive slave servicemen were an integral part of the Union army's efforts during the Civil War. Frederick Douglass, a leader of the abolitionist movement, convinced President Abraham Lincoln that slaves should serve in the war. Photo from: Wikipedia.

In his writing, abolitionist Thomas Wentworth Higginson looked back on the years before the Civil War. "There prevailed then a phrase, 'the Sisterhood of Reforms,'" wrote the abolitionist from Boston, Massachusetts, in regard to a popular term linking different reform movements.

Of that "Sisterhood," anti-slavery is the best remembered. Abolitionism continues to fascinate because of its place in the conflict leading to the Civil War, its fight against gender and racial inequality and its foretelling of the 20th-century civil rights movement.

Sometimes, however, it's useful to consider abolitionism in relation to Higginson's "Sisterhood of Reforms." The years between 1815 — the year that marked the end of the War of 1812 — and the start of the Civil War in 1861, did indeed produce a remarkable flowering of movements dedicated to improving society, morals and individuals. These years are often referred to as the "antebellum" period, which literally translates to "before the war." Higginson might have exaggerated connections between movements. Still, it was relatively common for people who believed in anti-slavery to also believe in women's rights and other reforms.

### American Reform-Movement History

Placing anti-slavery within the "Sisterhood" helps us see both what was and wasn't distinct about it. Doing so can also help us begin to address the larger question of why certain periods in American history provide especially fertile ground for reform movements. The answer is not always straightforward.

Making it more difficult to answer the question of timing is that periods of intense reform sometimes coincide with economic crises. One of the most memorable examples is the era of reforms sparked by the Great Depression of the 1930s. At other times, such as the Progressive Era (1890–1919) and the 1960s, periods of reform are also periods of general prosperity. Since reform movements take place in both good and bad economic times, it demonstrates reform movements are usually more than just simple, direct responses to a perceived problem.

Multiple changes converged after the War of 1812 to produce the "Sisterhood of Reforms." Improvements in transportation — especially steamboats, canals and railroads — made it easier to send lecturers and publications — including abolitionists, other reformers and their writings — far and wide. New printing technologies in the 1830s lowered the cost of publications, including writing by abolitionists.

At the same time, an upstart in the American economy created a new class of men and women with the leisure time and money to devote to reform movements. A comparison with 18th-century reformers is revealing. Earlier reformers were fewer in number and tended to be part-timers like Benjamin Franklin, who were either retired or had other jobs. By contrast, antebellum reformers were both more numerous and, in cases like that of the abolitionist editor William Lloyd Garrison, had no other career.

### Voluntary Memberships Accomplished Goals

Maybe the most famous foreign observer of the young U.S. was Frenchman Alexis de Tocqueville, who wrote "Democracy in America." He was struck by Americans forming local "voluntary associations" to accomplish a wide range of goals, including reforms. In large measure, this was a reasonable approach in a nation with few effective institutional sources of moral authority. Early America had relatively weak political institutions, no national church and a culture mistrustful of governmental power.

Use of voluntary associations also reflected a feeling among some — especially the most extreme abolitionists — that elected officials were part of the problem, not the solution. Antebellum reformers believed in strong morals; politicians believe in the art of the deal, even when the result is compromising with an evil like slavery. Under the circumstances, it seemed better to go around the political system than through it.

Running through many reforms were common themes and assumptions. One of the most important themes was a passionately held belief that individuals must be able to act as free moral agents capable of choosing right from wrong. People shouldn't be restrained by the "power" of someone else, like a slaveholder or immoral husband.

This logic helps explain the close connection between abolitionists and reforms such as the women's rights movement. It also shows why abolitionists felt a connection with European revolutionaries and efforts to end serfdom in Russia. All such cases, in their view, were part of a larger international progress toward freedom.

Abolitionists themselves were vague about what freedom might mean in practice after the death of slavery, and unconcerned that others might disagree with their definitions. In three important respects — in their views on their government, gender and race — abolitionists parted company with other sisterhood reforms. Few reform movements, prior to 1861, produced the fundamental attacks on the American political system that abolitionists mounted. Although all major antebellum reforms depended heavily upon women, few offered as prominent a voice to them as abolitionism.

Most distinctive, however, was how abolitionists framed the relationship between anti-slavery and race, using ideas and concepts that went well beyond the movement's assault on slavery. Their ideas eventually came home in the form of attacks on discriminatory laws and practices in the North.

In addition, the abolitionist movement was unusually interracial. The fame of a few black abolitionists — notably Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman — also somewhat hides the high degree to which lesser-known African-American abolitionists supported the cause. They used smaller organizations, pens, speeches and money.

If racism never entirely disappeared among white abolitionists, and if relations between them and black co-workers were sometimes strained, it is nonetheless true that no other movement of the day was remotely close to abolitionism in interracial cooperation. The movement inspired black communities and challenged racism in both theory and practice. On those issues, abolitionism was part of a "Sisterhood of Reforms." It also went well beyond them.

*Ronald Walters is a professor of history at The John Hopkins University and the author of "The Antislavery Appeal: American Abolitionism After 1830."*

# "To Susan B. Anthony on her eightieth birthday": A poem by Elizabeth Cady Stanton

By Elizabeth Cady Stanton on 03.27.20

Word Count **288**

Level **MAX**

This stone sculpture by Adelaide Johnson in the Rotunda of the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C. honors pioneers for women's suffrage. Depicted from left are Elizabeth Cady Stanton (the author of this poem), Susan B. Anthony (for whom the poem is written and Lucretia Mott. Photo: Robert Alexander/Getty Images

