

UNIT 6 — Period 6: 1865–1898

Topic 6.1

Contextualizing Period 6

Learning Objective 1: Explain the historical context for the rise of industrial capitalism in the United States during the period from 1865 to 1898.

Learning Objective 2: Explain a historical context for the increased international and internal migration in the United States during the period from 1865 to 1898.

Between the end of the Civil War in 1865 and the start of the Spanish-American War in 1898, the United States emerged as the world’s largest economy. Railroads expanded more than 45,000 miles a decade, faster than in others countries. During this “Gilded Age,” the “captains of industry” controlled large corporations, created great fortunes, and lived in European-style palaces. The context for the rise of large-scale industries and capitalism involved a variety of economic, political, social, and cultural developments.

Economic Changes Large-scale industries, such as railroads, steel mills, and mining, were *capital* intensive. Europeans with surplus wealth joined well-to-do Americans to fund stock and bond sales needed for expanding industries. Many businesses were based in New York City, which was home to large banks, stock exchanges, and leaders of industry, such as the Astors and Vanderbilts.

The dynamic advances in *technology* increased productivity of large-scale industries, such as the steel industry, which made steel cheaper and stronger. The 440,000 new patents from 1860 to 1890 sparked a “second” industrial revolution based on new electric- and oil-related technologies.

Industries depended on expanding *markets* connected by railroads, steamships, and networks of telegraphs, cables, and later telephones. For example, the meatpacking houses of Chicago and the steel mills of Pittsburgh reached their customers in days instead of weeks. American industries also began to look for international markets in Europe, Latin America, and Asia.

Political Change American businesses also benefited from pro-growth *government policies* that protected property rights, refrained from regulating business operations, sheltered domestic manufacturers with high tariffs, and subsidized railroads with land grants and loans. However, federal, state, and local governments largely ignored the problems of workers, farmers, consumers, and growing cities. The lack of action in these areas generated debates over the

proper role of government in the economy. During this period, the economy suffered panics and depressions, and large inequities in wealth distribution.

Migration and Urbanization Opportunities in growing industrial cities and westward expansion pulled many *migrants* from rural areas within the country as well as from abroad. During the late 1800s, large waves of “new” immigrants from southern and eastern Europe and Asia entered the United States. Migration benefited economic growth and cultural diversity, but it also produced conflicts and threatened the very existence of Native Americans.

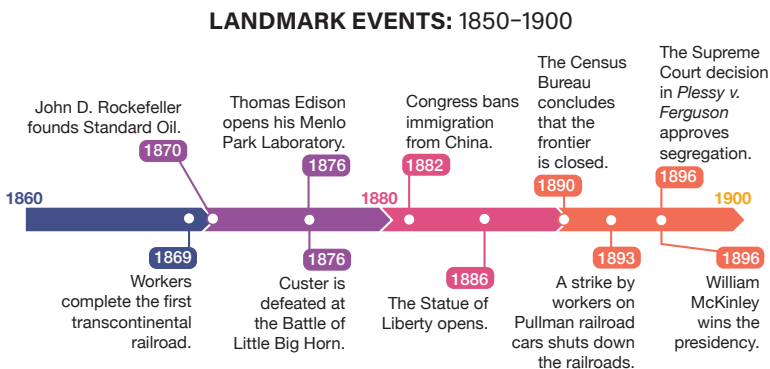
Industrialization also accelerated *urban development*. Unplanned and unregulated growth produced cities that lacked sanitary systems, degraded the environment, and had weak law enforcement. Low wages, lack of housing, and overcrowding resulted in squalid conditions for many migrant families. However, an expanding *middle class* enjoyed more leisure time and developed an urban culture featuring new forms of sports, music, and theater.

The successes and failures of the period inspired new *intellectual movements* that both supported and challenged laissez-faire capitalism and the social order of the Gilded Age. Industrialization and urbanization stimulated new ideas about government, religion, education, architecture, literature, and the arts.

Reform Efforts In response to these economic and cultural changes, *reform movements* arose. Workers, farmers, and the growing middle class began to demand changes in economic, political, and cultural institutions. Farm organizations protested against unfair railroad rates and banking practices, while industrial workers fought for higher wages and the right to organize. Women organized to gain voting rights and led the campaign for temperance. Many reform movements did not succeed at first, but they did provide the 20th century with the reform ideas and political organizations to implement them.

ANALYZE THE CONTEXT

1. Explain a historical context for the rise of industrial capitalism in the United States during the period from 1865 to 1898.
2. Explain a historical context for the increased international and internal migration in the United States during the period from 1865 to 1898.



Topic 6.2

Westward Expansion: Economic Development

*Pioneers! O pioneers!
We primeval forests felling,
We the rivers stemming, vexing we and piecing deep the mines within,
We the surface broad surveying, we the virgin soil upheaving . . .*

Walt Whitman, 1865

Learning Objective: Explain the causes and effects of the settlement of the West from 1877 to 1898.

The development of the western United States after 1865 differed from the settlement patterns of the colonial and early national frontiers because of industrialization. The most apparent difference was the building of transcontinental railroads across the Far West.

Transcontinental Railroads

The great age of railroad building coincided with the settlement of the last western frontiers. Railroads not only promoted settlement on the **Great Plains**, but they also linked the West with the East to create one great national market.

The First Route During the Civil War, Congress authorized land grants and loans for the building of the first transcontinental railroad to tie California to the rest of the Union. Two newly incorporated railroad companies divided the task. The Union Pacific (UP) started from Omaha, Nebraska, and built westward across the Great Plains. The UP employed thousands of war veterans and Irish immigrants under the direction of General Grenville Dodge. The Central Pacific started from Sacramento, California, and built eastward. Led by Charles Crocker, the workers, including as many as 20,000 Chinese immigrants, took on the great risks of laying track and blasting tunnels through the Sierra Nevada Mountains.

The two railroads came together on May 10, 1869, at Promontory Point, Utah, where a golden spike was ceremoniously driven into the rail tie to mark the linking of the Atlantic and the Pacific states.

