

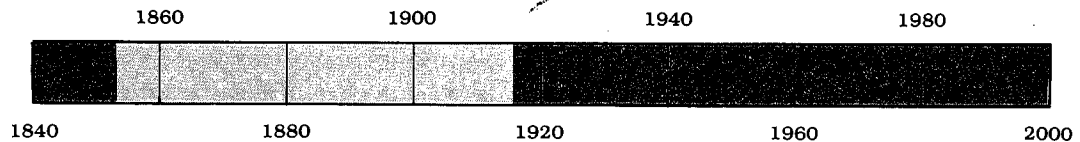
# 3

Part

## Into the 20th Century



# Looking Ahead



The United States went to war with Spain in 1898. In only four months the Americans defeated the Spanish troops in Cuba. Commodore George Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay in the Philippines. The war with Spain was a turning point in American history. It showed that the U.S. had become a world power (a nation powerful enough to affect the rest of the world by its actions). Americans began to take a larger interest in world affairs. In 1900 the U.S. got involved in a full-scale uprising in China. In 1904 it began building the Panama Canal.

This new role as a world power reflected changing times. The America of 1900 was very different from the

America of 100 years earlier. How did it differ? In several important ways:

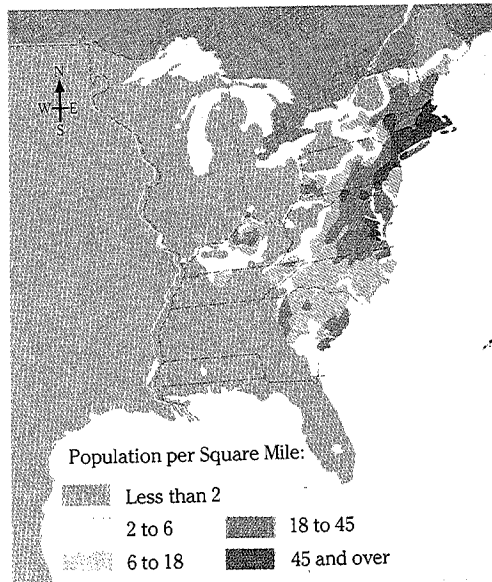
**Size.** In 1800 the United States was very young. It had only 16 states and fewer than six million people. Almost all Americans in those days were country people. They were trying to push the frontier westward. But few settlers had yet reached the Mississippi River.

By 1900 the United States was no longer a new nation. It had been independent for 124 years. It stretched across a continent from ocean to ocean. With 45 states and 76 million people, it was a giant among nations. The frontier had nearly vanished too. Much of the nation's land had now been settled.

**Output.** The United States had also grown into a giant of industry. It produced more steel than any other nation. It sent its factory products to countries all over the world. And the United States was a farming giant. Its farms produced so much food

*"You're not the only rooster in South America," says Europe in this 1901 U.S. cartoon. "I was aware of that when I cooped you up," replies Uncle Sam. Notice that the European powers are "penned in" by the Monroe Doctrine of 1823.*

## U.S. Population Density, 1800



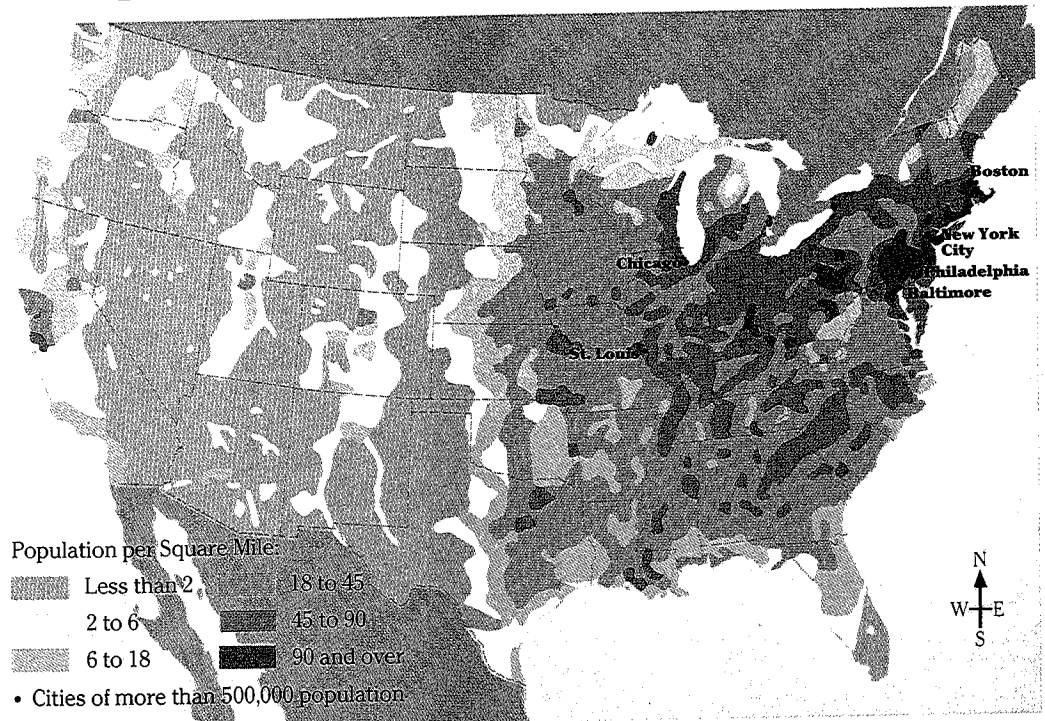
that there was plenty left over to sell to other nations.

**Growth of cities.** The U.S. was becoming an urban nation. In 1800 only about one out of every 12 Americans had lived in cities. By 1900 four out of 10 lived in them. More and more people from the country were moving to cities every day.

The United States in 1900 was a very rich country. But it had its problems too. The great wealth of the nation was not spread evenly. Some people were very wealthy. They seemed to be getting richer all the time. But then there were millions of farmers and working people. They put in long hours for very little money. It was hard for them to make ends meet.

Many people depended on factory wages for a living. These wages were

## U.S. Population Density, 1900



very low. And for the many women and children who worked in mines and factories, the pay was even less. When business was bad, factories could fire their workers or shut down for a while. When that happened, many families went hungry. The government provided no welfare in those days. There was little help for a person who lost his or her job or got hurt. In 1900 there were few laws to see that workers were protected. There were no laws to see that they got a decent wage, either.

Many business owners saw nothing wrong in this. "Business is business," they thought. They kept wages low so that they could make as much profit as possible. They believed that life was a struggle for everyone. Some people were bound to get rich and come out on top. Anyone who did not get rich had not worked hard enough or well enough. That, at least, was the way many of these business leaders looked at the world.

A new form of business—called a trust—had come to control whole industries. Trusts were giant businesses which were made up of several companies. They were run by a common group of managers known as trustees. Trusts were a danger partly because they could charge high prices and get away with it. They had no competition to hold their prices down.

