Materials

Talking Points for teacher reference to support students in using and expanding on what they know on Immigration, the Growth of Cities and the Rise of Big Business (from Enduring Vision, chapter 21, Gilder Lehrman/Digital History)

Immigration
- For the immigrant millions in unsafe factories and unhealthy slums, life was often a desperate cycle of poverty, exhausting labor, and early death.
- Greatest source of urban growth was immigration – soared to all-time highs, especially at Ellis Island, NY’s immigration center: more than 17 million newcomers arrived from 1900 to 1917, and most of them became city dwellers.
- Origins of immigrants
  - Mostly from southern and eastern Europe
  - More than 200,000 Japanese and 40,000 Chinese between 1900 and 1920
  - And thousands of Mexicans migrated northward to work on the railroad
- Reasons for coming to America: desperate economic necessity, fleeing revolutionary upheavals (ex. in Mexico), fleeing religious persecution (eastern European Jews – especially settled in New York’s Lower East Side)

The Growth of Cities
- American city (at this time) had its business elite, newly self-conscious middle class, and its recent immigrants
- From 1860 to 1900: growth of the number of cities
  - 100,000-499,999: 7 cities in 1860; 32 in 1900
  - 500,000 or more: 2 cities in 1860; 6 in 1900
- By 1920 when the nation’s population passed the 50 percent mark, 68 American cities had more than 100,000 inhabitants. From 1900 to 1920:
  - New York City grew by 2.2 million
  - Chicago grew by 1 million
  - Detroit grew by 425,000
- Harsh life in the cities – particularly for the immigrants:
  - Housing: crumbling slum tenements, row houses, rickety three-story structures called triple-deckers.
  - City governments did not provide such basic necessities as safe water, sewage facilities, garbage collection and fire protection, or decent schools and parks. Therefore very bad health conditions and death rates in most crowded immigrant wards twice the national average.
  - City corruption

The Rise of Big Business
- New forms of business organization – corporation – transformed the face of capitalism.
- Late 19th century process of corporate consolidation produced such giant corporations as Carnegie Steel (Andrew Carnegie) and the Standard Oil Trust (John D. Rockefeller).
- Early 20th century saw more consolidation: around 1900, an average of more than 260 companies annually were swallowed up in mergers.
• Pros and cons of big business and the expansion of industry: many workers benefited from prevailing good times:
  o Benefit: Industrial workers average annual wages rose from $532 in late 19th century to $687 by 1915. In railroading and other unionized industries, wages rose still higher.
  o Benefits: As industry grew + vast expansion of predominantly native-born middle class
    ▪ White collar work force expanded rapidly (from 1900 to 1920, it mumped from 5.1 million to 10.5 million)
    ▪ Some professions doubled or tripled (such advertising and civil engineering)
    ▪ Number of secretaries increased by nearly 600 percent
    ▪ Particular impact on women in this new middle class: more opportunities and more frustrations – employment outside the home and more discontent in traditional marriages/families.
  o Costs: such wages could still barely support a wife and a family and left little cushion for emergencies. Therefore to make ends meet, entire immigrant families went to work – rise of child labor.

**Progressive Unit Timeline**

1879  The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was formed with Frances Willard as the president. In 1880, Willard launched a crusade to win the vote for women so they could vote to outlaw liquor. The WCTU believed in a woman’s traditional role in society, and they worked for prison reform, labor arbitration, and public health.

1886  The Haymarket Square bombing in Chicago kills seven police officers and wounds sixty. Anarchist leaders are arrested, three are executed, and none was ever linked to the bombing.

The Knights of Labor, founded in 1869 and led by Terence Powderly, welcomed all wage earners including women and blacks, reached its peak in 1886 of about 750,000 members. They believed in community-wide organizing and offered a far-reaching critique of industrial America. Their organization was undercut by the Haymarket bombing.

The American Federation of Labor (AF of L) was founded, with Samuel Gompers as president. Unlike the Knights of Labor, AF of L’s membership was restricted to skilled craftsmen, did not include women, believed in a stable relationship with business leaders, and did not challenge the existing economic system. They also worked over the years with the national Democratic Party leadership.

1889  Jane Addams founds Hull House settlement house in Chicago. Addams rejected the traditional attitude toward helping the poor (that blamed poverty on individual
moral failure). Drawing on the popular middle-class ideal of true womanhood as supportive and self-sacrificing, Addams turned Hull House into a social center for recent Italian immigrants in the surrounding neighborhoods. Addams and the other young educated women who lived with her as residents at Hull House, held classes in English, civics, cooking, and dressmaking. They also set up a kindergarten, laundry, employment bureau and day nursery for working mothers. And, hoping to upgrade the filthy and overcrowded housing, they published systematic studies of city housing conditions and pressured politicians to enforce sanitary regulations.

1890
By 1890 the seeds of Progressivism were planted. In this period and before farmers had organized into the Populist reform movement.

Under Willard’s leadership the WCTU with nearly 150,000 members became the nation’s first mass organization of women. Through it, women gained experience as lobbyists, organizers, and lecturers, in the process undercutting the assumption of “separate spheres.”

1892
Ellis Island opens to screen immigrants. Twenty million immigrants passed through it before it was closed in 1954.

Homestead Strike. Henry Clay Frick, who managed Andrew Carnegie’s steelworks at Homestead, Pa., cuts wages, precipitating a strike that begins June 26. In a pitched battle with Pinkerton guards, brought in to protect the plant, ten strikers and three Pinkertons are killed. Pennsylvania’s governor then sent in the state militia to protect strikebreakers. The strike ended Nov. 20.

The World’s Columbian Exhibition opens in Chicago to commemorate the 300th anniversary of Columbus’s discovery of the New World. The first features the first Ferris Wheel.

1893
Largely through the work of Florence Kelley (who had been trained at Hull House), Illinois prohibited the employment of children under fourteen in factories – but factory owners evaded this law.

1893-97
Depression and Panic: no depression had ever been as deep and tragic as the one that lasted from 1893-97. Millions suffered unemployment especially during the winters of 1893-94 and 1894-95. Thousands of tramps wandered the country sides in search of food. Cities efforts at relief were not enough.