Four Additional Routes In 1883, three other transcontinental railroads were completed. The Southern Pacific tied New Orleans to Los Angeles. The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe linked Kansas City and Los Angeles. The Northern Pacific connected Duluth, Minnesota, with Seattle, Washington. In

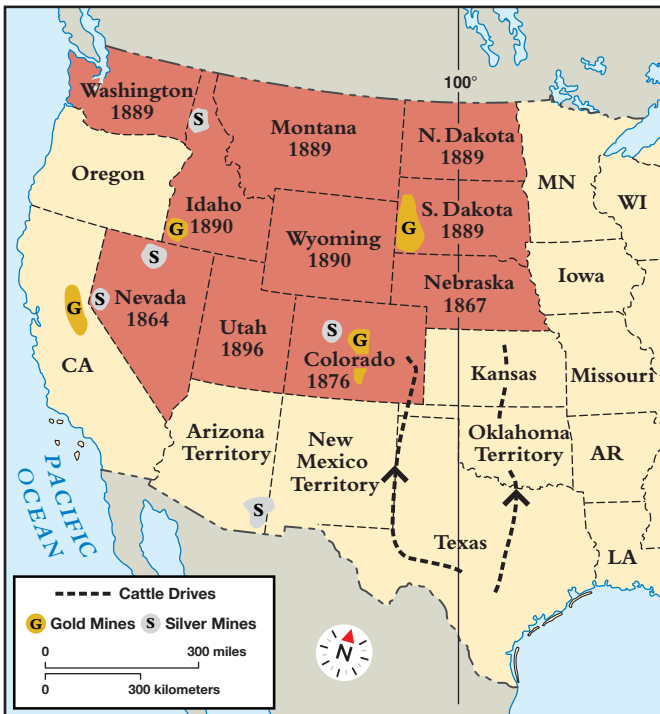
1893, the Great Northern finished the fifth transcontinental railroad, which ran from St. Paul, Minnesota, to Seattle. Companies built many other shortline and narrow-gauge railroads to open up the western interior to settlement by miners, ranchers, farmers, and business owners, leading to more towns and cities.

Negative Effects Progress came with significant costs. The railroads helped to transform the West during this period, but many proved failures as businesses. They were built in areas with few customers and with little promise of returning a profit in the near term. The frenzied rush for the West's natural resources seriously damaged the environment and nearly exterminated the buffalo. Most significantly, the American Indians who lived in the region paid a high human and cultural price.

Settlement of the Last West

At first, the settlement and economic development of the **Great Plains**, the Rocky Mountains, and the Western Plateau did not seem promising. Before 1860, these lands between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Coast were known as “the **Great American Desert**” by pioneers passing through on the way to the green valleys of Oregon and the goldfields of California. The plains west of the **100th meridian** had few trees and usually received less than 15 inches of rainfall a year, which was not considered enough moisture to support farming. Winter blizzards and hot dry summers discouraged settlement.

STATES ADMITTED TO THE UNION 1864-1896



However, after 1865 the Great Plains changed so dramatically that the former “frontier” largely vanished. By 1900, the great **buffalo herds** had been wiped out. The open western lands were fenced in by homesteads and ranches, crisscrossed by steel rails, and modernized by new towns. Ten new western states had been carved out of the last frontier. Only Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma remained as territories awaiting statehood at the end of the century.

The Mining Frontier

California’s great gold rush of 1849 set the pattern for other gold rushes. Individual prospectors poured into the region and used a method called placer mining to search for traces of gold in mountain streams. They needed only simple tools such as shovels and washing pans. Following these individuals came mining companies that could employ deep-shaft mining that required expensive equipment and the resources of wealthy investors. As the mines developed, companies employed experienced miners from Europe, Latin America, and China.

The California Gold Rush was only the first of a series of gold strikes and silver strikes in what became the states of South Dakota, Colorado, Montana, Idaho, Nevada, and Arizona. These strikes kept a steady flow of hopeful prospectors pushing into the western mountains into the 1890s that helped settle the West. The discovery of gold near Pike’s Peak, Colorado, in 1859 brought nearly 100,000 miners to the area. In the same year, the discovery of the fabulous Comstock Lode (which produced more than \$340 million in gold and silver by 1890) led to Nevada entering the Union in 1864. Idaho and Montana also received early statehood, largely because of mining booms.

Rich strikes created boomtowns, overnight towns that became infamous for saloons, dance-hall girls, and vigilante justice. Many of these, however, became lonely ghost towns within a few years after the gold or silver ran out. The mining towns that endured and grew evolved more like industrial cities than the frontier towns depicted in western films. For example, Nevada’s Virginia City (created by the Comstock Lode), added theaters, churches, newspapers, schools, libraries, railroads, and police. Mark Twain started his career as a writer working on a Virginia City newspaper in the early 1860s. A few towns that served the mines, such as San Francisco, Sacramento, and Denver, expanded into prosperous cities.

The Cattle Frontier

The economic potential of the vast open grasslands that reached from Texas to Canada was realized by ranchers in the decades after the Civil War. Earlier, cattle had been raised and rounded up in Texas on a small scale by Mexican cowboys, or *vaqueros*. The traditions of the cattle business in the late 1800s, like the hardy “Texas” **longhorn cattle**, were borrowed from the Mexicans. By the 1860s, wild herds of about 5 million head of cattle roamed freely over the Texas grasslands. The Texas cattle business was easy to get into because both the cattle and the grass were free.

Railroads and Cattle The construction of railroads into Kansas after the war opened up eastern markets for the Texas cattle. Joseph G. McCoy built the first stockyards in the region, at Abilene, Kansas. Those stockyards held cattle that could be sold in Chicago for the high price of \$30 to \$50 per head. Dodge City and other cow towns sprang up along the railroads to handle the millions of cattle driven up the Chisholm, Goodnight-Loving, and other trails out of Texas during the 1860s and 1870s. The cowboys, many of whom were African Americans or Mexicans, received about a dollar a day for their dangerous work.

Decline of the Cattle Drives The long **cattle drives** began to end in the 1880s. Overgrazing destroyed the grass, and a winter blizzard and drought of 1885–1886 killed off 90 percent of the cattle. Another factor that closed down the cattle frontier was the arrival of homesteaders, who used **barbed wire** fencing to cut off access to the formerly open range. Wealthy cattle owners turned to developing huge ranches and using scientific ranching techniques. They raised new breeds of cattle that produced more tender beef by feeding the cattle hay and grains.

