

Foner 3/e
Chapter 18
Chapter Outline

- I. Introduction
 - A. Progressive era
 - 1. Surge in production, consumption, urban growth
 - 2. Persistence of social problems
 - B. Progressivism
 - 1. Broad-based elements
 - 2. Loosely-defined meanings
 - 3. Varied and contradictory character
 - C. New notions of American freedom
- II. An urban age and consumer society
 - A. Early-twentieth-century economic explosion
 - 1. "Golden age" for agriculture
 - 2. Growth in number and size of cities
 - 3. Stark contrasts of opulence and poverty
 - B. Popular attention to dynamism and ills of the city
 - 1. Painters and photographers
 - 2. Muckrakers
 - a. Lewis Hine's photography
 - b. Lincoln Steffens's *The Shame of the Cities*
 - c. Ida Tarbell's *History of the Standard Oil Company*
 - 3. Novelists
 - a. Theodore Dreiser's *Sister Carrie*
 - b. Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*
 - C. Immigration as a global process
 - 1. Height of "new immigration" from southern and eastern Europe
 - 2. Immigration from agrarian to industrial centers as a global process
 - a. Volume and flows
 - b. Causes
 - c. Circumstances of immigrants
 - 3. Ellis Island
 - 4. Influx of Asian and Mexican immigrants in West
 - 5. Immigrant presence in industrial cities
 - 6. Aspirations of new immigrants
 - a. Social and legal equality, freedom of conscience, economic opportunity, escape from poverty
 - b. Means to acquire land back home
 - c. Material prosperity as central to "freedom"
 - 7. Circumstances of new immigrants
 - a. Close-knit "ethnic" neighborhoods
 - i. Social institutions
 - ii. Preservation of native languages
 - iii. Churches
 - b. Low pay, harsh working conditions
 - D. Consumer freedom; the new mass-consumption society
 - 1. Outlets for consumer goods
 - a. Department stores
 - b. Neighborhood chain stores
 - c. Retail mail order houses
 - 2. Expanding range and availability of consumer goods
 - 3. Leisure activities
 - a. Amusement parks

- b. Dance halls
 - c. Theaters; vaudeville
 - d. Movies; "nickelodeons"
 - E. The working woman
 - 1. Employment
 - a. Racial and ethnic stratification
 - b. Working woman as symbol of female emancipation; Charlotte Perkins Gilman's *Women and Economics*
 - 2. Leisure, entertainment
 - F. The rise of "Fordism"
 - 1. Background on Henry Ford, Ford Motor Company
 - 2. Production innovations
 - a. Standardized output
 - b. Lower prices
 - c. Assembly line
 - 3. Strategies to attract and discipline labor
 - a. Five-dollar day
 - b. Anti-union espionage
 - 4. Linking of mass production and mass consumption
 - G. Impact of mass-consumption ideal
 - 1. Recasting of "American way of life"
 - a. Economic "freedom"
 - b. "standard of living"
 - 2. Challenges to material inequalities
 - a. Labor unionism
 - b. Critique of corporate monopoly
 - c. Doctrine of "a living wage"; Father John A. Ryan
- III. Changing ideas of freedom
 - A. Varieties of Progressivism
 - B. Industrial labor and the meanings of freedom
 - 1. Frederick W. Taylor's "scientific management"
 - a. Principles of
 - b. Mixed response to
 - i. Favorable: as way to enhance efficiency
 - ii. Unfavorable: as threat to worker independence
 - 2. New talk of "industrial freedom," "industrial democracy"
 - C. The Socialist presence
 - 1. High watermark of American socialism
 - a. Membership
 - b. Elected officials
 - c. Newspapers
 - d. Eugene V. Debs
 - 2. Program
 - a. Immediate reforms
 - b. Public ownership of railroads and factories
 - c. Democratic control of economy
 - 3. Breadth of following
 - a. Urban immigrant communities
 - b. Western farming and mining regions
 - c. Native-born intelligentsia
 - 4. Rising presence of socialism throughout Atlantic world
 - D. Labor movement; AFL & IWW
 - 1. American Federation of Labor
 - a. Surge of growth
 - b. Boundaries of membership

