3. The Gilded Age and the Progressive Movement

3.1 The Gilded Age

3.2 The Progressive Movement

3.1 The Gilded Age

- 3.1.1 Who's Who in the Cast?
- 3.1.2 Civil Service Reform
- 3.1.3 Railroad Regulation
- 3.1.4 Tariff Policy

- 3.1.5 Monetary Policy
- 3.1.6 Forgettable Presidents
- 3.1.7 "Black Lives (Don't) Matter..."
- 3.1.8 The Farmers
 Crusade: Radical or
 Reactionary?

3.1.1 Who's Who in the Cast?

The Nature of Party Politics

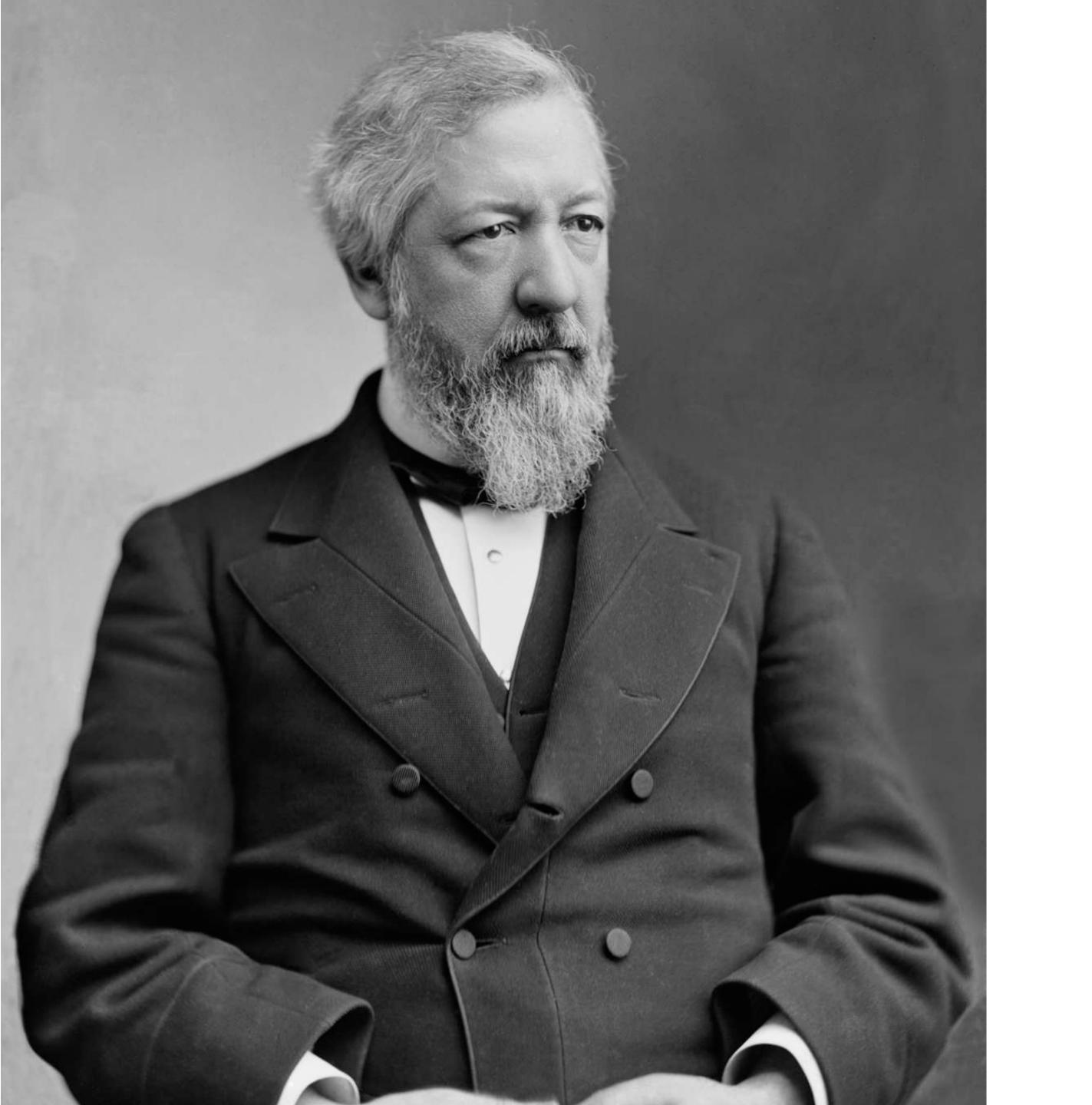
- Public interest in elections was avid between 1870 and 1896
 - Nearly <u>80%</u> of eligible voters cast ballots
- Politics was recreation.
 - Parades, picnics, speeches

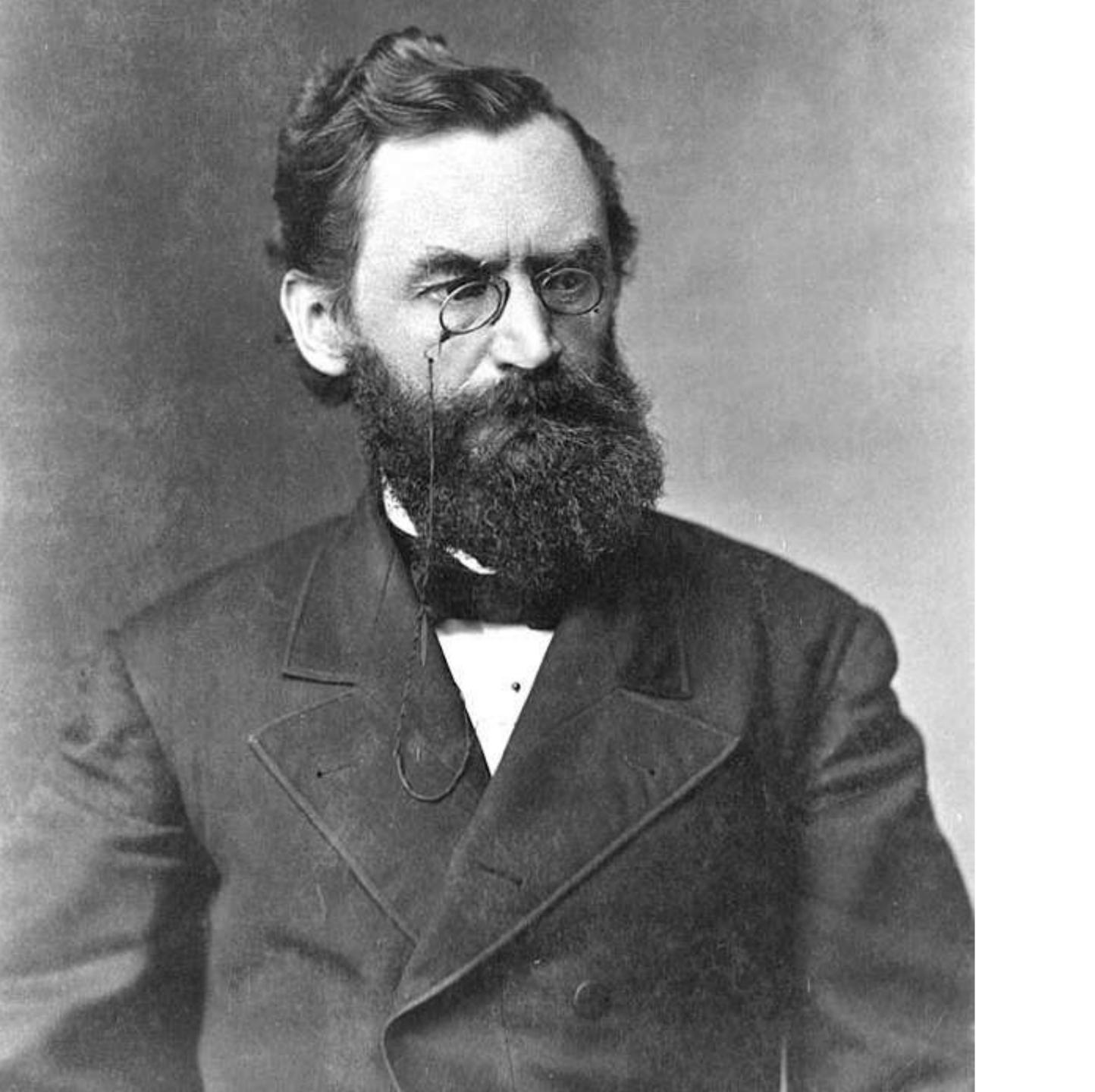
- Party loyalty was important
 - Democrats: opposed government interference in matters of personal liberty
 - Republicans: government could be an agent of reform

Party Factions

Factional quarrels split both parties

- Republicans
 - Stalwarts: led by Conkling (Spoils System)
 - Half Breeds: led by Blaine (Spoils system)
 - Mugwumps: Schurz (educated men should lead)





Democrats

- White-supremacist southerners
- Immigrant and working class supporters of political machines
- Business oriented advocates of the gold standard
- Debtor advocates of free silver

3.1.2 Civil Service Reform

Civil Service Reform

Some politicians tried to dismantle the spoils system

 Some advocated appointments and promotions based on merit (civil Service) rather than political connections



National Civil Service Reform League formed (1881)

- President Garfield is assassinated by a distraught job seeker
- Leads to the Pendleton
 Civil Service Act, 1883
- Civil Service
 Commission oversees
 competitive
 examinations



3.1.3 Railroad Regulation

Railroad Regulation

Railroads reduced rates for large shippers and offered free passenger passes to preferred customers and politicians

 Reform occurs first at state level



- 1880: 14 states
 established
 commissions to limit
 freight and storage
 charges of state chartered RR lines
- 1877... Munn v. Illinois
 - Court upheld the principle of state regulation of RRs

- 1886... Wabash case
 - Court declared only Congress can limit rates of interstate commerce

- Interstate Commerce Act of 1887
 - Prohibited pools, rebates, and long-haul/ short-haul rate discrimination

- Created Interstate
 Commerce
 Commission (ICC)
 - First regulatory agency
 - Investigated railroad rate-making, illegal practices, and sought court assistance



- Maximum Freight Rate case (1897)
 - Supreme Court said the ICC lacked the power to set rates

- Alabama Midlands
 case (1897)
 - Court overturned prohibitions against long-haul/short-haul discrimination