In government there were dangers of another kind. Some states and large cities were controlled by corrupt bosses. Often these bosses gave more thought to their own power than to the people they governed. Some of them took bribes. Others stole from public funds. Still others rigged elec-

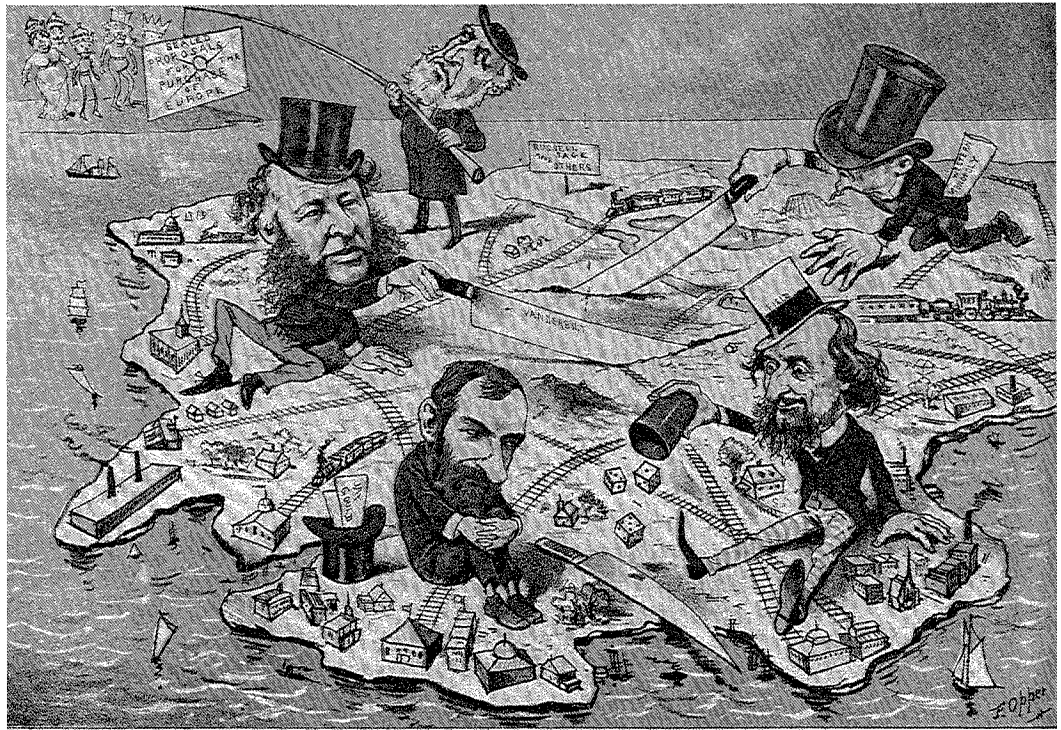
tions so that their candidates were sure to win.

What was the United States to do about such problems? How could it rescue its poor, clean up its politics, and move forward in the most democratic way? This question concerned more and more Americans at the turn of the 20th century. Those it concerned most were people called **progressives**. Progressives belonged to many different political groups. Generally, though, they shared the faith that life could be improved by making reforms in government.

They went about their jobs as reformers in a variety of ways. Progressive journalists, called **muckrakers**, wrote articles about injustice and corruption. Progressive business leaders tried to restore fair competition in the marketplace. Progressive politicians tried to clean up government on the state and city level.

Some of the reforms came from the top. In 1901 the U.S. got its first progressive President, Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt thought of the White House as a "bully pulpit." From this "pulpit" he delivered many "sermons" on how to make the U.S. a better place. In 1912 another progressive, Woodrow Wilson, was elected President. Wilson carried out many of the ideas Roosevelt had mentioned in his "sermons."

All through the Progressive Era, changes were made by passing new laws. Some helped make government more honest and effective. Some protected the public from dishonest businesses. Some made it illegal to restrain trade, as certain large trusts had done. Many states also passed



*This Puck cartoon shows Jay Gould, Cornelius Vanderbilt and other financiers carving up this country and offering to buy Europe. "Let them have it all and be done with it!" said Puck.*

laws to protect working people, especially women and children.

These first years of the 20th century have been called the "good years." And what was so good about them? The U.S. was at peace, but it had been so for most of the 19th century. Businesses were growing, but this was nothing new. These years were "good" because they were years of national self-confidence. People

were sure they could fix anything that went wrong. Not all of them agreed on what was "wrong" or the right way to fix it. But most people believed in their ability to make things work.

America at the turn of the century was bustling and energetic. It was full of pride and full of change. America had come of age and was about to make its mark on the world.

## CHAPTER 14

# The U.S. in the Pacific

**A**merica had always been close to Europe. Most Americans' ancestors had come from there. Europeans were still coming to America by the millions. But the U.S. had ties to the nations of the Pacific too.

American contact with East Asia went back to 1784. In that year a small merchant ship sailed into the harbor of Canton, China. The *Empress of China*, as it was called, had sailed all the way from New York. It brought a cargo of cotton, hardware, and furs. It returned to New York loaded with tea, spices, and silks.

The voyage was a great success. The China trade grew more important. There was a great demand for Chinese goods. Some Americans grew wealthy from this trade.

China was a weak country. Many countries were eager to trade with it. But China's government was not much interested in trading with them. The European powers, especially Britain, took advantage of China's weakness. In 1839 Britain went to war with China. The British

won easily. They forced China to grant them favorable trading rights.

The United States did not follow the British example. But Americans wanted to share in the wealth. In 1844 the Chinese agreed to give the U.S. certain trading rights.

**Trade with Japan.** The United States also wanted to trade with China's neighbor, Japan. But the Japanese did not want to have any contact with the more modern West. In 1853 the U.S. made a bold move. Commodore Matthew C. Perry sailed into Tokyo Bay with a fleet of ships. The Japanese ordered Perry to leave. Perry demanded to see a high-ranking official. For nine tense days, Perry waited. Finally the Japanese gave in and received Perry. When Perry returned the next year, the Japanese signed a trade treaty.

Perry's bold move inspired Japan to become more modern. By 1894 it had grown much stronger. Like the Western powers, the Japanese were now interested in trading with China. But they followed the British



example and went to war. In 1895 Japan won a great victory over the Chinese.

The Japanese triumph worried the European powers. They didn't want Japan taking over China. They hurried to make their own demands. Each country had special military and trading rights in China. These were called **spheres of influence**. The U.S. did not have a sphere of influence. Secretary of State John Hay worried that the U.S. might get shut out of China. He also feared that the European powers and Japan might start a war among themselves.

Hay decided to act. In September 1899 he sent notes to Britain, Germany, Russia, Italy, France, and Japan. He asked these powers to agree to an **Open Door Policy** in China. Businesses of all countries should

have equal rights, Hay said. China should not be carved up. It should remain independent. Its land should not be under foreign control.

The other countries were slow to reply. This didn't stop Hay. He simply announced that all countries had agreed to the policy.

But Hay's efforts came too late to avoid violence. Patriotic Chinese were tired of seeing their rulers give in to foreigners. Most of the trade agreements were unfair to China. Finally a group of Chinese rebelled. Westerners called them the **Boxers**. Their goal was to kill all foreigners or chase them out of China forever.

Most Americans and Europeans in China lived in Peking, the capital. They were housed in walled-in areas called compounds. The compounds were in a separate district of the city.

*When Americans arrived in Japan in 1853, their fleet fascinated the Japanese. This woodblock print was made by a local artist. In the box (top right), the artist included notes on the ship's size and the arms it carried.*





*In 1900, a group known in the West as Boxers tried to rid China of foreigners. This Chinese print takes the Boxers' side.*

Foreigners had little contact with the Chinese. Maybe this was why the Americans and Europeans failed to notice the signs of trouble. Normally the Chinese were respectful to foreigners. But now some of them be-

came less friendly. Some referred to Europeans as "foreign devils."