- i. Skilled industrial and craft laborers
 - ii. White, male, and native-born
 - c. Moderate ideology; ties with business Progressives
 - i. National Civic Federation
 - ii. Collective bargaining for "responsible" unions
 - iii. Alternative strain of rigid employer anti-unionism
 - 2. Industrial Workers of the World
 - a. Inclusion of workers from all stations and backgrounds
 - b. Trade union militancy
 - c. Advocate of workers' revolution
 - d. William "Big Bill" Haywood
 - e. Support and guidance for mass, multiethnic strikes
 - 3. High points of broad-based labor struggle
 - a. Lawrence "Bread and Roses" textile strike; march of strikers' children
 - b. New Orleans dock workers strike
 - c. Paterson silk workers strike; Paterson pageant
 - d. Colorado Fuel and Iron miners strike; Ludlow Massacre
 - 4. Suppression of labor radicalism and emergence of "civil liberties" issue
 - E. The New feminism
 - 1. Appearance of term "feminism"
 - 2. "Lyrical Left"
 - a. New cultural "bohemia"
 - b. Radical reassessments of politics, the arts, sexuality
 - 3. Rise of personal freedom
 - a. Freudian psychology
 - b. Free sexual expression and choice
 - c. Pockets of open gay culture
 - 4. Birth control movement
 - a. Emma Goldman
 - b. Margaret Sanger
- IV. The Politics of Progressivism
 - A. Global scope of Progressive impulse
 - 1. Common strains arising from industrial and urban growth
 - 2. International networks of social reformers
 - 3. Influence of European "social legislation" on American reformers
 - B. Shared premises
 - 1. Commitment to activist government
 - 2. View of freedom as a positive concept
 - a. "Effective freedom"; "power to do things"
 - b. John Dewey, Randolph Bourne
 - 3. Trans-Atlantic scope of Progressive impulse
 - C. State and local reforms; progressivism in municipal and state politics
 - 1. Agendas
 - a. Curbing of political machines
 - b. Regulation of public utilities, railroads, and other business interests
 - c. Taxation of property and corporate wealth
 - d. Improvement and enhancement of public space
 - e. Humanizing of working and living conditions
 - 2. Significant municipal and state Progressives
 - a. Mayors Hazen Pingree (Detroit) and Samuel "Golden Rule" Jones (Toledo)
 - b. Governors Hiram Johnson (California) and Robert M. La Follette (Wisconsin)
 - D. Progressive democracy
 - 1. Expansion and empowerment of electorate

- a. Popular election of U.S. senators, judges
 - b. Primary elections
 - c. Initiatives, referendums, recalls
 - d. Women's suffrage
 - 2. Contraction and curtailment of electorate
 - a. Disfranchisement of southern blacks
 - b. Spread of appointed city commissions or managers
 - c. Narrowing of voting rights for the poor
 - d. Preference for government by experts; Walter Lippmann's *Drift and Mastery*
- E. Women reformers
 - 1. Challenge to political exclusion
 - 2. Crusades to uplift condition of immigrant poor, women, and child laborers
 - a. Settlement house movement
 - b. Government measures to alleviate problems of housing, labor, health
 - c. Racist aspect
 - 3. Leading figures
 - a. Jane Addams (Hull House)
 - b. Julie Lathrop (Children's Bureau)
 - c. Florence Kelley (National Consumers' League)
- F. The campaign for woman suffrage
 - 1. National American Woman Suffrage Association
 - 2. Scattered progress at state and local levels
 - 3. Gathering focus on constitutional amendment
- G. Ambiguities of "maternalist" reform
 - 1. Drive to improve conditions of working women while reconfirming their dependent status
 - a. Mothers' pensions
 - b. Maximum working hours for women (*Muller v. Oregon*; Brandeis brief)
 - 2. Stamping of gender inequality into foundation for welfare state
- H. Native American Progressivism
 - 1. Profile of Indian reformers
 - a. Intellectuals
 - b. Pan-Indian
 - c. Society of American Indians
 - 2. Shared aims
 - a. Highlight plight of Native Americans
 - b. Promote justice for Native Americans
 - 3. Differing aims
 - a. Endorsement of federal Indian policy
 - b. Full citizenship rights
 - c. Self-determination
 - 4. Carlos Montezuma
- V. The Progressive presidents
 - A. Progressivism and the rise of the national state
 - B. Theodore Roosevelt
 - 1. Succession to presidency; reelection in 1904
 - 2. Limits on corporate power
 - a. "Good trusts" and "bad trusts"
 - b. Northern Securities case
 - 3. Mediation between labor and capital; 1902 coal strike arbitration
 - 4. Regulation of business
 - a. Hepburn Act
 - b. Pure Food and Drug Act

- c. Meat Inspection Act
 - 5. Mixed reaction from business
 - 6. Conservation movement
 - a. Late-nineteenth-century antecedents
 - i. Early national parks
 - ii. Sierra Club; John Muir
 - b. Wildlife preserves and national parks
 - c. Balance between development and conservation; Gifford Pinchot
 - d. Water as a key point of contention
- C. William Howard Taft
 - 1. Anointment as successor by Roosevelt; electoral victory over Bryan
 - 2. Partial continuation of Progressive agenda
 - a. Antitrust initiatives
 - i. Standard Oil case
 - ii. American Tobacco case
 - iii. Upholding of "good trust"/"bad trust" distinction by Supreme Court
 - b. Support for graduated income tax (Sixteenth Amendment)
 - 3. Conservative drift; Pinchot-Ballinger affair
- D. Election of 1912
 - 1. Distinctive outlooks on political and economic freedom
 - a. Woodrow Wilson (Democrat; "New Freedom")
 - b. Theodore Roosevelt (Progressive; "New Nationalism")
 - c. William Howard Taft (Republican; conservative wing)
 - d. Eugene V. Debs (Socialist)
 - 2. Wilson victory
- E. Wilson's first-term program
 - 1. Underwood tariff
 - 2. Labor
 - a. Clayton Act
 - b. Keating-Owen Act
 - c. Adamson Act
 - 3. Farmers: Warehouse Act
 - 4. Supervision of economy—expanding role of government
 - a. Federal Reserve System
 - b. Federal Trade Commission