

**CHAPTER**  
**17**

**GUIDED READING** *The Origins of Progressivism*

**Section 1**

**A.** As you read about the era of reform, take notes about the goals, reformers, and successes of the reform movements.

| <b>Social Reforms</b>                 | <b>People and Groups Involved</b> | <b>Successes (laws, legal decisions, etc.)</b> |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Social welfare reform movement     |                                   |  |
| 2. Moral reform movement              |                                   |  |
| 3. Economic reform movement           |                                   |  |
| 4. Movement for industrial efficiency |                                   |  |
| 5. Movement to protect workers        |                                   |  |

| <b>Political Reforms</b>               | <b>People and Groups Involved</b> | <b>Successes (laws, legal decisions, etc.)</b> |
|--|-----------------------------------|--|
| 6. Movement to reform local government |                                   |  |
| 7. State reform of big business        |                                   |  |
| 8. Movement for election reform        |                                   |  |

**B.** On the back of this paper, explain the importance of the following:

**progressive movement**

**prohibition**

**scientific management**

**CHAPTER**  
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**GUIDED READING** *Women in Public Life*

**Section 2**

**A.** As you read this section, take notes to answer the questions.

| 1. What types of jobs were women in each group likely to hold? |                        |                  |           |
|--|------------------------|------------------|-----------|
| Lower Class  | Middle and Upper Class | African American | Immigrant |
|  |                        |                  |           |

|   |
|---|
| 2. How did educational opportunities for middle- and upper-class women change?        |
| 3. How did these new opportunities affect the lives of middle- and upper-class women? |

| 4. What three strategies were adopted by the suffragists to win the vote? |    |    |
|---|----|----|
| a.  | b. | c. |

| 5. What results did each strategy produce? |    |    |
|--|----|----|
| a.   | b. | c. |

**B.** On the back of this paper, explain the significance of each of the following:

**Maria Mitchell    NACW    Susan B. Anthony    NAWSA**

**CHAPTER**  
**17**

**GUIDED READING** *Teddy Roosevelt's Square Deal*

**Section 3**

**A.** As you read this section, write notes to answer questions about President Theodore Roosevelt. If Roosevelt took no steps to solve the problem or if no legislation was involved in solving the problem, write “none.”

| <b>Problem</b>                                | <b>What steps did Roosevelt take to solve each problem?</b> | <b>Which legislation helped solve the problem?</b> |
|---|---|--|
| 1. 1902 coal strike                           |   |  |
| 2. Trusts                                     |   |  |
| 3. Unregulated big business                   |   |  |
| 4. Dangerous foods and medicines              |   |  |
| 5. Shrinking wilderness and natural resources |   |  |
| 6. Racial discrimination                      |   |  |

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**B.** On the back of this paper, explain the importance of each of the following:

**Square Deal      *The Jungle*      Upton Sinclair      NAACP**

**CHAPTER**  
**17**

**GUIDED READING** *Progressivism Under Taft*

**Section 4**

**A.** As you read this section, take notes to answer questions about growing conflicts between reform and business interests.

**In 1912, the Republican Party splits at its convention.**

|   | <b>Progressives</b> | <b>Conservatives</b> |
|---|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Why did they support or oppose Taft?   |                     |                      |
| 2. What party did they form or stay with? |                     |                      |

**In the 1912 election, four parties run candidates.**

|   | <b>Progressive Party</b> | <b>Republican Party</b> | <b>Democratic Party</b> | <b>Socialist Party</b> |
|---|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 3. Who did they run for president?                      |                          |                         |                         |                        |
| 4. What was their candidate's position on big business? |                          |                         |                         |                        |

**B.** On the back of this paper, explain why **Gifford Pinchot** is an important figure in U.S. history.

**CHAPTER**  
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**GUIDED READING** *Wilson's New Freedom*

**Section 5**

As you read about President Wilson's approach to reform, take notes to answer the questions.

| <b>What were the aims of each piece of legislation or constitutional amendment?</b> |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Federal Trade Act  |  |
| 2. Clayton Antitrust Act  |  |
| 3. Underwood Tariff   |  |
| 4. Sixteenth Amendment  |  |
| 5. Federal Reserve Act  |  |

|  |
|--|
| 6. Which three new developments finally brought the success of the women's suffrage movement within reach? |
| 7. Which constitutional amendment recognized women's right to vote?  |

|  |
|--|
| 8. How did Wilson retreat on civil rights? |
|--|

**CHAPTER**  
**17**

**Section 1**

**SKILLBUILDER PRACTICE** *Formulating Historical Questions*

*The passage of the first federal child labor law affected both employers and working families. Yet the law soon was challenged in court. What questions would lead you to find out more about the fate of this important law? Read the passage below, then write your questions about the issue for each category in the chart. (See Skillbuilder Handbook, p. 1044.)*