1894
Coxey’s Army: Five hundred unemployed marched on Washington, DC. Armed police prevented them from entering the Capitol and herded them into camps.

Pullman Strike. Workers at the Pullman sleeping car plant in Chicago go on strike after the company cut wages without reducing rents in company-owned housing. On June 26, the American Railway Union begins to boycott trains carrying Pullman cars.
President Grover Cleveland used military and judicial means to crush striking railroad workers in Chicago.

1895

The national Anti-Saloon League was founded with Howard Russell as their head, and it shifted the emphasis from working with individuals and moral suasion to the legal abolition of alcoholic beverages. They supported prohibition as the cure all for health problems, family disorder, child abuse, political corruption, and workplace inefficiency. The ASL was also supported by the WCTU.

1896

Plessy v. Ferguson. The US Supreme Court rules that segregation of blacks and whites was permitted under the Constitution so long as both races receive equal facilities.

1897

By this time the AF of L had about half a million members.

1898

The battleship Maine blows up and sinks while anchored in Cuba’s Havana harbor. Spanish-American War. As a result of the conflict, the United States acquires Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines.

1899

Florence Kelley became leader of the National Consumers’ League that sought to use organized consumer pressure to force improved factory conditions. Campaigning for a federal child-labor law Kelley angrily asked: “Why are seals, bears, reindeer, fish, wild game in the national parks, buffalo, and migratory birds all found suitable for federal protection, but not children?”

1900

At this point, the number of hours worked per day in industry averaged 9 1/2 and in mills 13 hours.

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) was formed.

Carrie Chapman Catt becomes president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). She followed Susan B. Anthony who retired. Growing ranks of middle class women, increasingly educated, found it absurd that they couldn’t vote particularly when recently arrived immigrant men, often less educated, could vote.

1901

U.S. Steel is organized, becoming the country’s first billion dollar corporation.

President William McKinley is shot in Buffalo, N.Y. by Leon Czolgosz, an anarchist. The president died on September 14, and is succeeded by Theodore Roosevelt.

New York state passed a tenement house law that required fire escapes, light in dark hallways, and a window in each room.

1902

The United Mine Workers stage a strike against coal mine operators to gain not only higher wages and shorter hours, but also recognition as a union. The mine owners refused even to talk to the UMW leaders, but, after five months – with
winter looming and coal supplies dwindling – Roosevelt acted. He summoned the
deadlocked parties to the White House and forced them to accept an arbitration
commission to settle the dispute. The UMW called off the strike. Miners were
granted a 10 percent wage increase and a reduction of the working day from 10 to
9 hours.

Maryland passed a Workmen’s Compensation Law providing benefits for workers
injured on the job.

1903 Illinois passed a law forbidding night work for children under 16.

1904 Theodore Roosevelt elected president.

A group of progressive reformers founded the National Child Labor Committee
whose goal was to abolish child labor. It hired teams of investigators to gather
evidence of children working in harsh conditions and then organized exhibitions
of photographs and statistics to dramatize the plight of these children. Lewis Hine,
a former NYC schoolteacher and photographer, became their most famous
investigative photographer – traveling around the country photographing children
in coal mines, meatpacking houses, textile mills, and canneries.

Lincoln Steffens writes *Shame of the Cities* on political corruption in St. Louis.
One of the first “muckrakers,” Steffens emphasized facts rather than abstractions.
The name muckrakers comes from Roosevelt referring to a character in Bunyan’s
*Pilgrim’s Progress* who spends all his time raking up filth.

1905 Socialists and labor radicals form the International Workers of the World (the
IWW or the Wobblies) in Chicago. Unlike the AFL, which restricted its
membership to skilled craftsmen, the IWW opened membership to any wage
earner regardless of occupation, race, or sex.

1906 Upton Sinclair (another muckraker) publishes *The Jungle*, an expose of working
conditions in Chicago’s meatpacking houses. Sinclair had hoped to generate
sympathy for the working class, but wound up making the public concerned about
adulterated food. “I aimed at the public’s heart,” he quipped, “but by accident hit
it in the stomach.”

The Pure Food and Drug Act bars the sale of adulterated foods and drugs. That
same day, to address the problems of contaminated and mislabeled meat,
Congress passes the Meat Inspection Act providing for enforcement of sanitary
regulations in the meat packing industry.

1907 By this time about 30 states had abolished child labor.

1908 The Supreme Court in the Danbury Hatters case sharply limited unions’ rights to
set up boycotts in support of strikes.

In its decision in Muller v. Oregon, the Supreme Court acknowledged the need for
facts, not just legal arguments, to establish the reasonableness of social legislation. Louis Brandeis, chief counsel for the State of Oregon, used social science data that had been researched by Florence Kelley, to prove the reasonableness of Oregon’s law to restrict the hours that a woman could work.

William Howard Taft, a Republican, elected president.

1909

ILGWU carried out a successful strike in New York City.

Henry Ford introduces his Model T. Priced originally at $850, the Model T’s price had fallen to $240 by 1924.

A biracial group of religious leaders and humanitarians incorporates as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The organization demanded equal civil, political, and educational rights, and enforcement of the 14th and 15th Amendments.

1910

By this time about 400 settlement houses had been established in cities, starting with Jane Addams and Hull House in Chicago. In these settlement houses women, forming the new profession of social work, improved conditions in tenement houses, began the public playground movement, crusaded to abolish child labor, and demanded better hours and wages for working women.

At this point, women could vote in only four sparsely populated western states.

1911

The Triangle Fire took place in New York City killing 146 Jewish and Italian immigrant women working in a shirtwaist factory.

After this fire, New York set up a Factory Investigating Committee and as a result NY enacted 56 worker-protection laws, including ones tightening factory safety standards, permitting pregnancy leaves, and requiring chairs with backs for garment workers who toiled at sewing machines all day.

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was formed – led by Josephine Dodge. The “Antis” leader was the widow of one of New York Cities richest capitalists. The “Antis” believed that women already had vast behind-the-scenes influence, and that to invade the male realm of politics could only diminish their vital moral and spiritual role.

1912

Presidential Election in which ex-president Theodore Roosevelt ran on the newly formed Progressive Party ticket, newcomer Woodrow Wilson ran as a Democrat, William H. Taft ran as a Republican, and Eugene Debs ran as a Socialist. Woodrow Wilson was elected president.