The Wild West was largely tamed by the 1890s. However, in these few decades, Americans' eating habits changed from pork to beef, and people created the enduring legend of the rugged, self-reliant American cowboy.

The Farming Frontier

The **Homestead Act** of 1862 encouraged farming on the Great Plains by offering 160 acres of public land free to any family that settled on it for a period of five years. The promise of free land combined with the promotions of railroads and land speculators induced hundreds of thousands of native-born and immigrant families to attempt to farm the Great Plains between 1870 and 1900. About 500,000 families took advantage of the Homestead Act. However, five times that number had to purchase their land, because the best public lands often ended up in the possession of railroad companies and speculators.

Problems and Solutions The first “sodbusters” on the dry and treeless plains often built their homes of sod bricks. Extremes of hot and cold weather, plagues of grasshoppers, and the lonesome life on the plains challenged even the most resourceful of the pioneer families. Water was scarce, and wood for fences was almost nonexistent. The invention of barbed wire by **Joseph Glidden** in 1874 helped farmers to fence in their lands on the lumber-scarce plains. Using mail-order windmills to drill deep wells provided some water.

Even so, many homesteaders discovered too late that 160 acres was not adequate for farming the Great Plains. Long spells of severe weather, together with falling prices for their crops and the cost of new machinery, caused the failure of two-thirds of the homesteaders' farms on the Great Plains by 1900. Western Kansas alone lost half of its population between 1888 and 1892.

Success on the Great Plains Those who managed to survive adopted “dry farming” and deep-plowing techniques to make the most of the moisture available. They also learned to plant hardy strains of Russian wheat that withstood the extreme weather. Ultimately, government programs to build dams and irrigation systems saved many western farmers, as humans reshaped the rivers and physical environment of the West to provide water for agriculture.

Farmers Organize

By the end of the 1800s, farmers had become a minority within American society. While the number of U.S. farms more than doubled between 1865 and 1900, people working as farmers declined from 60 percent of the working population in 1860 to less than 37 percent in 1900. At the same time, farmers faced growing economic threats from railroads, banks, and global markets.

Changes in Agriculture

With every passing decade in the late 1800s, farming became increasingly commercialized—and also more specialized. Northern and western farmers of the late 19th century concentrated on raising single **cash crops**, such as corn or wheat, for both national and international **markets**. As consumers, farmers began to procure their food from the stores in town and their manufactured goods from the mail-order catalogs sent to them by Montgomery Ward and Sears Roebuck. As producers, farmers became more dependent on large and expensive machines, such as steam engines, seeders, and reaper-thresher combines. Larger farms were run like factories. Unable to afford the new equipment, small, marginal farms could not compete and, in many cases, were driven out of business.

Falling Prices Increased production of crops such as wheat and corn in the United States as well as in Argentina, Russia, and Canada drove prices down for farmers around the world. In the United States, since the money supply was not growing as fast as the economy, each dollar became worth more. This put more downward pressure on prices, resulting in **deflation**. The data in the chart tell the depressing story for farmers.

WHEAT AND CORN PRICES PER BUSHEL, 1867 AND 1889		
Year	Wheat	Corn
1867	\$2.01	\$0.78
1889	\$0.70	\$0.28

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

As prices fell, farmers with mortgages faced both high interest rates and the need to grow more and more to pay off old debts. Of course, increased production only lowered prices. The predictable results of this vicious circle were more debts, foreclosures by banks, and more independent farmers forced to become tenants and sharecroppers.

Rising Costs Farmers felt victimized by impersonal forces of the larger national economy. Industrial corporations were able to keep prices high on manufactured goods by forming monopolistic trusts. Wholesalers and retailers (known as “the **middlemen**”) took their cut before selling to farmers. Railroads, warehouses, and elevators took what little profit remained by charging high or discriminatory rates for the shipment and storage of grain. Railroads would often charge more for short hauls on lines with no competition than for long hauls on lines with competition.

Taxes also seemed unfair to farmers. Local and state governments taxed property and land heavily but did not tax income from stocks and bonds. The tariffs protecting various American industries were viewed as just another unfair tax paid by farmers and consumers for the benefit of the industrialists.

Fighting Back

A long tradition of independence and individualism restrained farmers from taking collective action. Finally, however, they began to organize for their common interests and protection.

National Grange Movement The National Grange of Patrons of Husbandry was organized in 1868 by Oliver H. Kelley primarily as a social and educational organization for farmers and their families. Within five years, chapters of the Grange existed in almost every state, with the most in the Midwest. As the **National Grange Movement** expanded, it became active in economics and politics to defend members against middlemen, trusts, and railroads. For example, Grangers established **cooperatives**—businesses owned and run by the farmers to save the costs charged by middlemen. In Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, the Grangers, with help from local businesses, successfully lobbied their state legislatures to pass laws regulating the rates charged by railroads and elevators. Other **Granger laws** made it illegal for railroads to fix prices by means of pools and to give rebates to privileged customers. In the landmark case of *Munn v. Illinois* (1877), the Supreme Court upheld the right of a state to regulate businesses of a public nature, such as railroads.

Farmers’ Alliances Farmers also expressed their discontent by forming state and regional groups known as farmers’ alliances. Like the Grange, the alliances taught about scientific farming methods. Unlike the Grange, alliances always had the goal of economic and political action. Hence, the alliance movement had serious potential for creating an independent national political party. By 1890, about 1 million farmers had joined farmers’ alliances. In the South, both poor White and Black farmers joined the movement.

Ocala Platform That potential nearly became reality in 1890 when a national organization of farmers—the National Alliance—met in Ocala, Florida, to address the problems of rural America. The Alliance attacked both major parties as subservient to Wall Street bankers and big business. Ocala delegates created the **Ocala Platform** that called for significant reforms:

- Direct election of U.S. senators (in the original U.S. Constitution, senators were selected by state legislatures)
- Lower tariff rates
- A graduated income tax (people with higher incomes would pay higher rates of tax)
- A new banking system regulated by the federal government

In addition, the Alliance platform demanded that Treasury notes and silver be used to increase the amount of money in circulation. Farmers wanted to increase the supply of money in order to create inflation, thereby raising crop prices. The platform also proposed federal storage for farmers' crops and federal loans, freeing farmers from dependency on middlemen and creditors.