The first federal law prohibiting interstate trade of items produced by child labor was passed on September 1, 1916. The law did not totally abolish child labor, but it did, in effect, set minimum ages for children working in certain industries and put limits on the hours that children could work. Soon after passage, however, Roland Dagenhart sued to stop enforcement of the law. The U.S. District Court for Dagenhart's state found the federal child labor law to be unconstitutional. However, the U.S. District Attorney who represented the government in the case appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. Arguments of the case before the Supreme Court began on April 15, 1918.

| Types of questions | Your questions |
|--------------------|----------------|
| Who?               |                |
| What?              |                |
| When?              |                |
| Where?             |                |
| How?               |                |
| Why?               |                |



### Interpreting Text and Visuals

1. Which was the first state to grant full suffrage to women? \_\_\_\_\_

How many years before ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment did this happen? \_\_\_\_\_

2. Which other states granted full suffrage to women in the 19th century? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

3. Where, in general, were the states that granted women full suffrage before 1913 located? \_\_\_\_\_

Where, in general, were the states located that failed to give women any voting rights before the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment?

\_\_\_\_\_

4. What was the importance of the year 1913 to the woman suffrage movement? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

5. Explain how the indirect system of voting for president through electors inadvertently helped women gain partial suffrage in several states.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

6. What type of suffrage did women gain in New York in 1917? \_\_\_\_\_

7. Summarize the movement toward woman suffrage from 1913 to 1920. \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



CHAPTER  
**17**

Section 1

**PRIMARY SOURCE** Declaration of the WCTU

*The Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was founded in 1873 to promote the goal of prohibition. In 1902 the WCTU drew up the following declaration. What principles did members of the WCTU support?*

**W**e believe in the coming of His kingdom whose service is perfect freedom, because His laws, written in our members as well as in nature and in grace, are perfect, converting the soul.

We believe in the gospel of the Golden Rule, and that each man's habits of life should be an example safe and beneficent for every other man to follow.

We believe that God created both man and woman in His own image, and, therefore, we believe in one standard of purity for both men and women, and in the equal right of all to hold opinions and to express the same with equal freedom.

We believe in a living wage; in an eight-hour day; in courts of conciliation and arbitration; in justice as opposed to greed of gain; in "peace on earth and goodwill to men."

We therefore formulate and, for ourselves, adopt the following pledge, asking our sisters and brothers of a common danger and a common hope to make common cause with us in working its reasonable and helpful precepts into the practice of everyday life:

I hereby solemnly promise, *God helping me*, to abstain from all distilled, fermented, and malt liquors, including wine, beer, and cider, and to employ all proper means to discourage the use of and traffic in the same.

To conform and enforce the rationale of this pledge, we declare our purpose to educate the young; to form a better public sentiment; to reform so far as possible, by religious, ethical, and scientific means, the drinking classes; to seek the transforming power of Divine Grace for ourselves and all for whom we work, that they and we may willfully transcend no law of pure and wholesome living; and finally we pledge ourselves to labor and to pray that all of these principles, founded upon the Gospel of Christ, may be worked out into the customs of society and the laws of the land.

*from National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Annual Leaflet, 1902. Reprinted in Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1895–1904: Populism, Imperialism, and Reform, vol.12 in The Annals of America (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1968), 503.*

## Discussion Questions

1. What were the WCTU's beliefs and principles?
2. What pledge did members of the WCTU take?
3. Progressive movements in the early 1900s had at least one of these goals: protecting social welfare,

promoting moral improvement, creating economic reform, and fostering efficiency. According to their declaration, which goal or goals did members of the WCTU have?