*Editor's Note: Elizabeth Cady Stanton was a chief spokesperson for the Women's Rights and Suffrage Movement. She met Susan B. Anthony in 1851, and the two quickly became friends and collaborated on speeches and books in support of a woman's right to vote. Both Stanton and Anthony died before women gained the franchise.*

```
To Susan B. Anthony
on her eightieth birthday
February 15, 1900

I

My honored friend, I'll ne'er forget,
That day in June, when first we met:
Oh! would I had the skill to paint
My vision of that "Quaker Saint":
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Robed in pale blue and silver gray,
No silly fashions did she essay:
Her brow so smooth and fair,
'Neath coils of soft brown hair:
Her voice was like the lark, so clear,
So rich, and pleasant to the ear:
The "'Prentice hand," on man oft tried,
Now made in her the Nation's pride!

II

We met and loved, ne'er to part,
Hand clasped in hand, heart bound to heart.
We've traveled West, years together,
Day and night, in stormy weather:
Climbing the rugged Suffrage hill,
Bravely facing every ill:
Resting, speaking, everywhere;
Oft-times in the open air;
From sleighs, ox-carts, and coaches,
Besieged with bugs and roaches:
All for the emancipation
Of the women of our Nation.

III

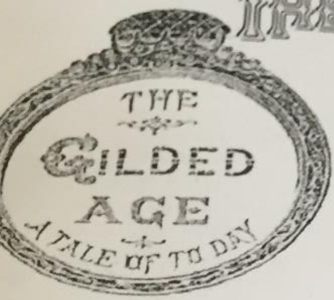
Now, we've had enough of travel.
And, in turn, laid down the gavel,—
In triumph having reached four score,
We'll give our thoughts to art, and lore.
In the time-honored retreat,
Side by side, we'll take a seat,
To younger hands resign the reins,
With all the honors, and the gains.
United, down life's hill we'll glide,
What'er the coming years betide;
Parted only when first, in time,
Eternal joys are thine, or mine.

**THE PROGRESSSIVE ERA: 1890'S -1920'S**

When Reconstruction ended in 1876, the United States entered a time known as the Gilded Age. This was a time when many changes occurred, and many of them were negative. The Progressive Era was a time when people tried to reverse the effects of the Gilded Age.

**TASK #1:** Actively read and complete the handout The Gilded Age.

# THE GILDED AGE




*The Gilded Age: A Tale of Today* is an 1876 novel by the famous writer Mark Twain and co-author Charles Dudley Warner. The novel is set in the period of the late 19th century; a time when greed and political corruption ruled the land. The term "Gilded Age" was used to show the contrast between the other "Golden Ages" in history, and the time in which these men lived.

Periods called Golden Ages around the world were usually times of peace, during which advancements in art, architecture, trade, technology, or other fields occurred. While there were certainly achievements during the Gilded Age, they brought serious ill-effects. The word "gilded" refers to jewelry or other metals on which a thin layer of gold covers over tin, iron, or other less-costly metal.

In the late 1800's the nation underwent tremendous change. The West was tamed and settled, the U.S. developed a thriving economy based on industry and trade, and railroads and telegraphs crossed the land. Those who oversaw these changes grew very, very rich, along with members of local, state, and national government who worked to pass laws to help the growth and their <u>cronies</u>. In addition, powerful political machines who supported big business and enriched themselves ensured that political offices were filled with people who did their bidding.

*Explain why Mark Twain and his co-author referred to the period in which they lived as the "Gilded Age."*

*Which definition* <u>BEST FITS</u> the use of the word "cronies" at the end of the passage?

A. wise women
B. associates
C. close friends
D. ugly old hags

*According to the passage, the Gilded Age was*

A. a time of peace and great achievements.
B. the age of America's greatest advancement.
C. a period of political and economic corruption.
D. the era when U.S. political officials were corrupt.

Vhich of these subjects was <u>LEAST</u> likely to have been addressed in The Gildec
*ıle of Today?*

A. jewelry-making
B. railroad bosses
C. local governments
D. political machines

**TASK #2:**

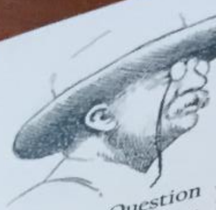
*Define the term "Progressivism".

* Then read the article Interview with an Icon.  (found below)

*  Afterwards, complete the graphic organizer entitled Progressive Page.  Find the problems Roosevelt identifies in the interview and his solutions.

*  Then, using your own knowledge (and google if you need to!) assess the situation with those same issues today.  Have we as a country made progress?  Or are the issues still there?

# INTERVIEW WITH AN ICON



*To many people former President Theodore Roosevelt is seen as larger than life. A cowboy, outdoorsman, naturalist, war hero, political reformer, and statesman, President Roosevelt achieved amazing feats in his life. To our great pleasure the president agreed to speak with InspirEd News reporter Mark Question for an interview shortly before leaving office.*

**Question** - Mr. President, I'd like to begin by thanking you for granting me this interview. I know how busy you are.

**Roosevelt** - I am pleased to do so, really. Shall we begin?

**Question** - Yes, Sir. I wanted to start by asking about your lifestyle. You are known to be quite an outdoorsman and are often quoted as saying people should live strenuous lives. Why do you think physical activity is so important?

**Roosevelt** - The answer to your question goes back to my childhood. I was truly quite a weakling, sickly with severe asthma, and hardly did anything physical. Then in my early teens my father urged me to take up boxing to strengthen my body and help me defend myself against bullies. After that I became very involved in sports.

But there is more to the idea of a strenuous life than physical activity. I urge people to push themselves to their limits in all things – to do their best and develop their potential. 'Bodily vigor is good, and vigor of intellect is even better, but far above is character.'

