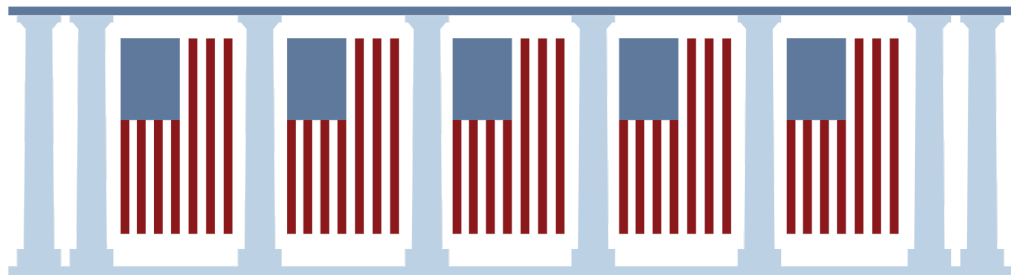


WestwoodMUNC V



JOINT CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE ON
INDUSTRIAL INVESTIGATION OF REVENUE



Meatpacking Industry After Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*

(1906)

Dear Delegates,

My name is Alex Vertikov and I'm honored to be your chair for this committee, I'm a sophomore here at Westwood High School and this is my second year doing Model UN. Outside of MUN, I play the clarinet, play tennis, and am also active in a few other clubs here at school. Everyone here has been working very hard to put up a good conference for you guys, and so we hope you enjoy it.

Our committee topic is a bit of an arcane one, so it'll definitely be an interesting discourse, and I hope you all enjoy the committee. The committee venue will be a Joint Congressional Committee with the ability to report legislation and various external witnesses testifying. The important thing to keep in mind is that you will be deciding the federal response, don't get too bogged down in the details and try to have a good time! If you ever need anything, you can reach me anytime at 23avertikov@wpsstudents.org. Please keep in mind that **position papers are due midnight on April 24th** in order to be eligible for awards.

Dear Delegates

My name is Vijay Sherring and I am a junior at Westwood High School. This is my third year in Model UN. I enjoy running, being outside, and spending time with friends and family. I am excited to be co-chair of this committee and watch some interesting debates. I hope everyone enjoys the conference and I look forward to seeing everyone soon. If you have any questions you can email me at 22vsherring@wpsstudents.org.

Committee Overview

The United States Meat and Poultry industry is currently worth one hundred billion dollars and employs over half a million people,¹ making it have a huge impact on the national economy. Along with its economic impact, it has also been a great source of social controversy because of its long and storied history with exploitative labor practices, poor working conditions, and lax safety and quality standards, along with a current debate on the environmental aspects of meat production and meat consumption. In this committee, we will be focusing on the period from 1880-1910, with a specific focus on the period leading up to the passage of the Meat Inspection Act² and the Food and Drug Act,³ which were the first major pieces of legislation to thoroughly regulate the quality and purity of foods and drugs, along with greatly increasing federal oversight of meat shipping, meat trade, meat packing, and slaughterhouses. This committee will be set in the period after the publication of Upton Sinclair *The Jungle*, a muckraking exposé detailing the horrid working conditions, lax safety standards, and poor production quality of a Chicago stockyard, and before the passage of the aforementioned legislation. Delegates will be tasked with deciding the federal government's response to the allegations in *The Jungle* and overall concerns over worker standards and product quality.

Initial Concerns over Meat Quality

The first major concerns over meat quality in the United States arose in the 1880s when Harvey Wiley, the Chief Chemist for the Department of Agriculture, issued reports detailing the

¹ "Meat Industry Facts at a Glance." North American Meat Institute. Last modified February 2009. Accessed February 15, 2021. <https://www.meatinstitute.org/index.php?ht=a/GetDocumentAction/i/46343>.

² Federal Meat Inspection Act, H.R. 18537, 59th Cong. Accessed February 15, 2021. <https://www.fsis.usda.gov/wps/portal/fsis/topics/rulemaking/federal-meat-inspection-act>.