As the situation grew more serious, the British ambassador called for help. An international brigade of marines arrived. They were Russian, French, Italian, British, and American. Surely, the Europeans thought, this show of force would put a stop to trouble. But this was not a simple mob scene. It was a full-scale uprising.

#### **Rebellion in China.**

On June 20, 1900, all the foreigners and some Chinese Christians took refuge in the British compound. And not a moment too soon. A force of 20,000 Chinese troops attacked the compound. For 55 days, 480 men held off the Chinese troops. More than 200 people in the compound were killed or wounded.

One American leader in the siege was a clergyman. The Reverend Frank D. Gamewell had been an engineer before joining the ministry. He took charge of the defense of the compound. Gamewell turned the compound into a fortress. He built new walls. He reinforced the existing walls. He organized the women to sew sandbags. Pedaling





*Japan and European powers fought one another for the "right" to do business in China. Japan's role was especially resented. This U.S. cartoon asks: "What about China's rights in China?"*

around the compound on his bicycle, Gamewell seemed to be everywhere. And it was the strength of his defenses that saved the day.

Finally, as food was running out, a relief force fought its way into Pe-

king. This force was made up of soldiers from several countries, including 2,500 Americans. With its arrival, the 55-day siege was lifted at last. Then the rebellion was crushed.

Now it was the diplomats' turn again. The European powers insisted the Chinese pay a heavy fine. John Hay saw to it that the relief armies left China. China remained intact. The United States later returned over half of its fine to China. This money was used to set up a fund to bring Chinese students to the U.S.

For the time being, the U.S. had guaranteed the Open Door. It had been able to do so because none of the foreign powers in China trusted the others very much. The U.S. could not yet rival the British or the French in East Asia. But it had made plain its future interest in the area.

## Chapter Check

1. America had contact with East Asia as early as 1784. What was this contact?
2. Commodore Matthew C. Perry has been given credit for opening up trade between the U.S. and Japan. How did he manage to do this? What else could have happened as a result of Perry's action?
3. What was the Open Door Policy? How did it serve U.S. interests?
4. How did the U.S. guarantee the Open Door after the Boxer Rebellion?
5. Some Chinese people agreed with the Boxers, but others did not. If you had lived in China at that time, would you have agreed with the Boxers? Why or why not?

## CHAPTER 15

# War with Spain

**I**t was February 15, 1898. In the harbor of Havana, Cuba, the U.S. battleship *Maine* was at anchor. Cuba was then a Spanish colony struggling for its independence. The *Maine* was there on a "friendly visit." All seemed calm. A bugle had just blown "Taps." The time was 9:40 P.M.

A second later there was a tremendous explosion. The *Maine* blew up! All the lights went out. Fires roared. Shells popped like firecrackers. The screams of wounded and dying men were heard everywhere. Some sailors jumped overboard—and were attacked by sharks. Within minutes the wreck of the *Maine* sank into the mud. Two hundred sixty men were killed.

The *Maine* had been blown up by a mine. That was clear. The question was, Who did it? No one knew the answer then, and it is still a mystery today. But angry Americans blamed the Spanish. Huge newspaper headlines warned: "Remember the *Maine*!"

Many Americans wanted a war

with Spain. They wanted to free the Cuban people from Spanish rule. For years Cuban rebels had been fighting the Spanish. Many had died or been thrown into prison camps. Americans, remembering their own war for independence, wanted to help the Cubans. After all, Cuba was only 90 miles (about 145 kilometers) from the U.S. coast.

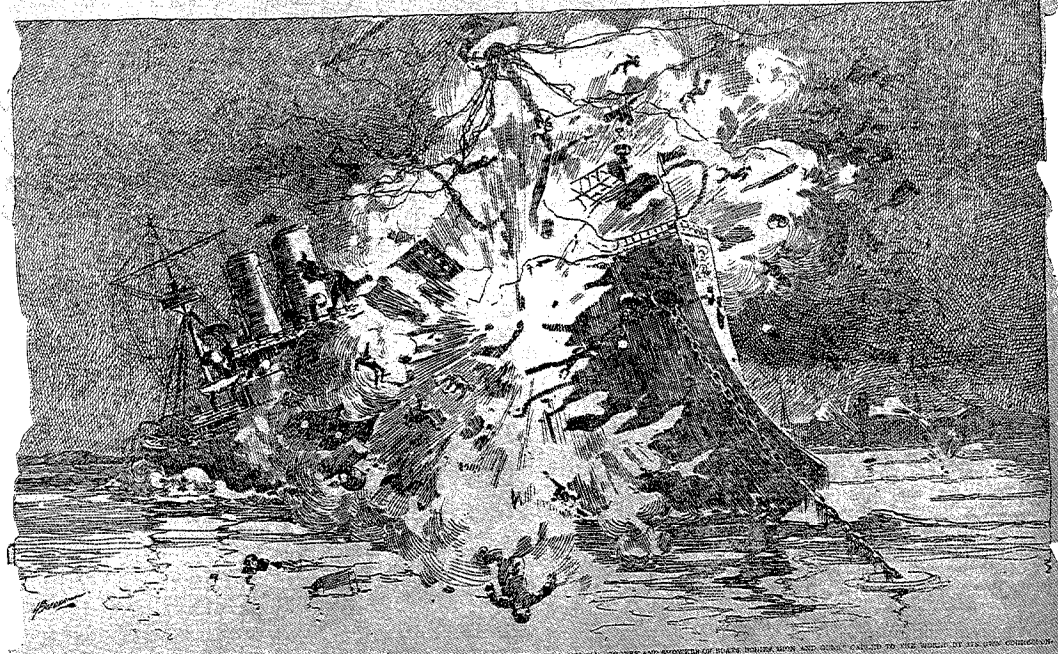
At this time two big-city newspapers were competing heavily for readers. One was the *New York Journal*, owned by William Randolph Hearst. The other was Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*. Both papers sided with the rebels in Cuba. They found that reporting of horror stories from Cuba improved their sales. So the two papers outdid one another in printing sensational stories about Cuba. When there were no stories to report, reporters were told to make them up. These methods came to be known as **yellow journalism**.

At one point, Hearst sent a well-known artist, Frederic Remington, to Cuba. Remington was supposed to

# MAINE EXPLOSION CAUSED BY BOMB OR TORPEDO

Capt. Sigsbee and Consul-General Lee Are in Doubt--The World Has Sent a Special Tug, With Submarine Divers, to Havana to Find Out--Lee Asks for an Immediate Court of Inquiry--260 Men Dead.

A SUPPRESSED DESPATCH TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT, THE CAPTAIN SAYS THE ACCIDENT WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY AN ENEMY. E. C. Pendleton, Just Arrived from Havana, Says He Overheard Talk There of a Plot to Blow Up the Ship--Capt. Zalinski, the Dynamite Expert, and Other Experts Report to The World that the Wreck Was Not Accidental--Washington Officials Ready for Vigorous Action if Spanish Responsibility Can Be Shown--Divers to Be Sent Down to Make Careful Examinations.



**THE WHOLE STORY OF THE DISASTER TOLD IN A FEW WORDS**  
 [Small, illegible text columns providing a summary of the event and the newspaper's editorial stance.]