The alliances stopped short of forming a political party. However, local and state candidates who supported alliance goals received decisive electoral support from farmers. Many of the reform ideas of the Grange and the farmers' alliances would become part of the Populist movement, which would shake the foundations of the two-party system in the elections of 1892 and 1896.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain three causes of the economic development of the West from 1865 to 1898.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Western Settlement (MIG)

transcontinental railroads
Great Plains
Great American Desert
100th meridian
buffalo herds

Western Development (MIG)

vaqueros
longhorn cattle
cattle drives
barbed wire
Homestead Act

Joseph Glidden
"dry farming"

Farm Protest Movements (PCE)

cash crops
markets
deflation
middlemen
National Grange Movement
cooperatives
Granger laws
Munn v. Illinois
Ocala Platform

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

1. We demand the abolition of national banks.
2. We demand that the government shall establish sub-treasuries or depositories in the several states, which shall loan money direct to the people at a low rate of interest, not to exceed two per cent per annum, on non-perishable farm products, and also upon real estate. . . .
3. We demand that the amount of the circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than \$50 per capita.
4. We condemn the silver bill recently passed by Congress, and demand in lieu thereof the free and unlimited coinage of silver.
5. We further demand a removal of the existing heavy tariff tax from the necessities of life, that the poor of our land must have.
6. We further demand a just and equitable system of graduated tax on incomes.
7. We demand that the Congress of the United States submit an amendment to the Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people of each state.

Ocala Platform, December 1890

1. Which statement best explains the reason for the demand for “election of United States Senators by direct vote”?
 - (A) Labor unions resented how the Senate often supported efforts to break strikes.
 - (B) Reformers hoped that reforming the U.S. Senate would lead to similar reforms by states.
 - (C) Residents of states with large populations argued that the Senate did not represent all people equally.
 - (D) Many voters felt that the Senate had become dominated by powerful business interests.
2. The Ocala Platform was primarily based on the belief that
 - (A) federal income taxes fell mainly on average working Americans
 - (B) large banks had worked together to reduce interest rates on loans
 - (C) higher tariffs would help farmers prosper
 - (D) increasing the money supply would help farmers who were in debt

3. The Ocala Platform proved an important link between the alliance movement and which of the following later groups?

- (A) Urban reformers
- (B) The Populists
- (C) The United Mine Workers
- (D) Factory workers

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1.



Source: Getty Images

Using the image above, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly describe ONE perspective about railroads expressed through the image.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific historical development that led to the perspective expressed in the image.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific example of how farmer movements challenged railroads in the period from 1865 to 1898.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
- (a) Briefly describe ONE way the mining frontier changed in the period from 1865 to 1898.
 - (b) Briefly describe ONE way the cattle frontier changed in the period from 1865 to 1898.
 - (c) Briefly describe ONE way the economics of western farming changed in the period from 1865 to 1898.

Westward Expansion: Social and Cultural Development

American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. . . . The true point of view in the history of this nation is not the Atlantic coast, it is the Great West.

Frederick Jackson Turner, 1893

Learning Objective: Explain the causes and effects of the settlement of the West from 1877 to 1898.

The historical perspective on the social and cultural development of the West has changed since the 1890s. At first, the settlement of the Great Plains and Far West was recorded as another frontier to be conquered and settled by Europeans. However, Native Americans, Mexican Americans, Asian immigrants, and other migrants were also there to shape the culture and diversity of the region.

The Closing of the Frontier

The Oklahoma Territory, once set aside for the use of American Indians, was opened for settlement in 1889, and hundreds of homesteaders took part in the last great land rush in the West. In 1890 the U.S. Census Bureau declared that the entire frontier—except for a few pockets—had been settled.

Turner’s Frontier Thesis Three years after the Census Bureau declaration, historian **Frederick Jackson Turner** published a provocative, influential essay, “**The Significance of the Frontier in American History**.” He presented the settling of the frontier as an evolutionary process of building civilization. Into an untamed wilderness came wave after wave of people. The first were hunters. Following them came cattle ranchers, miners, and farmers. Finally, people arrived who founded towns and cities. Turner argued that 300 years of frontier experience had shaped American culture, promoting independence, individualism, inventiveness, practical-mindedness, and democracy. But people also became wasteful of natural resources.

Role of Towns and Cities Historians have challenged Turner’s evolutionary view by arguing that frontier cities were not a late addition. Rather, they played an early and primary role in development of the frontier. For example, 19th century developers or “boosters” tried to create settlements on the frontier overnight in

the middle of nowhere. After laying out town plots on paper, boosters strove to establish their own town as a territory's central hub of development by competing to capture the county seat or state capital, a state asylum, a railroad depot, or a college.

Urban markets also made frontier development possible. The cattle ranchers' frontier developed because it was linked by the railroads to Chicago and eastern markets. By integrating the history of the city and the settlement of the frontier, it becomes clear that the development of the frontier especially after 1865 was interdependence with the growth of towns and cities.

American Without a Frontier The closing of the frontier troubled Turner. He saw the frontier as a safety valve for releasing discontent in American society. The frontier had always held the promise of a fresh start. Once the frontier was gone, Turner wondered, would the United States be condemned to follow the patterns of class division and social conflict that troubled Europe?

While many debate the Turner thesis, historians acknowledge that by the 1890s the largest movement of Americans was not from east to west, it was from rural communities to the cities. Migrants saw more opportunity in industry than in agriculture. Not only was the era of the western frontier coming to a close, but the dominance of rural America was also on a decline.

American Indians in the West

The American Indians who occupied the West in 1865 belonged to dozens of different cultural and tribal groups. In New Mexico and Arizona, Pueblo groups such as the Hopi and Zuni lived in permanent settlements raising corn and livestock. The Navajo and Apache peoples of the Southwest were nomadic hunter-gatherers who adopted a more settled way of life, not only raising crops and livestock but also producing arts and crafts. In the Pacific Northwest (Washington and Oregon), the Chinook, Shasta, and other tribes developed complex communities based on abundant fish and game.