3.1.4 Tariff Policy

Tariff Policy

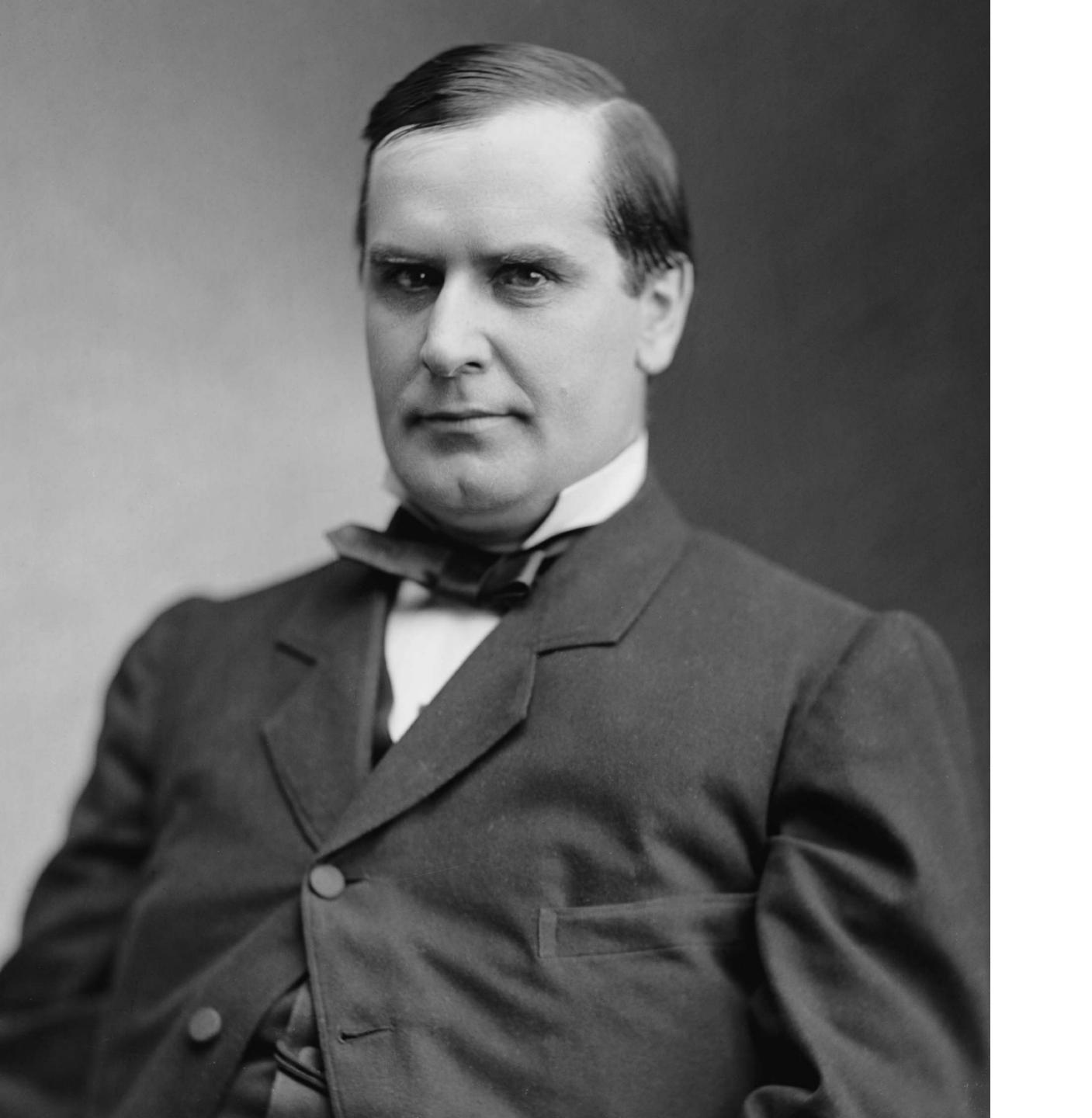
1880s: tariffs on 4,000

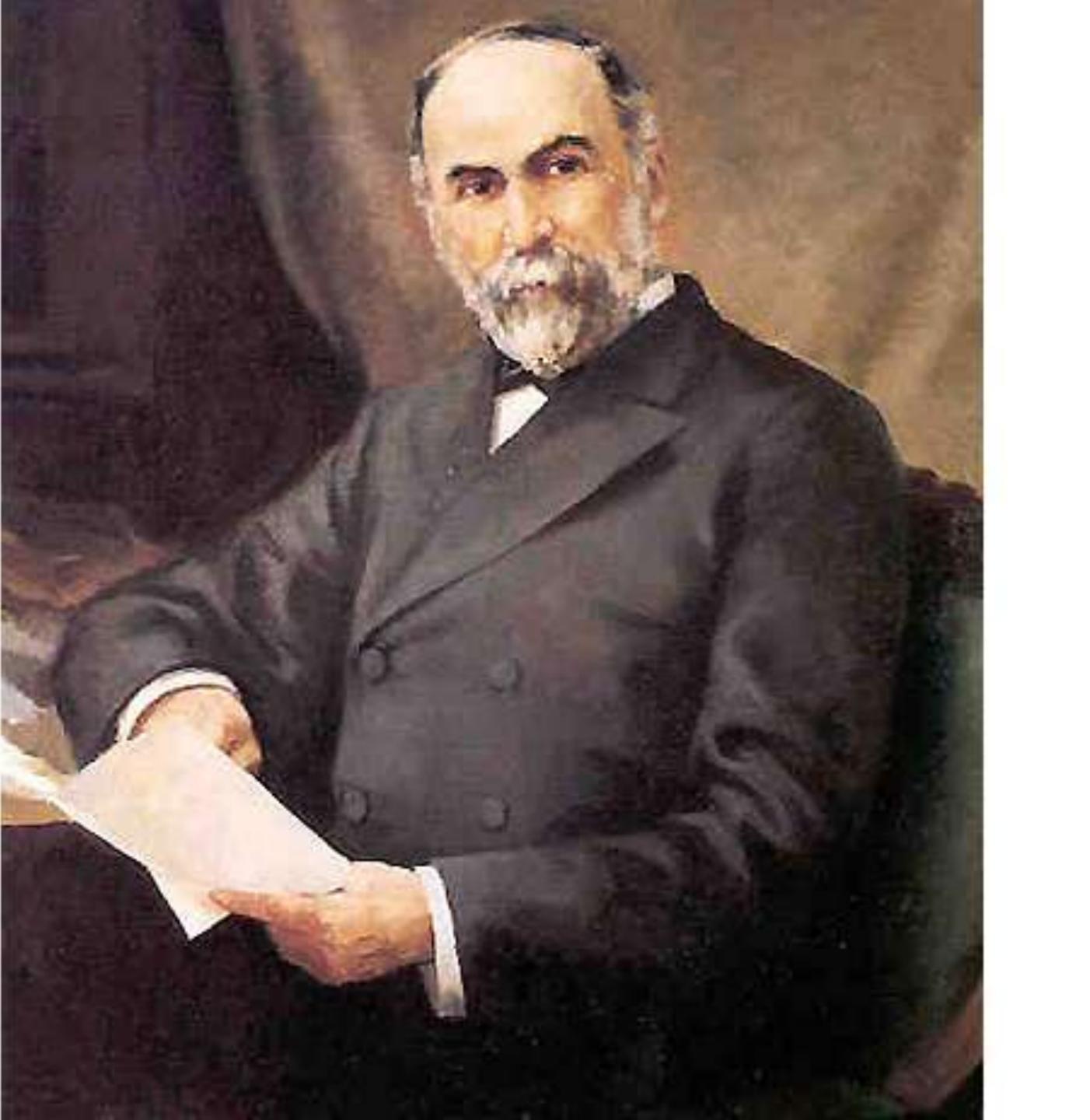
items

• Some economists argued for free trade

- Politicians: tariffs support industry, protect jobs
 - Republicans: protective tariffs core of political agenda
 - Democrats: tariffs made prices artificially high

- McKinley Tariff (1890)
 boosted rates +4%
- Dingley Tariff (1897): rates went even higher





