

**AP[®] UNITED STATES HISTORY
2006 SCORING GUIDELINES**

Question 4

Historians have argued that Progressive reform lost momentum in the 1920's. Evaluate this statement with respect to TWO of the following:

- Regulation of business
- Labor
- Immigrants

The 8–9 Essay

- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that evaluates whether or not Progressive reform lost momentum in the 1920's.
- Develops the thesis with substantial and specific relevant historical information.
- Provides effective analysis of Progressive reform before and during the 1920's; treatment may be somewhat uneven.
- Provides effective analysis of TWO topics (regulation of business/labor/immigrants); treatment of topics may be somewhat uneven.
- May contain minor errors that do not detract from the overall quality of the essay.
- Is well organized and well written.

The 5–7 Essay

- Contains a thesis that partially evaluates whether or not Progressive reform lost momentum in the 1920's.
- Supports the thesis with some relevant and specific historical information.
- Provides some analysis of Progressive reform before and during the 1920's; treatment may be substantially uneven.
- Provides some analysis of TWO topics (regulation of business/labor/immigrants); treatment of topics may be substantially uneven.
- May contain errors that do not seriously detract from the quality of the essay.
- Has acceptable organization and writing.

The 2–4 Essay

- Contains a confused or unfocused thesis or may simply restate the question.
- Provides minimal relevant information or lists facts with little or no application to the question.
- Offers minimal consideration of Progressive reform before and during the 1920's or consideration of Progressive reform only before the 1920's.
- Addresses only ONE topic (regulation of business/labor/immigrants) or describes TWO topics in a general way.
- May contain major errors.
- May be poorly organized and/or poorly written.

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Question 4 (continued)

The 0–1 Essay

- Lacks a thesis or paraphrases the question.
- Demonstrates an incompetent or inappropriate response.
- Has little or no understanding of the question.
- Contains substantial errors.
- Is poorly organized and/or poorly written.

The — Essay

- Is blank or completely off task.

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Question 4 Information List

REGULATION OF BUSINESS

Progressive Reform

- Middle class reformers and intellectuals (Steffens, Tarbell, Sinclair, muckrakers, social gospel).
- State governments (e.g., Wisconsin, LaFollette) regulate business practices.
- Anti-trust activities
 - Use of Sherman Anti-Trust Act (1890)
 - Teddy Roosevelt: “Square Deal”; reputation for trust busting (Northern Securities/Standard Oil); wanted regulation by government rather than dissolution; “gentlemen’s agreements”; “good” vs. “bad” trusts
 - Taft: anti-trust suits 1911 against U.S. Steel, Standard Oil
 - “Rule of reason” by Supreme Court (*Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey v. United States*, 1910)
- Department of Commerce and Labor (1903) created Bureau of Corporations; split into two departments in 1913.
- Elkins Act (1903) made rebates illegal on both railroads and shippers.
- Hepburn Act (1906) strengthened Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC); allowed ICC to set maximum railroad rates and inspect finances.
- Pure Food and Drug Act (1906) established Food and Drug Administration (FDA).
- Meat Inspection Act (1906) established Department of Agriculture to inspect and label meat.
- Payne–Aldrich Tariff (1909) reduced tariff rates from 46 percent to 41 percent but exempted many items.
- Mann–Elkins Act (1910) strengthened Elkins Act.
- Teddy Roosevelt’s “New Nationalism” (1912): use power of federal government to regulate industry.
- Woodrow Wilson’s “New Freedom” (1912): federal government should use its limited power to break up concentrated economic power and restore competition.
- Federal Reserve Act (1913): some public control over banking, although Wilson made conservative appointments to Federal Reserve Board.
- Underwood Tariff (1913) (27 percent rate).
- Federal Trade Commission Act (1914) established Federal Trade Commission (FTC); regulated unfair practices in interstate trade.
- Clayton Anti-Trust Act (1914) strengthened Sherman Anti-Trust Act; exempted labor unions from anti-trust prosecution.
- World War I more regulation of business; Wilson supported government–industry agreements; War Industries Board (1917); Railroad Administration (1917).