The Progressive Party platform endorsed practically every one of the Progressive reforms including: woman suffrage, the abolition of child labor, the eight-hour workday, workers’ compensation, tariff reduction, business regulation, the direct primary and the direct election of senators.
1913 The 16th Amendment permits an income tax. The federal income tax levies a tax of 1 percent on incomes above $3,000 for single individuals and above $4,000 for married couples. A 1 percent surtax is imposed on incomes above $20,000 rising to 6 percent on those above $500,000.

1914 By 1914 twenty-five states had passed laws making employers liable for job-related injuries and deaths.

The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, by a Serbian nationalist, ignites a chain of events that results in World War I.

1915 D.W. Griffith’s Birth of a Nation made – disparaged blacks and glorified the Ku Klux Klan.

Between 1911 and 1915 there was a renewal of the woman-suffrage movement starting at the grassroots level. In New York, Chicago and Los Angeles and other cities, suffragists developed innovative forms of publicity, including street meetings and parades – and became more militant. Under Carrie Chapman Catt, the NAWSA adopted their “Winning Plan”: grassroots organizing within a frame of tight centralized coordination.

1916 To prevent a nationwide railroad strike, the Adamson Eight-Hour Act mandates an 8-hour work day in the railroad industry.

Clayton Anti-Trust Act passed with a clause that exempted strikes, boycotts and peaceful picketing from the anti-trust laws. Gompers hailed this as “labor’s Magna Carta.”

Keating-Owen Act passed barring from interstate commerce products manufactured by child labor. ** But this was declared unconstitutional in 1918. But this law and others paved the way for the final abolition of child labor by the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, during the New Deal.

Workmen’s Compensation Act provided accident and injury protection for federal workers.

Adamson Act established an 8-hour workday for interstate railway workers.

1917 In a speech asking Congress to declare war against Germany, President Wilson says, “The world must be made safe for democracy.” The United States declares war on the Central Powers. Six Senators and 50 Representatives vote against the declaration. The United States institutes a military draft. All men 21-30 are required to register.

New York state voters approved a woman-suffrage referendum.
In 1917 – a wartime year – Alice Paul and her followers, for woman-suffrage but using different tactics, picketed the White House with signs that said: “President Wilson is deceiving the world when he appears as the prophet of democracy… he is responsible for the disfranchisement of millions of Americans…” Several of the demonstrators were arrested, jailed, and when they went on a hunger strike, force-fed.

During the war thousands of women served directly in the military and in volunteer agencies at home and in France, as well as about 1 million women who began to work in war plants and munitions factories.

1918
President Woodrow Wilson issues his 14 Point plan for a lasting peace. It calls for open peace treaties without secret agreements; freedom of the seas; arms reductions, and establishment of a League of Nations. French Prime Minister Clemenceau responds: “Even God Almighty has only ten.”

A deadly influenza epidemic reaches its height. Altogether, the epidemic killed nearly 500,000 Americans.

1919
The Versailles Peace Treaty ending World War I strips Germany of land and natural resources; mandates steep reductions in the size of the Germany army and navy; and levies punitive reparations later set at $32 billion.

The 18th Amendment to the Constitution bans “the manufacture, sale, or transportation of liquors.” At the time the amendment was adopted, prohibition was already in effect in all southern and western states except California and Louisiana.

By 1919 twenty-six states petitioned Congress to pass a woman-suffrage amendment to the Constitution, and in 1919, by overwhelming margins the House and Senate did just that.

1920
By this time the AF of L had grown from half a million members in 1897 to about four million members. But this number represented only about 20 percent of the non-farm labor force.

Women’s Suffrage, the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is ratified.

### Progressive Unit Timeline Chart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>1879-1899</th>
<th>1900-1910</th>
<th>1911-1920</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. What problems do Progressives</td>
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</table>
seem to be trying to solve?

2. **Who** – individuals and organizations – were the Progressives?

3. **How did** Progressives get people to care about their problems?

4. **What solutions** did they advocate?

**Two Sets of Questions to Use for Your Exhibit**

*Use these questions to analyze the primary sources: photos, cartoons, or documents:*

[are these questions too specific? They are related to the photo in one of the lessons, but is it worth making a more generic version they can use in other contexts?]

1. Answer these questions about each **photo:**
   - What do you see in these photos? Focusing on one photo at a time, have
students describe what they actually see.

- Based on what you see in these photos, what can you infer or conclude about life in New York City in the early 1900s?
- What questions do these photos raise in your mind?

2. Answer these questions about each cartoon:
   - What do you see in the cartoon, including objects and people, as well as caption and words in the cartoon.
   - Which of the things in the cartoons are symbols? What do you think the symbols mean?
   - Explain the message of the cartoon.
   - What people or groups would agree/disagree with the cartoon’s message? Why?

3. Answer these questions about each document:
   - Who is the author? When was it written?
   - What are two things the author said that you think are important?
   - Why do you think this document was written?
   - What question(s) does this document raise in your mind?

When your group has completed the analysis of your primary sources, use your findings to answer these questions about the Progressives:

1. What problems do Progressives seem to be trying to solve?
2. Who – individuals and organizations – were the Progressives?
3. How did Progressives get people to care about their problems?
4. What solutions did they advocate?