3.1.5 Monetary Policy

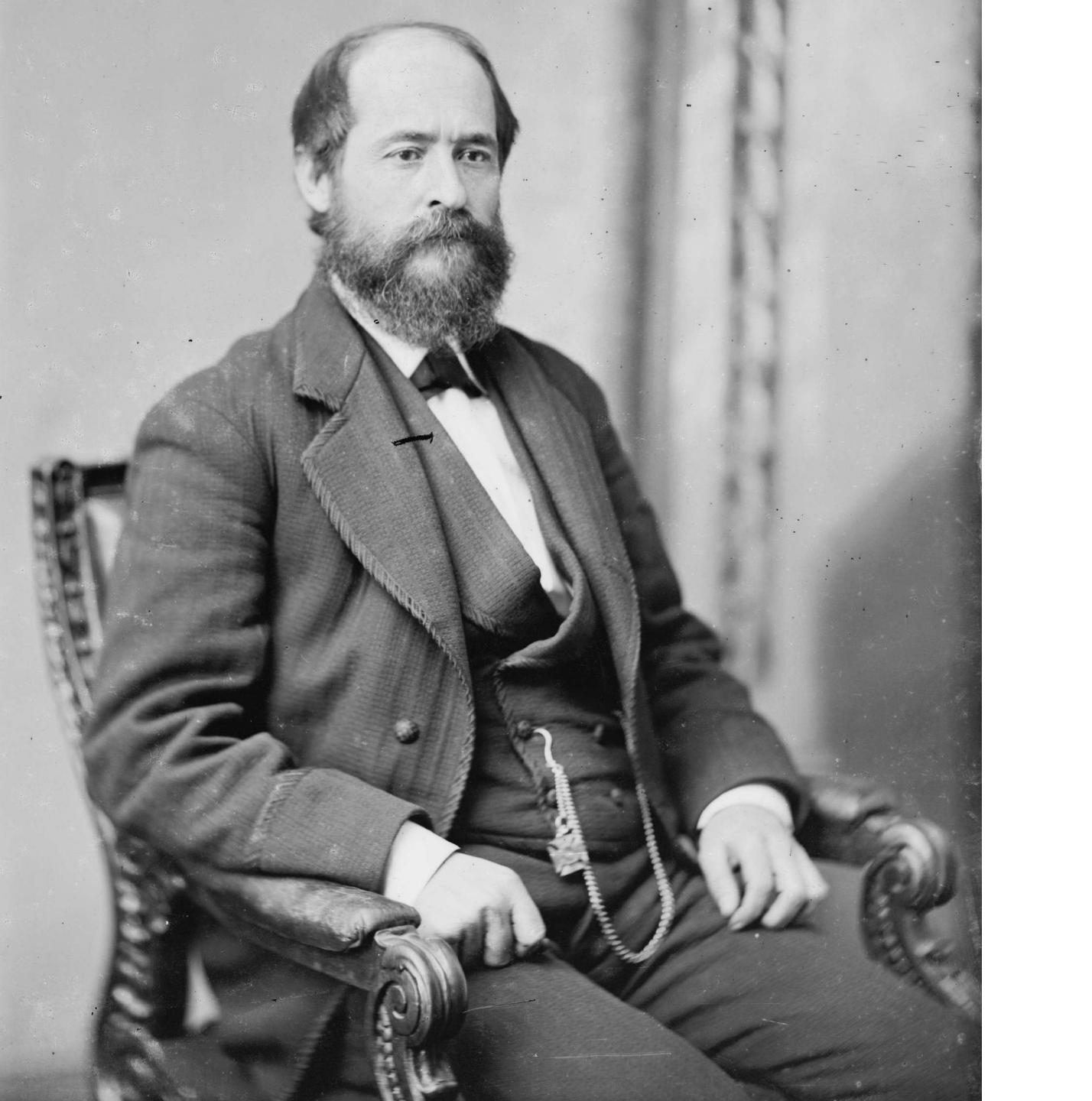
Monetary Policy

 Increased industrial / agricultural production causes price drop after Civil War

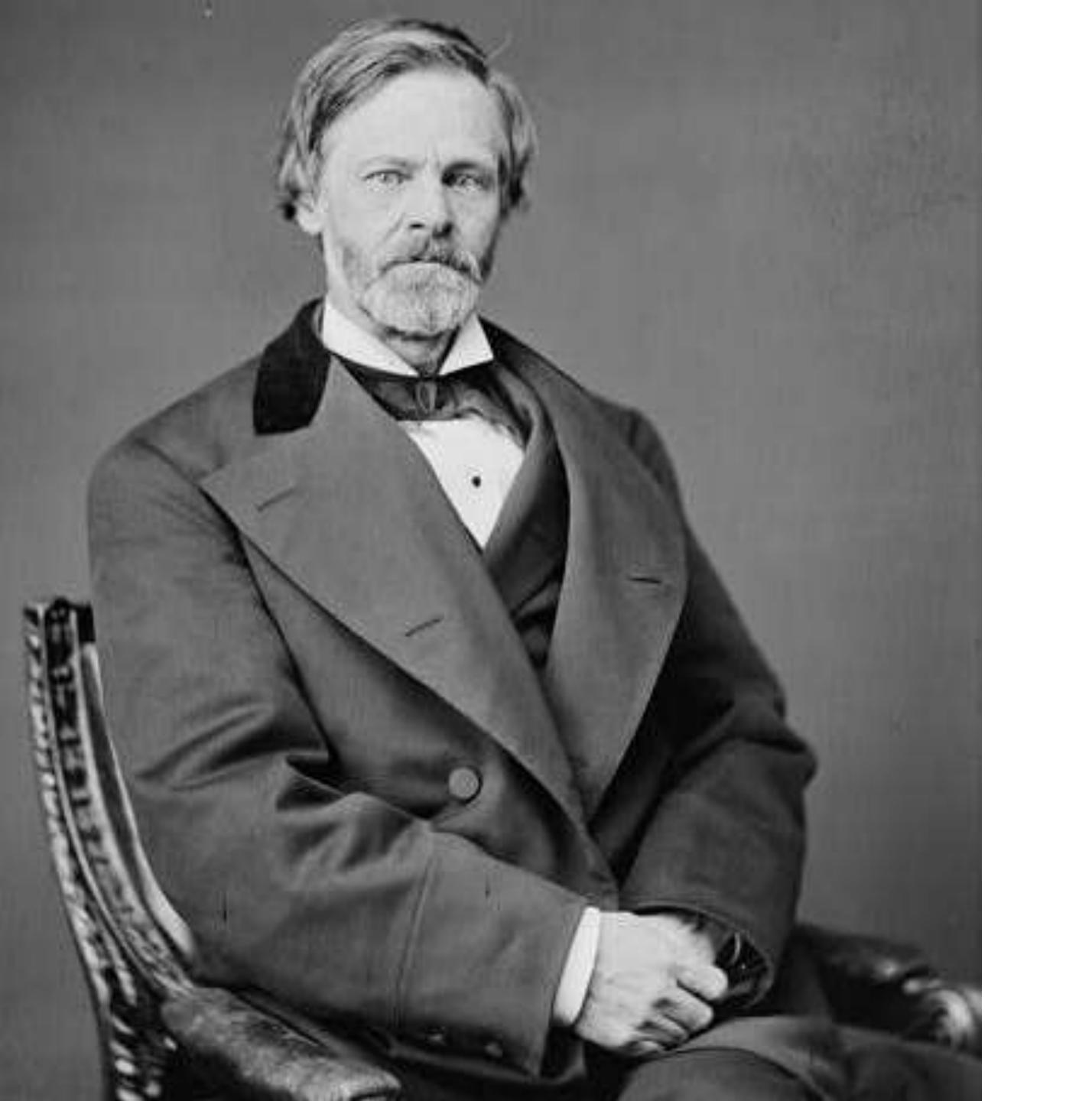
- Farmers received less for crops
 - Costly to borrow money because little money in circulation
 - Favored coinage of silver to increase money in circulation and reduce interest rates

 Large merchants and manufacturers favored money backed by gold U.S. and others unofficially adopted the gold standard in the 1870s

 Bland-Allison Act (1878) authorized the Treasury to buy \$2 Million to \$4 million worth of silver each month



Sherman Silver
 Purchase Act (1890)...
 increased monthly
 purchase to 4.5 million
 ounces



3.1.6 Forgettable Presidents

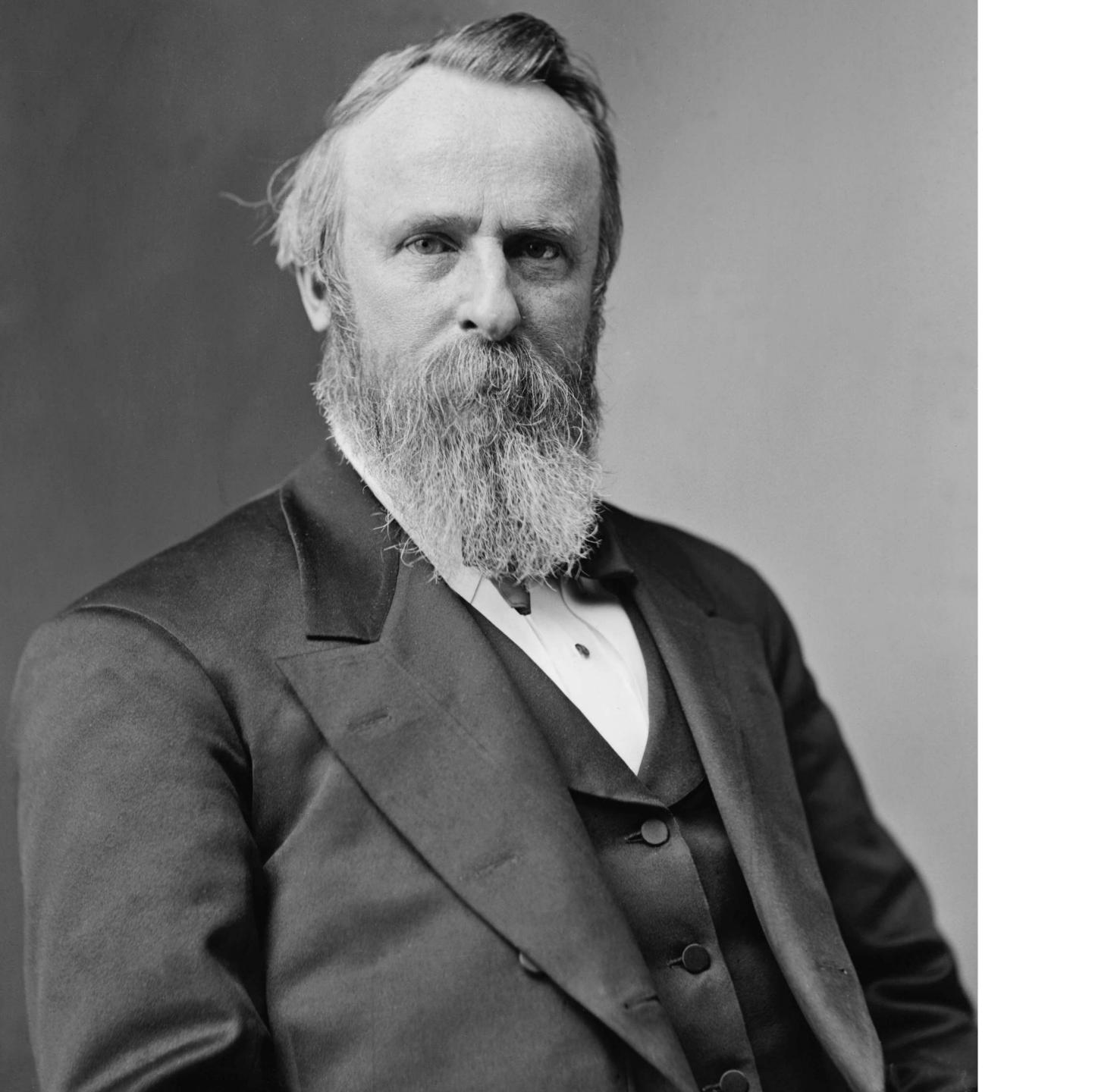
Forgettable Presidents

American Presidents between 1877 and 1900 moved tentatively to restore authority to the presidency

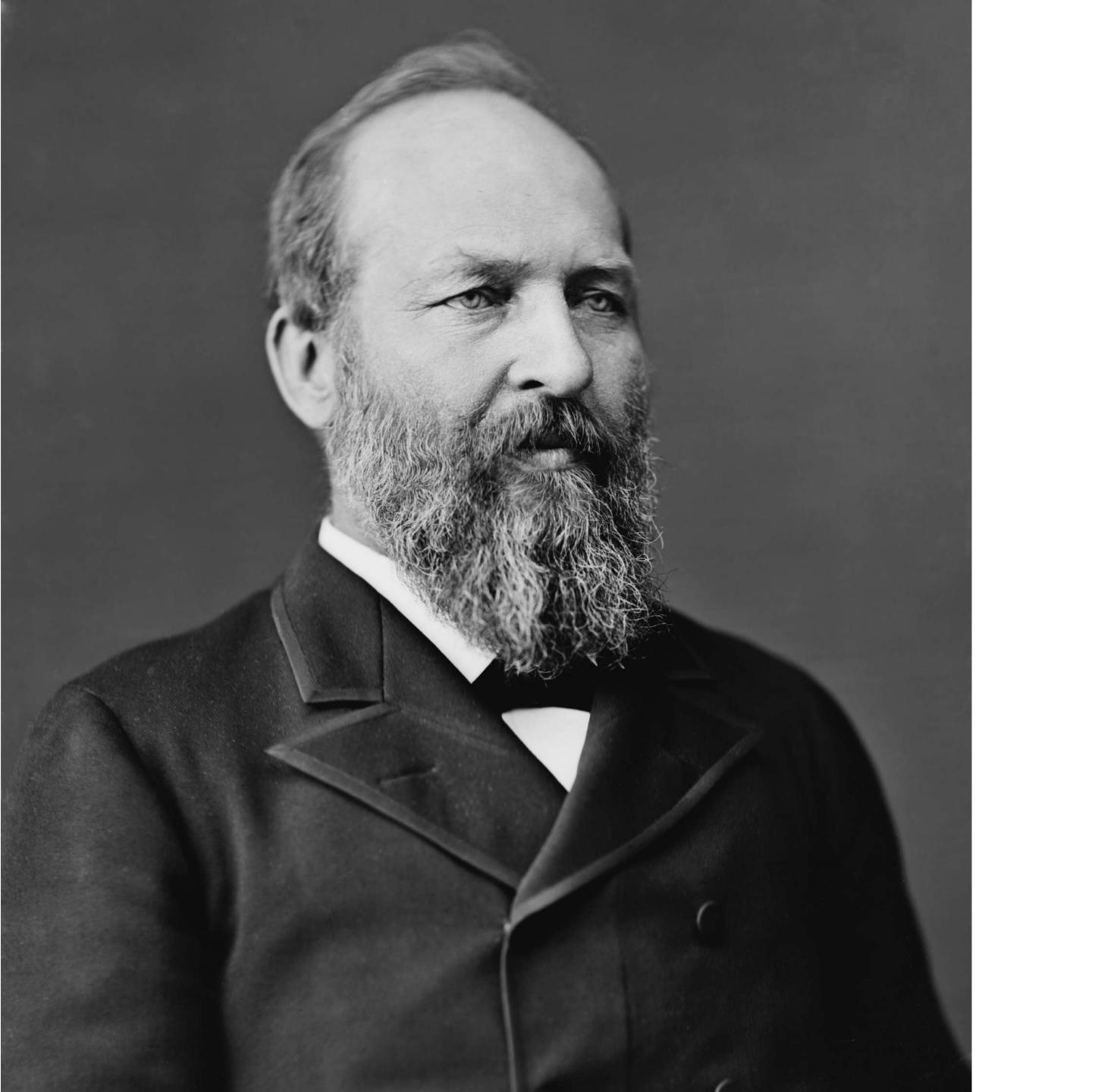
 Tried to work as legislators and administrative leaders