## Section 1

**PRIMARY SOURCE**

# Child Labor in the Coal Mines

*In 1919 the Children's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor studied child labor in Pennsylvania's anthracite coal-mining region. As you read this excerpt from the study, think about why progressive reformers sought to end child labor.*

These breakers which tower above the town of Shenandoah to the east and the south and the west are great barnlike structures filled with chutes, sliding belts, and great crushing and sorting machines. Around these machines a scaffolding was built on which the workers stand or sit. The coal is raised from the mine to the top of the breaker and dumped down the chute into a crushing machine, which breaks it into somewhat smaller lumps. These are carried along a moving belt or gravity incline on each side of which men and boys stand or sit picking out pieces of slate and any coal which has slate mixed with it. The latter is carried into another crusher, where it is broken again and then carried down chutes to be sorted further by slate pickers or by sorting machines. After the coal has been broken and cleaned of slate or other alien materials, it is sorted by being shaken through a series of screens.

The work in the breakers might be described as disagreeable but much less hazardous than underground mining. As it is not heavy and does not require skill, young boys or the older men are employed. "If you don't die, you wind up in the breakers," one man said. Another remarked, "You begin at the breaker and you end at the breaker, broken yourself." These older men and boys worked in the constant roar which the coal makes as it rushes down the chute, is broken in the crushing machines, or sorted in the shakers. Black coal dust is everywhere, covering the windows and filling the air and the lungs of the workers.

The slate is sharp so that the slate pickers often cut or bruise their hands; the coal is carried down the chute in water and this means sore and swollen hands for the pickers. The first few weeks after a boy begins work, his fingers bleed almost continuously and are called red tops by the other boys. Slate picking is not itself dangerous; the slate picker is, however, sometimes set at cleaning-up jobs, which require him to clean out shakers, the chute, or other machinery. . . .

Accidents that had occurred to boys in the breakers as well as underground were recounted to the Children's Bureau agents. One boy told of a friend who had dropped a new cap in the rollers and how, in trying to pull it out, his arm was

caught, crushed, and twisted. The older brother of another boy, a jig runner, slipped while at work and his arm was caught in the jig [a sorting machine] and mashed. One boy told of the death of another while watching the dam beneath the breaker. He and some of the other breaker boys had helped to extricate the mutilated body from the wheels in which their companion was caught; he himself had held the bag into which the recovered parts of the dead body were put.

As reported by the boys, 42 percent of these accidents kept them from work less than two weeks. . . . According to the reports made to the Children's Bureau, no compensation was paid forty-four boys who were incapacitated for a period of two weeks or more as the result of injuries received while they were employed in the mines, although the Pennsylvania Compensation Law entitled them to receive it.

It would be superfluous to point out that in view of the hazards of mining, young boys should not be employed in the mines or around the breakers. Public opinion had already prohibited underground work in Pennsylvania and in most other states, and the federal government had imposed a penalty in the form of a tax if children under sixteen were employed in or about a mine. The real problem here, as in many other parts of the country, was how to secure the enforcement of the child labor laws that had been enacted.

*from U. S. Department of Labor, *Child Labor and the Welfare of Children in an Anthracite Coal-Mining District* (Washington, D. C.: Children's Bureau Publication No. 106, 1922).*

## Activity Options

1. Imagine you are a boy who works in the anthracite coal mines. Write a diary entry in which you describe your work life and then share it with classmates.
2. As a progressive reformer in the 1900s, write a letter to a newspaper editor. State your opinion on child labor in the coal mines based on your reading of this excerpt. Then read your letter to classmates.

CHAPTER  
**17**

Section 2

PRIMARY SOURCE **Political Poster**

*This political poster was prepared by the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association. What does the poster urge voters to support on November 2 and why?*



Smithsonian Institution. Photo courtesy, Picture Research Consultants.

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**Research Options**

1. Find out more about the methods that woman suffragists used to draw attention to their cause. Then discuss with your classmates which methods might still be used effectively today to convey a political message.
2. Research the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage formed in 1911. Who was its leader? Why did this organization oppose woman suffrage? To share your findings with the class, create an anti-suffrage poster that reflects this organization's position.

CHAPTER  
**17**

## Section 2

**PRIMARY SOURCE** *from* “The Status of Woman”  
by Susan B. Anthony

*For more than 50 years, Susan B. Anthony worked for woman suffrage. As you read this excerpt from an article Anthony wrote in 1897, think about her assessment of women’s status before and after the Seneca Falls Woman’s Rights Convention.*

**F**ifty years ago woman in the United States was without a recognized individuality in any department of life. No provision was made in public or private schools for her education in anything beyond the rudimentary branches. An educated woman was a rarity and was gazed upon with something akin to awe. The women who were known in the world of letters, in the entire country, could be easily counted upon the ten fingers. . . .