To this day, no one knows why the Maine exploded. But in 1898, some papers tried to build their sales by offering "causes" of their own making.

draw sketches of the fighting for Hearst's paper. But Remington did not find any fighting, and he wired Hearst to tell him so. Hearst is said to have shot back a quick response: "You furnish the pictures, and I'll furnish the war."

Such journalism further stirred support among many Americans for the Cuban rebels. There were other reasons too for wanting a war. Some Americans who did business in Cuba wanted to make the island part of the United States. Some generals and admirals wanted the U.S. to have Army and Navy bases in Cuba. They thought that control of the island was necessary to the U.S.

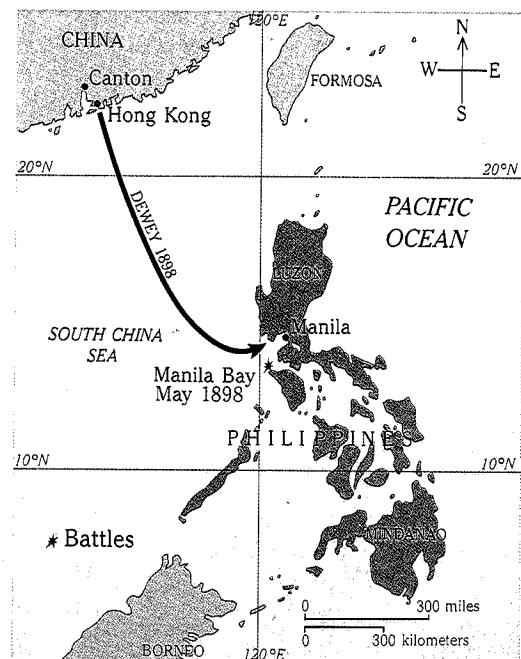
Finally, on April 25, 1898, Congress declared war on Spain. President William McKinley called for 125,000 men to fight.

Early in May, a U.S. fleet under Commodore George Dewey won a big victory. It destroyed a Spanish fleet at Manila Bay, in the Philippines. The Philippine Islands were in East Asia, half a world away from Cuba. But like Cuba, they were a Spanish colony at that time.

Landing the American Army in Cuba took longer. Two months passed before 17,000 troops were put ashore. They were not ready for war. Their rifles were old. They wore heavy woolen uniforms in the jungle heat. Their food was often unfit to eat. Men became ill from bad water and from diseases such as yellow fever and malaria. Yet the Army fought bravely.

**Rough Riders.** With the Army was a special group of cavalry (soldiers who usually fight on horseback). These

## The Spanish-American War



were the "Rough Riders." Many of them were cowboys from the Western states. Colonel Teddy Roosevelt was one of the leaders of the Rough Riders. He was eager to fight and win victories and make a name for himself.

Roosevelt and his Rough Riders became heroes in the battles of Kettle Hill and San Juan Hill. Atop San Juan Hill, a Spanish army was dug in. It was protected by a blockhouse, or fort. The Americans looked like a ribbon of blue as they moved up the hill on foot. The top roared and flashed with fire.

Many Americans fell, sinking into the tall grass. But others charged on bravely, moving higher and higher toward the Spanish position. The fire

of the Spanish riflemen became even more fierce. But the blue line crept up and up. Finally, the Spaniards fired a last volley and fled. San Juan Hill was captured, and the Spanish flag was pulled down.

Soon another Spanish fleet was destroyed at nearby Santiago Bay. Then Spain gave up and signed an **armistice** (a temporary peace agreement). The war was over.

Spain and the U.S. signed a peace treaty the following December. The treaty gave Cuba its independence. It turned over Puerto Rico, another Spanish island in the Caribbean, to the United States. It also gave Guam, an island in the Pacific, to the U.S. The United States paid Spain 20 million dollars for the Philippines.

*Soon after their victory on San Juan Hill, Teddy Roosevelt and his Rough Riders posed for this photo. Roosevelt left his job as Assistant Secretary of the Navy to lead the special cavalry unit when the war against Spain was declared.*





**Broad reach.** Europe was amazed at how fast the U.S. had defeated Spain. It showed that the U.S. was now a world power. The old frontier inside the U.S. was gone. And now the war showed that Americans could reach out beyond their continent—into the Caribbean and thousands of miles away into the Pacific.

Many Americans were also surprised at the result of the war. Some liked the idea of being a “power.” Others did not. They thought that the U.S. now looked too much like the old empire-building nations of Europe. They said that this was wrong for the United States. They said it went against everything the U.S. had stood for in history. There was a great argument about the peace treaty. Some people said that the U.S. had gone to war just to get hold of some colonies for itself.

What did the United States finally do with its “empire”? All in all, it made a fairly good record over the years. It kept its troops in Cuba until 1902. Then they were pulled out, and Cuba became independent. This pleased most Americans. “After all,” they said, “Cuban freedom was what the war was fought for in the first place.” They were also proud that Americans were able to wipe out yellow fever on the island.

The U.S. signed an agreement with Cuba in 1903. The agreement gave the U.S. a lease on the naval base at Guantanamo (gwan-TAHN-uh-moe) Bay. This lease was signed again in 1934. The U.S. still holds this base today.

The United States has also held on to the island of Guam. Today Guam is an important Pacific base for two

military branches—the Navy and the Air Force.

U.S. troops in the Philippines put down a revolt after the Spanish left. Many Filipinos did not want Americans to run their country. They thought that the Americans would govern them the same way the Spanish had. But in 1934 Congress promised independence to the Philippines. This promise was kept. The Philippines became independent on July 4, 1946. This was the 170th birthday of the United States.

Puerto Rico remained a U.S. Territory until 1952. Since then it has been a Commonwealth with close ties to the United States. Puerto Rico has its own constitution and its own government. All Puerto Ricans are citizens of Puerto Rico *and* the United States. But they don't vote in U.S. elections unless they have moved to one of the 50 states.

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## Chapter Check

1. Why did the U.S. go to war with Spain?
2. How did Theodore Roosevelt gain fame in the war?
3. People held different opinions about the peace treaty between the U.S. and Spain. Why did some people think that the U.S. was building an empire?
4. What did the U.S. do with each of the territories it gained?
5. Do you think the U.S. was right in taking these territories as a result of the war? Give reasons for your answer.

## CHAPTER 16

# “Making the Dirt Fly”

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**J**ohn F. Stevens stood on deck as his ship edged to the dock at Colón (kuh-LOAN), Panama. It was a hot, sticky July day in 1905. Stevens had come to Panama to direct the building of the Panama Canal. He was acting under orders from President Theodore Roosevelt to “make the dirt fly.”

From the moment Stevens arrived, he saw that there was more to his job than moving dirt. As he stepped ashore, workers rushed up the gang-plank past him. They were eager to leave the country. Looking around, Stevens saw why. On the dock among the outgoing freight were long wooden boxes—coffins. The Canal Zone had been hit by a disease called yellow fever.

Stevens knew he had his work cut out for him. He also knew that the world would be watching his ditch-digging task with interest. Once completed, the Panama Canal would shorten the journey between the east and west coasts of North and South America. It would save 8,000 miles

(12,800 kilometers) on the ocean passage between New York and San Francisco.