About two-thirds of the western tribal groups lived on the Great Plains. These nomadic tribes, such as the Sioux, Blackfoot, Cheyenne, Crow, and Comanche, had given up farming in colonial times after the introduction of the horse by the Spanish. By the 1700s, they had become skillful horse riders and developed a way of life centered on the hunting of buffalo. Although they belonged to tribes of several thousand, they lived in smaller bands of 300 to 500 members. In the late 19th century, their conflicts with the U.S. government were partly the result of White Americans having little understanding of the Plains peoples' loose tribal organization and nomadic lifestyle.

Reservation Policy In the 1830s, President Andrew Jackson's policy of moving eastern American Indians to the West was based on the belief that lands west of the Mississippi would permanently remain "Indian country." This expectation soon proved false, as wagon trains rolled westward on the Oregon Trail, and plans were made for building a transcontinental railroad. In 1851, in councils (negotiations) at Fort Laramie (Wyoming) and Fort Atkinson

(Wisconsin), the federal government began to assign the Plains tribes large tracts of land—or reservations—with definite boundaries. Most Plains tribes, however, refused to restrict their movements to the reservations and continued to follow the migrating buffalo wherever they roamed.

Indian Wars In the late 1800s, the settlement by miners, ranchers, and homesteaders on American Indian lands led to violence. Fighting between U.S. troops and Plains Indians was often brutal, with the U.S. Army responsible for several massacres. In 1866, during the Sioux War, the tables were turned when Sioux fighters wiped out an army column under Captain William Fetterman.

Following these wars, another round of treaties attempted to isolate the Plains Indians on smaller reservations with federal agents promising government support. However, gold miners refused to stay off American Indians' lands if gold was found on them, as it was in the Dakotas' Black Hills. Soon, minor chiefs not involved in the treaty-making and younger warriors denounced the treaties and tried to return to ancestral lands.

AMERICAN INDIANS IN THE WEST



A new round of conflicts in the West began in the 1870s. The Indian Appropriation Act of 1871 ended recognition of tribes as independent nations by the federal government and ended negotiation of treaties to be approved by Congress. Conflicts included the Red River War against the Comanche in the southern plains and a second Sioux War led by Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse in the northern plains. Before the Sioux were defeated, they ambushed and destroyed Colonel George Custer's command at **Little Big Horn** in 1876. Chief Joseph's courageous effort to lead a band of the Nez Percé into Canada ended in defeat and surrender in 1877.

The constant pressure of the U.S. Army forced tribe after tribe to comply with Washington's terms, even after the government violated treaties. In addition, the slaughter of most of the buffalo by the early 1880s doomed the way of life of the Plains peoples. As they lost the buffalo, Plains Indians had to change their traditions as a nomadic hunting culture.

Ghost Dancers and Wounded Knee The last effort of American Indians to resist U.S. government controls was the religiously inspired **Ghost Dance movement**. Leaders believed it could return prosperity to American Indians. In the government's campaign to suppress the movement, the famous Sioux medicine man Sitting Bull was killed during his arrest. Then in December 1890, the U.S. Army gunned down more than 200 American Indian men, women, and children in the "battle" (massacre) of Wounded Knee in the Dakotas. This final tragedy marked the end of the Indian Wars on the blood-crimsoned prairie.

Assimilationists The injustices done to American Indians were chronicled in a best-selling book by **Helen Hunt Jackson**, *A Century of Dishonor* (1881). Although this book created sympathy for American Indians, especially in the eastern United States, it also generated support for ending Indian culture through **assimilation**. Reformers advocated formal education, job training, and conversion to Christianity. They set up boarding schools such as the Carlisle School in Pennsylvania to segregate American Indian children from their people and teach them White culture and farming and industrial skills.

Dawes Severalty Act (1887) A new phase in the relationship between the U.S. government and American Indians was incorporated in the **Dawes Act of 1887**. The Act was designed to break up tribal organizations, which many felt kept American Indians from becoming "civilized" and law-abiding citizens. The Dawes Act divided the tribal lands into plots of up to 160 acres, depending on family size. U.S. citizenship was granted to those who stayed on the land for 25 years and "adopted the habits of civilized life."

Under the Dawes Act, as intended, the federal government distributed 47 million acres of land to American Indians. However, 90 million acres of former reservation land—often the best land—was sold over the years to White settlers by the government, speculators, or American Indians themselves. The new policy proved a failure. By the turn of the century, disease and poverty had reduced the American Indian population to just 200,000 persons, most of whom lived as wards of the federal government.

Changes in the 20th and 21st Centuries In 1924, in partial recognition that forced assimilation had failed, the federal government granted U.S. citizenship to all American Indians, whether or not they had complied with the Dawes Act. As part of President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal in the 1930s, Congress adopted the **Indian Reorganization Act** (1934), which promoted the reestablishment of tribal organization and culture. Since then, the number of people identifying as American Indians has increased. Today, more than 3 million American Indians, belonging to 500 tribes, live in the United States.

Mexican Americans in the Southwest

Mexico's independence from Spain in 1821 increased trade and cultural exchange with the United States. The **Santa Fe Trail**, a nearly 1,000-mile overland route between Santa Fe, New Mexico, and western Missouri linked the regions. This trail opened up the Spanish-speaking southwest to economic development and settlement. It was a vital link until a railroad was completed in 1880.

Mexican landowners in the Southwest and California were guaranteed their property rights and granted citizenship after the Mexican War. However, drawn-out legal proceedings often resulted in the sale or loss of lands to new Anglo arrivals. Hispanic culture was preserved in dominant Spanish-speaking areas, such as the New Mexico territories, the border towns, and the barrios of California.

During this period, Mexican Americans moved throughout the West to find work. Many found employment in the sugar beet fields and the mines of Colorado, and in building railroads throughout the region. Before 1917, the border with Mexico was open, and few records were kept for either seasonal workers or permanent settlers. Mexicans, like their European counterparts, were drawn by the explosive economic development of the region. Mexican Americans, Native Americans, and White settlers competed for land and resources during this period.