Such was the helpless, dependent, fettered condition of woman when the first Woman’s Rights Convention was called just forty-nine years ago, at Seneca Falls, N. Y., by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott. . . .

From that little convention at Seneca Falls, with a following of a handful of women scattered through half-a-dozen different states, we have now the great National Association, with headquarters in New York City, and auxiliaries in almost every state in the Union. These state bodies are effecting a thorough system of county and local organizations for the purpose of securing legislation favorable to women, and especially to obtain amendments to their state constitutions. As evidence of the progress of public opinion, more than half of the legislatures in session during the past winter have discussed and voted upon bills for the enfranchisement of women, and in most of them they were adopted by one branch and lost by a very small majority in the other. The legislatures of Washington and South Dakota have submitted woman-suffrage amendments to their electors for 1898, and vigorous campaigns will be made in those states during the next two years.

For a quarter of a century Wyoming has stood as a conspicuous object lesson in woman suffrage, and is now reinforced by the three neighboring states of Colorado, Utah, and Idaho. With this central group, standing on the very crest of the Rocky Mountains, the spirit of justice and freedom for women cannot fail to descend upon all the Western and Northwestern states. No one who makes a careful study of

this question can help but believe that, in a very few years, all the states west of the Mississippi River will have enfranchised their women.

While the efforts of each state are concentrated upon its own legislature, all of the states combined in the national organization are directing their energies toward securing a Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The demands of this body have been received with respectful and encouraging attention from Congress. . . .

Until woman has obtained “that right protective of all other rights—the ballot,” this agitation must still go on, absorbing the time and energy of our best and strongest women. Who can measure the advantages that would result if the magnificent abilities of these women could be devoted to the needs of government, society, home, instead of being consumed in the struggle to obtain their birthright of individual freedom? Until this be gained we can never know, we cannot even prophesy, the capacity and power of woman for the uplifting of humanity.

It may be delayed longer than we think; it may be here sooner than we expect; but the day will come when man will recognize woman as his peer, not only at the fireside but in the councils of the nation. Then, and not until then, will there be the perfect comradeship, the ideal union between the sexes that shall result in the highest development of the race. What this shall be we may not attempt to define, but this we know, that only good can come to the individual or to the nation through the rendering of exact justice.

*from Susan B. Anthony, “The Status of Woman, Past, Present, and Future,” Arena, May 1897.*

### Discussion Questions

1. How does Anthony view the condition of woman 50 years after the first Woman’s Rights Convention was held?
2. How would you describe Anthony’s attitude toward women gaining the right to vote?

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Section 3

LITERATURE SELECTION *from The Jungle*  
by Upton Sinclair

*Upton Sinclair's shocking portrayal of Chicago slaughterhouses in the early 1900s, as seen through the eyes of Lithuanian immigrants, raised the public's awareness and prompted Congress to pass the Meat Inspection Act and the Pure Food and Drug Act. How do characters in this novel excerpt respond to working in a meatpacking plant?*

Entering one of the Durham buildings, they [Jurgis and Jokubas] found a number of other visitors waiting; and before long there came a guide, to escort them through the place. They make a great feature of showing strangers through the packing plants, for it is a good advertisement. But *ponas* Jokubas whispered maliciously that the visitors did not see any more than the packers wanted them to.

They climbed a long series of stairways outside of the building, to the top of its five or six stories. Here was the chute, with its river of hogs, all patiently toiling upward; there was a place for them to rest to cool off, and then through another passageway they went into a room from which there is no returning for hogs.

It was a long, narrow room, with a gallery along it for visitors. At the head there was a great iron wheel, about twenty feet in circumference, with rings here and there along its edge. Upon both sides of this wheel there was a narrow space, into which came the hogs at the end of their journey; in the midst of them stood a great burly Negro, bare-armed and bare-chested. He was resting for the moment, for the wheel had stopped while men were cleaning up. In a minute or two, however, it began slowly to revolve, and then the men upon each side of it sprang to work. They had chains, which they fastened about the leg of the nearest hog, and the other end of the chain they hooked into one of the rings upon the wheel. So, as the wheel turned, a hog was suddenly jerked off his feet and borne aloft.