Hayes, Garfield, Arthur

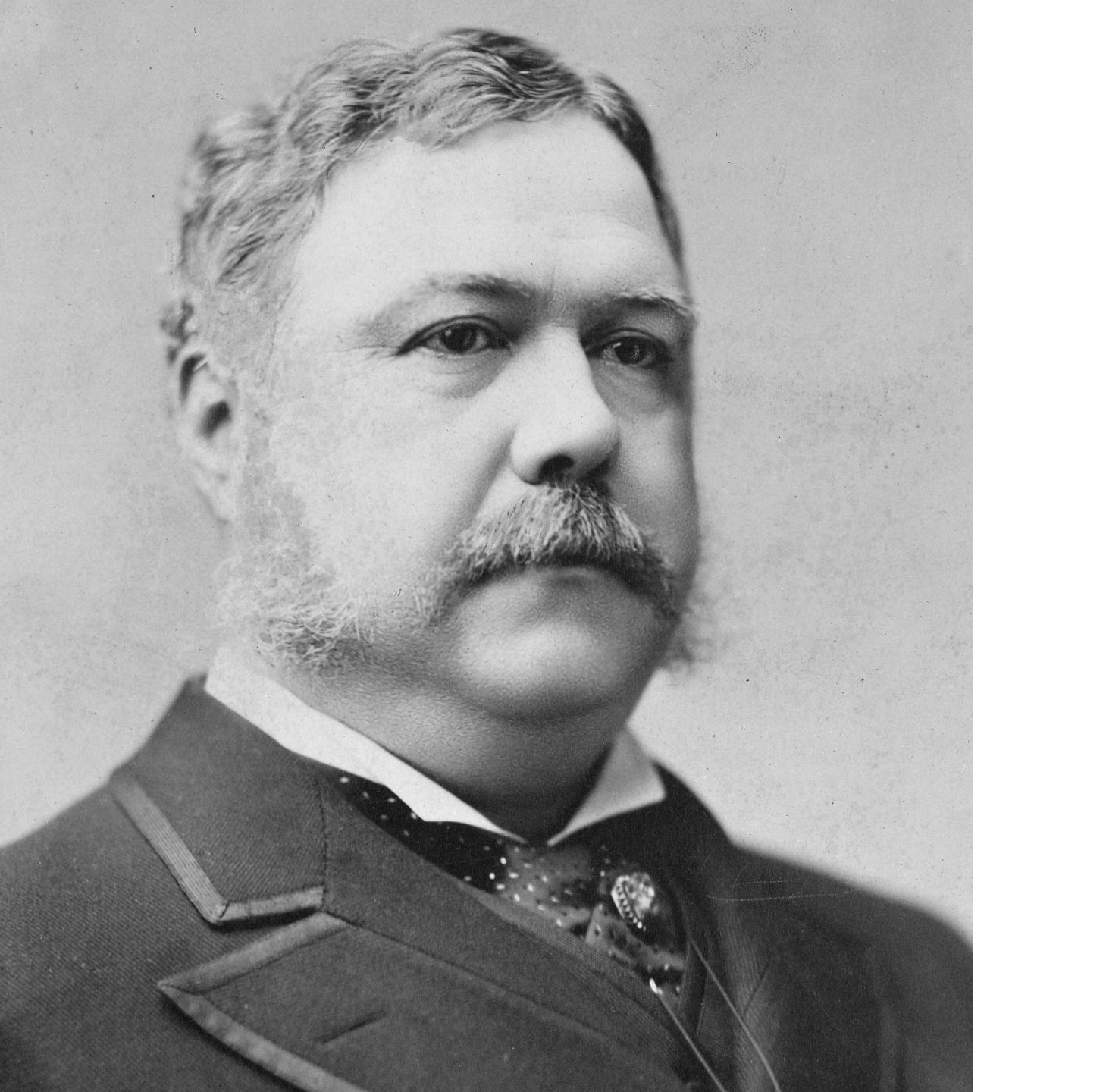
- Hayes (R): attempts to overhaul the spoils system
 - Ended Reconstruction in the South



- Garfield (R): Tried to work independently
 - Wanted to reduce tariff and increase relations with Latin America
 - July 1881 Charles
 Guiteau shot Garfield



- Arthur (R): Became dignified and temperate after years as "party hack"
 - Signed Pendleton Civil
 Service Act

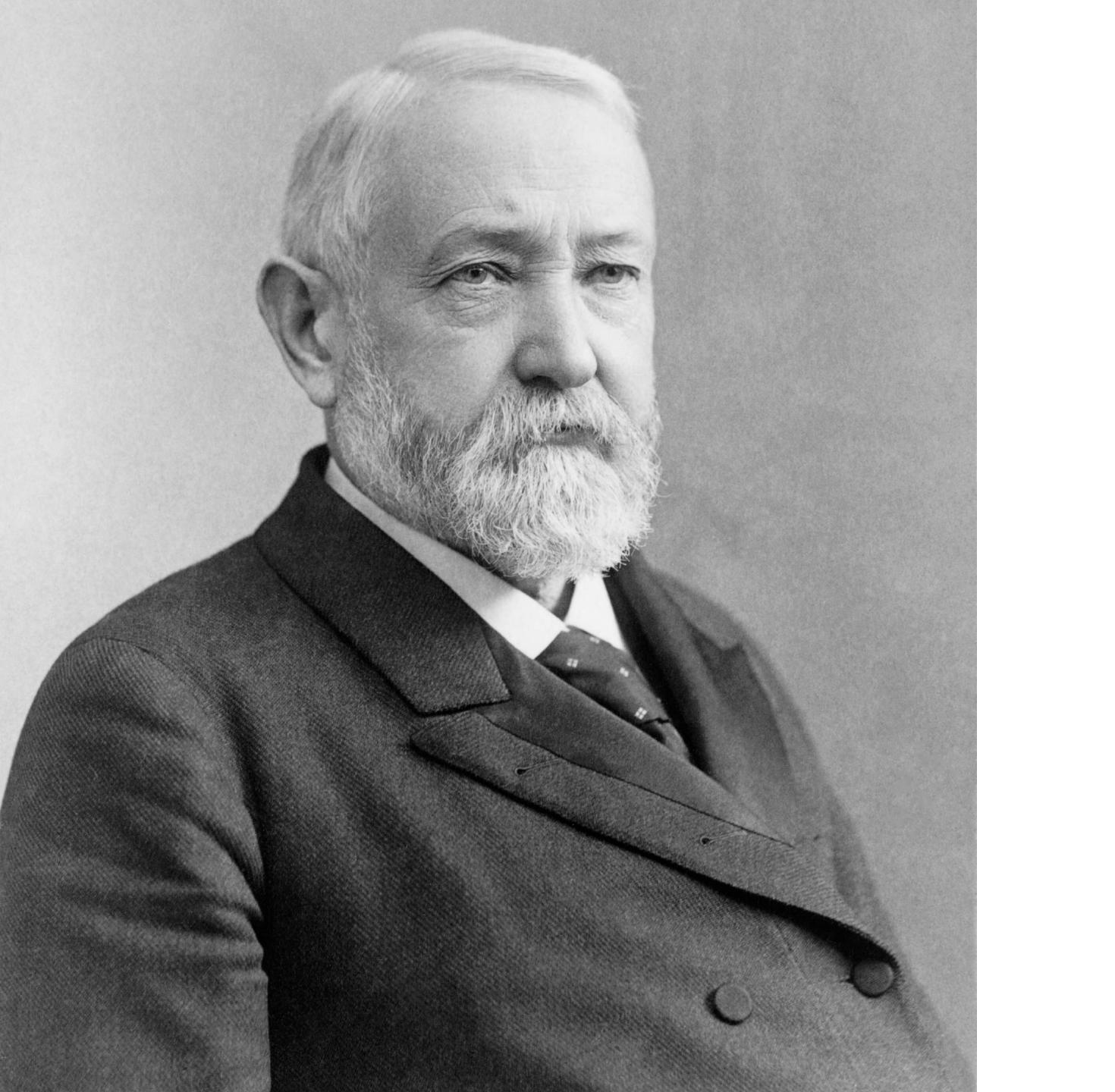


Cleveland and Harrison

- Cleveland (D):
 - expanded civil service, vetoed private pension bills, urged Congress to cut tariffs



- Benjamin Harrison (R):
 - Used bribery and multiple voting to win Indiana and NY
 - Supported civil service reform
 - Signed Dependent's Pension Act; provided (overly) generous aid to injured war veterans
 - \$1 billion government budget



- Cleveland (D):
 - Failed at tariff reform

3.1.7 "Black Lives (Don't) Matter..."

Violence against African Americans

Economic opportunities for African Americans were still rare

• 90% of southern blacks were farmers or servants



- Discrimination was rampant
- "sundown towns"
 - Only whites on the streets at night
- Most lynching victims were accused of assault on a white women

Disfranchisement

White supremacists found new ways to keep blacks in inferior positions

- Poll taxes (\$1-\$2)
 - "Mississippi Plan"
 - Poll tax (8 months in advance) and literacy test
- Literacy tests

U.S. v. Reese (1876)

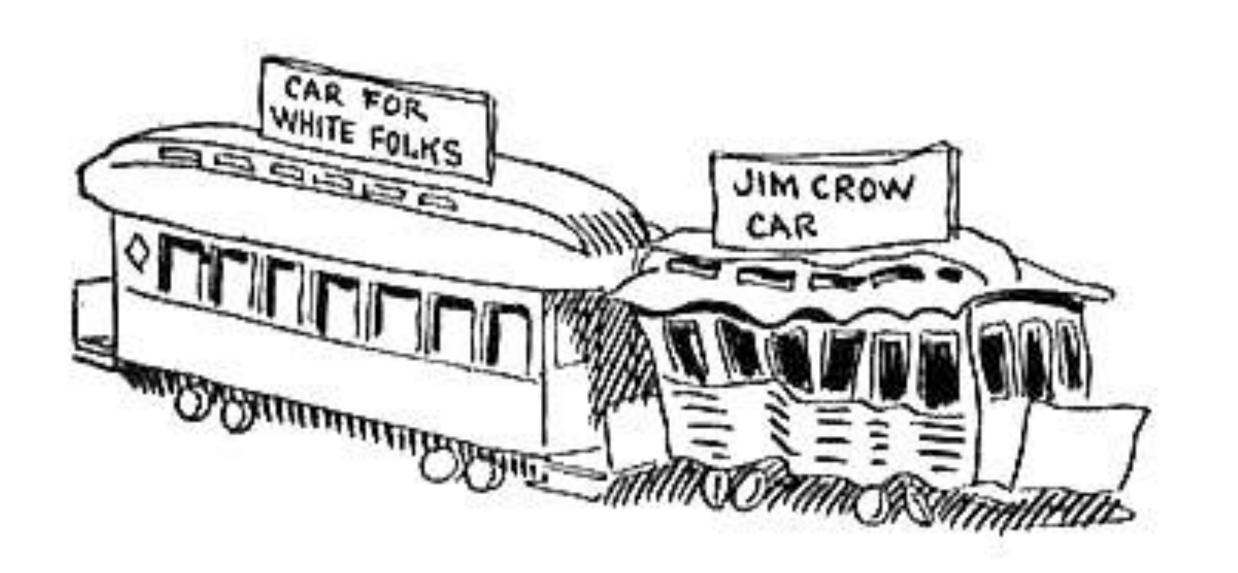
- Congress had no control over local and state elections other than 15th Amendment
- · "Grandfather clause"
 - Exempted sons and grandsons of those eligible to vote prior to 1867

Legal Segregation

1870s, Supreme Court said 14th Amendment only protected civil rights against state governments

- Civil Rights Cases (1883): Court struck down 1875 Civil Rights Act that prohibited segregation in public facilities, such as streetcars, theaters, and parks
 - Said federal government could not regulate private behavior in matters of race

- Plessy v. Ferguson (1896)
 - allowed for "separatebut-equal" facilities at the state level





COLORED WAITING ROOM

PRIVATE PROPERTY

NO PARKING

Driving through of Turning Around

Good Housekeeping

BINGO TONUTE!