**Question** - Which of course is how you live your life, but you have had many advantages.

**Roosevelt** - Indeed, I have been most fortunate. I was raised in wealth and comfort, able to attend excellent schools, and enjoy travel and nature. Still, the greatest gift my family gave me was instilling the values of honesty, hard work, and the importance of helping others. This is why I went into politics: to help improve society.

**Question** - What political offices have you held?

**Roosevelt** - I served in several positions in New York including governor. In Washington I served President McKinley as Assistant Secretary to the Navy and as Vice President.

**Question** - As I recall, you resigned from the Navy to fight in the Spanish-American War.

**Roosevelt** - Ah, yes, the Rough Riders. They were an interesting group!

**Question** - Yes, they were! There were cowboys and ranchers, athletes, you name it. How did you manage to organize such a bunch?

**Roosevelt** - Many I'd known from college and from the time I spent out west ranching.

**Question** - I'd like to speak now of your presidency. You took over when Preside McKinley was assassinated. How did you learn that you were to be president?

**Roosevelt** - I was told that the President had been shot but was fine, so I left with family on a camping trip. We were mountain climbing when we were overtaken guide with news that President McKinley was dying. It was a terrible shock!

We hiked ten miles to the nearest road and then drove another forty miles dangerous roads washed out by heavy rains. Finally we reached the rail station, w train awaited. I took the oath of office at a friend's house.

**Question** - And were the youngest person to do so. How did you know where to b

**Roosevelt** - Originally I planned merely to carry out President McKinley's agend soon realized there were many serious problems to be addressed.

Question - You are known as a leader of the Progressive Movement.

Roosevelt - Yes, but let me begin by clearing up the term "Progressive Movement." It really is not a single effort by a few people to make a few changes as the name might suggest. It is a wide array of people trying to solve the nation's many problems.

Question - You are known for addressing many in your Square Deal for America, but let's begin with business reforms. How did you work to solve problems in business?

Roosevelt - As you know, the U.S. experienced tremendous industrial growth in the last half of the 19th century, which was good for the nation. What has happened, though, is some big companies have been able to create monopolies by buying or merging with other companies in the same or related industries. They formed trusts and forced little guys out of business. Monopolies are bad for everyone except the owners of the trust.

Question - You are well-known as a trust-buster. How did you gain that reputation?

Roosevelt - I saw to it that anti-trust laws already on the books were enforced. I do not believe one large company should be so powerful that it can force smaller ones out of business. Such actions destroy the "American Dream" that hard work will bring success. Lack of competition also hurts consumers by driving up prices on goods and services.

Question - What else have you done to correct problems in business and industry?

Roosevelt - As I've said, I am just part of a greater movement. Labor unions and some women's groups have been fighting for shorter workdays, better wages, safer conditions, and laws against child labor.

Question - So what is an issue that is near and dear to you?

Roosevelt - I have had a lifelong interest in science and nature and have spent much time outdoors studying plants and animals. To insure that our magnificent wilderness lands survive for future generations to enjoy, I have seen to it that millions of acres of land have been set aside as national parks. 'The conservation of our natural resources and their proper use is very important to me.

Question - What about political corruption? You mentioned that earlier.

Roosevelt - I believe laws are the most effective weapons against corruption. We must punish politicians who abuse their positions for personal gain. No one in America should be above the law.

Question - I'd like to ask you about your foreign policy. You have been quoted many times as saying, "Speak softly but carry a big stick." What did you mean by that phrase?

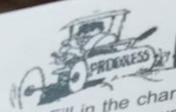
Roosevelt - It's an old West African proverb. In terms of America it means the nation should show strength to the world, but also be willing to work peacefully with other countries to solve problems. And if we must, we should be ready to use force if needed.

Question - As you did in Panama to build the canal. To continue with the war theme, do you see yourself as a soldier of the Progressive Era?

Roosevelt - I think that is an excellent way to put it. I am a soldier, one member of a large army trying to solve problems and change the nation for the better.

Question - Mr. President, thank you for speaking with me today. You are truly an inspiration! Best of luck in your future ventures. Have you any special plans?

Roosevelt - Not yet, but thank you.




# PROGRESSIVE PAGE

*DIRECTIONS:* Fill in the chart with problems of the early 20th century, ways Progressives such as Roosevelt paved the way toward "solving" those problems, and how the situations are faring today.

| PROBLEMS | PROGRESSIVE "SOLUTIONS" | SITUATION TODAY |
|---|---|---|
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |

**TASK #3:**

Theodore Roosevelt may have been the most famous leader of the Progressive Movement, but he was hardly alone. Reformers were everywhere in those days, in all professions and aspects of American life. Research the following people and provide a "snapshot" of their importance to the Progressive Era. For the last box, you are to evaluate the effects of the person's work. In other words, did what these people accomplish have an impact on life today?

| **Names** | **Ida Tarbell** | **John Dewey** | **Margaret Sanger** | **Jane Addams** | **Upton Sinclair** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Personal background** | | | | | |
| **Area of expertise** | | | | | |
| **Results of work(what changed?)** | | | | | |
| **Long lasting effects(status today)** | | | | | |

**TASK #4:** The battle for women's suffrage (the right to vote) and been going on since at least 1858, when women gathered in Seneca Falls, NY, to demand the right to vote. However, it would not happen until the election of 1920.Why do you suppose so many people were against the idea of women voting?

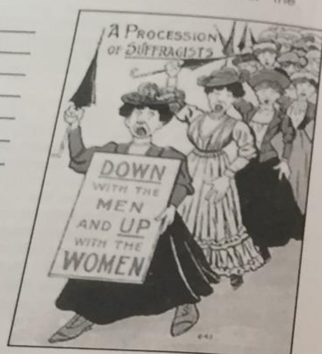
a. Research 3 of the following women and write a brief bio of them. (No more than a paragraph)