Rubric for Progressive Unit Group Exhibit/Presentation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Excellent</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Adequate</th>
<th>Inadequate</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Use of primary sources (photos, documents &amp;/or cartoons)</td>
<td>Strong evidence that all sources are understood and used effectively.</td>
<td>For the most part, sources are understood and used effectively.</td>
<td>Some sources are understood and used effectively.</td>
<td>Sources are not understood and/or are not used effectively.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment of topic conveys who the Progressives were, the problem(s) they tried to solve, their methods</td>
<td>Clearly and thoroughly conveys how their topic was part of the Progressive movement.</td>
<td>For the most part, conveys how their topic was part of the Progressive movement.</td>
<td>Some evidence that their topic was part of the Progressive movement.</td>
<td>Little or no evidence that their topic was part of the Progressive movement.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and impact

| Clarity of exhibit and presentation | Exhibit contains information that is well selected, organized and attractive. Those “being” historical figures are quite convincing. | Much of the information is well selected, organized and attractive. Those “being” historical figures are convincing. | Some of the information is well selected, organized and attractive. Those “being” historical figures are somewhat convincing. | Little of the information is well selected, organized and attractive. Those “being” historical figures are not convincing. |
| Evidence of effective work in groups throughout unit | Strong evidence that members divided work fairly and all made clear contribution to whole. | Evidence that members divided work fairly and most made clear contribution to whole. | Some evidence that members divided work fairly and some made contribution to whole. | Little evidence that members divided work fairly and/or made contribution to whole. |

**Primary Sources on Urban Political Machines**

The “muckrakers” wrote on many subjects, such as child labor, prisons, religion, corporations, and insurance companies, but urban political corruption remained a particularly popular target. Lincoln Steffens was famous for his investigations of urban politics. In 1904 he collected his writings on St. Louis, Minneapolis, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Chicago, and New York into *The Shame of the Cities*. New York political boss George Washington Plunkitt offered his own skeptical and humorous view of Steffens’ book as one chapter in a series of “Plain Talks on Very Practical Politics,” published in 1905.

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From Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities*.

On corruption in Pittsburgh, 1904


Boss Magee’s idea was not to corrupt the city government, but to be it; not to hire votes in councils, but to own councilmen; and so, having seized control of his organization, he nominated cheap or dependent men for the select and common councils. Relatives and friends were his first recourse, then came bartenders, saloon-keepers, liquor dealers....

Businessmen came almost as cheap as politicians, and they came also at the city’s expense....The manufacturers and the merchants were kept well in hand by little municipal grants and privileges....

**Plunkitt’s Plain Talk: Satirizing Steffens**

On *The Shame of the Cities*

[http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5731.html](http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5731.html)

I’ve been readin’ a book by Lincoln Steffens on *The Shame of the Cities*. Steffens means well but, like all reformers, he don’t know how to make distinctions. He can’t see no difference
between honest graft and dishonest graft and, consequent, he gets things all mixed up. There’s
the biggest kind of a difference between political looters and politicians who make a fortune out
of politics by keepin’ their eyes wide open. The looter goes in for himself alone without
considerin’ his organization or his city. The politician looks after his own interests, the
organization’s interests, and the city’s interests all at the same time. See the distinction? For
instance, I ain’t no looter. The looter hogs it. I never hogged. I made my pile in politics, but, at
the same time, I served the organization and got more big improvements for New York City than
any other livin’ man. And I never monkeyed with the penal code.

Cartoon: “Let Us Prey” Thomas Nast
http://www.csubak.edu/~gsantos/cat15.html
Sources on Child Labor

See the website below for background and short biography of Lewis Hine.

1. See Lewis Hine’s photos of child labor in America, 1908-1912
   Go to [http://www.historyplace.com/unitedstates/childlabor/about.htm](http://www.historyplace.com/unitedstates/childlabor/about.htm)
   Read about Lewis Hine and go to his photos of
   ➢ The Mill

Some boys and girls were so small they had to climb up on the spinning frame to mend broken threads and put back the empty bobbins. Bibb Mill No. 1 Macon, Ga.
The overseer said apologetically, “She just happened in.” She was working steadily. The mills seem full of youngsters who “just happened in” or “are helping sister.” Newberry, S.C.
View of the Ewen Breaker of the Pa. Coal Co. The dust was so dense at times as to obscure the view. This dust penetrated the utmost recesses of the boys’ lungs. A kind of slave-driver sometimes stands over the boys, prodding or kicking them into obedience. S. Pittston, Pa.


- The factory 9 p.m. in an Indiana Glass Works.
Young cigar makers in Engelhardt & Co. Three boys looked under 14. Labor leaders told me in busy times many small boys and girls were employed. Youngsters all smoke. Tampa, Fla.

2. Excerpt from John Spargo’s *The Bitter Cry of the Children*
   [http://historymaters.gum.edu/d/5571.html](http://historymaters.gum.edu/d/5571.html)

   **No Rest for the Weary: Children in the Coal Mines**

   *Probably the most influential and certainly the most widely read of the Progressive-era exposés of child labor was John Spargo’s *The Bitter Cry of the Children* (1906). Spargo was a British granite cutter who became a union organizer and socialist and gained his formal education through extension courses at Oxford and Cambridge. In 1901, he emigrated to the United States and in the following excerpt, Spargo described work at the coal breaker, the area outside the mine where coal was sorted and graded, mostly by young children.*

   Work in the coal breakers is exceedingly hard and dangerous. Crouched over the chutes, the boys sit hour after hour, picking out the pieces of slate and other refuse from the coal as it rushes past to the washers. From the cramped position they have to assume, most of them become more or less deformed and bent-backed like old men. When a boy has been working for some time and begins to get round-shouldered, his fellows say that “He’s got his boy to carry round wherever he goes.”

   The coal is hard, and accidents to the hands, such as cut, broken, or crushed fingers, are common among the boys. Sometimes there is a worse accident: a terrified shriek is heard, and a boy is mangled and torn in the machinery, or disappears in the chute to be picked out later smothered
and dead. Clouds of dust fill the breakers and are inhaled by the boys, laying the foundations for asthma and miners’ consumption.

I once stood in a breaker for half an hour and tried to do the work a twelve-year-old boy was doing day after day, for ten hours at a stretch, for sixty cents a day. The gloom of the breaker appalled me. Outside the sun shone brightly, the air was pellucid [clear], and the birds sang in chorus with the trees and the rivers. Within the breaker there was blackness, clouds of deadly dust enfolded everything, the harsh, grinding roar of the machinery and the ceaseless rushing of coal through the chutes filled the ears. I tried to pick out the pieces of slate from the hurrying stream of coal, often missing them; my hands were bruised and cut in a few minutes; I was covered from head to foot with coal dust, and for many hours afterwards I was expectorating some of the small particles of anthracite I had swallowed.