³ Office of the Historian United States House of Representatives. "The Pure Food and Drug Act." History, Art, and Archives. Accessed February 15, 2021. <https://history.house.gov/Historical-Highlights/1901-1950/Pure-Food-and-Drug-Act/>.

potential health hazards of consuming meat adulterated with any number of chemicals used as preservatives or colorings. As a result of his findings, Wiley formed the Association of Official Agricultural Chemists,⁴ which lobbied the federal government for legislation governing the



Harvey Wiley was a long and persistent advocate for food safety standards and better regulation of the meat industry; he has been given significant credit for the current safety standards in the U.S.

packaging and purity of consumer food products; this was the first major step to addressing problematic meat industry practices, though it mainly fell under the public radar. A situation involving Armour, one of the major meat corporations, was the first to bring concerns over meatpacking and meat quality to the public eye: the media began reporting that many soldiers during the Spanish-American war had been sickened by Armour & Co. canned beef which was rotten and packed with boric acid.⁵ The resulting deaths of troops led Teddy

Roosevelt, who was a military commander at the time, to raise concerns. This scandal led a former higher-up at Armour,

Thomas Dolan, to sign an affidavit confirming the practically

non-existent government regulation and ineptitude of existing inspectors. The affidavit also said the company regularly packed and sold substandard animal products with fraudulent labels. This scandal and the press it received led the Senate to form the Pure-Food Investigating Committee in 1899.⁶

Corporations and Working Conditions

The meatpacking industry in the early twentieth century was effectively an oligopoly. There were a few major corporations which controlled the entire industry and often colluded to set prices

⁴ Rouse, Kristen L. "Meat Inspection Act of 1906." Britannica. Accessed February 15, 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Meat-Inspection-Act>

⁵ *Ibid*

⁶ *Ibid*

and prevent competition; additionally, these large corporations often failed to provide safe working conditions and paid very low wages while making employees work long hours in bad conditions. As this was the dawn of the progressive movement in the United States, large companies like U.S. Steel, Standard Oil, and the National Packing Company began huge targets for activists and reformers for what they viewed as monopolistic practices and worker exploitation bordering on wage slavery.⁷

There were differences of opinion, however, among those who recognized the issues with corporate working conditions: some argued for using antitrust law to break up big corporations, some only for increased oversight and regulation on both the federal and state level, and a vocal socialist minority argued for collective ownership of factories and corporations. President Teddy Roosevelt, being a progressive reformer, generally fell into the latter two categories: he was not against corporations or trusts but was known as a “trustbuster” who favored federal regulation while only breaking up “bad” trusts and keeping the “good” ones together.⁸ Despite these convictions, he was often at odds with the progressive muckrakers who were leading this anti-corporation movement with investigative journalism and accounts of corruption, anti-competitive practices, and worker exploitation throughout broad swaths of society, as they were generally more radical and generally disliked corporations.⁹

Sinclair's *The Jungle*

Upton Sinclair was a socialist muckraker who did investigative work seeking to expose exploitative practices to advance his socialist agenda. In 1904 while working for the socialist

⁷ Martz, Carlton. "Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*: Muckraking the Meat-Packing Industry." Edited by Bill Hayes. Constitutional Rights Foundation. Last modified 2008. Accessed February 15, 2021. <https://www.crf-usa.org/bill-of-rights-in-action/bria-24-1-b-upton-sinclairs-the-jungle-muckraking-the-meat-packing-industry.html>.

⁸ Ohio State University. "Roosevelt and the Trusts." ehistory. Accessed February 16, 2021. <https://ehistory.osu.edu/exhibitions/1912/trusts/roosevel>.