   a. Elizabeth Cady Stanton
   b. Susan B. Anthony
   c. Carrie Chapman Catt
   d. Alice Paul
   e. Lucy Stone
   f. Lucretia Mott

b. Analyze the political cartoons below. Decide what the cartoonist's point of view is for each and explain.

c. Show what you know! Create your own cartoon about women's suffrage. Stick figures rock!!

# THOUGHTS OF THE DAY

DIRECTIONS: Study each editorial cartoon to figure out each artist's views about women's suffrage. Fully explain what you think the cartoonist was thinking and why.

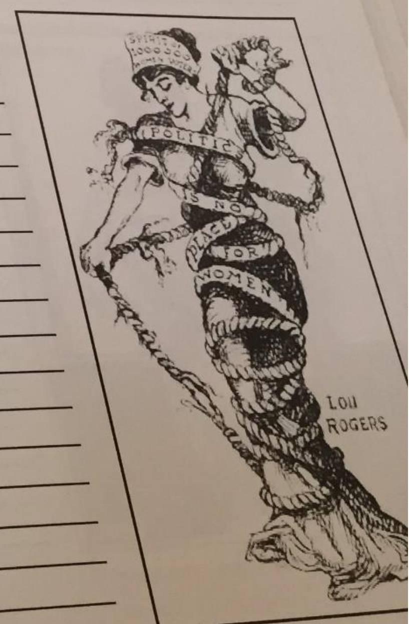



HOLIDAY CAMPAIGN.


ON.



# THOUGHTS OF THE DAY


What does the term "progressive" mean?

Tarbell, ... Sinclair, Addams

**TASK #5:** Use the following links to help you analyze the philosophies of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B.DuBois on racial equality.

https://www.biography.com/news/web-dubois-vs-booker-t-washington

https://www2.kenyon.edu/Depts/Amerstud/blackhistoryatkenyon/Individual%20Pages/Washington%20and%20DuBois.htm

Use the following organizer if you find it helpful!

| Washington | DuBois |
|---|---|
| | |

**Conclusion:** Based on where we are as a society today, who do you think was right, Washington or DuBois? Or could it be possible that they were both right? Explain your answer in a paragraph or two.

## THE PROGRESSSIVE ERA: 1890'S -1920'S

When Reconstruction ended in 1876, the United States entered a time known as the Gilded Age. This was a time when many changes occurred, and many of them were negative. The Progressive Era was a time when people tried to reverse the effects of the Gilded Age.

TASK #1: Actively read and complete the handout <u>The Gilded Age</u>.

# THE GILDED AGE


*The Gilded Age: A Tale of Today* is an 1876 novel by the famous writer Mark Twain and co-author Charles Dudley Warner. The novel is set in the period of the late 19th century; a time when greed and political corruption ruled the land. The term "Gilded Age" was used to show the contrast between the other "Golden Ages" in history, and the time in which these men lived.

Periods called Golden Ages around the world were usually times of peace, during which advancements in art, architecture, trade, technology, or other fields occurred. While there were certainly achievements during the Gilded Age, they brought serious ill-effects. The word "gilded" refers to jewelry or other metals on which a thin layer of gold covers over tin, iron, or other less-costly metal.

In the late 1800's the nation underwent tremendous change. The West was tamed and settled, the U.S. developed a thriving economy based on industry and trade, and railroads and telegraphs crossed the land. Those who oversaw these changes grew very, very rich, along with members of local, state, and national government who worked to pass laws to help the growth and their **cronies**. In addition, powerful political machines who supported big business and enriched themselves ensured that political offices were filled with people who did their bidding.

*Explain why Mark Twain and his co-author referred to the period in which they lived as the "Gilded Age."*

Which definition **BEST FITS** the use of the word "cronies" at the end of the passage?

A. wise women
B. associates
C. close friends
D. ugly old hags

According to the passage, the Gilded Age was

A. a time of peace and great achievements.
B. the age of America's greatest advancement.
C. a period of political and economic corruption.
D. the era when U.S. political officials were corrupt.

Vhich of these subjects was **LEAST** likely to have been addressed in The Gildec
*ale of Today?*

A. jewelry-making
B. railroad bosses
C. local governments
D. political machines

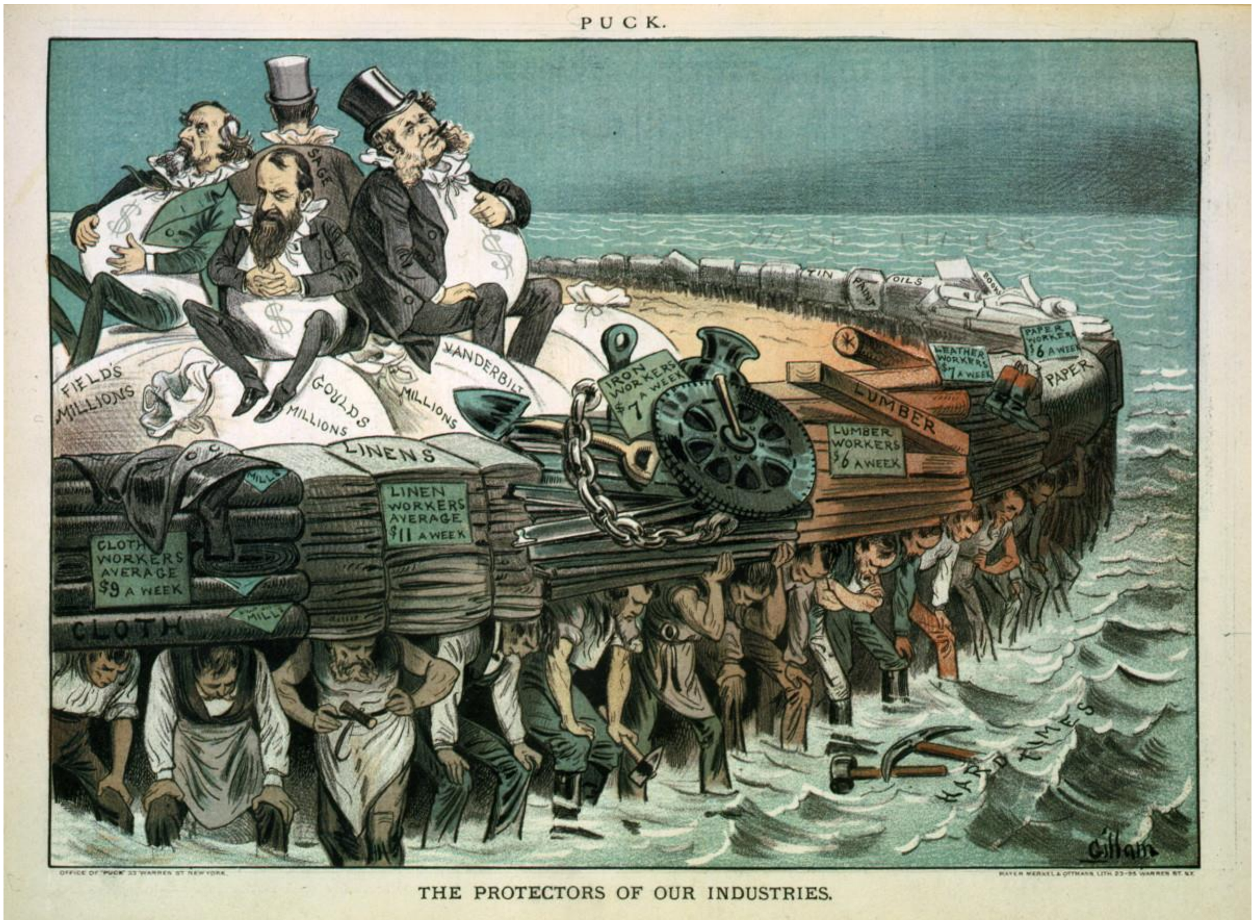
# Overview

- The period of US history from the 1890s to the 1920s is usually referred to as the **Progressive Era**, an era of intense social and political reform **aimed at making progress toward a better society**.
- Progressive Era reformers sought to harness the power of the federal government to eliminate unethical and unfair business practices, reduce corruption, and counteract the negative social effects of industrialization.
- During the Progressive Era, protections for workers and consumers were strengthened, and women finally achieved the right to vote.

# The problems of industrialization

Though industrialization in the United States raised standards of living for many, it had a dark side. Corporate bosses, sometimes referred to as "**robber barons**," pursued unethical and unfair business practices aimed at eliminating competition and increasing profits. Factory workers, many of them recent immigrants, were frequently subjected to brutal and perilous working and living conditions. Political corruption enriched politicians at the expense of the lower and working classes, who struggled to make ends meet. The gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots" was widening.

The **Progressive movement** arose as a response to these negative effects of industrialization. Progressive reformers sought to regulate private industry, strengthen protections for workers and consumers, expose corruption in both government and big business, and generally improve society.




Political cartoon depicting fat businessmen sitting on bags of money while working people struggle under the burdens of their trades, such as clothing, iron, and lumber.

### What do you think the message is in this political cartoon?

# The ideology and politics of progressivism

The worldview of Progressive reformers was based on certain key assumptions. **The first** was that human nature could be improved through the enlightened application of regulations, incentives, and punishments. (In other words, progressives believed that people could change.) **The second** key assumption was that the power of the federal government could be harnessed to improve the individual and transform society. These two assumptions were not shared by political conservatives, who tended to believe that human nature was unchanging, and that the federal government should remain limited in size and scope.