At the same instant the ear was assailed by a most terrifying shriek; the visitors started in alarm, the women turned pale and shrank back. The shriek was followed by another, louder and yet more agonizing—for once started upon that journey, the hog never came back; at the top of the wheel he was shunted off upon a trolley, and went sailing down the room. And meantime another was swung up, and then another, and another, until there was a double line of them, each dangling by a foot and kicking in

frenzy—and squealing. The uproar was appalling, perilous to the eardrums; one feared there was too much sound for the room to hold—that the walls must give way or the ceiling crack. There were high squeals and low squeals, grunts, and wails of agony; there would come a momentary lull, and then a fresh outburst, louder than ever, surging up to a deafening climax. It was too much for some of the visitors—the men would look at each other, laughing nervously, and the women would stand with hands clenched, and the blood rushing to their faces, and the tears starting in their eyes.

Meantime, heedless of all these things, the men upon the floor were going about their work. Neither squeals of hogs nor tears of visitors made any difference to them; one by one they hooked up the hogs, and one by one with a swift stroke they slit their throats. There was a long line of hogs, with squeals and lifeblood ebbing away together; until at last each started again, and vanished with a splash into a huge vat of boiling water. . . .

The carcass hog was scooped out of the vat by machinery, and then it fell to the second floor, passing on the way through a wonderful machine with numerous scrapers, which adjusted themselves to the size and shape of the animal, and sent it out at the other end with nearly all of its bristles removed. It was then again strung up by machinery, and sent upon another trolley ride; this time passing between two lines of men, who sat upon a raised platform, each doing a certain single thing to the carcass as it came to him. One scraped the outside of a leg; another scraped the inside of the same leg. One with a swift stroke cut the throat; another with two swift strokes severed the head, which fell to the floor and vanished through a hole. Another made a slit down the body; a second opened the body wider; a third with a saw cut the breastbone; a fourth loosened the entrails; a fifth pulled them out—and they also slid through a hole in the floor. There were men to scrape each side and men to scrape the back; there

were men to clean the carcass inside, to trim it and wash it. Looking down this room, one saw, creeping slowly, a line of dangling hogs a hundred yards in length; and for every yard there was a man, working as if a demon were after him. At the end of the hog's progress every inch of the carcass had been gone over several times; and then it was rolled into the chilling room, where it stayed for twenty-four hours and where a stranger might lose himself in a forest of freezing hogs.

Before the carcass was admitted here, however, it had to pass a government inspector, who sat in the doorway and felt of the glands in the neck for tuberculosis. This government inspector did not have the manner of a man who was worked to death; he was apparently not haunted by a fear that the hog might get by him before he had finished his testing. If you were a sociable person, he was quite willing to enter into a conversation with you, and to explain to you the deadly nature of the ptomaines which are found in tubercular pork; and while he was talking with you you could hardly be so ungrateful as to notice that a dozen carcasses were passing him untouched. This inspector wore a blue uniform, with brass buttons, and he gave an atmosphere of authority to the scene, and, as it were, put the stamp of official approval upon the things which were done in Durham's.

Jurgis went down the line with the rest of the visitors, staring openmouthed, lost in wonder. He had dressed hogs himself in the forest of Lithuania; but he had never expected to live to see one hog dressed by several hundred men. It was like a wonderful poem to him, and he took it all in guilelessly—even to the conspicuous signs demanding immaculate cleanliness of the employees. Jurgis was vexed when the cynical Jokubas translated these signs with sarcastic comments, offering to take them to the secret rooms where the spoiled meats went to be doctored. . . .

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 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 gelatin 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!

## Discussion Questions

1. How does Jurgis react to the tour of Durham's meatpacking plant?
2. In your own words, describe how working in a meatpacking plant affects Ona and Elzbieta.
3. In your opinion, which details in this excerpt most convincingly highlighted problems in the meatpacking industry in the early 1900s?
4. Based on your reading of this excerpt, why do you think Sinclair titled his novel *The Jungle*?

CHAPTER  
**17**

## Section 1

AMERICAN LIVES **Robert M. La Follette**  
*Rebellious Reformer*

*"[Some people urge] 'standing back of the President,' without inquiring whether the President is right or wrong. For myself, I have never subscribed to that doctrine and never shall."—Robert M. La Follette, Senate speech against a declaration of war (1917)*

They called him “Fighting Bob.” From his first election to the end of his life, Robert M. La Follette (1855–1925) was a rebel who tried to reform government and end its control by business interests and party bosses.

La Follette, born on a Wisconsin farm, studied at the state university in Madison while working to help support his family. He developed a skill at public speaking and after college joined the Wisconsin bar.