HITLER'S LOVE LIFE REVEALED

FORMER MAID

FAITH BALDWIN'S

NA COACH COMPANY

45

3.1.8 The Farmers Crusade: Radical or Reactionary?

Politics & Public Service, 1892

- Populist (or People's)
 Party platform in 1892
 incorporated a host of popular reform ideas, including:
 - Australian (or Secret)
 Ballot
 - Popular Election of U.S. Senators

- Direct Democracy
- Banking Reform
- Government Ownership of the Railroads
- Graduated Income Tax
- Free and Unlimited Coinage of Silver (Bimetallism)

1873-78	Economic hard times hit
1876	Hayes is elected President
1877	Georgia passes poll tax
1878	Bland-Allison Act requires treasury to buy \$2 to \$4 million in silver each month
1883	Pendleton Civil Service Act introduces merit system
1886	Wabash case declares that only Congress can limit interstate commerce rates
1887	Farmers' Alliances are formed
1890	Mississippi Plan uses poll taxes and literacy tests

	Mississippi Plan uses poll taxes and literacy tests
1890s	Jim Crow laws are passed in southern states
	Populist convention in Omaha draws up a reform platform
1893-97	Major Economic Depression in U.S.
	McKinley is elected President, <i>Plessy v.</i> Ferguson establishes separate but equal doctrine
	Gold Standard Act requires all paper money to be backed by gold, <i>McKinley is reelected</i>







3.2 The Progressive Movement

3.2.1 Upper Class Reformers

- 3.2.2 Working Class Reform
- 3.2.3 Government Reform
- 3.2.4 Theodore Roosevelt's Bully Pulpit

3.2.5 High Point for Conservation

- 3.2.6 Was Taft a True Progressive?
- 3.2.7 Wilson's New Freedom

3.2.1 Upper-Class Reformers

- Elite women led organizations like...
 - Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA)
 - Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)

- Municipal Voters
 League, U.S.
 Chamber of
 Commerce
 - Believed running schools, hospitals, and local government like businesses would stabilize society

The Social Gospel

 Led by Protestant ministers
 Rauschenbusch, Gladden, and Sheldon Brought religious values into the workplace... sought to create industrial harmony and improve the environment for the poor

- Believed helping led to salvation
 - Tried to Americanize immigrants and Indians by expanding educational, economic, and cultural opportunities





3.2.2 Working Class Reform

Working Class Reformers

Bread and Butter reforms...

 Safe factories, shorter workdays, workers' compensation, and better housing Working Class Advocates opposed prohibition, Sunday closing laws, civil service, and non-partisan elections

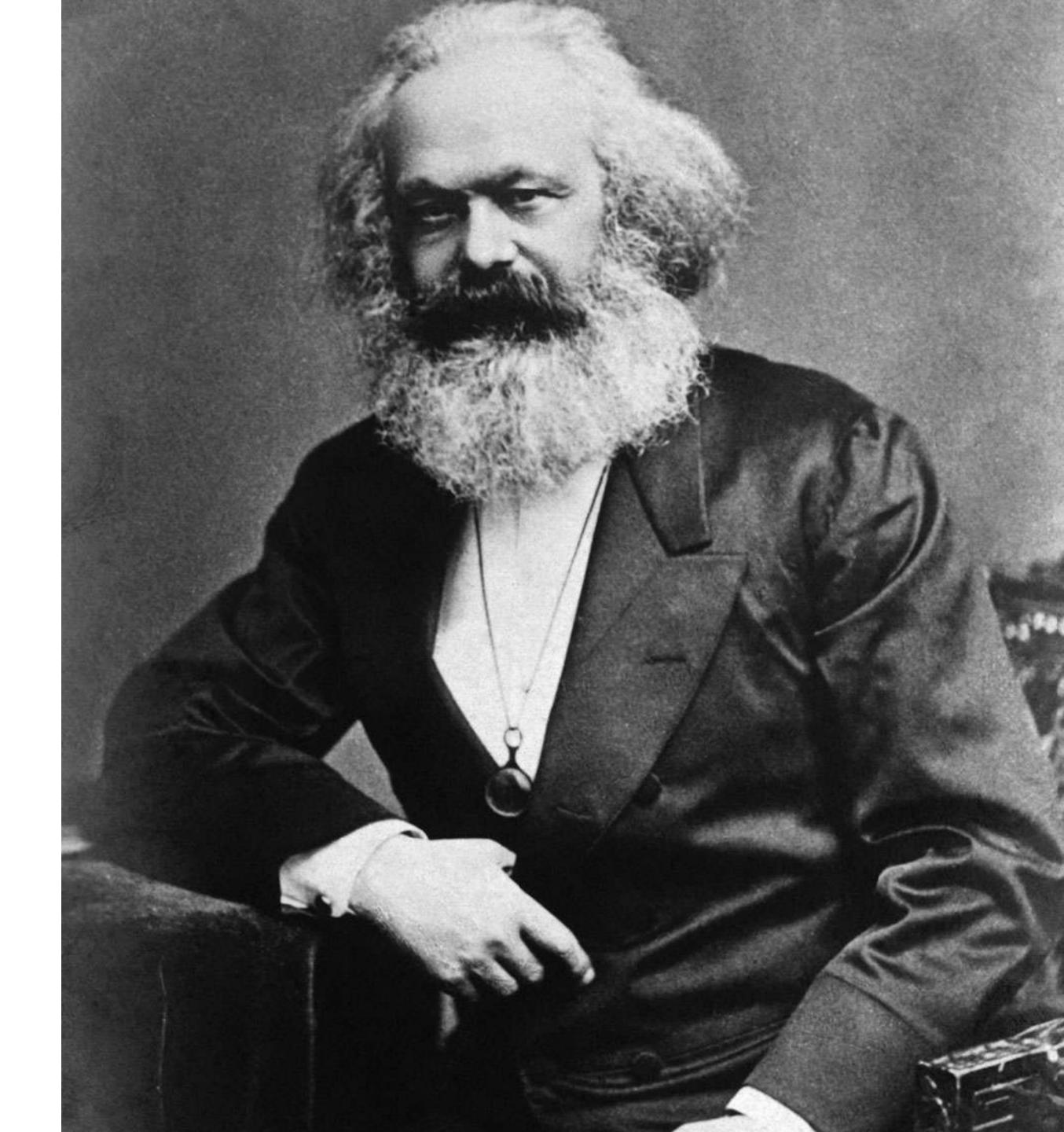
- Because many were involved in machine politics
- Because they resented being told what to do by their "betters"

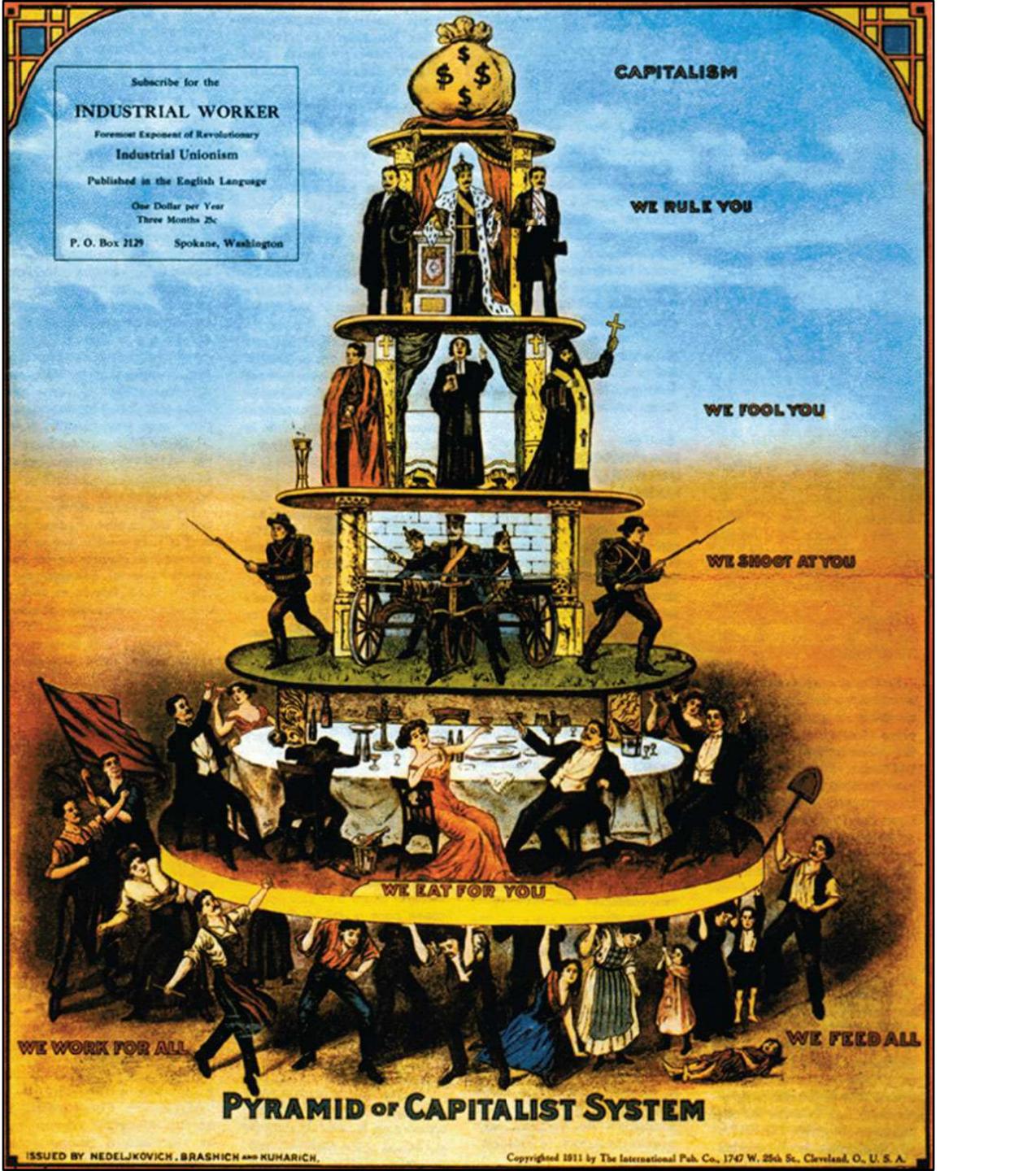
Socialists

Made up of disillusioned immigrant intellectuals, industrial workers, Populists, miners, and women's rights activists

 Desired a different type of society altogether 1912, the Socialist Party of America, claimed 150,000 members and 700,000 subscribers to newspapers

 Organized behind Indiana-born Eugene V. Debs The Prophet of the Class Struggle, Karl Marx (1818-1883)





The IWW Seeks Subscribers. 1911

- This poster hoped to attract subscribers to Industrial Worker, the newspaper of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).
- A small but radical labor union

- Hoped to unify
 American workers in "one big union,"
 - All jobs, genders, and races.
- "An injury to one is an injury to all."
- 100,000 members in
 1923
- Known as Wobblies

Muckrakers were reporters who investigated social injustices and exposed them in print.