Some of the most famous Progressive reformers were **Jane Addams**, who founded Hull House in Chicago to help immigrants adapt to life in the United States; **Ida Tarbell**, a “muckraker” who exposed the corrupt business practices of Standard Oil and became an early pioneer of investigative journalism; and Presidents Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt, who both expanded the power of the federal government to impose regulations on private industry and implement protections for workers, consumers, and the natural environment.

Progressive reformers successfully influenced the passage of much substantive legislation, including several amendments to the US Constitution. The Sixteenth Amendment established a federal income tax, the Seventeenth Amendment allowed for the direct election of Senators, the Eighteenth Amendment prohibited sales of alcohol, and the Nineteenth Amendment guaranteed women the right to vote.

Legislation aimed at strengthening protections for workers and consumers included the **Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906**, which created the Food and Drug Administration to guarantee the safety and purity of all food products and pharmaceuticals, and the Clayton Antitrust Act of 1914, which sought to curb business practices aimed at stifling competition.

**Problems the Progressive Era tried to solve**:

- Industrialization
- Education
- Women's Rights
- African-American rights
- Environmental problems
- Government and business corruption
- Immigration

**ASSESSMENT**: Choose one of these problems that you think is still prevalent today. Then create a brochure or pamphlet explaining how you think the issue should be solved.

# Problems of the Progressive Era: A Primary Sources Analysis Activity

*Triangle Shirtwaist Fire*

*On March 25, 1911, 146 young female workers were killed when the fire broke out. Most were on the 8th & 9th floors which were locked so workers would not take breaks or attempt to steal bits of fabric scrap.*

1. What progressive problems are seen in the situation seen and described above?

2. How do you think these problems will be remedied in the Progressive Era?

***"I had seen me sister go out to work when she was only fourteen and I know we ought to help these gals by giving 'em a law which will prevent 'em from being broken down while they're still young."***

Tammany Hall Boss Tim Sullivan

Tammany Hall was one of the most powerful political machines in New York City. Often through corrupt methods, they controlled the city's poor populations for political and economic gain.

1. What problem is Boss Tim Sullivan addressing in his statement?

2. What solution does he suggest for this problem?

3. Considering Tim Sullivan's position, how is his statement ironic?

**FACT: Rapid immigration brought many into New York City that were unable to speak English, yet wanted the make life better for their families. They were often victim to the political machines and of the industrial greed that controlled the city and its ever-changing population.**

At the end of the 1800s, immigrants came to America from around the world searching for new opportunities. These immigrants suffered the most from the problems of the Progressive Era. How does this compare to modern immigration? Provide examples to support your response.
(Use another page, if needed.)

# Problems of the Progressive Era: A Primary Sources Analysis Activity

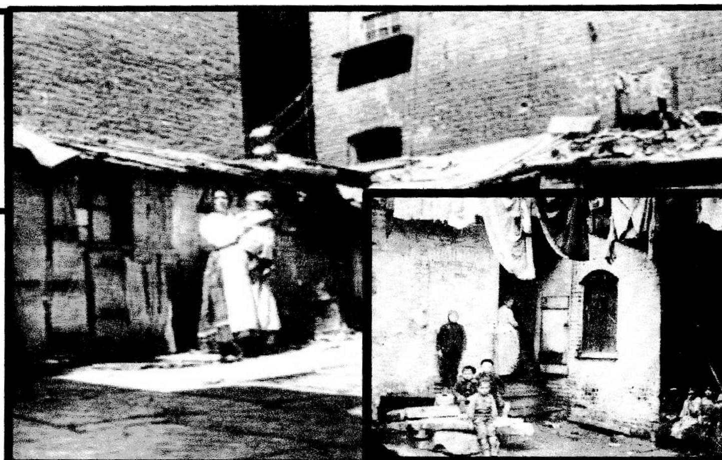
**Primary sources** are first hand accounts of an event or situation in history. These accounts can be verbal (a quote, journal, or other written piece) or they may be visual (an image, sign, video…). The person providing the information in the account actually **lived through** and **experienced** the history. This makes primary sources very important for **understanding** history. Still, you must consider the source, its **relevance for the time period**, the **reliability** of the account, and any **bias** that may be held by the person providing the information.

***"The city has become a serious menace to our civilization… Here is heaped the social dynamite; here roughs, gamblers, thieves, robbers, lawless and desperate men of all sorts, congregate; men who are ready on any pretext to raise riots for the purpose of destruction and plunder; here gather foreigners and wage-workers; here skepticism and irreligion abound."*** **Josiah Strong, *Our Country*, 1885**

1. What are the problems with the city that is described by Josiah Strong?

2. What groups of people does it seem are judged poorly by Strong's statement?

3. What solutions would you suggest to remedy these problems of the city?



1. Who do you see suffering in these images?

2. Do these images support or refute Josiah Strong's statement? Explain.

**FACT: Photographer Jacob Riis called attention to the problems of the cities in his book, *How the Other Half Lives,* with vivid pictures and personal stories of those living in urban poverty.**

**<u>1900 NYC Tenement Living Statistics</u>**

83,000 Buildings in the City
2.3 Million Living in Tenements
1/10 Tenement Infant Death Rate
< 1' Between Most Buildings
< 10% Had Fire Escapes or Sanitation
< 1 Toilet per 20 Residents

*New York City in 1900*

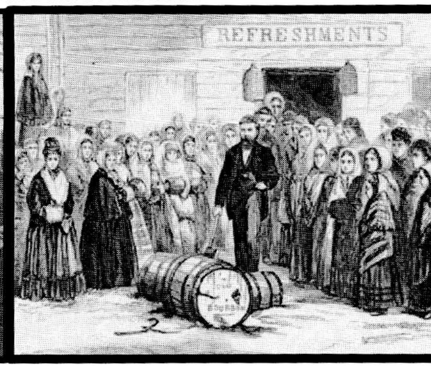
What do you see in this image? List 3 details.

With as many as 12 adults living in each room, and based on the statistics to the left, describe the problems with tenements.

Do you think poverty only existed in the cities? Justify your answer.

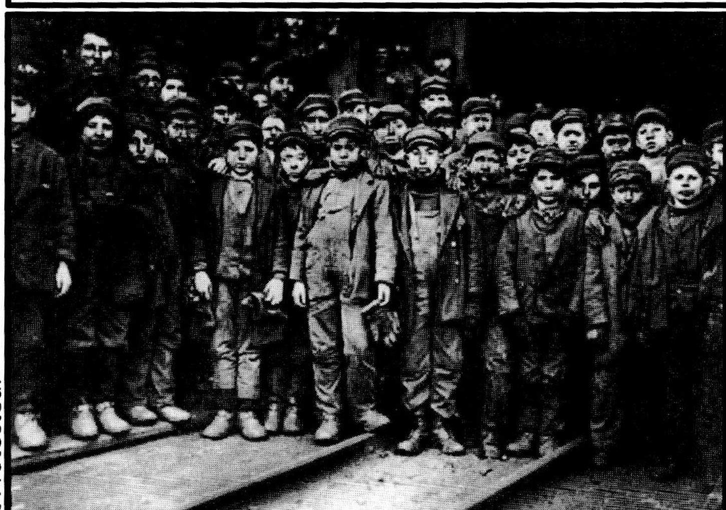
# Progressive Era Reformers: A Primary Sources Analysis Activity

**Primary sources** are first hand accounts of an event or situation in history. These accounts can be verbal (a quote, journal, or other written piece) or they may be visual (an image, sign, video...). The person providing the information in the account actually **lived through** and **experienced** the history. This makes primary sources very important for **understanding** history. Still, you must consider the source, its **relevance for the time period**, the **reliability** of the account, and any **bias** that may be held by the person providing the information.


1. Who do you see in these images?

2. What two problems are they addressing in these images?



**FACT: The Progressive Era and Progressive reformers came out of a generation searching for equality and equity in American society after the Civil War. They focused on civil rights, the protection of women and children, workplace safety, and consumer issues.**

1. What societal problems are shown in this image?