3. From Jane Adams work at Hull House in Chicago [Information to be added about the photos and when and why they were taken.]
See photos:
- Where should children play? Two very different examples
Art education for children

Website: [http://www.uic.edu/jaddams/hull/urbanexp](http://www.uic.edu/jaddams/hull/urbanexp)
Click “images”

Background information about Jane Addams (from Foner, Eric and John A Garraty, eds. *The Reader’s Companion to American History*, pages 11-12)

*Jane Addams (1860-1935), settlement house founder and peace activist. She was one of the most*
distinguished of the first generation of college-educated women, rejecting marriage and motherhood in favor of a lifetime commitment to the poor and social reform. Hull House was a model for settlement work among the poor. Addams responded to the needs of the community by establishing a nursery, dispensary (pharmacy), kindergarten, playground, gymnasium, and cooperative housing for young working women. Addams always insisted that she learned as much from the neighborhood’s residents as she taught them.

She and other Hull House residents sponsored legislation to abolish child labor, establish juvenile courts, limit the hours of working women, recognize labor unions, make school attendance compulsory and ensure safe working conditions in factories. When the Progressive Party adopted many of these reforms in 1912, she seconded the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt for president.
Sources on Working Conditions

   [http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5727.html](http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5727.html)

Upton Sinclair Hits His Readers in the Stomach [HM annotation—cite source]

*In 1904, in the midst of a bitter stockyard strike, socialist writer Upton Sinclair’s two-month visit to Chicago’s “Packingtown” area provided him with a wealth of material that he turned into his best-selling novel, *The Jungle*. The book is best known for revealing the unsanitary process by which animals became meat products. Yet Sinclair’s primary concern was not with the goods that were produced, but with the workers who produced them. Throughout the book, as in this chapter, he described with great accuracy the horrifying physical conditions under which immigrant packing plant workers and their families worked and lived. Sinclair’s graphic descriptions of how meat products were manufactured were an important factor in the subsequent passage of the federal Pure Food and Drug and Meat Inspection Act in 1906. Sinclair later commented about the effect of his novel: “I aimed at the public’s heart and by accident hit its stomach.”*

There were the men in the pickle-rooms, for instance, where old Antanas had gotten his death; scarce a one of these that had not some spot of horror on his person. Let a man so much as scrape his finger pushing a truck in the pickle-rooms, and he might have a sore that would put him out of the world; all the joints in his fingers might be eaten by the acid, one by one. Of the butchers and floorsmen, the beef-boners and trimmers, and all those who used knives, you could scarcely find a person who had the use of his thumb; time and time again the base of it had been slashed, till it was a mere lump of flesh against which the man pressed the knife to hold it. The hands of these men would be criss-crossed with cuts, until you could no longer pretend to count them or to trace them. They would have no nails,—they had worn them off pulling hides; their knuckles were swollen so that their fingers spread out like a fan. There were men who worked in the cooking-rooms, in the midst of steam and sickening odors, by artificial light; in these rooms the germs of tuberculosis might live for two years, but the supply was renewed every hour. There were the beef-luggers, who carried two-hundred-pound quarters into the refrigerator-cars; a fearful kind of work, that began at four o’clock in the morning, and that wore out the most powerful men in a few years. There were those who worked in the chilling-rooms, and whose special disease was rheumatism; the time-limit that a man could work in the chilling-rooms was said to be five years. There were the woolpluckers, whose hands went to pieces even sooner than the hands of the pickle-men; for the pelts of the sheep had to be painted with acid to loosen the wool, and then thepluckers had to pull out this wool with their bare hands, till the acid had eaten their fingers off. There were those who made the tins for the canned-meat; and their hands, too, were a maze of cuts, and each cut represented a chance for blood-poisoning. Some worked at the stamping-machines, and it was very seldom that one could work long there at the pace that was set, and not give out and forget himself, and have a part of his hand chopped off. There were the “hoisters,” as they were called, whose task it was to press the lever which lifted the dead cattle off the floor. They ran along upon a rafter, peering down through the damp and the steam; and as old Durham’s architects had not built the killing-room for the convenience of the hoisters, at every few feet they would have to stoop under a beam, say four feet above the one they ran on; which got them into the habit of stooping, so that in a few years they would be walking like chimpanzees. Worst of any, however, were the fertilizer-men, and those who served in the cooking-rooms. These people could not be shown to the visitor,—for the odor of a fertilizer-man
would scare any ordinary visitor at a hundred yards, and as for the other men, who worked in
tank-rooms full of steam, and in some of which there were open vats near the level of the floor,
their peculiar trouble was that they fell into the vats; and when they were fished out, there was
never enough of them left to be worth exhibiting,—sometimes they would be overlooked for
days, till all but the bones of them had gone out to the world as Durham’s Pure Leaf Lard!

**Source:** Upton Sinclair, *The Jungle* (1905), Chapter Nine.

Wearing Apparel is Fashioned in the Tenements” (1905).
http://acad.smumn.edu/History/contents.html

   *This excerpt is from a speech to the National Consumer’s League, a women’s
organization that became national and pushed for improved working conditions.*

   “… The new law relating to manufacturing in tenement-houses, provides that thirty-three
distinct industries may be carried on in the living rooms of the workers — manufacturing all
of which requires hand work or simple machinery. Every garment worn by a woman is found
being manufactured in tenement rooms. The coarsest home-.wrappers to the daintiest lace
gown for a fine evening function are manufactured in these rooms. Corsets and shoes are the
most uncommon. The adornments of woman’s dress, the flowers and feathers for her hats,
the hats themselves — these I have seen being made in the presence of small-pox, on the
lounge with the patient. In this case the hats belonged to a Broadway firm. All clothing worn
by infants and young children — dainty little dresses — I have seen on the same bed with
children sick of contagious diseases and into these little garments is sewed some of the
contagion. …”

3. Florence Kelley on women workers from “Strength in Numbers: Kelley on Women, Labor,
and the Power of the Ballot” (1898).
http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5314.html

   *Florence Kelley, a Chicago-born labor reformer, socialist, and woman suffrage
advocate, employed pragmatic arguments in support of women’s right to vote. In this
selection from a speech to the 1898 NAWSA convention, Kelly argued that working
women, particularly factory workers, needed the ballot to protect themselves from
exploitation at the hands of their powerful employers. She also argued that working
men needed their feminine counterparts to vote in order to strengthen labor’s presence
at the polls.*

   “The wages paid any body of working people are determined by many influences, chief
among which is the position of the particular body of workers in question. Thus the printers,
by their intelligence, their powerful organization, their solidarity and united action, keep up
their wages in spite of the invasion of their domain by new and improved machinery. On the
other hand, the garment-workers, the sweaters’ victims, poor, unorganized, unintelligent,
despised, remain forever on the verge of pauperism, irrespective of their endless toil. If, now,
by some untoward fate the printers should suddenly find themselves disfranchised, placed in
a position in which their members were politically inferior to the members of other trades, no
effort of their own short of complete enfranchisement could restore to them that prestige, that
good standing in the esteem of their fellow-craftsmen and the public at large which they now enjoy, and which contributes materially in support of their demand for high wages.”