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Question 4 Information List (continued)

1920's

- World War I and Red Scare discouraged economic reform (accusations of socialism/communism).
- Economic boom and general prosperity inhibits calls for business regulation. (Coolidge: “The business of America is business. The man who builds a factory builds a temple. The man who works there worships there.”)
- Expansion of business/consumerism/mass production (e.g., Ford).
- Business managers get more respect due to wartime contributions (e.g., Hoover and World War I Food Administration).
- Trend toward business consolidation (mergers in steel, meat packing); trade associations, “regulated competition.”
- Republican presidential administrations (Harding, Coolidge, Hoover) tried to help business (“hands off” attitude toward regulation; ignored anti-trust laws).
- ICC and FTC became pro-business agencies.
- Corruption in Harding administration involving business: Teapot Dome (1921).
- Secretary of Treasury Andrew Mellon: reduced corporate taxes (excise-profits tax) and taxes on wealthy.
- Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover: voluntary cooperation among businesses; “business associationalism” through trade associations; product standardization.
- High tariff policies: Fordney–McCumber Tariff (1922) (38.5 percent rate); Hawley–Smoot Tariff [or Smoot–Hawley Tariff] (1930) (as high as 60 percent on some items; highest peacetime tariff in U.S. history).

LABOR

Progressive Reform

- State courts often issued injunctions against strikers.
- Settlement houses (Jane Addams/Hull House).
- Social welfare advocates; Florence Kelley (advocated for laws protecting women, children workers).
- State governments regulate hours, wages, workers’ compensation, conditions of work.
- *Lochner v. New York* (1905) overturns New York 10-hour law for bakers.
- *Muller v. Oregon* (1908) upholds Oregon 10-hour law for female laundry workers; Brandeis Brief.
- Triangle Shirtwaist Fire (1911); creation of New York State Factory Commission.
- Socialism; industrial unionism:
 - Eugene Debs: Socialist Party
 - William “Big Bill” Haywood/Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) “wobblies”
 - Mother Jones
 - Emma Goldman
- Teddy Roosevelt and anthracite coal strike (1902), compromise between miners and union.
- Department of Labor (1913) (Children’s Bureau 1912; Women’s Bureau 1912).
- Samuel Gompers/American Federation of Labor.
- Taft: Eight-hour day for all workers in firms with government contracts.
- Clayton Anti-Trust Act (1914) exempted labor unions from anti-trust laws; restricted used of injunctions in strikes.

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Question 4 Information List (continued)

- LaFollette Seaman's Act (1915) regulated working conditions for seamen.
- Adamson Act (1916) eight-hour work day for railway workers; time-and-a-half for overtime.
- Workmen's Compensation Act (1916), insurance program for federal workers.
- Keating–Owen Act (1916) restricted child labor on interstate goods; declared unconstitutional in *Hammer v. Dagenhart* (1918).
- World War I: National War Labor Board (1918); union membership increased; wages rose; improvement in working conditions; federal government went after IWW as critics of the war; strikes seen as unpatriotic.
- Labor strikes (1919) (Boston police).

1920's

- Red Scare and reaction against labor organization as un-American.
- Maldistribution of wealth: some workers have rising standard of living, others did not.
- "Welfare capitalism": to stop independent trade unions; Henry Ford; safe factories, glee clubs, baseball teams, cafeterias, health and safety insurance, representation for blacks, women, and immigrants.
- Company unions.
- AFL conservative and tied to craft unionism.
- Open-shop movement: "American Plan" endorsed by National Association of Manufacturers (1920).
- "Yellow-dog" contracts.
- Anti-union tactics by federal government (1922 federal troops broke railroad workers' strike; Supreme court hostile to unions and strikers, often issuing injunctions against both).
- Union membership decreased from 5 million in 1920 to 3 million in 1929.
- Supreme Court ruled labor laws unconstitutional:
 - *Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Company* (1922) struck down federal law regulating child labor
 - *Adkins v. Children's Hospital* (1923) struck down minimum wage law for women in Washington D.C.
 - Supreme Court weakened labor provisions of Clayton Anti-Trust Act (1914) in 1921 and 1927