⁹ Guignan, Brian, ed. "Muckraker." Britannica. Accessed February 15, 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/muckraker>.

magazine *Appeal to Reason*, Sinclair covered a strike at the Chicago Union Stockyards and decided to spend a year undercover in the Chicago Stockyards to write an exposé of the horrid working conditions and disgusting quality standards, including adulteration and mislabeling, along with unsafe conditions and contamination of product.¹⁰ The novel was first published in *Appeal to Reason* as a serial. An advance copy was sent to Teddy Roosevelt, who took a measured approach and decided to initiate an investigation of Sinclair's allegations before taking any action, keeping in line with his wary approach to muckrakers. The independent commission was led by labor commissioner Charles P. Neill and social worker James Bronson to investigate the truth of the allegations in the novel. Upon transmission to Congress, the Neill-Reynolds report confirmed most of the allegations made in the novel. It was after the release of this report that *The Jungle* was first published in full by Doubleday in 1906. The novel became a huge success upon release and prompted massive public outcry about at the poor factory sanitation and product contamination in the book, and the proud public response was even further compounded by other Progressive writers, known as muckrakers, that had been constantly detailing issues and allegations within big industry, especially in Chicago packinghouses.

The book described horrendous conditions without any safety or cleanliness standards at the Chicago Stockyards, but most frighteningly to the public they also described meat and livestock in horrendous conditions, contamination of product with all sorts of foreign objects, including rats, and the prolific use of chemicals to adulterate contaminated meat. Sinclair wrote of vats of acid used on pickled beef, and of workers falling in and

¹⁰ Martz, Carlton. "Upton Sinclair's The Jungle: Muckraking the Meat-Packing Industry." Edited by Bill Hayes. Constitutional Rights Foundation. Last modified 2008. Accessed February 15, 2021. <https://www.crf-usa.org/bill-of-rights-in-action/bria-24-1-b-upton-sinclairs-the-jungle-muckraking-the-meat-packing-industry.html>.

The vast Chicago Stockyards became the center of the meat industry after the invention of the refrigerated railcar allowed for the cross-country transfer of raw meat.



disintegrating with nothing to be fished out; he wrote of the lack of hygienic facilities and workers needing to relieve themselves on the factory floor; he wrote of dirt, rats, sawdust, and any other number of foreign contaminants going into the meat grinder, and of the proliferation of disease in both the livestock and the workers, along with the use of chemicals like borax and formaldehyde to mask any rotten or diseased meat.¹¹ It was these allegations that outraged the public, not the lack of social stability, fair labor practices, or adequate housing for the workers, which is what Sinclair initially sought to expose in order to gain support for his belief in a socialist society. Despite Sinclair's attempts to draw attention to worker exploitation as did other muckrakers, the public pounced on the stories of powerless and corrupt inspectors, including those hundreds of federal inspectors who could do nothing about in-state sale of contaminated meat and state inspectors being bought out by the local political machines.¹² This led to a massive influx of letters and other support for change to both the President and Congress,¹³ and when the Neill-Reynolds report confirmed the bulk of Sinclair's allegations, it became clear to most that the status quo was unacceptable.

¹¹ Blum, Deborah. "Gloom and Horror Unrelieved." American Experience. Last modified January 27, 2020. Accessed February 15, 2021.

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/poison-squad-gloom-horror-unrelieved/>.

¹² Rubio, Lidia. "Popular Reactions to Upton Sinclair's The Jungle." Texas Woman's University. Accessed February 16, 2021.

<https://twu.edu/media/documents/history-government/Popular-Reactions-to-Upton-Sinclair's-The-Jungle.pdf>.

¹³ *Ibid*

The Industry Response

Dating back to the original progressive protests over consolidation, monopolistic practices, and unfair tactics by large corporations, the owners of these corporations generally argued that they were able to grow large through having the most innovative practices and being the best for the consumer, so they should be left to run their business as they saw fit. Historically, the American meatpacking industry had pioneered efforts such as refrigerated railcars and trade of meat as opposed to livestock, meaning they were viewed as innovators and successful capitalists; in addition, they were a powerful industry that had a significant amount of lobbying power in Congress.¹⁴ This was still relatively early in the period of American industrialization, so large and powerful corporations, which controlled a huge market share, were still relatively new and did not fit in with the traditional understanding of business and enterprise, as their main political opponents were not rival businesses but were instead progressive reformers and intellectuals. In response to their demands, the meat industry argued that there already was sufficient state and federal oversight, and