4. See Triangle Fire website for photos (?), cartoon (?) and excerpt from documents: http://www.ilr.cornell.edu/trianglefire/narrative1.html

The fire at the Triangle Waist Company in New York City, which claimed the lives of 146 young immigrant workers, is one of the worst disasters since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. This incident has had great significance to this day because it highlights the inhumane working conditions to which industrial workers can be subjected. To many, its horrors epitomize the extremes of industrialism. The tragedy still dwells in the collective memory of the nation and of the international labor movement. The victims of the tragedy are still celebrated as martyrs at the hands of industrial greed.

See this website for “My First Job” by Rose Cohen, a sweatshop worker and a survivor of the Triangle Factory Fire.


141 Men and Girls Die in Waist Factory Fire; Trapped High Up in Washington Place Building; Street Strewn with Bodies; Piles of Dead Inside

Also see Political Cartoons particularly “Inspector of Buildings”
Sources on the Rise of Organized Labor

1. On the Knights of Labor, see “In the Beginning…” A Knight’s Sacred Oath
http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5047.html

The Knights of Labor, a nineteenth-century labor union, employed elaborate rituals and symbols in their local assembly meetings. The initiation ceremony for new members, for example, relied heavily on religious imagery and language. It also drew on the rituals of other fraternal organizations like the Masons and the Odd Fellows, that had many working-class members. The ceremony emphasized that all that was valuable and worthy in society derived from human labor. New Knights agreed to commit themselves to improve the conditions of all working people. Hundreds of thousands of workers in the 1880s were “baptized” in a Knights of Labor initiation ceremony that required the following promises.

“In the beginning, God ordained that man should labor, not as a curse, but as a blessing; not as a punishment, but as means of development, physically, mentally, morally, and has set thereunto his seal of approval in the rich increase and reward. By labor is brought forward the kindly fruits of the earth in rich abundance for our sustenance and comfort; by labor (not exhaustive) is promoted health of the body and strength of mind, labor garners the priceless stores of wisdom and knowledge. It is the “Philosopher’s Stone,” everything it touches turns to wealth. “Labor is noble and holy.” To glorify God in its exercise, to defend it from degradation, to divest it of the evils to body, mind, and estate, which ignorance and greed have imposed; to rescue the toiler from the grasp of the selfish is a work worthy of the noblest and best of our race.

You have been selected from among your associates for that exalted purpose. Are you willing to accept the responsibility, and, trusting in the support of pledged true Knights, labor, with what ability you possess, for the triumph of these principles among men?”

Source: Illustrated “Adelphon Kruptos”: The Secret Work of the Knights of Labor as quoted in Peter J. Rachleff, Black Labor in the South: Richmond, Virginia, 1865–1890

2. Another view of the Knights of Labor is this excerpt from their leader Terrence Powderly after the Haymarket Affair:
http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/96.html

The Haymarket Affair, as it is known today, began on May 1, 1886 when a labor protester threw a bomb at police, killing one officer, and ended with the arrest of eight anarchist leaders, three of whom were executed and none of whom was ever linked to the bombing. Some labor organizations saw the executed men as martyrs and tried to rally support but in the end, the hanging of the Haymarket anarchists not only emboldened capitalists, it undercut labor unity. Knights of Labor leader Terence V. Powderly was desperate to distance his organization from the accused anarchists and maintain the order’s respectability. In this excerpt from his 1890 autobiography Powderly explained his decision three years earlier to keep mainstream labor out of the furor that surrounded the Haymarket Affair.

“This organization, among other things, is endeavoring to create a healthy public opinion on the subject of labor. Each member is pledged to do that very thing. How can you go back to your homes and say that you have elevated the Order in the eyes of the public by catering to an
element that defies public opinion and attempts to dragoon us into doing the same thing? The eyes of the world are turned toward this convention. For evil or good will the vote you are to cast on this question affect the entire Order, and extreme caution must characterize your action. The Richmond session passed a vote in favor of clemency, but in such a way that the Order could not be identified with the society to which these men belong, and yet thousands have gone from the Order because of it. I tell you the day has come for us to stamp anarchy out of the Order, root and branch. It has no abiding place among us, and we may as well face the issue here and now as later on and at another place. Every device known to the devil and his imps has been resorted to throttle this Order in the hope that on its ruins would rise the strength of anarchy. “

3. See the Labor Question for the cartoon “A Perilous Situation” (1912) about the conflict between labor and capital.
   http://history.osu.edu/projects/1912/labor

The “labor question” was a major concern of Americans in 1912.

Each of the political parties that competed in the election of 1912 developed its own, often very different, position on the question: how to solve the problems of the worker in an industrial society?

Many Americans in 1912 feared that their society was coming apart in a brutal conflict between “capital” and “labor,” leaving the “public” out of the picture. A voter who was forty years of age in 1912 had grown up in a nation where spectacular strikes had disturbed production and often led to violence. This cartoon drawn by Frank Beard in the 1890s captured the widely held
perception that while the two sides were fighting on the plank of greed and threatening financial ruin, other persons were suffering poverty as a result.

4. The American Federation of Labor (AFL)
See the cartoon below about the AFL.
The American Federation of Labor was a “union of unions.” Founded in 1886, the A.F. of L. was the largest labor organization in the United States in 1912. Its president was Samuel Gompers (a Dutch-Jewish immigrant who was a cigar maker by trade). Gompers sought to strengthen the union movement more generally by winning “bread and butter” gains--better hours--especially the 8 hour day and the 48 hour work week--better wages, and better working conditions.