2. How do you think these types of images could be helpful to the Progressive Movement?

There would come all the way back from Europe old sausage that had been rejected, and that was moldy and white – it would be dosed with borax and glycerin, and dumped into the hoppers, and made over again for home consumption. There would be meat that had tumbled out on the floor, in the dirt and the sawdust, where the workers had tramped and spit...and thousands of rats would race about it."

Upton Sinclair, *The Jungle*

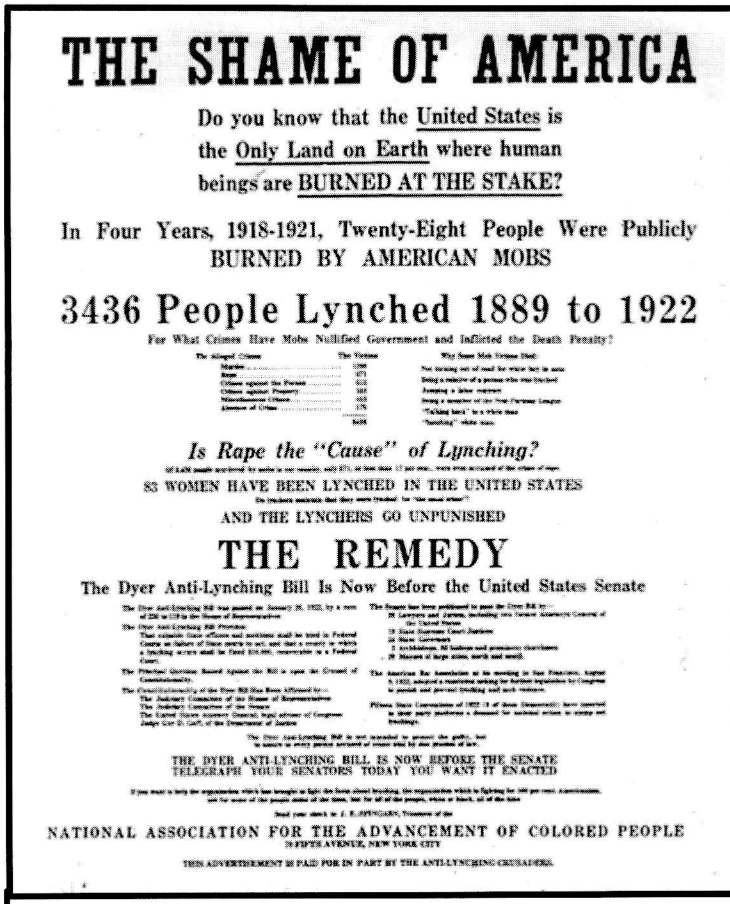
*Muckrakers like Upton Sinclair used the media to expose the problems in society that needed addressing by the U.S. government for change.*

What problem is exposed by Upton Sinclair in *The Jungle*?

What changes do you think are needed to address these problems?

Do you think these types of progressive strategies were effective? Why or why not?

# Progressive Era Reformers: A Primary Sources Analysis Activity



THE SHAME OF AMERICA

Do you know that the United States is the Only Land on Earth where human beings are BURNED AT THE STAKE?

In Four Years, 1918-1921, Twenty-Eight People Were Publicly BURNED BY AMERICAN MOBS

3436 People Lynched 1889 to 1922

For What Crimes Have Mobs Nullified Government and Inflicted the Death Penalty?

Is Rape the "Cause" of Lynching?

83 WOMEN HAVE BEEN LYNCHED IN THE UNITED STATES

AND THE LYNCHERS GO UNPUNISHED

THE REMEDY

The Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill Is Now Before the United States Senate

THE DYER ANTI-LYNCHING BILL IS NOW BEFORE THE SENATE
TELEGRAPH YOUR SENATORS TODAY YOU WANT IT ENACTED

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

1. What organization, co-founded by Ida B. Wells, created this poster?

2. What is the "shame of America?" Detail.

3. What is the remedy for this problem?

***"Competitive commerce…makes men who are the gentlest and kindliest friends and neighbors, relentless taskmasters in their shops and stores, who will drain the strength of their men and pay their female employees wages on which no girl can live without supplementing them in some way."***

**Walter Rauschenbusch, *Christianity and the Social Crisis***

1. Who is the author of this statement? Who does he represent?

2. For what type of reform do you think he is advocating? What supports this answer?

3. What does Rauschenbusch say is to blame for the problems he addresses in his statement?

4. What suggestion do you think Rauschenbusch would make for improvement?

**FACT: Most of the Progressive reformers were active in the movement as a response to personal life experiences, while others acted in response to what they simply saw as injustices and inequalities in American society.**

Progressive reformers fought for fairness and goodness in America. What current reform movements compare with those of the Progressives? Provide examples to support your response.
(Use another page, if needed.)

# *The Jungle*

By

Upton Sinclair

Chapter 14

With one member trimming beef in a cannery, and another working in a sausage factory, the family had a first-hand knowledge of the great majority of Packingtown swindles. For it was the custom, as they found, whenever meat was so spoiled that it could not be used for anything else, either to can it or else to chop it up into sausage. With what had been told them by Jonas, who had worked in the pickle rooms, they could now study the whole of the spoiled-meat industry on the inside, and read a new and grim meaning into that old Packingtown jest—that they use everything of the pig except the squeal.

Jonas had told them how the meat that was taken out of pickle would often be found sour, and how they would rub it up with soda to take away the smell, and sell it to be eaten on free-lunch counters; also of all the miracles of chemistry which they performed, giving to any sort of meat, fresh or salted, whole or chopped, any color and any flavor and any odor they chose. In the pickling of hams they had an ingenious apparatus, by which they saved time and increased the capacity of the plant—a machine consisting of a hollow needle attached to a pump; by plunging this needle into the meat and working with his foot, a man could fill a ham with pickle in a few seconds. And yet, in spite of this, there would be hams found spoiled, some of them with an odor so bad that a man could hardly bear to be in the room with them. To pump into these the packers had a second and much stronger pickle which destroyed the odor—a process known to the workers as “giving them thirty per cent." Also, after the hams had been smoked, there would be found some that had gone to the bad. Formerly these had been sold as "Number Three Grade," but later on some ingenious person had hit upon a new device, and now they would extract the bone, about which the bad part generally lay, and insert in the hole a white-hot iron. After this invention there was no longer Number One, Two, and Three Grade—there was only Number One Grade. The packers were always originating such schemes—they had what they called "boneless hams," which were all the odds and ends of pork stuffed into casings; and "California hams," which were the shoulders, with big knuckle joints, and nearly all the meat cut out; and fancy "skinned hams," which were made of the oldest hogs, whose skins were so heavy and coarse that no one would buy them—that is, until they had been cooked and chopped fine and labeled "head cheese!"