The Conservation Movement

The concerns over **deforestation** sparked the conservation movement. The breathtaking paintings and photographs of western landscapes helped to push Congress to preserve such western icons as **Yosemite** Valley as a California state park in 1864 (it became a national park in 1890) and to dedicate the **Yellowstone** area as the first national park in 1872. In the 1800s, Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz advocated creation of forest reserves and a federal forest service to protect federal lands from exploitation. Presidents Benjamin Harrison and Grover Cleveland reserved 33 million acres of national timber. (For more on the conservation movement, see Topic 7.4.)

With the closing of the frontier era, Americans grew increasingly concerned about the loss of public lands and the natural treasures they contained. The **Forest Reserve Act of 1891** and the **Forest Management Act of 1897** withdrew federal timberlands from development and regulated their use. While most "**conservationists**" believed in scientific management and regulated use of

natural resources, “**preservationists**,” such as **John Muir**, a leading founder of the **Sierra Club** in 1892, went a step further and aimed to preserve natural areas from human interference. The establishment of Arbor Day in 1872, a day dedicated to planting trees, and the educational efforts of the Audubon Society and the Sierra Club reflected a growing environmental awareness by 1900.



Source: Logging in California, 1909. Library of Congress

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain three effects of the settlement of the West on its social and cultural development from 1865 to 1898.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Frontier Closing (MIG)

Frederick Jackson Turner
 “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” (1893)

American Indians (MIG)

Little Big Horn
 Ghost Dance movement
 assimilationists
 Helen Hunt Jackson
 Dawes Act of 1887
 Indian Reorganization Act

Mexican Americans (MIG)

Santa Fe Trail

Conservation (GEO)

deforestation
 Yosemite
 Yellowstone
 Forest Reserve Act of 1891
 Forest Management Act of 1897
 conservationists
 preservationists
 John Muir
 Sierra Club

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the following excerpt.

“When you first came we were many, and you were few; now you are many, and we are getting very few. . . . We are driven into very little land. . . . I came to Washington to see the Great Father [President] in order to have peace and in order to have peace continue. . . . In 1868 men came out and brought papers. . . . We wanted them to take away their forts, leave our country, not make war. The interpreters deceived us. . . . We do not want riches. . . . We want our children properly trained and brought up. . . . We would like to know why commissioners are sent out there to do nothing but rob [us] and get the riches of this world away from us. . . . I want to tell the people that we cannot trust [President Grant’s] agents.”

Chief Red Cloud, speech at Cooper Union in New York, July 16, 1870

1. The excerpt best illustrates which of the following issues of that time?
 - (A) President Grant had instituted policies that protected tribal lands.
 - (B) Migrants and Native Americans were clashing over tribal lands.
 - (C) Tribal leaders believed that their growing population would give them more power to negotiate favorable treaties.
 - (D) Tribal leaders wanted to end the conflicts with White Americans through assimilation.
2. Which of the following best explains the relationship of the United States government and Native American tribes before 1871?
 - (A) Native tribes were recognized as “nations” within the United States.
 - (B) Individual Native Americans enjoyed the same equal rights as White U.S. citizens.
 - (C) Native Americans had no legal status and were treated as foreigners.
 - (D) The federal government left agreements and treaties up to the states.

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. “About the Indian wars that plagued the American West . . . it is commonly believed that they might have been avoided but for the avarice [greed] and aggression of the white man. The root of the trouble lay in the Plains Indian’s rootlessness. It was freedom of movement, the privilege of ranging far and wide seasonally that gave his life meaning and dignity. . . . [T]hat given time and patience the Plains tribes could be persuaded to abandon their nomadic ways . . . was wishful thinking. . . . Civilization may have had a clear duty to save these people from themselves.”

S. L. A. Marshall, historian, *Crimsoned Prairie*, 1972

“The grand irony of the Great Plains is that none of the tribes with which the army would clash were native to the lands they claimed. All had been caught up in a vast migration, precipitated by the white settlements in the East. As the dislocated Indians spilled onto the Plains, they jockeyed with native tribes for the choicest hunting grounds. In a real sense, then—and this cannot be over emphasized—the wars that were to come between the Indians and the government for the Great Plains would represent a clash of emigrant peoples.”

Peter Cozzens, historian, *The Earth Is Weeping*, 2016

Using the excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly describe ONE major difference between Marshall’s and Cozzens’s interpretations of the Indian Wars from 1865 to 1898.
 - (b) Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Marshall’s interpretation.
 - (c) Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Cozzens’s interpretation.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - (a) Briefly describe ONE specific effect on American culture or character that historian Frederick Jackson Turner attributed to the frontier experience.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific effect of the closing of the frontier on American society or economy.
 - (c) Briefly explain how ONE additional factor shaped American culture or character between 1865 and 1898.

The “New South”

Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts.

Supreme Court majority opinion in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896

Learning Objective: Explain how various factors contributed to continuity and change in the “New South” from 1877 to 1898.

While the West was being developed, the South was recovering from the devastation of the Civil War. Some Southerners promoted a vision for a “**New South**” with a self-sufficient economy, built on modern capitalist values, industrial growth, modernized transportation, and improved race relations. However, its agricultural past and racial divisions provided more continuity than change.

Growth of Industry

Henry Grady, the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, spread the gospel of the “New South” with editorials that argued for economic diversity and laissez-faire capitalism. To attract businesses, local governments offered tax exemptions to investors and the promise of low-wage labor. The growth of cities, the textile industry, and improved railroads symbolized efforts to create a “New South” in the late 19th century:

- **Birmingham**, Alabama, developed into one of the nation’s leading **steel** producers.
- **Memphis**, Tennessee, prospered as a center for the South’s growing **lumber** industry.
- **Richmond**, Virginia, the former capital of the Confederacy, became the capital of the nation’s **tobacco** industry.

Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina overtook the New England states as the chief producers of textiles. By 1900, the South had 400 cotton mills employing almost 100,000 White workers. Southern railroad companies rapidly converted to the standard gauge rails used in the North and West, so the South was integrated into the **national rail network**. The South’s rate of postwar growth from 1865 to 1900 equaled or surpassed that of the rest of the country in population, industry, and railroads.

However, two factors slowed industrial growth. To a greater extent than before the Civil War, Northern financing dominated much of the Southern economy. Northern investors controlled three-quarters of the Southern

railroads and by 1900 had control of the South's steel industry as well. A large share of the profits from the new industries went to Northern banks and financiers instead of recirculating and expanding the Southern economy.