The spreading economic depression of 1893 stirred the American Federation of Labor (AFL), which was sometimes guilty of focusing primarily on the needs of its own members, to call for broad measures that would benefit all working people. The AFL urged the unemployed to hold mass demonstrations. The federation also organized “federal labor unions” of the
jobless. New York’s organized labor movement also protested, as seen in this September 1893 appeal signed by local and national labor leaders, including Samuel Gompers. Although the resolution primarily called on the city to provide “immediate relief and public employment,” it also suggested that the state and federal governments should provide for the unemployed. This claim was part of a long-term shift in which working people and others came to see the needs of the jobless as more than a local obligation (in the manner of traditional poor relief). Only with the New Deal of the 1930s were such demands realized.

“A hundred thousand men, women, and children are nearing the verge of starvation in this rich metropolis of these free United States. Hundreds of thousands of others are within but a short distance from want and its attendant suffering, misery and crime. From all the manufacturing and commercial centres there comes the anxious demand for work, soon we fear to be followed by the despairing cry for bread.

The fields of our matchless domain have blossomed with promise of an abundant harvest and beneath our feet is stored the wealth of ages, of metals and of minerals for the needs of men. The cattle reed upon a thousand hills and our forests covering empires of states crown the earth with glory. All nature smiles with the abundance of prosperous peace. The sword of war is sheathed and pestilence has withdrawn its destroying hand. Invention has quickened production and lessened cost. Electricity and steam have conquered time and space. The North and South, the East and remotest West are one, a grand indissoluble union of independent states. The hands of labor, skilled in every craft, answer the will of an intelligent, industrious, peace-loving people. The untaught, foreign born, oppressed for ages beneath the heel of usurping power, have come to these shores, as our fathers came, to seek a higher and a happier life. The forces of nature and the right good will of millions of workers on farm and sea, in mill and mine, and in all the enterprises of this new world of free men, are united to make this country the home of plenty—the garden and forum of the world.

A few thousand men and women enjoy the opulence of eastern potentates, while abject millions grovel in the dust begging for work and bread. This is the industrial and social exhibit of our Columbian year.

Against these conditions and their inevitable results and against the underlying causes that make poverty the normal condition of the wage-laborer, we, the organized workers of the city of New York, voicing as we do believe the organized labor of the world, enter our serious and determined protest and warning....

We believe that the organization of wage-workers in trade unions is the purest guarantee of a peaceful solution of the world-wide problem: “How to abolish poverty.”
Sources on Women’s Suffrage

1. Cartoons for and against women’s suffrage
http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/ndlpedu/features/timeline/progress/suffrage/cartoon.html
First cartoon:
This political cartoon is of unknown origin, but addresses a woman’s right to vote. Do you think it was designed to promote the cause of women’s suffrage, or not? What messages about women does the cartoon contain? What would you infer about the cartoonist’s attitudes about women’s suffrage?

Second:
Photo and cartoon:

The women arguing for suffrage were taking to the streets by 1912, trying to convince other Americans that their cause had merit and support.

By the 1910s, as historians Eleanor Flexner and Ellen Fitzpatrick argue in Century of Struggle: The Woman’s Rights Movement in the United States, suffragists were using new types of argument as well as new ways of making the argument. For decades, the women and men working for woman suffrage had relied upon more traditional and philosophical arguments, ones based on ideas of liberty, democracy, and fairness. By the 1910s, the emphasis had shifted to more pragmatic arguments, ones based on what women could do to help the country and its residents deal with the problems of mass society and industrial life.

Looking at the following image, what can you determine about the main points the advocates stressed? What symbols and myths do they suggest? How do these images challenge the existing beliefs about women’s roles and abilities? How do they conform? Think also about which women these pictures present. Do you see women from all racial and social classes? If so, is that expected? If not, can you think of possible reasons all groups are not represented?
Woman devotes her time to gossip and clothes because she has nothing else to talk about. Give her somethinginterprets and she will go to be vain and frivolous.
2. Women arguing against suffrage:
A common argument among those opposed to suffrage was that men and women are fundamentally different and that society suffers when either sex tries to perform the duties of the other. Most arguments for suffrage did not contradict the belief in essential sex-based differences; in fact, many suffragists based their case on their belief that society needed the unique interests and abilities of women. Antisuffragists, in contrast, often depicted suffragists as women wanting to be men and questioned the manliness of the men who supported suffrage.

Note the posture and expression of the man in the cartoon. The dog says, “Humph! He's zero in masculinity.” Meanwhile the woman, empowered by the right to vote for the trustees of the state university, tells the man what to do.
Besides arguing that most women did not want to vote and that women were fundamentally different than men and should not involve themselves in “men’s work,” antisuffragists focused their efforts on describing what a world with women voting would look like. Appealing to a conservative, usually white and Christian audience, many antisuffragists highlighted the alleged connections between suffragists and other groups that “threatened” the world as the antis and their audience knew it.

These descriptions included, of course, descriptions of how family life and relationships would change once women got involved in electoral politics.

But the antisuffragists also saw wider, and perhaps even greater, threats to the Christian and capitalist world they cherished.

3. Read the article below form the *New York Times*, April 29, 1917 about Carrie Chapman Catt’s leadership at

http://womhist.binghamton.edu/lobby/doc1.htm

*Suffragists’ Machine - Perfected in All States- Under Mrs. Catt’s Rule*  
Votes for Women Campaign Is Now Run with All the Method of Experienced Men Politicians

When the suffragists, at a mass meeting in Washington recently, offered to the Government the services of 2,000,000 women, the total number of members of their national organization, in case of war, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, their President said:

“We offer services which we can guarantee to perform, because the National American Woman Suffrage Association has the most efficient country organization of any association of women in the United States.”
Women have been supposed to lack the mental qualities required to make good organizers. Whether this is true or not, they have, within the last decade, formed many organizations throughout the country, composed of women brought together by all manner of interests. Mrs. Catt claims that, of these, the National American Woman Suffrage Association stands at the head.