It was only when the whole ham was spoiled that it came into the department of Elzbieta. Cut up by the two-thousand-revolutions-a-minute flyers, and mixed with half a ton of other meat, no odor that ever was in a ham could make any difference. There was never the least attention paid to what was cut up for sausage; there would come all the way back from Europe old sausage that had been rejected, and that was moldy and white—it would be dosed with borax and glycerine, and dumped into the hoppers, and made over again for home consumption. There would be meat that had tumbled out on the floor, in the dirt and sawdust, where the workers had tramped and spit uncounted billions of consumption germs. There would be meat stored in great piles in rooms; and the water from leaky roofs would drip over it, and thousands of rats would race about on it. It was too dark in these storage places to see well, but a man could run his hand over these piles of meat and sweep off handfuls of the 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. This is no fairy story and no joke; the meat would be shoveled into carts, and the man who did the shoveling would not trouble to lift out a rat even when he saw one—there were things that went into the sausage in comparison with which a poisoned rat was a tidbit. There was no place for the men to wash their hands before they ate their dinner, and so they made a practice of washing them in the water that was to be ladled into the sausage. There were the butt-ends of smoked meat, and the scraps of corned beef, and all the odds and ends of the waste of the plants, that would be dumped into old barrels in the cellar and left there. Under the system of rigid economy which the packers enforced, there were some jobs that it only paid to do once in a long time, and among these was the cleaning out of the waste barrels. Every spring they did it; and in the barrels would be dirt and rust and old nails and stale water—and cartload after cartload of it would be taken up and dumped into the hoppers with fresh meat, and sent out to the public's breakfast. Some of it they would make into "smoked" sausage—but as the smoking took time, and was therefore expensive, they would call upon their chemistry department, and preserve it with borax and color it with gelatine to make it brown. All of their sausage came out of the same bowl, but when they came to wrap it they would stamp some of it "special," and for this they would charge two cents more a pound.

Such were the new surroundings in which Elzbieta was placed, and such was the work she was compelled to do. It was stupefying, brutalizing work; it left her no time to think, no strength for anything. She was part of the machine she tended, and every faculty that was not needed for the machine was doomed to be crushed out of existence. There was only one mercy about the cruel grind—that it gave her the gift of insensibility. Little by little she sank into a torpor—she fell silent. She would meet Jurgis and Ona in the evening, and the three would walk home together, often without saying a word. Ona, too, was falling into a habit of silence—Ona, who had once gone about singing like a bird. She was sick and miserable, and often she would barely have strength enough to drag herself home. And there they would eat what they had to eat, and afterward, because there was only their misery to talk of, they would crawl into bed and fall into a stupor and never stir until it was time to get up again, and dress by candlelight, and go back to the machines. They were so numbed that they did not even suffer much from hunger, now; only the children continued to fret when the food ran short.

Yet the soul of Ona was not dead—the souls of none of them were dead, but only sleeping; and now and then they would waken, and these were cruel times. The gates of memory would roll open—old joys would stretch out their arms to them, old hopes and dreams would call to them, and they would stir beneath the burden that lay upon them, and feel its forever immeasurable weight. They could not even cry out beneath it; but anguish would seize them, more dreadful than the agony of death. It was a thing scarcely to be spoken—a thing never spoken by all the world, that will not know its own defeat.

They were beaten; they had lost the game, they were swept aside. It was not less tragic because it was so sordid, because it had to do with wages and grocery bills and rents. They had dreamed of freedom; of a chance to look about them and learn something; to be decent and clean, to see their child grow up to be strong. And now it was all gone—it would never be! They had played the game and they had lost. Six years more of toil they had to face before they could expect the least respite, the cessation of the payments upon the house; and how cruelly certain it was that they could never stand six years of such a life as they were living! They were lost, they were going down—and there was no deliverance for them, no hope; for all the help it gave them the vast city in which they lived might have been an ocean waste, a wilderness, a desert, a tomb. So often this mood would come to Ona, in the nighttime, when something wakened her; she would lie, afraid of the beating of her own heart, fronting the blood-red eyes of the old primeval terror of life. Once she cried aloud, and woke Jurgis, who was tired and cross. After that she learned to weep silently—their moods so seldom came together now! It was as if their hopes were buried in separate graves.

Jurgis, being a man, had troubles of his own. There was another specter following him. He had never spoken of it, nor would he allow any one else to speak of it—he had never acknowledged its existence to himself. Yet the battle with it took all the manhood that he had—and once or twice, alas, a little more. Jurgis had discovered drink.

He was working in the steaming pit of hell; day after day, week after week—until now, there was not an organ of his body that did its work without pain, until the sound of ocean breakers echoed in his head day and night, and the buildings swayed and danced before him as he went down the street. And from all the unending horror of this there was a respite, a deliverance—he could drink! He could forget the pain, he could slip off the burden; he would see clearly again, he would be master of his brain, of his thoughts, of his will. His dead self would stir in him, and he would find himself laughing and cracking jokes with his companions—he would be a man again, and master of his life.

It was not an easy thing for Jurgis to take more than two or three drinks. With the first drink he could eat a meal, and he could persuade himself that that was economy; with the second he could eat another meal—but there would come a time when he could eat no more, and then to pay for a drink was an unthinkable extravagance, a defiance of the agelong instincts of his hunger-haunted class. One day, however, he took the plunge, and drank up all that he had in his pockets, and went home half "piped," as the men phrase it. He was happier than he had been in a year; and yet, because he knew that the happiness would not last, he was savage, too with those who would wreck it, and with the world, and with his life; and then again, beneath this, he was sick with the shame of himself. Afterward, when he saw the despair of his family, and reckoned up the money he had spent, the tears came into his eyes, and he began the long battle with the specter.