The Spanish-American War had made Americans aware of the problems of defending two coasts. During the war, the battleship *Oregon* had left California to join the fleet in Cuba. Its progress was reported every day in the newspapers. In 68 days the *Oregon* raced around the tip of South America to Cuba. It was a new speed record. But wars could be won or lost in two months. Many Americans began calling for a shortcut across the continent by sea.

After the war the U.S. had an even greater need for a shortcut. Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines were now possessions of the United States. U.S. defense posts stretched halfway around the world. Getting from one area to another became a problem.

Building a canal across Panama was not a new idea. A French company had attempted it in the 1880's. Panama was the narrowest stretch of

land between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans in the entire Western Hemisphere. But the engineering challenge was great. The French company ran out of money and gave up.

**Bargaining with Colombia.** President Roosevelt was eager for a canal across Panama, which was then part of the Republic of Colombia. U.S. Secretary of State John Hay worked out a treaty with Colombia in January 1903. Colombia agreed to sell a strip of land six miles wide to the U.S. The Canal Zone, as this land was called, would run from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. It would be completely under U.S. control.

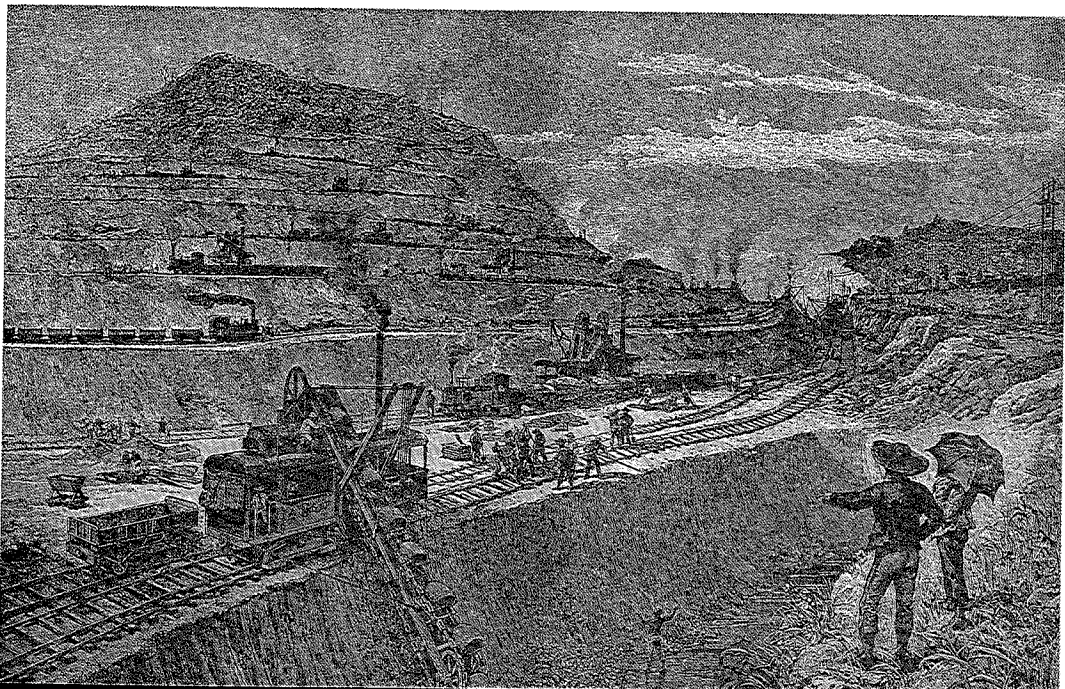
But then Colombia's senate stalled. Many Colombians opposed the treaty because it gave away control of their land. Meanwhile many Panamanians were unhappy under Colombian rule. In November 1903 some of them rebelled. President Roosevelt was furious at Colombia for stalling. U.S. troops were landed in Panama to aid

the rebels. Their revolution was successful. Then the U.S quickly signed a treaty with the new Republic of Panama.

The actual building of the canal began in 1904. There were many problems. Panama was a tropical country. The heat was smothering. Worst of all was the dreaded yellow fever. Yellow fever had been a killer in the Spanish-American War in Cuba. Dr. Walter Reed had discovered that it was carried by certain mosquitoes. His assistant in Cuba was Dr. William Gorgas. Gorgas went to Panama to wipe out yellow fever.

Gorgas' plan was to get rid of the mosquitoes that caused the disease. Mosquitoes bred mostly in swamps and still water. Gorgas decided on a complete clean-up program. He was given a team of workers to perform this job. The men drained swamps. They hunted down water containers, then junked and burned them. They moved workers from their homes.

*It took workers 10 years to complete the 40-mile-long (64-kilometer) Panama Canal. This scene shows workers digging the part of the canal called the Culebra Cut.*



Then they sealed up the cracks, cleaned out dirt, and sprayed the houses with great care.

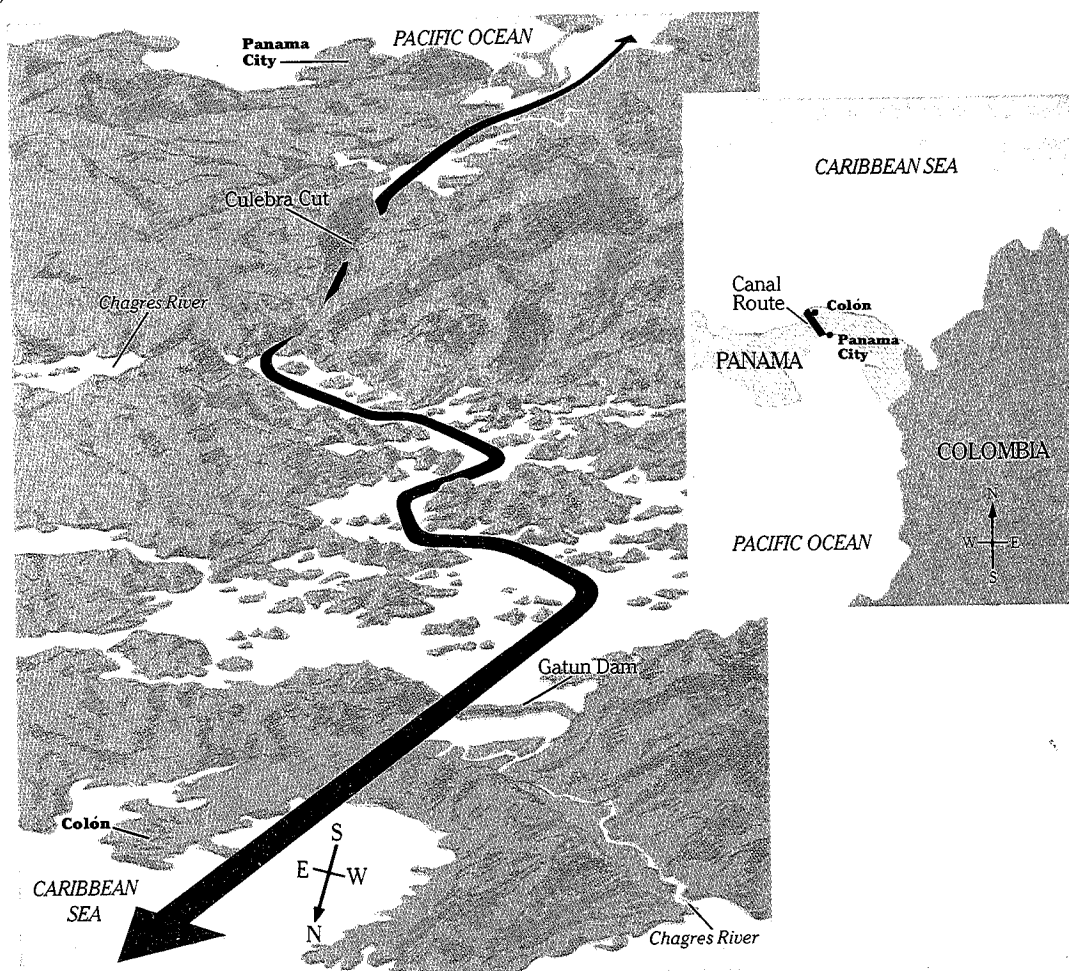
Gorgas was successful. Slowly yellow fever was overcome. It took about a year to make the Canal Zone safe

from the disease. But once it was safe, workers were eager to work on the canal.