IMMIGRANTS

Progressive Reform

- Settlement houses and immigrants (e.g., Hull House/Jane Addams): mix of English-language instruction, middle-class values, respect for European heritage, social gospel.
- Americanization of immigrants taken up by reformers.
- Some progressives wanted to limit immigration arguing that immigrants could not be assimilated into U.S. society, immigrants decreased wages, racial and ethnic inferiority.
- Eugenics movement (Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race*, 1916).
- AFL: conservative and anti-immigrant; supported immigration restriction.
- Immigration Restriction League (founded 1894; lobbied for restriction into the 1920's).
- 1906 San Francisco tried to segregate Asian children in separate schools.
- 1907 Roosevelt's Gentlemen's Agreement with Japan: Japan agreed to limit emigration of Japanese laborers to U.S.; limited Japanese immigration to wives and children of men already in the United States; U.S. would stop discrimination against Japanese in U.S.

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Question 4 Information List (continued)

- Attempts at immigration restriction by U.S. Congress:
 - 1897 literacy test passed Congress; Cleveland vetoed it
 - 1913 Taft vetoed immigration bill
 - 1915 Wilson vetoed immigration bill
- Immigration Act (1917) (Barred Zone Act): passed over Wilson's veto; established a literacy test (in immigrant's language or English) for immigrants and excluded immigrants from a newly established Asiatic Barred Zone (eastern Asia and Pacific Islands except Filipinos).
- World War I: "100 percent Americanism"; anti-German sentiment; Mexicans exempted from 1917 literacy test due to demand for labor, but they were often segregated by law and custom in California and Southwest.
- Push for prohibition (18th Amendment) is partly anti-immigrant.

1920's

- Nativism.
- Ku Klux Klan aimed partly at immigrants.
- Red Scare (1919-20): many Americans associated immigrants with political radicalism (deportation of 249 supposed alien radicals to U.S.S.R. 1919; trial of Sacco and Vanzetti 1920-27), anarchism, Bolshevism.
- Emergency Quota Act (1921): immigration reduced to approximately 350,000 from outside Western Hemisphere in any single year; quota system established; immigration from a single country limited to 3 percent of the number of persons of that country's nationality living in the U.S. in 1910.
- National Origins Act (Johnson-Reed Act) (1924): reduced quota to 2 percent based on 1890 census [fewer southern and eastern Europeans in U.S.]; banned immigration from east Asia [targeted Japan; Chinese immigration illegal since 1892; exempted Filipinos because U.S. controlled Philippines]; National Origins plan took effect in 1929: set limit of 150,000 immigrants per year.
- "Cultural pluralists" opposed immigration restriction: intellectuals Horace Kallen, Randolph Bourne.
- Defenders of ethnic diversity: Jane Addams, John Dewey, Louis Brandeis.
- American farmers urged immigration of Mexican farm workers into U.S.; *solos* and *barrios*.
- Immigrants often resisted "Americanization" through maintenance of their ethnic identities and communities.

Circle the Section II question number you are answering on this page.

Mandatory 1	Part B — Circle one 2 or 3	Part C — Circle one 4 or 5
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1 of 4

With the Settling of WWI, America entered a "New Era" in which the progressive reforms of the 1910s have ended. From the changing of the Presidency in 1920 to Warren G. Harding, America entered a time of economic boom following the ~~war~~ paying little attention to ~~war~~ and ~~and~~ social problems, while ~~not~~ regulating business. Although the 1910s marked a time of "trust-busting" the 1920s ended the progressive reforms and sought to "Return to Normalcy," going back to an era of immigration restriction and no government regulation.