In addition, economic growth in the South was hampered by the failure of state and local governments to expand public education. They did not invest in technical and engineering schools for White or Black residents as the North had done. As a result, few Southerners had the skills needed to foster industrial development. Without adequate education, the Southern workforce faced limited economic opportunities in the fast-changing world of the late 19th century. Southern industrial workers (94 percent of whom were White) earned half the national average and worked longer hours than did workers elsewhere.

Agriculture and Poverty

While industry did grow in the South, the region remained largely agricultural—and also the poorest part of the country. By 1900, more than half the region's White farmers and three-quarters of the Black farmers were either **tenant farmers** who rented land or **sharecroppers** who paid for the use of land with a share of the crop. Since people were poor and profits from industry flowed to the North, Southern banks had little money to lend to farmers. This shortage of credit forced farmers to borrow supplies from local merchants in the spring with a lien, or mortgage, on their crops to be paid at harvest. The combination of sharecropping and crop liens kept farmers as virtual serfs tied to the land by debt. These farmers barely got by from year to year.

Cotton and Other Crops The South's postwar economy remained tied mainly to growing cotton. Between 1870 and 1900, the number of acres planted in cotton more than doubled. Increased output, however, only added to the cotton farmer's problems. The resulting glut of cotton on world markets caused cotton prices to decline by more than 50 percent by the 1890s. Per capita income in the South actually declined, and many farmers lost their farms.

Some Southern farmers sought to diversify their farming to escape the trap of depending entirely on cotton. **George Washington Carver**, an African American scientist at **Tuskegee Institute** in Alabama, promoted the growing of such crops as peanuts, sweet potatoes, and soybeans. His work played an important role in shifting southern agriculture toward a more diversified base.

Attempts to Organize Despite some diversification, most small farmers in the South remained in a cycle of debt and poverty. As in the North and the West, hard times produced a harvest of discontent. By 1890, the Farmers' Southern Alliance claimed more than 1 million members. A separate organization for African Americans, the Colored Farmers' National Alliance, had about 250,000 members. Both organizations rallied behind political reforms to solve the farmers' economic problems. If poor Black and poor White farmers in the South could have united, they would have been a potent political force, but the economic interests of the upper class and the powerful racial attitudes of Whites stood in their way.

Segregation

When Reconstruction ended in 1877, the North withdrew protection of African Americans and left Southerners to solve their social and economic problems. Democratic politicians who came to power in the southern states after Reconstruction, known as redeemers, won support from the business community and **White supremacists**. The latter group favored treating African Americans as social inferiors by separating, or segregating, public facilities by race. The redeemers often used race as a rallying cry to deflect attention from the real concerns of tenant farmers and the working poor. They discovered that they could exert political power by playing on the racial fears of Whites.

Discrimination and the Supreme Court During Reconstruction, federal laws protected African Americans from discrimination by local and state governments. Starting in the late 1870s, however, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down these laws. In the **Civil Rights Cases of 1883**, the Court ruled that Congress could not ban racial discrimination practiced by private citizens and businesses, including railroads and hotels, used by the public.

Then, in 1896, in the landmark case *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Supreme Court upheld a Louisiana law requiring “separate but equal accommodations” for White and Black railroad passengers. The Court ruled that Louisiana’s law did not violate the 14th Amendment’s guarantee of “equal protection of the laws.”

These federal court decisions supported a wave of segregation laws, commonly known as **Jim Crow laws**, that southern states adopted beginning in the 1870s. These laws required segregated washrooms, drinking fountains, park benches, and other facilities in virtually all public places. Only the use of streets and most stores was not restricted according to a person’s race.

Loss of Civil Rights Other discriminatory laws resulted in the wholesale disenfranchisement of Black voters by 1900. In Louisiana, for example, 130,334 Black voters were registered in 1896 but only 1,342 in 1904—a 99 percent decline. Southern states invented various political and legal devices were to prevent African Americans from voting. Among the most common obstacles were **literacy tests**, **poll taxes**, and political party primaries for Whites only. Many Southern states adopted so-called **grandfather clauses**, which allowed a man to vote if his grandfather had voted in elections before Reconstruction. The Supreme Court again approved such laws in an 1898 case that upheld a state’s right to use literacy tests to determine citizens’ qualifications for voting.

Discrimination took many forms. In southern courts, African Americans could not serve on juries. If convicted of crimes, they often received stiffer penalties than Whites. In some cases, African Americans accused of crimes did not receive the formality of a court-ordered sentence. **Lynch mobs** killed more than 1,400 Black men during the 1890s. **Economic discrimination** was also widespread, keeping most southern African Americans out of skilled trades and even factory jobs. Thus, while poor Whites and immigrants learned the industrial skills that would help them rise into the middle class, African Americans remained engaged in farming and low-paying domestic work.

Responding to Segregation

Segregation, disenfranchisement, and lynching left African Americans in the South oppressed but not powerless. Some responded with confrontation. **Ida B. Wells**, editor of the *Memphis Free Speech*, a Black newspaper, campaigned against lynching and the Jim Crow laws. Death threats and the destruction of her printing press forced Wells to carry on her work from the North. Other Black leaders advocated leaving the South. Bishop Henry Turner formed the **International Migration Society** in 1894 to help Blacks emigrate to Africa. Many African Americans moved to Kansas and Oklahoma.

Booker T. Washington A third response to oppression, advocated by **Booker T. Washington**, was to accommodate it. Washington, who was born enslaved, had graduated from Hampton Institute in Virginia. In 1881, he established an industrial and agricultural school for African Americans in Tuskegee, Alabama. There, African Americans learned skilled trades while Washington preached the virtues of hard work, moderation, and economic self-help. Earning money, he said, was like having “a little green ballot” that would empower African Americans more effectively than a political ballot.

Speaking at an exposition in Atlanta in 1895, Washington argued that “the agitation of the questions of social equality is the extremist folly.” He supported what became known as the **Atlanta Compromise**, a belief that Black and White Southerners shared a responsibility for making their region prosper. He thought African Americans should focus on working hard at their jobs and not challenge segregation and discrimination. In return, Whites should support education and even some legal rights for African Americans. “In all things that are purely social,” Washington said, “we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.”