As with other trusts and corporations, the National Packing Company (or "Beef Trust") was a big target for progressives and muckrakers. The Trust was effectively a cartel of already massive meat companies, and was the subject of a Supreme Court Case allowing for greater federal regulation.

that even the existing oversight was redundant, saying they themselves were



¹⁴ Newman, Patrick. "The big meat: the Beef Trust, regulatory capture, and government intervention." Unpublished manuscript, Florida Southern College, n.d. Accessed February 16, 2021. <https://www.readcube.com/articles/10.2139%2Fssrn.3213676>.

capable of inspecting meat and upholding safety standards.¹⁵

Questions to Consider

1. Is the current regulation of slaughter, meatpacking and/or labelling sufficient?
 - a. If not, what steps should be taken for proper federal regulation to ensure safety and cleanliness in facilities and purity of the product?
 - b. Should these steps be taken on the federal or state level?
2. Should the Beef Trust be Broken Up?
3. Should there be greater regulation to protect workers, like a minimum wage, maximum working hours, and safety standards?
4. Do better inspections and safety standards benefit meat corporations (i.e. will they only increase consumer confidence and thus boost sales and exports)?
5. Should there be greater regulations to ensure quality and purity of meat like greater inspections, more sanitary conditions, and banning of certain adulterants?
6. Should America adopt municipal ownership of meat facilities under a socialist system?

Positions

Muckrakers:

- Upton Sinclair:
 - He is a socialist author and later politician who is sent on a long-term assignment to the Chicago Stockyards for *Appeal to Reason* following a failed strike; he uses his experience to write *The Jungle*. He is in support of municipal ownership of

¹⁵ Newman, Patrick. "The big meat: the Beef Trust, regulatory capture, and government intervention." Unpublished manuscript, Florida Southern College, n.d. Accessed February 16, 2021. <https://www.readcube.com/articles/10.2139%2Fssrn.3213676>.

slaughterhouses and packinghouses, as in Europe, and he wants better wages, shorter hours, greater benefits, and better safety standards for packinghouse workers.

- Charles Edward Russell:
 - He is another socialist prominent muckraker who is active around the same time as Sinclair and writes the first major piece of anti-meat journalism. His piece, “The Greatest Trust in the World,” exposes the anti-competitive, monopolistic, and dishonorable practices of the Beef Trust, a cartel consisting of the four biggest meatpacking companies.¹⁶ He is in support of breaking up the Beef Trust and the large companies that make it up, along with greater rights and protections for both workers and consumers in the form of increased regulation.
- Samuel Hopkins Adams:
 - He is one of the most influential muckraking journalists, focusing on public health injustices and abusive practices in industry detrimental to public health.¹⁷ He is not a socialist and is more moderate than other muckrakers, supporting much greater federal regulation and involvement in corporations and their businesses to ensure truthfulness and protect the public, but he would not support collective ownership or anything of the sort.

Progressive Republicans:

- Albert J. Beveridge:

¹⁶ Augustana College. The Davenport Writers Project: Charles Edward Russell. Accessed February 16, 2021.

<https://www.augustana.edu/academics/areas-of-study/english-and-creative-writing/davenport-writers/russell>.

¹⁷ "Samuel Hopkins Adams." *Britannica Student*.

<https://library.eb.com/levels/referencecenter/article/Samuel-Hopkins-Adams/3676>.