The immigration reforms sought out by the progressives pre-WWI, ended abruptly in the 1920s and immigrants began to face further persecution and economic decline. For Example the resurgence of the KKK in the 1920s aimed to target immigrants and preserve the WASP mentality of the white people of ~~the~~ America. Likewise, the government did nothing to help control the race riots prevalent after WWI, and further allowed ~~the~~ the Klan to continue to target minorities. This nationalist sentiment present throughout society ended the progressive Era's acceptance of foreigners and the U.S. became entrenched

Circle the Section II question number you are answering on this page.

4A

Mandatory 1	Part B — Circle one 2 or 3	Part C — Circle one 4 or 5
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The isolationism that excluded many ~~outsiders~~ outsiders. With the passage of the National Origins Act and the development of the Quota system, the immigration from other countries continued to be restricted by the United States. Finally, the communities that immigrants had to live in reflect the end of the Progressive Era. State-level reform ~~of~~ of the police force and the indifference towards poverty, ~~and~~ combined the the failure of the government to act, only further entrenched ~~the~~ the horrible conditions that immigrants had to endure. During the 1920's the progressive reform of immigration ended with the rise of nationalist sentiment, the restriction of immigration and the end of government involvement to promote change in the inner city.

Furthermore, progressive reform with regards to ~~progressive reform~~ ^{labor} also ended. Set up the ~~U.S. v. U.S. Steel~~ ^{U.S. v. U.S. Steel} decisions the government continued a system of ~~non-~~ intervention with the economic boom led by the presidents, Harding and Coolidge, the government of the U.S. went back into a system of ~~laissez-faire~~ laissez-faire government and let the businesses

Circle the Section II question number you are answering on this page.

4A

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3.F.4

and labor unions do their own thing. Furthermore labor unions lost tremendous power during this time period; their numbers decreased dramatically and the public perception of the AFL was of violence. Beginning with the Boston police strike, the many strikes during the 1920s ~~also~~ resulted in death and the government did absolutely nothing, encouraging the loss of power to these unions. Likewise, people such as Eugene V. Debs and the Socialist party (Wobblies) contributed to further damage the image of the unions. Through continued non-interventionist policies by the federal government coupled with the degrading image of unions, the 1920s marked an end to the progressive reforms that aimed to protect the rights of the everyday worker.

The 1920s ~~was~~ marked by a competition between a "New Era" and a "Return to Normalcy." Shaken by WWI and the social upheaval caused by the war, the 1920s in its domestic policy returned to the era before the reform movements of the late 19th century, marked by the defeat of the Bull Moose Party. The 1920s represented a ~~total~~ ^{total} ~~for~~ ^{for} unions.

Circle the Section II question number you are answering on this page.

4A

Mandatory 1	Part B — Circle one 2 or 3	Part C — Circle one <u>4</u> or 5
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and immigrants. The restrictions on immigration, the political philosophies of Harding and Coolidge of small government, and the negative perception of labor unions, encouraged the government to not regulate any business from to working conditions to the stock market. Ultimately, this ~~is~~ lack of regulation would contribute to the crash of 1929 and the Great Depression / New Deal, ~~which~~ which would redefine entirely the relationship between ~~the~~ the government and the economy.

Mandatory 1	Part B — Circle one 2 or 3	Part C — Circle one ④ or 5
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The Progressive movement in the U.S. gained momentum during the early 20th century, greatly influencing the actions of the federal government. However, after about two decades of concentrated success, the movement began to decline in popularity. Progressive reform lost momentum in the 1920s, as regulation of business declined and the labor movement faced increased opposition.

During the 1920's, conservatives began to take control of the federal government. They supported laissez faire economic policies that ran counter to Progressive ideals. Whereas Progressives supported active regulation of businesses to ensure fair practices and competition, conservatives believed in a hands-off approach. Thus, the nation's economic policy steadily moved away from progressivism. Toward the end of the decade, unregulated stock trading began to result in a wildly fluctuating stock market. Whereas Progressives likely would have intervened to stabilize the market, President Hoover chose not to interfere.

The labor movement, another cause

Circle the Section II question number you are answering on this page.