• These reporters dug up "muck" (dirt) to expose corruption in business and government.

Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*

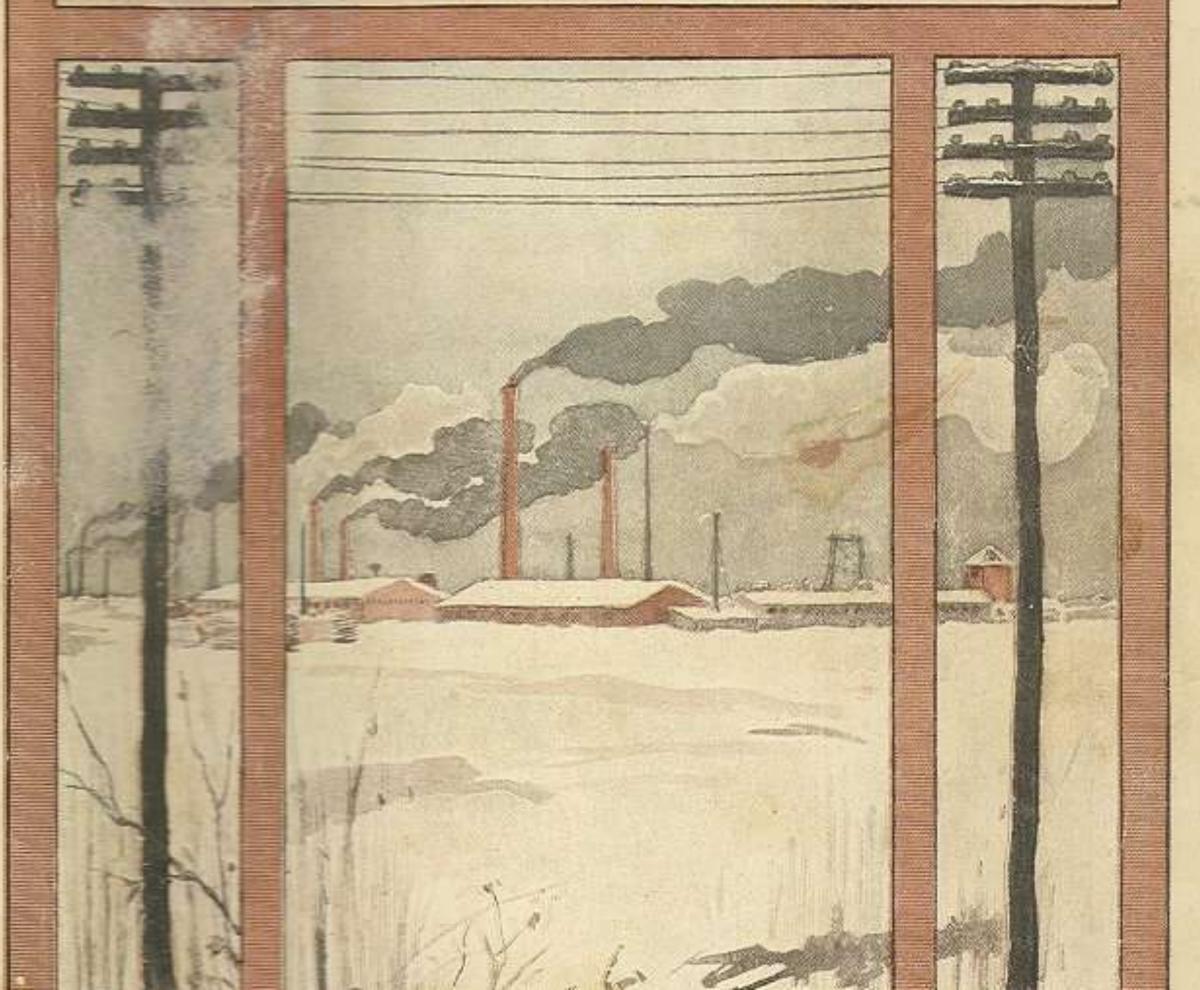
One of the worst examples of corruption c. 1900 was the meat packing industry.

 Dead rats, pieces of rope, workers' fingers and other debris were often scooped up and deposited in potted ham or other processed meats. • Sinclair's book led to federal and state laws regulating meat packing.



MCCLURE'S MAGAZINE

FOR JANUARY



 Tarbell was the most prominent female muckraker and a respected respected business historian. In 1904 she wrote an important, critical history of Standard Oil Company, The Mother of



The enormous effort of American suffragists to secure the vote for women finally succeeded with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.

 Alice Paul's hunger strikes and picketing of the White House had paid off.



Melting Polt in P.S. 188, 1910

 These immigrant children from the Lower **East Side of New York** are dressed in costumes from their native lands; they surround their teacher, dressed as the Statue of Liberty.

 Schools flooded with children who could scarcely speak English, tried to respect their students' ancestral cultures while also cultivating loyalty to their adopted country by teaching American "civics" and appreciation for patriotic symbols and rituals.



Jane Addams and the Women's Peace Party Call for Peace, 1915

- 25,000 members who claim to represent the "mother half of humanity."
 - American entry into the war in 1917 eroded popular support
 - pacifism considered anti-American.



The Wages of Negligence

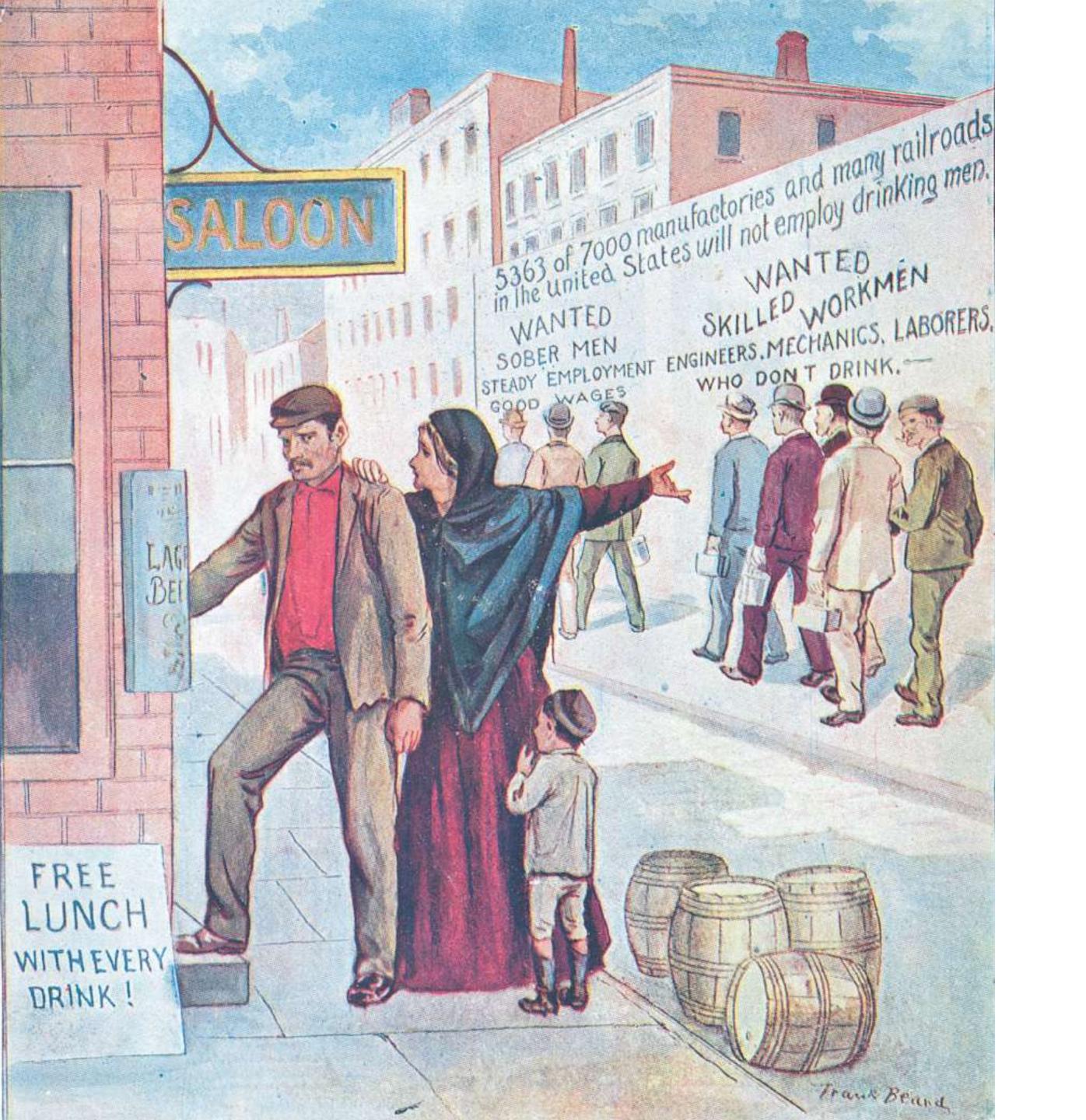
Officials review the charred remains of some of the survivors of the catastrophic Triangle **Shirtwaist Company fire** in 1911. Outrage over this calamity galvanized a generation of reformers to fight for better workplace safety rules.



"Out of Work and the Reason Why", 1899

This temperance propaganda from an 1899 magazine illustrates the role of women in the temperance movement.

Alcohol abuse threatened the stability of the family.



3.2.3 Government Reform

Government and Legislative Reform

- Late 1800s... the view that democratic government should be small came under question.
 - Middle Class reformers (PROGRESSIVES) rejected the laissezfaire government

- Wisconsin's Robert M. La Follette... dynamic progressive governor
 - Instituted direct primaries, more equitable taxes, and regulation of railroads
 - Crusades against corruption became commonplace throughout era



Government and Legislative Reform

- Labor reforms... by 1916, two-thirds of states required compensation for victims of industrial accidents
- Prohibition... 1918-18th Amendment

- Prostitution... Chicago
 Vice Commission:
 "scientific" survey of
 dance halls and
 published The Social
 Evil in Chicago
- Other areas of reform including public schools, universities, social sciences, social work

3.2.4 Theodore Roosevelt's Bully Pulpit

- 1898, organized a brigade called the Rough Riders to fight in Cuba during Spanish-American War
- Serves as NYC Police Commissioner, Asst. Secretary of the Navy, writes a dozen western novels.

- McKinley assassinated by an anarchist in 1901, Roosevelt becomes president
- Becomes quintessential progressive president with his rugged individualism, conservationist ideas, and personal, activist reform agenda



Roosevelt Tames the Trusts

• Roosevelt did not attack all trusts indiscriminately.

 He pursued a few highprofile cases against a handful of corporate giants, in order to "tame" other businesses into accepting government regulation.