In 1880, he ran for county district attorney against the wishes of the local Republican leader. Visiting every voter he could, he carried the election and won re-election two years later. He then served three terms in the U.S. House of Representatives. The 1890 election was a disaster for Republicans, though, and La Follette lost his seat. Back in Wisconsin, he broke with Philetus Sawyer, the power behind the state Republican party. He charged that Sawyer tried to bribe him to influence a judge in a case that Sawyer was arguing on behalf of a railroad. The exposure of corruption and the break with party leadership launched La Follette’s career as a reformer.

He tried several times to win the party’s nomination for governor of Wisconsin. Finally, in 1900, La Follette was nominated—and elected. In office he pushed his reform goals: ending party boss control by relying on direct primaries to nominate candidates, making state taxes more fair and equitable by closing business loopholes, and regulating railroad rates. He took his reform plans to the U.S. Senate in 1906.

In the Senate, La Follette again ran afoul of party leaders. He backed the progressive bills that Theodore Roosevelt introduced, but he did not believe the president to be a committed reformer. La Follette hoped to succeed Roosevelt in 1908 as the Republican nominee for president, but the nod, and subsequent election, went to William Howard Taft. As Taft’s term proceeded, La Follette grew increasingly critical. In 1911 he sought support for

a presidential run. Once in 1912, tired from overexertion, he delivered a rambling speech that was seen as sign of a nervous breakdown. La Follette’s supporters deserted him for Roosevelt and the latter’s Bull Moose Party. In the end, Democrat Woodrow Wilson won the election.

La Follette voted for Wilson’s progressive measures but resisted U.S. involvement in World War I. He voted against the declaration of war in 1917. He voted against bills creating a military draft and authorizing the use of borrowed money to meet war costs. Senators attacked him for disloyalty, and he was in danger of receiving censure. But the war ended, and Republicans needed his vote to control the Senate. As a result, the censure move died. After the war he opposed the Treaty of Versailles and League of Nations. He felt the treaty would lead only to “an unjust peace which could only lead to future wars.”

Conservatives took control of the Republican party in the 1920s, but the independent-minded La Follette continued to rebel. Appalled by corruption in the Harding administration, he led Senate investigations of the Teapot Dome scandal. Uniting the progressives from both parties, he ran for president on a third-party ticket in 1924. Though he spent just a fraction of the money spent by Republicans, he pulled in 5 million votes, one-sixth of the total. He won in Wisconsin and finished second in 11 other states. The next year, Republican Party regulars struck back. They stripped La Follette of his Senate committee assignments, ending his authority. La Follette died soon afterward at age 70.

## Questions

1. Cite evidence you find in this biography that supports La Follette’s nickname “Fighting Bob.”
2. Which of La Follette’s reforms do you think had the most lasting impact on American government?
3. How was La Follette punished for rebelling against party leadership?



CHAPTER  
**17**

Section 5

AMERICAN LIVES **Carrie Chapman Catt**  
*Organizer for Women's Rights*

*"Success [in the struggle for woman suffrage] will depend less on the money we are able to command, than upon our combined ability to lift the campaign above this [internal bickering] . . . and to elevate it to the position of a crusade for human freedom."—Carrie Chapman Catt, speech to woman suffrage leaders (1916)*

In 1900, women had struggled to win the right to vote for more than 50 years. That year, Susan B. Anthony retired as leader of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). She chose as her successor Carrie Chapman Catt (1859–1947). By 1920, Catt's "Winning Strategy" had achieved the long-sought goal.

Carrie Lane grew up in the frontier of Iowa, where she learned independence and self-reliance. After graduating from high school, she wanted to attend college but her father refused permission. She worked as a teacher for a year and then entered college as a sophomore, working odd jobs to support herself. After graduation she returned to teaching and quickly became superintendent of schools of a small Iowa city. She married newspaper editor Leo Chapman and worked on his paper. Soon, though, her husband died. In 1890, she attended the first annual meeting of the NAWSA. That same year she married George Catt. A prosperous engineer, he was as committed as his wife to the cause of suffrage. He co-signed a contract with her that stated she would spend one-third of her time in suffrage work.

Catt began to work closely with NAWSA president Susan B. Anthony. She proved to be an exceptional speaker and a skilled organizer and strategist. In 1895 she suggested that NAWSA form an Organizing Committee to coordinate all suffrage efforts. Put in charge of the committee, she trained suffrage workers, organized efforts, and raised money. In 1900, she took over from Anthony as president of NAWSA.