Mandatory 1	Part B — Circle one 2 or 3	Part C — Circle one ④ or 5
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4B
2 of 2

championed by Progressives, also began to lose momentum during the 1920's. In accordance with their policy of economic non-involvement, conservatives refrained from passing legislation to benefit workers. Furthermore, because of their alliance with business, conservatives were at times at odds with unions. Union leaders began to lose influence, and legal protection for workers receded. By the end of the decade, unions ~~held~~ held but a sliver of their former power and prestige, and the labor movement and Progressive reform had severely declined.

The 1920s were a period of growing political conservatism in the U.S., resulting in a decline in the popularity of Progressivism. Government intervention declined and federal policies became more business-friendly. However, by the end of the decade, the nation was on the eve of the Great Depression. Power would soon shift to the Democratic Party, resulting in a period of unprecedented government involvement in the economy during the presidency of Franklin Roosevelt.

Circle the Section II question number you are answering on this page.

4C

Mandatory 1	Part B — Circle one 2 or 3	Part C — Circle one ④ or 5
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1 of 1

The Gilded Age in America ran from the late 19th to early 20th centuries. During this time, many new ideas and developments were occurring in the society of America. This is why this age is also known as the Progressive era. However, ^{some} of the new ideas in the areas of business and labor slowed in the time of the 1920's. This was caused by the economic ~~stability~~ stability of the time period as well as social developments.

Early in the gilded age, businesses had little restriction. Large business operators such as Carnegie, J.P. Morgan, and T. Rockefeller were able to ~~monopolize~~ monopolize and control their markets. Certain acts passed by the legislation of the time, such as the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, tried to limit their power and prevent such corporations from achieving monopoly. As the 1920's drew closer, such acts were beginning to take effect, as well as new social-economic ideas began to form.

The ~~new~~ views of Darwinism started to affect the economy as well, meaning that competition between businesses was ~~healthy~~ healthy and would stabilize, not only prices but the the economy as well. The regulation of business was also strongly affected by the labor movements of the time.

With the monopolies and big businesses of the early 20th century, in addition to ~~new~~ new ideas such as Fordism and scientific management, workers of factories were not treated well. In response, workers started to band together in unions, such as one founded by Samuel Gompers ~~in~~ named the American Federation of Labor. These unions grew substantially nationwide, and were able to organize effective strikes that had a profound effect on factory labor, such as the Pullman strike. However, at the arrival of the ~~1920's~~ late 1920's, ~~the~~ the stability of the economy fell and the nation spiraled into the worst depression in the history of the country. This was the main contributor to the loss of momentum in both aspects of labor and business regulation, as the depression broke many businesses and also forced many people out of work.

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2006 SCORING COMMENTARY

Question 4

Overview

This is a complex question that asked students to demonstrate a knowledge of Progressive reform and of the 1920's with respect to two of three different topics (regulation of business, labor, and immigration) and to evaluate the argument of whether or not Progressive reform lost momentum in the 1920's. The question gave students broad latitude in discussing Progressive reform related to each of the topics.

Sample: 4A

Score: 9

This essay begins with a clear, strong thesis. It discusses all the topics included in this complex question—loss of Progressive reform momentum in the 1920's with regard to labor and immigration. While it is weaker on immigration in the Progressive section (Progressives' acceptance of foreigners), it is very strong on immigration in the 1920's (e.g., Debs, Wobblies, Boston police strike). The essay contains excellent analysis.

Sample: 4B

Score: 5

This essay contains a clear thesis. The information used to support the thesis lacks specificity, describing Republican “non-involvement” in the 1920's economy and union leaders beginning “to lose influence.” The strength of this essay is its analysis, which shows how conservative laissez-faire/pro-business attitudes undermined the momentum of Progressive reform.

Sample: 4C

Score: 3

This essay begins with a somewhat confused thesis. It has some chronological problems. While it contains some factual material, it is often out of the time period (e.g., Pullman Strike). There is very little on the 1920's, and discussion of Progressive reform is weak.