**Planning the canal.** Now Stevens turned his attention to the plan for the canal. One plan was to dig a big

## The Panama Canal

The picture-map at left is drawn as though the artist were in an airplane above the Caribbean Sea. Ships sailing through the canal from the Atlantic to the Pacific travel from northwest to southeast.







## CHAPTER 17

# The Cry for Social Justice

**A** scandal was brewing in Minneapolis, Minnesota. The city, it appeared, was in the hands of criminals. They had come at the "invitation" of the mayor, Dr. Amos Alonzo Ames, and his brother, the police chief. The crooks had organized gambling, burglary, and other rackets in Minneapolis. The police protected and even ran some of the rackets.

In 1902, a grand jury was appointed to look into the activities of the mayor and his friends—the "Ames gang." The job of a **grand jury** is to decide whether there is enough evidence to hold a trial. This grand jury came up with a great deal of damaging information on the Ames gang.

Soon, a magazine reporter named Lincoln Steffens arrived from New York. He wrote an article for *McClure's Magazine*, exposing the corrupt government of Minneapolis. The article led to a trial. The Ames gang was broken up, and a new mayor was elected.

**A new kind of reporter.** Steffens was one of a group of reporters called

"muckrakers." The name came from Teddy Roosevelt. He said such reporters raked through the "muck" (filth) to find their stories. Like detectives, the muckrakers investigated their stories carefully, making sure they had all the facts. They wrote mainly about corrupt practices in business and government, and at the time there were plenty of them. But the muckrakers also wrote about social conditions—such as slums—that needed to be changed.

Steffens' articles on corruption in various city governments were collected in a book called *The Shame of the Cities*. He found that many big cities were run by political bosses. Some bosses fixed elections to make sure they won the important offices. Then, said Steffens, they used their positions to steal from the city. Steffens thought that the main source of corruption in government was **privilege**. In this case, privilege meant using money or power to get special favors. These favors could come only at the public's expense. Steffens be-

lieved that government must be restored to the control of the people.

Jacob Riis (rees), another muckraker, showed the terrible conditions of life in the slums. Ida Tarbell wrote a series of articles about the way the Standard Oil Trust operated. Ray Stannard Baker exposed the corrupt practices of railroads.

**Cleaning up government.** Steffens was a progressive. Progressives wanted to improve life by reforming government and business. They also believed that government should regulate business. It was government's role, they argued, to protect the public.

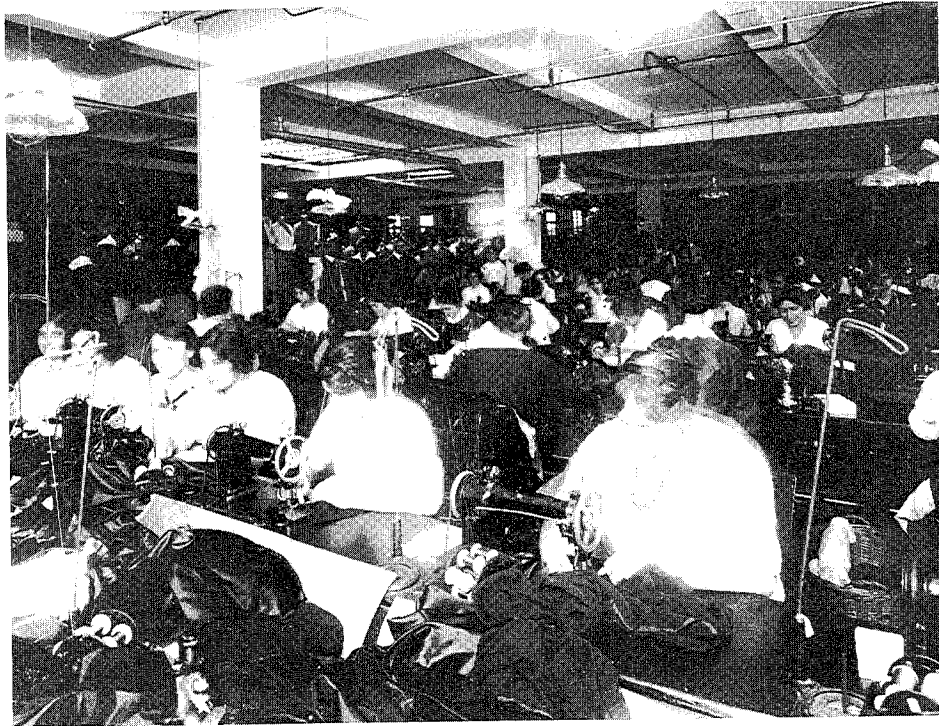
Many of the progressives' reforms are part of government today. One is the **secret ballot**. Under the old voting system, each voter was given a colored ballot. The color indicated which party the voter had chosen. Anyone watching could see which party a voter supported. Bosses could check to make sure people voted the "right" way. With the secret ballot, voters could make their choice privately.

The 17th Amendment to the Constitution (1913) was another progressive reform. This amendment allowed voters to elect U.S. Senators directly. Up to that time, state legislatures had chosen the Senators. The legislatures were often controlled by political bosses who picked their own friends for the Senate. The 17th Amendment provided for a more democratic method of electing U.S. Senators.

**Long hours, low pay.** Progressives also worked for social justice in many areas. They put pressure on state legislatures to pass laws that limited



In 1906, a Puck magazine cartoon made muckraking a laughing matter. It pictured Lincoln Steffens (on the horse) and his boss, S.S. McClure (lower left), as crusaders battling against evil.



*At the turn of the century, many women worked long hours in dark and dreary sweatshops.*

the working hours of women and children. Women and children often worked 12 hours a day in factories and mines. In the clothing industry, they spent their days in factories called sweatshops. Most sweatshops were located in dark, crowded buildings in slums. Nearly two million children between the ages of 10 and 15 worked full-time in 1900. For both women and children, the back-breaking work often resulted in illness, injury, or early death.

What could be done to help such people? Some progressives—mostly women who were housewives or social workers—wanted laws to protect children and to limit working hours. They formed groups such as the Gen-

eral Federation of Women's Clubs and the National Consumers' League to fight for these laws. And they were successful in several states. The problem was that the laws often failed to get past the courts. Judges weighed the well-being of workers against the rights of factory-owners. In most cases, they sided with the owners.

**Muller v. Oregon.** Curt Muller ran a laundry in Portland, Oregon. His employees, mostly women, did the washing and ironing and waited on customers. Muller worked hard and expected his employees to do the same. They had to put in 12-hour days—even though a new state law limited women to 10-hour days.