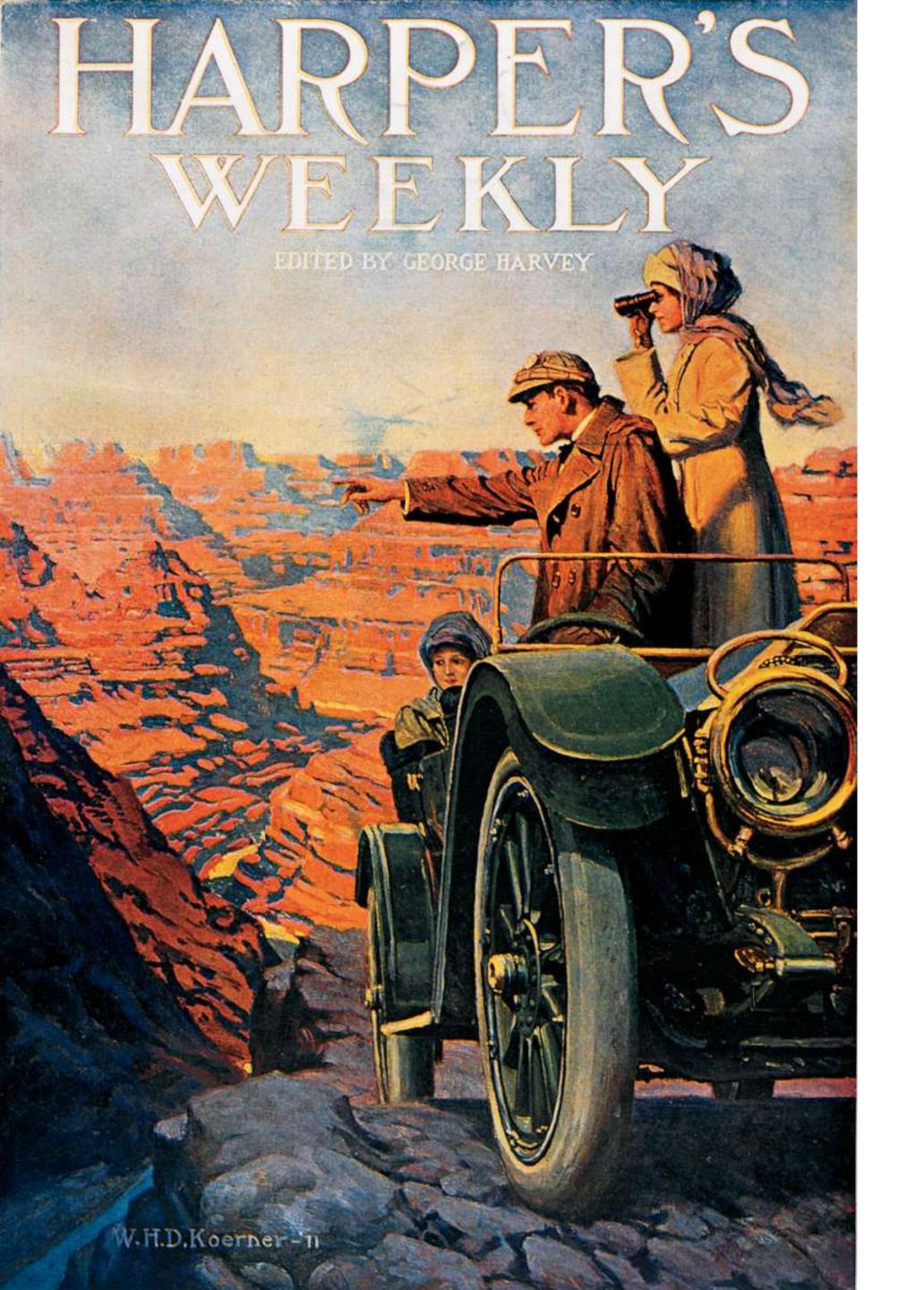
3.2.5 High Point for Conservation

 Roosevelt and famed naturalist John Muir at Glacier Point, Yosemite Valley, California.



The Machine and Nature

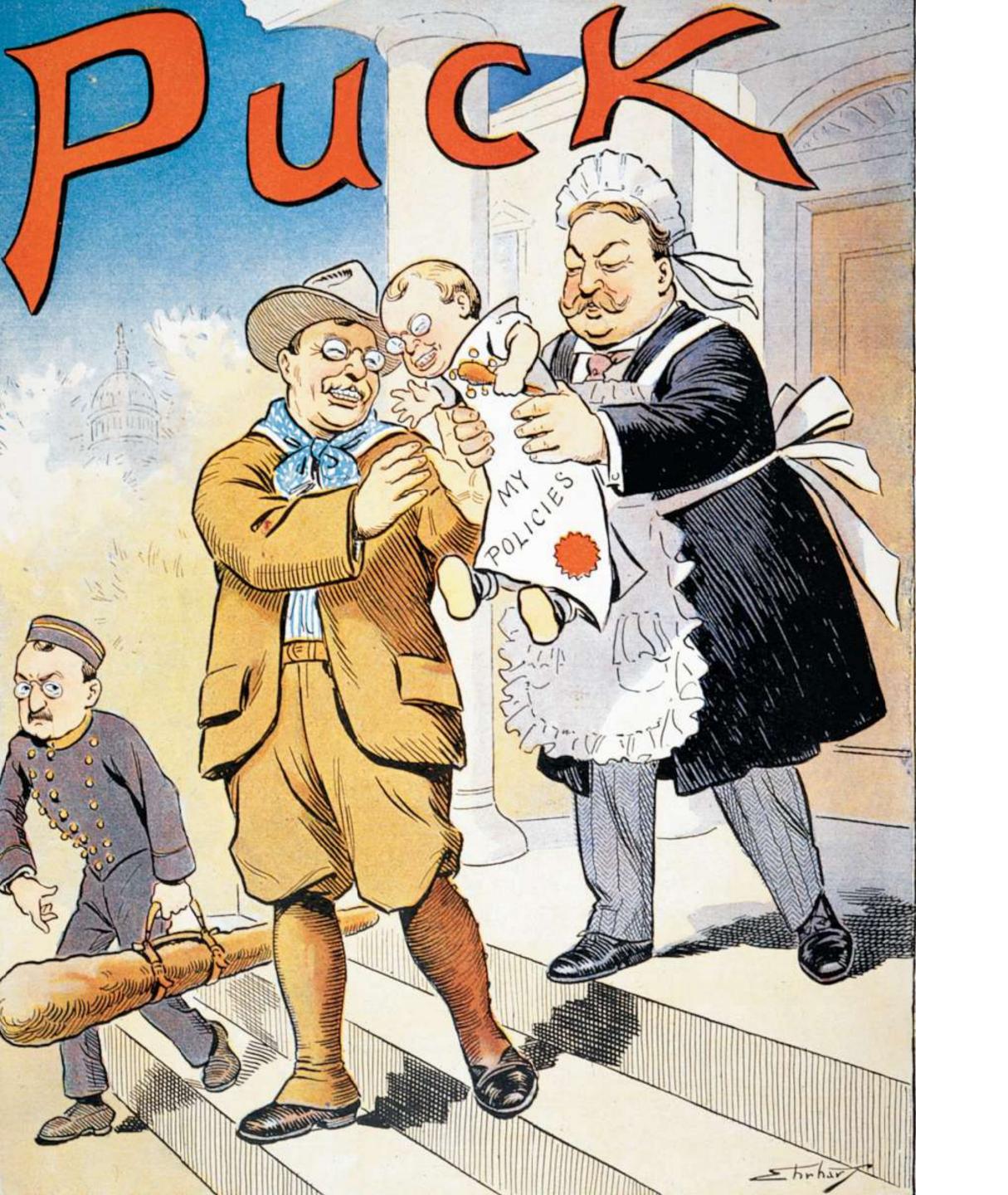
 These 1911 sightseers at the Grand Canyon in 1911 unwittingly foreshadowed the mass tourism that arrived with the car. Soon millions of motorized Americans would flee from cities and suburbs to overrun wilderness sites.