It was a battle that had no end, that never could have one. But Jurgis did not realize that very clearly; he was not given much time for reflection.

He simply knew that he was always fighting. Steeped in misery and despair as he was, merely to walk down the street was to be put upon the rack. There was surely a saloon on the corner—perhaps on all four corners, and some in the middle of the block as well; and each one stretched out a hand to him each one had a personality of its own, allurements unlike any other. Going and coming—before sunrise and after dark—there was warmth and a glow of light, and the steam of hot food,and perhaps music, or a friendly face, and a word of good cheer. Jurgis developed a fondness for having Ona on his arm whenever he went out on the street, and he would hold her tightly, and walk fast. It was pitiful to have Ona know of this—it drove him wild to think of it; the thing was not fair, for Ona had never tasted drink, and so could not understand. Sometimes, in despeate hours, he would find himself wishing that she might learn what it was, so that he need not be ashamed in her presence. They might drink together, and escape from the horror—escape for a while, come what would.

So there came a time when nearly all the conscious life of Jurgis consisted of a struggle with the craving for liquor. He would have ugly moods, when he hated Ona and the whole family, because they stood in his way. He was a fool to have married; he had tied himself down, had made himself a slave. It was all because he was a married man that he was compelled to stay in the yards; if it had not been for that he might have gone off like Jonas, and to hell with the packers. There were few single men in the fertilizer mill—and those few were working only for a chance to escape. Meantime, too, they had something to think about while they worked,—they had the memory of the last time they had been drunk, and the hope of the time when they would be drunk again. As for Jurgis, he was expected to bring home every penny; he could not even go with the men at noontime—he was supposed to sit down and eat his dinner on a pile of fertilizer dust.

This was not always his mood, of course; he still loved his family. But just now was a time of trial. Poor little Antanas, for instance—who had never failed to win him with a smile—little Antanas was not smiling just now, being a mass of fiery red pimples. He had had all the diseases that babies are heir to, in quick succession, scarlet fever, mumps, and whooping cough in the first year, and now he was down with the measles. There was no one to attend him but Kotrina; there was no doctor to help him, because they were too poor, and children did not die of the measles—at least not often. Now and then Kotrina would find time to sob over his woes, but for the greater part of the time he had to be left alone, barricaded upon the bed. The floor was full of drafts, and if he caught cold he would die. At night he was tied down, lest he should kick the covers off him, while the family lay in their stupor of exhaustion. He would lie and scream for hours, almost in convulsions; and then, when he was worn out, he would lie whimpering and wailing in his torment. He was burning up with fever, and his eyes were running sores; in the daytime he was a thing uncanny and impish to behold, a plaster of pimples and sweat, a great purple lump of misery.

Yet all this was not really as cruel as it sounds, for, sick as he was, little Antanas was the least unfortunate member of that family. He was quite able to bear his sufferings—it was as if he had all these complaints to show what a prodigy of health he was. He was the child of his parents' youth and joy; he grew up like the conjurer's rosebush, and all the world was his oyster. In general, he toddled around the kitchen all day with a lean and hungry look—the portion of the family's allowance that fell to him was not enough, and he was unrestrainable in his demand for more. Antanas was but little over a year old, and already no one but his father could manage him.

It seemed as if he had taken all of his mother's strength—had left nothing for those that might come after him. Ona was with child again now, and it was a dreadful thing to contemplate; even Jurgis, dumb and despairing as he was, could not but understand that yet other agonies were on the way, and shudder at the thought of them.

For Ona was visibly going to pieces. In the first place she was developing a cough, like the one that had killed old Dede Antanas. She had had a trace of it ever since that fatal morning when the greedy streetcar corporation had turned her out into the rain; but now it was beginning to grow serious, and to wake her up at night. Even worse than that was the fearful nervousness from which she suffered; she would have frightful headaches and fits of aimless weeping; and sometimes she would come home at night shuddering and moaning, and would fling herself down upon the bed and burst into tears. Several times she was quite beside herself and hysterical; and then Jurgis would go half-mad with fright. Elzbieta would explain to him that it could not be helped, that a woman was subject to such things when she was pregnant; but he was hardly to be persuaded, and would beg and plead to know what had happened. She had never been like this before, he would argue—it was monstrous and unthinkable. It was the life she had to live, the accursed work she had to do, that was killing her by inches. She was not fitted for it—no woman was fitted for it, no woman ought to be allowed to do such work; if the world could not keep them alive any other way it ought to kill them at once and be done with it. They ought not to marry, to have children; no workingman ought to marry—if he, Jurgis, had known what a woman was like, he would have had his eyes torn out first. So he would carry on, becoming half hysterical himself, which was an unbearable thing to see in a big man; Ona would pull herself together and fling herself into his arms, begging him to stop, to be still, that she would be better, it would be all right. So she would lie and sob out her grief upon his shoulder, while he gazed at her, as helpless as a wounded animal, the target of unseen enemies.