In 1905, a woman who worked for Muller took him to court. She charged him with breaking the 10-hour law. Muller's attorney challenged the law. He claimed that it interfered with an employer's right to hire and fire employees. He said that the law was unconstitutional.

The case was heard in state courts. Then, in 1907, *Muller v. Oregon* reached the U.S. Supreme Court. The National Consumers' League hired a Boston attorney, Louis D. Brandeis (BRAN-dys), to defend the Oregon law. The challenge was to convince the Supreme Court that long hours of work were unsafe.

**The Brandeis brief.** When Brandeis went before the Court, he presented an unusual brief. (A brief is a lawyer's formal argument.) It contained little in the way of legal arguments and past court decisions. Instead, his brief presented an enormous quantity of information—more than 100 pages—on the effects of tiredness on accident rates. The facts showed that long hours were harmful for women workers. The Court was convinced by Brandeis' argument and upheld the Oregon law. The Justices agreed that facts were needed to rule on cases of this kind.

Curt Muller was fined only \$10 for breaking the law. But *Muller v. Oregon* was a turning point. The Supreme Court had opened the door to social reform. Between 1909 and 1917, 39 states passed new laws or strengthened old ones to limit work-

ing hours. The progressives had succeeded in making government look after the public interest.

The greatest contribution of the progressives, however, was to make people more aware of their government. In a democracy, said the progressives, people must pay attention to government. Otherwise, corruption will develop. All across the nation, the progressives aroused concern for "good government."

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## Chapter Check

1. Name four well-known muckrakers. On which problems did they focus public attention?
2. What was the purpose of the 17th Amendment? Why was this reform needed?
3. How did the progressives work for changes in working hours? How did Louis Brandeis convince the Supreme Court that long working hours were unsafe?
4. Progressives introduced a new ideal to government. They said it was the job of government to protect the public interest. Think about the ways government influences your life. What effect does the government have on the school you attend, the housing you live in, and the food you eat? Is government control always helpful? If not, why not? When is it most helpful?

## CHAPTER 18

# “Reform in a Derby”

**N**ewspaper editor William Allen White had a gift for making up catch-phrases. Few of his phrases were more fitting than the one he applied to President Theodore (Teddy) Roosevelt. “Teddy,” White wrote, “was reform in a derby.” In White’s day, derby hats were symbols of wealth. White meant that although Roosevelt was a well-to-do man, he wanted to make life better for everyone. White added that Roosevelt’s derby was “the most fashionable derby you ever saw.”

Roosevelt had come from a New York family of moderate wealth. He was a man of high spirits and enormous energy. He went into politics in 1881. He won election to the New York Assembly as a Republican from New York City. In those days, crooked political bosses ran both the Democratic and Republican parties in New York. But Roosevelt soon showed the bosses they couldn’t push him around. He became well known for his honesty and for his fight against slum conditions in New

York City.

**Rise to fame.** When the Spanish-American War began, Roosevelt was Assistant Secretary of the Navy. He could have stayed behind a desk. But Roosevelt quit his Navy job and formed an outfit of cavalry (horse soldiers). They were known as the Rough Riders. Roosevelt personally led his outfit in a charge of San Juan Hill in Cuba. Many newspapers carried stories about Teddy and his Rough Riders, and they became heroes back home.

Roosevelt was soon elected governor of New York and then Vice-President of the United States. On September 6, 1901, President McKinley was shot by an assassin. He died a few days later. At 42, Theodore Roosevelt became the youngest President in American history.

**“Trust-Buster.”** As President, Roosevelt attacked the giant business trusts. The trusts were powerful enough to charge high prices and get away with it. In 1890, Congress had passed the Sherman Antitrust Act to



control the trusts. Now Roosevelt moved to enforce the law. At his direction, government lawyers filed suit against 44 large companies. He charged that they violated the Sherman Antitrust Act. His actions were very popular, and people called him the "Trust-Buster."

**Business v. labor.** Busting trusts was only the beginning. Roosevelt made efforts to control big business in other ways. In the past, Presidents had usually sided with business owners in their dealings with labor unions. But Roosevelt accepted the rights of both business and labor. In one famous case, however, he did not take sides. Instead, he thought the

rights of the general public came first.

In the fall of 1902, the nation's coal miners went on strike. The strike threatened to leave homes, schools, and hospitals without heat. Roosevelt was unable to bring the two sides together. So he took action. He threatened to send in the Army to operate the coal fields. As a result, the strike was soon settled. This was the first time the federal government had stepped into a labor dispute to get both sides to work out an agreement.

Roosevelt carried out many other reforms in the interest of the public. He got Congress to pass a law forbid-

*Congress passed the Sherman Antitrust Act in 1890. But by 1903, there were more than 300 giant trusts. John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Trust was one of the biggest. The magazine Puck saw this many-armed monster gobbling up everything—from steel companies to the Capitol. Not even the White House was safe.*





*In 1912, after serving two terms as President, Teddy Roosevelt again ran for the nation's highest office. He survived an assassination attempt made during the campaign, but lost the election to Woodrow Wilson.*

ding the sale of dangerous or fake drugs and impure food. He created five national parks and more than 50 wildlife preserves. He added millions of acres to forest reserves. In fact, he did more to conserve America's wilderness than any President before him.

Roosevelt's progressive ideas were called the **Square Deal**. This meant he wanted to give the average American a fair share of America's opportunities and riches. Some critics charged he was not enough of a reformer. But he remained popular with the voters.

**Third-party fight.** Roosevelt decided not to run for re-election in 1908. Four years later, reform Republicans asked him to run again. Roosevelt tried to regain leadership of the

party. But the Republican party backed President William Howard Taft. When Taft was chosen as the party candidate at the 1912 Republican convention, Roosevelt's supporters walked out.

They formed a third party—the Progressive party. Roosevelt, Taft, and Democrat Woodrow Wilson competed in a three-way race for the Presidency. Roosevelt put up a good fight as usual. He got more votes than Taft, but not as many as Wilson. Wilson became the new President. After the election, Roosevelt retired from active politics.

In the first few years of this century, Roosevelt had shown Americans that they could make reform work. He had also widened the powers of the President. He had used his position as leader to call the people's attention to problems at home and abroad. For this reason, he is often called "the first modern President."

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## Chapter Check

1. What is the meaning of the phrase "reform in a derby"? Who was the first to use it?
2. In what ways did Teddy Roosevelt try to make life better for everyone?
3. In 1902, the nation's coal miners went on strike. What did Teddy Roosevelt do about the strike? Do you think it was the right thing to do in this situation? Why or why not?
4. Theodore Roosevelt has been called the nation's "first modern President." Do you think this term is appropriate? Give your reasons.

# Looking Back: Into the 20th Century

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## MAIN EVENTS

1. The U.S. has had interests in East Asia since 1784. Japan was opened to trade in 1853. In 1899, the U.S. announced the Open Door Policy in China.
2. The U.S. went to war with Spain in 1898. As a result of the war, Cuba became independent, Puerto Rico and Guam became territories of the U.S., and the U.S. bought the Philippines from Spain. The U.S. had become a world power. Some Americans were concerned that the U.S. was building a colonial empire.
3. The Panama Canal, begun under Teddy Roosevelt, was completed in 1914. It shortened the sea route between New York and San Francisco by about 8,000 miles (12,800 kilometers).
4. By 1900, the U.S. had grown into a major world nation in area and population. It had 45 states and a population of 76 million.
5. The progressive movement of the early 1900's helped make the public more aware of corruption and social injustice. Reforms such as the secret ballot, the 17th Amendment, and a limit on working hours resulted from the public interest in government.
6. President Teddy Roosevelt wanted to give the average American a fair share of America's opportunities and riches. He recognized the rights of both business and labor. Teddy Roosevelt has been called "the first modern President."