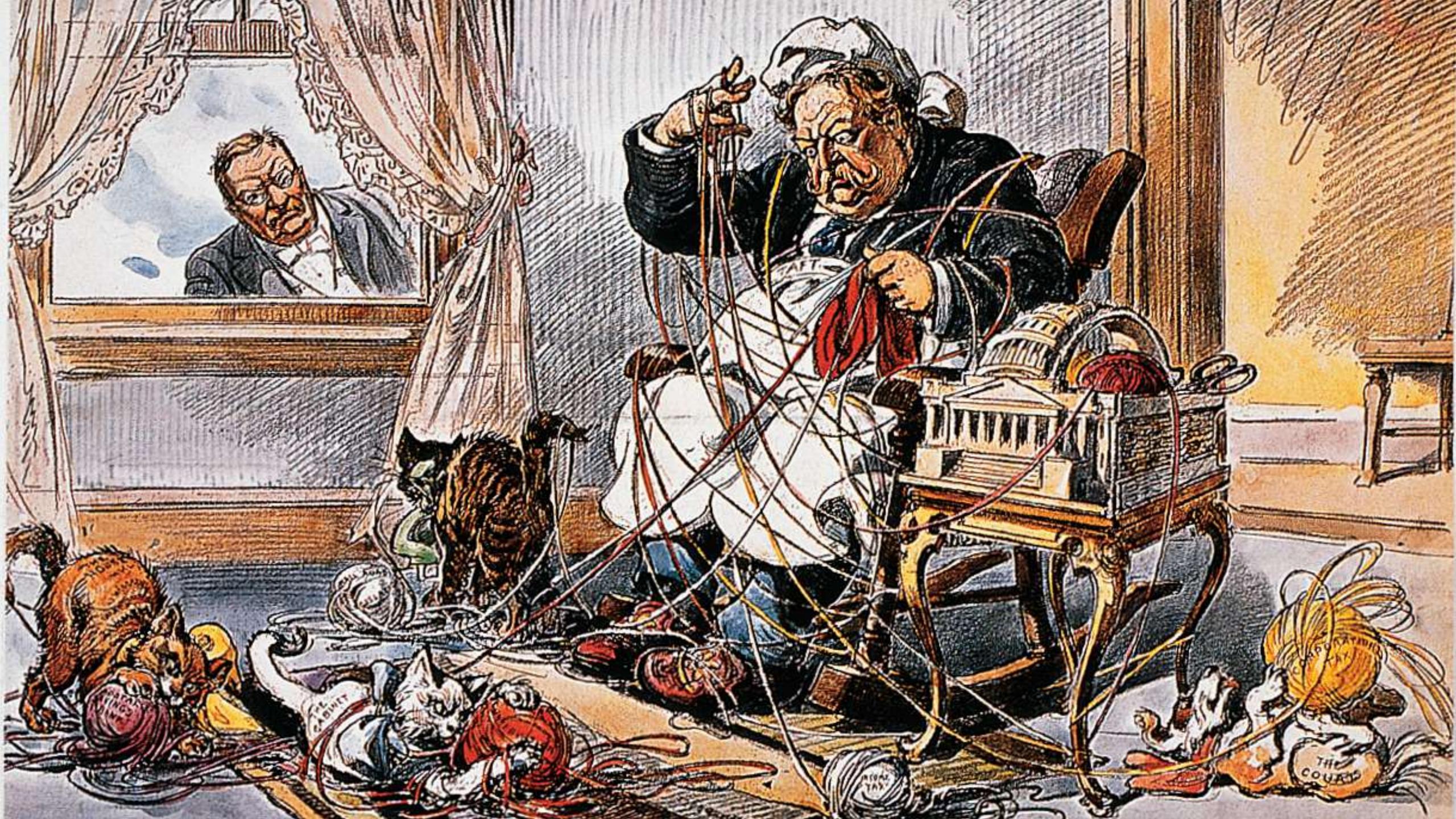


3.2.6 Was Taft a True Progressive?

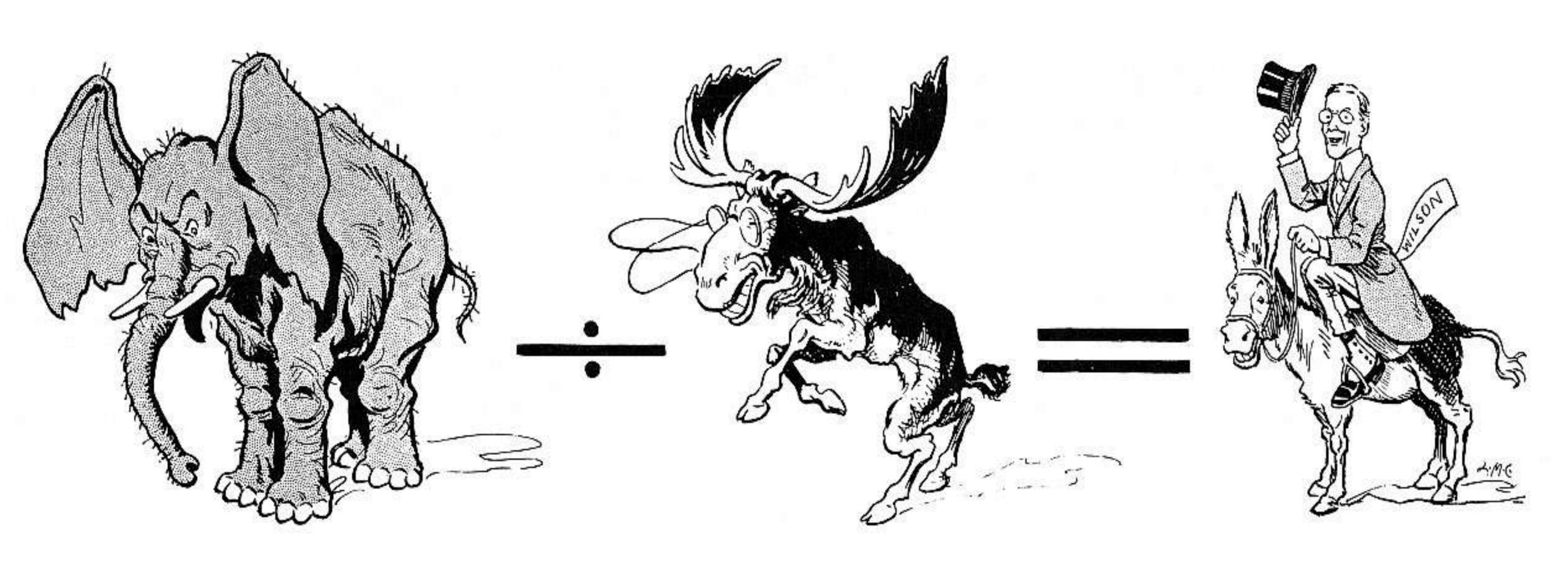
Baby, Kiss Papa Good-Bye

 Theodore Roosevelt leaves his baby, "My Policies," in the hands of his chosen successor, William Howard Taft.



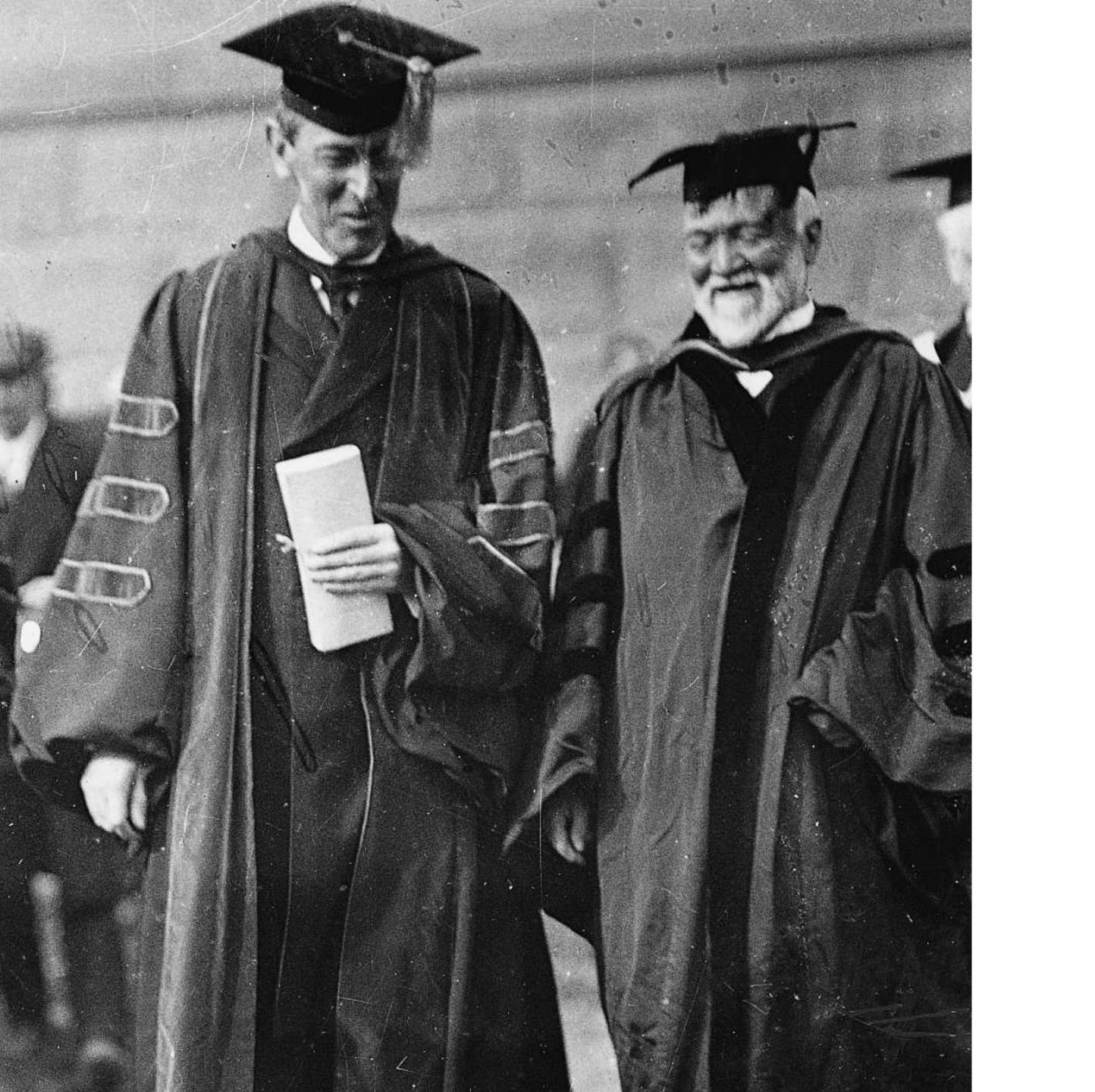


GOP Divided By Bull Moose Equals Democratic Victory, 1912



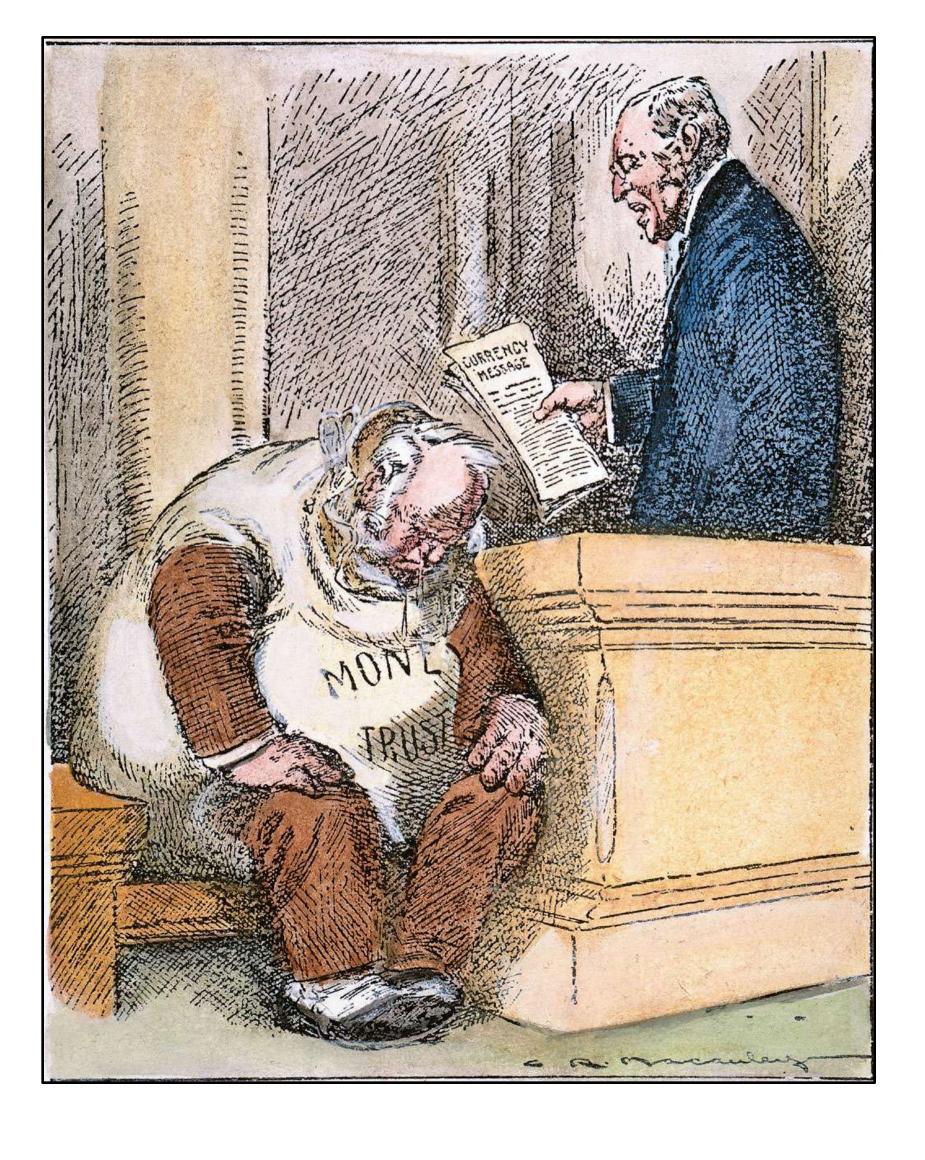
3.2.7 Wilson's New Freedom

- Wilson first served as president of Princeton University (1902–1910) and governor of New Jersey (1910–1912).
 - Reform was always his hallmark.
 - "I would rather fail in a cause that I know some day will triumph than to win in a cause that I know some day will fail."



Reading the Death Warrant

 This New York Sun cartoon appeared soon after Woodrow Wilson called for dramatic banking reform.



 Wilson quickly won popular and congressional support for the Federal Reserve Act of 1913.