- Bevrige is a prominent Republican Senator who is very progressive and a big advocate for progressive reform including child labor legislation, greater regulations of banks and railroads, and greater regulations of meatpacking plants, being the sponsor of the Federal Meat Inspection Act. He is the main advocate in the Senate and in the Federal Government for greater regulation of meat processing, even predating Sinclair's novel.¹⁸ He is similar in belief to a fellow progressive, President Roosevelt, but is more liberal: he will support greater regulations focused mainly on consumer safety and keeping corporations in check.¹⁹
- Theodore Roosevelt:
 - The most prominent Progressive Republican, President Roosevelt is generally in favor of the corporation, but supports breaking them up if they engage in too much unlawful and anticompetitive activity. Notably, he is a pro-business Republican reluctant to punish corporations that are seen as successful and fair-playing; he will come to support greater oversight after meeting with Upton Sinclair and having his own independent commission confirm the allegations. Additionally, he sees regulation as a tool of free-enterprise by allowing greater confidence in product and thus better sales.²⁰
- James Robert Mann:
 - A Midwestern Progressive who serves as House Minority Leader, he introduces the first legislation that would lead to the Pure Food and Drug Act. He is focused on

¹⁸ Newman, Patrick. "The big meat: the Beef Trust, regulatory capture, and government intervention." Unpublished manuscript, Florida Southern College, n.d. Accessed February 16, 2021. <https://www.readcube.com/articles/10.2139%2Fssrn.3213676>.

¹⁹ Ray, Michael, ed. "Albert J. Bevrige." Britannica. Accessed February 16, 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Albert-J-Beveridge>.

²⁰ Gaughan, Anthony. "Harvey Wiley, Theodore Roosevelt, and the Federal Regulation of Food and Drugs." Unpublished manuscript, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA, 2004. Accessed February 16, 2021. <https://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/8852144/Gaughan.html?sequence=2>.

increasing quality standards and making sure that any food sold is pure and free of adulterants and substandard parts.

Government Scientists/Investigators:

- Harvey Wiley:
 - Working at the USDA, Harvey Wiley is the first to unearth the widespread adulteration of meat with chemicals and preservatives and begins pushing for legislation to ban these “unwholesome” ingredients. He is active decades before mass public awareness and has much insider knowledge: he is in favor of outright banning adulterants and increased oversight to ensure quality and safety; he is generally unconcerned with workers and their interests.
- Charles P. Neill:
 - He is the Commissioner of Labor sent by President Roosevelt to investigate meatpacking facilities; additionally, he investigated child labor and horrid working conditions for women and others in steel factories and textile mills.²¹ Having called the packing industries “revolting,” he will be in support of much greater oversight and inspection of meat production facilities, along with much greater oversight of labor practices and more labor protections.
- James Bronson Reynolds:
 - He is a lawyer who has taken part in several presidential commissions and serves with Charles P. Neill on the Neill-Reynolds Commission exposing the horrendous safety standards and awful conditions in meatpacking plants; he will be in support of

²¹ Department of Labor, Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States, S. Doc. No. 61-645, 2d Sess. (1910). Accessed February 16, 2021. <https://archive.org/details/reportonconditio01unitrich>.

greater oversight and regulation to ensure meat quality and safety standards for both workers and products.

Unique Reformers:

- Thomas Dolan:
 - He is a former superintendent and Armour & Co., who upon hearing of the death toll resulting from soldiers consuming canned Armour beef, submits an affidavit attesting to the way the company systematically passed substandard meat around government inspection. He also attests that diseased cattle were slaughtered and carrion was put into canned beef.²² He will be in support of keeping these companies and the Beef Trust intact and will not support big labor law changes, but will seek better government oversight and inspection to ensure only healthy cattle and quality parts are used.
- Richard P. Bland:
 - He is a Democratic U.S. Representative from Missouri who is an early enemy of the Chicago Beef Trust, saying that they rob farmers of the now-Midwest.²³ He attempts to introduce amendments to antitrust legislation that would allow big trusts to be broken up. He is in support of breaking up the Beef Trust and will oppose subsidized federal inspection as prioritizing big meat companies over local butchers and packers.

²² Sinclair, Upton. "The Condemned Meat Industry." *Everybody's Magazine*, 1906. Accessed February 16, 2021. https://college.cengage.com/history/ayers_primary_sources/condemnedmeat_industry_1906.htm.