In just a few years, Catt built up NAWSA's organization and treasury. However, her presidency was ended by the illness of her husband. After his death, she devoted herself to pushing for the vote in her home state of New York. By 1915, NAWSA was in trouble. One group wanted to focus on a federal constitutional amendment. This idea was opposed by others who wanted to push the states first. Needing a strong hand, NAWSA turned to

Catt. She agreed to become president, but did not view the task eagerly. "If you have any influence with the divinities," she wrote a friend, "please implore their aid on my behalf."

The next year, Catt launched her "Winning Strategy." In a meeting with NAWSA leaders, she outlined her plan. It combined pushing for a federal constitutional amendment with an active campaign for changes in state constitutions. Catt sensed that gaining partial voting rights for women—voting at least for president, something state legislatures could grant—would in turn create pressure to grant full suffrage through a constitutional amendment.

The next year, the United States entered World War I. Catt urged women to join in the war effort. She believed that such action would help the cause of suffrage. At the same time, she said that NAWSA's "number one war job" was suffrage. The remark drew some criticism. Later that year, New York finally approved women's suffrage. It was an important victory in a populous state and helped convince Congress to approve the Nineteenth Amendment.

In 1919, Catt told NAWSA that it should form the League of Women Voters. She declined to organize it, however, feeling that younger women should take the lead. She devoted the remainder of her life to working for peace groups. She also continued work she had begun in 1902, to encourage woman suffrage in other countries.

## Questions

1. What events in Catt's early association with woman suffrage show her dedication to the cause?
2. Why do you think people criticized Catt for saying that NAWSA should remain dedicated to suffrage during World War I?
3. Evaluate Catt as a strategist.

**CHAPTER**  
**17**  
**Project**

**LIVING HISTORY** *Planning a Suffrage Campaign*

**PLANNING** Decide what central message about suffrage you want to convey. Brainstorm a variety of strategies for getting that message across. Remember that a campaign targets different audiences in different ways. For example, some voters may respond best to television or radio ads, while others may respond to bulletin boards, bumper stickers, or direct mail. Use a chart similar to the one below to record your ideas:

|                            |                                     |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <b>Central message:</b>    |                                     |
| <b>Different audiences</b> | <b>Types of media to reach them</b> |

**DEVELOPING YOUR CAMPAIGN** Here are some suggestions:

- Create a list of voter groups during the Progressive Era. Think first about the political parties of the times as well as major population groups. Don't forget elected officials!
- Come up with specific appeals to reach the different groups of voters you identified. For example, a print ad aimed at older voters might contain an appeal to family, such as "Don't you want your daughter and grand-daughter to participate in our democracy? Then vote for the Nineteenth Amendment."
- Decide on the most effective 20th-century communications method for reaching each group of voters.
- Develop an outline or diagram that shows the various parts of your campaign, connecting the voter group with the specific appeal and the type of media.
- Create the individual ads, commercials, posters, speeches, or other campaign notices, always keeping in mind the voter group and the appeal you're aiming for.
- Be persuasive! You're trying to convince voters to change history.

**PRESENTING** Choose the best part of your campaign to present. You might want to videotape or dramatize a TV commercial; you may choose to display a poster or magazine ad; you could deliver a speech. Place the rest of your campaign plan in your portfolio.



**LIVING HISTORY** *Standards for Evaluating a Suffrage Campaign*

| <b>IDEAS AND CONTENT</b>  | <b>Exceptional</b> | <b>Acceptable</b> | <b>Poor</b> |
|---|--------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| 1. Presents a variety of approaches that comprise an entire campaign              |                    |                   |             |
| 2. Conveys a clear message  |                    |                   |             |
| 3. Maintains a consistent position on the issue                                   |                    |                   |             |
| 4. Uses appropriate appeals for different voter groups in the Progressive Era     |                    |                   |             |
| 5. Appeals to a wide and varied audience  |                    |                   |             |
| <b>INDIVIDUAL PERFORMANCE</b>   |                    |                   |             |
| 6. Reflects knowledge of the suffrage movement                                    |                    |                   |             |
| 7. Demonstrates judgment in the overall campaign plan                             |                    |                   |             |
| 8. Demonstrates judgment in the selection of the best part of campaign to present |                    |                   |             |
| 9. Gives an effective display or delivery of part of campaign                     |                    |                   |             |

Comments \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

Overall Rating \_\_\_\_\_