The great political body which the National American Woman Suffrage Association has become has a thorough organization in the State, the Congressional, city, Assembly district, and election district organizations, each working in co-operation with the others, seeking to obtain further co-operation all along the lines from politicians and public officials. Suffrage workers appeal to the President, to Congress, to the Governors, to the different States, Legislatures, Assembly district leaders, and election district captains, and, in addition to all this, other members of the suffrage organization make their appeals, by house-to-house canvass.

The beginning of the organization of the suffragists along the lines of political parties was in 1909. It was the idea of Mrs. Catt, who is recognized as a woman of great breadth of vision and of exceptional executive ability. Mrs. Catt is the President for the second time of the National Suffrage Association. She is also the founder and President of the International American Woman Suffrage Alliance, which is organized in twenty-six countries. Mrs. Catt was about to make a round the world tour to extend this international work when feeling that it was essential to have a thorough working organization among suffragists of this country, she suggested adopting the system which had been found successful by male politicians. She felt that, if politicians and voters were to be influenced, they must be addressed by women of their respective districts.
Sources on the Temperance Movement

1. First is an excerpt from Frances Willard, the leader of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). [http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/92.html](http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/92.html)

“We Sang Rock of Ages”: Frances Willard Battles Alcohol in the late 19th century

Among the social movements joined and led by women in the late 19th century, including unionization and women’s suffrage, none had either the widespread fervor or success enjoyed by the temperance movement. The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), founded in 1873, drew widespread support from labor movements such as the Knights of Labor by linking the fight against liquor with the desire to protect home and family against the ravages of the new industrial order. Frances Willard was one of the leaders of the WCTU who vocally sought the alliance of the temperance movement with Labor. This is a selection from her autobiography.

“The first saloon I ever entered was Sheffner’s, on Market street, Pittsburgh, on my way home. In fact, that was the only glimpse I ever personally had of the Crusade. It had lingered in this dun-colored city well nigh a year and when I visited my old friends at the Pittsburgh Female College I spoke with enthusiasm of the Crusade, and of the women who were, as I judged from a morning paper, still engaged in it here. They looked upon me with astonishment when I proposed to seek out those women and go with them to the saloons, for in the two years that I had taught in Pittsburgh these friends associated me with the recitation room, the Shakspeare Club, the lecture course, the opera, indeed, all the haunts open to me that a literary-minded woman would care to enter. However, they were too polite to desire to disappoint me, and so they had me piloted by some of the factotums of the place to the headquarters of the Crusade, where I was warmly welcomed, and soon found myself walking down street arm in arm with a young teacher from the public school, who said she had a habit of coming in to add one to the procession when her day’s duties were over. We paused in front of the saloon that I have mentioned. The ladies ranged themselves along the curbstone, for they had been forbidden in anywise to incommode the passers-by, being dealt with much more strictly than a drunken man or a heap of dry-goods boxes would be. At a signal from our gray-haired leader, a sweet-voiced woman began to sing, “Jesus the water of life will give,” all our voices soon blending in that sweet song. I think it was the most novel spectacle that I recall. There stood women of undoubted religious devotion and the highest character, most of them crowned with the glory of gray hairs. Along the stony pavement of that stoniest of cities rumbled the heavy wagons, many of them carriers of beer; between us and the saloon in front of which we were drawn up in line, passed the motley throng, almost every man lifting his hat and even the little newsboys doing the same. It was American manhood’s tribute to Christianity and to womanhood, and it was significant and full of pathos. The leader had already asked the saloon-keeper if we might enter, and he had declined, else the prayer-meeting would have occurred inside his door. A sorrowful old lady whose only son had gone to ruin through that very death-trap, knelt on the cold, moist pavement and offered a broken-hearted prayer, while all our heads were bowed. At a signal we moved on and the next saloon-keeper permitted us to enter. I had no more idea of the inward appearance of a saloon than if there had been no such place on earth. I knew nothing of its high, heavily corniced bar, its barrels with the ends all pointed towards the looker-on, each barrel being furnished with a faucet; its shelves glittering with decanters and cut glass, its floors thickly strewn with saw-dust, and here and there a round table with chairs—nor of its abundant fumes, sickening to healthful nostrils. The tall, stately lady who led us, placed her Bible on the bar and read a psalm, whether hortatory or imprecatory, I do not remember, but the spirit of these crusaders was so gentle, I
think it must have been the former. Then we sang “Rock of Ages” as I thought I had never heard it sung before, with a tender confidence to the height of which one does not rise in the easy-going, regulation prayer-meeting, and then one of the older women whispered to me softly that the leader wished to know if I would pray. It was strange, perhaps, but I felt not the least reluctance, and kneeling on that saw-dust floor, with a group of earnest hearts around me, and behind them, filling every corner and extending out into the street, a crowd of unwashed, unkempt, hard-looking drinking men, I was conscious that perhaps never in my life, save beside my sister Mary’s dying bed had I prayed as truly as I did then. This was my Crusade baptism. The next day I went on to the West and within a week had been made president of the Chicago W. C. T. U.

2. Prohibitionist political cartoons: http://history.osu.edu/Projects/Rams_Horn/
From the Anti-Saloon League in The Ram’s Horn in 1896.
“Rescued” and “Protect that Boy” are typical of the prohibitionist view of the need to save children from the life of drink.
And in the “Slave Driver,” appetite is seen as what takes a person into the debauched life.

3. And from the Prohibition Party a cartoon on who and what supports “the liquor traffic.”
   http://prohibition.osu.edu/ProhParty/cartoon2.htm

The liquor traffic is the child of law. It has no inherent right to exist. Whatever gives it its delegated right, perpetuates the traffic. Without the license law, with its provided revenue, the saloon would have to go.

Whether the license is high or low, the principle is the same. The two old parties are always ready to scrub up the statute for the gin-mills, and so help to keep the public conscience quiet, and the traffic at ease.

No wonder the liquor interest slides from one end of the political teter-board to the other in order to keep both old parties alive, and wrangling over old or dead issues.

As sure as fate the “Gold Dust Twins” do the saloon’s work. Fine twins for the gin-mills, but poor for the interests of social order and good government. It is about time that the people quit thinking that the political twins which work for the license system can overthrow the saloon.
The "Gold Dust" Twins DO Her Work.