²³ Newman, Patrick. "The big meat: the Beef Trust, regulatory capture, and government intervention." Unpublished manuscript, Florida Southern College, n.d. Accessed February 16, 2021. <https://www.readcube.com/articles/10.2139%2Fssrn.3213676>.

Pro-Business Opponents:

- Nelson Aldrich:
 - He is a Republican senator from Rhode Island who has great influence over the chamber's procedures. He refuses to allow the original Pure Food and Drug Act out of committee, saying that it would undermine "the liberty of all the people of the United States" and that the aim of the legislation's supporters was to impose socialism on the United States.²⁴ He is opposed to any attempts to regulate the Meatpacking industry, whether that be for food quality and purity, for worker's safety, or for better conditions generally.
- James Wadsworth:
 - He is a Representative from New York and Chair of the House Committee on Agriculture. He is an admirer of Harvey Wiley, but strongly opposes food safety and meat inspection legislation in Congress: he has strong ties to the meat industry and mounts a last-ditch defense against any regulatory legislation to protect them, although he facially opposes it for the reason of states' rights.²⁵ He is opposed to any federal attempts to regulate the meatpacking industry and its practices.
- William Lorimer:
 - He is a representative from Illinois, and like Wadsworth, an ally of the major meatpackers.²⁶ The meat industry is determined to at least alter the Beveridge legislation coming from the Senate which would require them to raise costs,²⁷ so they

²⁴ Gaughan, Anthony. "Harvey Wiley, Theodore Roosevelt, and the Federal Regulation of Food and Drugs." Unpublished manuscript, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA, 2004. Accessed February 16, 2021. <https://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/8852144/Gaughan.html?sequence=2>.

²⁵ *Ibid*

²⁶ *Ibid*

²⁷ Newman, Patrick. "The big meat: the Beef Trust, regulatory capture, and government intervention." Unpublished manuscript, Florida Southern College, n.d. Accessed February 16, 2021. <https://www.readcube.com/articles/10.2139%2Fssrn.3213676>.

put up a stand in the House with their two biggest allies on the House Agriculture Committee, Lorimer and Wadsworth. He is opposed to greater federal regulations, and if it must happen, he believes the government should pay for all inspections as to benefit big packers and hurt smaller ones.

- James Van Cleave:
 - He is the new president of the National Association of Manufacturers and a staunch opponent of regulating meatpackers despite,²⁸ along with most of big business, being an erstwhile supporter of President Roosevelt.²⁹ The business community is divided on the issue of meatpacking regulation, with some favoring regulation in order to increase consumer confidence and help their sales and export viability. Van Cleave opposes the regulations as a matter of principle against extensive government regulation.³⁰ He is opposed to any more federal regulation of the meatpacking industry.

Pro-Business Supporters:

- Henry J. Heinz:
 - He is the founder of the Heinz Ketchup company, and a major ally of Harvey Wiley in pushing for greater food quality standards. Because Heinz and other companies that already had very high standards are put at a competitive disadvantage by other

²⁸ Williams, Ashley. "Who's Who ... NAM President James Van Cleave." Hagley. Last modified November 20, 2017. Accessed February 16, 2021. <https://www.hagley.org/research/programs/nam-project-news/who%E2%80%99s-who%E2%80%A6nam-president-james-van-cleave%E2%80%8B>.

²⁹ Gaughan, Anthony. "Harvey Wiley, Theodore Roosevelt, and the Federal Regulation of Food and Drugs." Unpublished manuscript, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA, 2004. Accessed February 16, 2021. <https://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/8852144/Gaughan.html?sequence=2>.

³⁰ Garraty, John A., and Robert A. McCaughey. *The American Nation, a History of the United States since 1865*. 7th ed. New York, 1991. Accessed February 16, 2021. <http://www.colfa.utsa.edu/users/jreynolds/Textbooks/MeatAct/Meat%20Garraty.html>.

companies' low standards and low prices, he is a big advocate for reform of food regulation.³¹ Additionally, he sees that greater confidence in American products would help his business and others both domestically and abroad³². He supports greater safety and quality standards, but will not be a huge supporter of more labor protections.