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## WORDS TO KNOW

The sentences below contain vocabulary terms used in Part 3. Number your paper from 1 to 11 and then explain in writing each of the terms shown in **bold** print.

1. Japan and Britain had **spheres of influence** in China.
2. John Hay asked Japan and the European powers to agree to an **Open Door Policy** in China.
3. After its fleet was destroyed at

Santiago Bay, Spain signed an **armistice**.

4. Lincoln Steffens was a **muck-raker** who wrote an article about the corrupt government of Minneapolis.
5. In 1902, a **grand jury** was appointed to look into the activities of the "Ames gang" in Minneapolis.
6. The **progressives** tried to make the public aware of social injustice and corruption in business and government.
7. The **secret ballot** was a progressive reform in the voting procedure.
8. The **Boxers** wanted to chase all foreigners out of China.
9. Teddy Roosevelt's progressive ideas were called the **Square Deal**.
10. In the Spanish-American War, some newspapers increased their sales by using methods known as **yellow journalism**.
11. Lincoln Steffens thought that **privilege** was the main source of corruption in government.

### THINKING AND WRITING

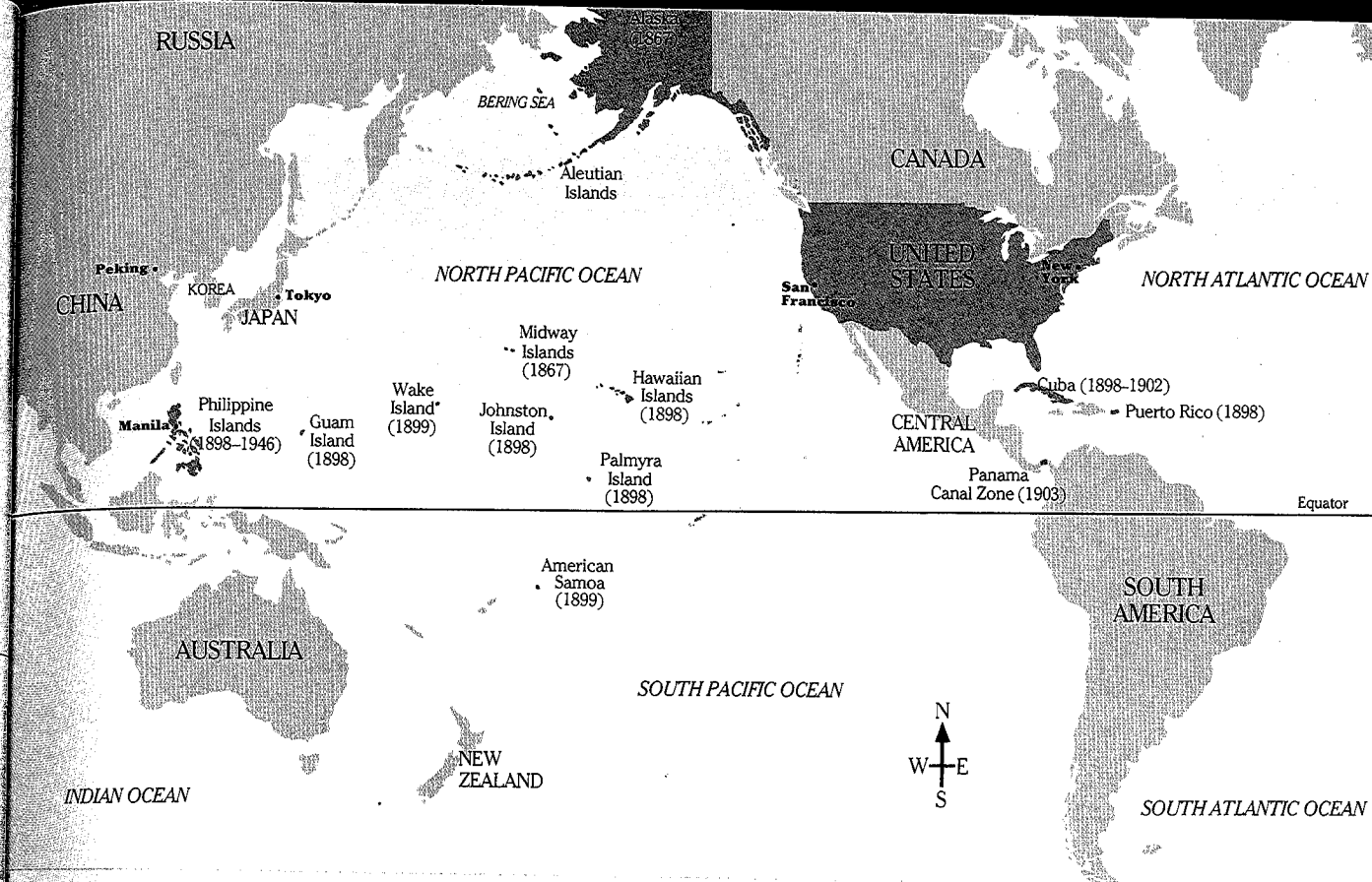
Below are two paragraphs taken from the text. Each paragraph is followed by three statements. After you read each paragraph, select the statement that best identifies the main idea. Write the main idea on your paper, and then write three details from the paragraph that support your choice.

1. "A second later there was a tremendous explosion. The *Maine* blew up! All the lights went out. Fires roared. Shells popped like firecrackers. The screams of wounded and dying men were heard everywhere. Some sailors jumped overboard—and were attacked by sharks. Within minutes the wreck of the *Maine* sank into the mud. Two hundred sixty men were killed."

(a) Sailors jumped overboard and were attacked by sharks. (b) The Spanish had planted a mine on the *Maine*. (c) The *Maine* blew up.

2. "At this time two big-city newspapers were competing heavily for readers. One was the *New York Journal*, owned by William Randolph Hearst. The other was Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*. Both papers sided with the rebels in Cuba. They found that reporting of horror stories from Cuba improved their sales. So the two papers outdid one another in printing sensational stories about Cuba. When there were no stories to report, reporters were told to make them up. These methods came to be known as yellow journalism."

(a) Both papers sided with the rebels in Cuba. (b) Two newspapers used yellow journalism to sell more papers. (c) Reporters liked to work for these New York papers because if there were no news stories, they could make them up.



## United States and Possessions, 1867-1903

### SHARPENING YOUR SKILLS

By 1903 the U.S. held possessions stretching halfway around the globe. Exactly where were these areas? Find out by studying the map shown above.

1. Which of the areas shown became U.S. possessions in 1898?
2. Which of the U.S. possessions shown were *not* islands?
3. Two areas which were possessions in 1903 are now states of the U.S. Which areas are these?
4. What possession of the U.S. in 1903 is now an independent country?
5. One possession of the U.S. in 1898 is now called a Commonwealth. It has close ties to the United States, and its people are American citizens. Which area is that?