- Ralph Easley:

- He is the founder of the National Civic Federation, which is an organization devoted to achieving goals benefitting Big Business during the Progressive Era. He advocates for government regulation as a way to increase the hold of big business and as a fight against socialism, saying that it is "better to help shape the right kind of regulation than to have the wrong kind forced upon [you]." ³³ He views regulation as a subsidy (the government would provide free inspections which were quality assurance and helped sales) at the expense of smaller firms which couldn't keep up with the standards.³⁴ He will support greater federal inspection at the expense of the government.

Meat Industry Executives:

- Gustavus Swift:

³¹ Gaughan, Anthony. "Harvey Wiley, Theodore Roosevelt, and the Federal Regulation of Food and Drugs." Unpublished manuscript, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, MA, 2004. Accessed February 16, 2021. <https://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/8852144/Gaughan.html?sequence=2>.

³² Lukas, Paul. "At a Time When Prepared Food Was a Shady Business, Heinz's Transparent Jars, Factory Tours, and Focus on Food Safety Made His Store-Bought Condiments King." CNN Money. Last modified April 1, 2003. Accessed February 16, 2021. https://money.cnn.com/magazines/fsb/fsb_archive/2003/04/01/341007/.

³³ Newman, Patrick. "The big meat: the Beef Trust, regulatory capture, and government intervention." Unpublished manuscript, Florida Southern College, n.d. Accessed February 16, 2021. <https://www.readcube.com/articles/10.2139%2Fssrn.3213676>.

³⁴ *Ibid*

- He is a pioneer in the meatpacking field who invents the refrigerated boxcar, allowing meat to be shipped across the country instead of shipping livestock for slaughter. He forms Swift & Co., which becomes one of the massive American meatpacking firms, and he later also forms the National Packing Company, a union of the major meatpacking companies.³⁵ He will be in favor of the status quo, saying that the free market needs to be left to do its work and that the companies have their own safety standards.
- J.O. Armour:
 - He is the son of Philip Armour, who founded the largest and most influential meatpacking corporation, which was also the basis for the fictional Andersen corporation in *The Jungle*. He even considers suing Doubleday and Sinclair for libel because of his opposition to their attempts at regulation.³⁶ He also put his company into the Beef Trust and is against government intervention; he believes that his company's practices only help the consumer, and that worker safety and food quality are good enough.
- Edward Morris:
 - He is the head of Morris & Co., the final of the three giant Chicago meatpacking firms. He similarly forms the Beef Trust and similarly is against government intervention, saying that companies can inspect their own meat and ensure quality and safety by themselves.
- Thomas E. Wilson:

³⁵ Gregersen, Erik, ed. "Gustavus Swift." Britannica. Accessed February 16, 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Gustavus-Swift>.

³⁶ Newman, Patrick. "The big meat: the Beef Trust, regulatory capture, and government intervention." Unpublished manuscript, Florida Southern College, n.d. Accessed February 16, 2021. <https://www.readcube.com/articles/10.2139%2Fssrn.3213676>.

- He is the Vice President of Morris & Co. and advocates for the big meat packers before Congress, saying that they could be in favor of regulation as long as they did not have to pay and it was not taken care of by progressive reformers like Wiley or Neill.³⁷ He supports limited and free inspections to standards that the packinghouses already meet, he does not support any additional labor regulations or a major change to safety regulations.

³⁷ Newman, Patrick. "The big meat: the Beef Trust, regulatory capture, and government intervention." Unpublished manuscript, Florida Southern College, n.d. Accessed February 16, 2021. <https://www.readcube.com/articles/10.2139%2Fssrn.3213676>.

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<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/poison-squad-gloom-horror-unrelieved/>.
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<https://www.crf-usa.org/bill-of-rights-in-action/bria-24-1-b-upton-sinclairs-the-jungle-muckraking-the-meat-packing-industry.html>.
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