In 1900, Washington organized the National Negro Business League, which established 320 chapters across the country to support businesses owned and operated by African Americans. Washington’s emphasis on racial harmony and **economic cooperation** won praise from many Whites, including industrialist Andrew Carnegie and President Theodore Roosevelt.

Responses to Washington Later civil rights leaders had mixed reactions to Washington’s approach, especially his Atlanta speech. Some criticized him as too willing to accept discrimination. For example, after 1900, the younger African American leader **W. E. B. Du Bois** would demand an end to segregation and the granting of equal civil rights to all Americans. In contrast, other writers praised Washington for paving the way for Black self-reliance because of his emphasis on starting and supporting Black-owned businesses.

Change came slowly to a region that clung to its past. White supremacy and segregation would continue to dominate race relations in the South until the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The Southern economy would finally achieve the vision of the “New South” after World War II, as it shared in the prosperity of the postwar era.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain three factors that contributed to continuity or change in the “New South” from 1877 to 1898.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Southern Development (WXT)	George Washington Carver	grandfather clauses
“New South”	Tuskegee Institute	lynch mobs
Henry Grady	Racial Discrimination (MIG, POL)	economic discrimination
Birmingham (steel)	White supremacists	Ida B. Wells
Memphis (lumber)	Civil Rights Cases of 1883	International Migration Society
Richmond (tobacco)	<i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i>	Booker T. Washington
national rail network	Jim Crow laws	W. E. B. Du Bois
tenant farmers	literacy tests	Atlanta Compromise
sharecroppers	poll taxes	economic cooperation

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

“I attended a funeral once in Pickens County in my State. . . . They buried him in the heart of a pine forest, and yet the pine coffin was imported from Cincinnati. They buried him within touch of an iron mine, and yet the nails in his coffin and the iron in the shovel that dug his grave were imported from Pittsburgh. . . . The South didn’t furnish a thing on earth for that funeral but the corpse and the hole in the ground. There they put him away and the clods rattled down on his coffin, and they buried him in a New York coat and a Boston pair of shoes and a pair of breeches from Chicago and a shirt from Cincinnati, leaving him nothing to carry into the next world with him to remind him of the country in which he lived, and for which he fought for four years, but the chill of blood in his veins and the marrow in his bones.”

Henry Grady, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, 1889

1. The key idea in the excerpt is that Grady believes
- (A) the Civil War damaged the Southern economy
 - (B) former Confederate soldiers deserved better treatment
 - (C) the secession of the Confederacy was justified
 - (D) the South needed to industrialize

2. Which of the following best demonstrates a change or condition that reflected Grady's hopes for the South?
- (A) Railroads, textile mills, and steel factories developed.
 - (B) Formerly enslaved people often became tenant farmers.
 - (C) Northern investors controlled three-quarters of Southern railroads.
 - (D) The Southern economy remained mainly tied to agriculture.
3. Grady's comments best express the viewpoint of which group of people?
- (A) Southerners who advocated developing a "New South"
 - (B) Populists who wanted a coalition between White and Black Southerners
 - (C) Redeemers who wanted to restore pre-Civil War Southern culture
 - (D) Political leaders who agreed with the decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. "The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremist folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercises of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera house."

Booker T. Washington, speech at Cotton States and
International Exposition, Atlanta, September 18, 1895

Using the excerpt above, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly describe ONE specific way that Washington's policies were similar to the goals of the "New South" movement.
- (b) Briefly explain ONE historical development that resulted from the perspectives presented by Washington.
- (c) Briefly explain ONE historical development that contributed to the perspective presented by Washington.

Technological Innovation

Only an inventor knows how to borrow, and every man is or should be an inventor.

Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Letter and Social Aims*, 1876

Learning Objective: Explain the effects of technological advances in the development of the United States over time.

Vital to industrial development of the United States were new inventions. Communications, transportation, basic industries, electric power, and urban growth were all improved by technological innovations.

Inventions

The first radical change in the speed of communications was the invention of a workable telegraph by Samuel F. B. Morse, initially demonstrated in 1844. By the time of the Civil War, electronic communication by telegraph and rapid transportation by railroad were already becoming standard parts of modern living, especially in the Northern states.

After the war, Cyrus W. Field's invention of an improved **transatlantic cable** in 1866 suddenly made it possible to send messages across the seas in minutes. By 1900, cables linked all inhabited continents of the world in an electronic network of nearly instantaneous, global communication. This communication revolution soon internationalized markets and prices for basic commodities, such as grains, coal, and steel, often placing local and smaller producers at the mercy of international forces.

Among the hundreds of noteworthy inventions of the late 19th century were the typewriter (1867), the **telephone** developed by **Alexander Graham Bell** (1876), the cash register (1879), the calculating machine (1887), and the adding machine (1888). These new products became essential tools for business. Products for the consumer that were in widespread use by the end of the century were George **Eastman's Kodak camera** (1888), Lewis E. Waterman's fountain pen (1884), and King Gillette's safety razor and blade (1895).

The Steel Industry

The technological breakthrough that launched the rise of heavy industry was the discovery of a new process for making large quantities of steel, a more durable metal than iron. In the 1850s, both **Henry Bessemer** in England

and William Kelly in the United States discovered that blasting air through molten iron produced high-quality steel. Because the Great Lakes region from Pennsylvania to Illinois had abundant coal reserves and access to the iron ore of Minnesota's Mesabi Range, it emerged as the center of steel production.

Edison and Westinghouse

Possibly the greatest inventor of the 19th century, **Thomas Edison** worked as a telegraph operator as a young man. In 1869, at age 22, he patented his first invention, a machine for recording votes. Income from his early inventions enabled Edison to establish a research laboratory in **Menlo Park**, New Jersey, in 1876. This was the world's first modern research laboratory, which was Edison's "invention factory." He declared that it would turn out "a minor invention every ten days and a big thing every six months or so." It ranks among Edison's most important contributions to science and industry because it introduced the concept of mechanics and engineers working on a project as a team rather than independently.

Out of Edison's lab came more than a thousand patented inventions, including the phonograph, the dynamo for generating **electric power**, the mimeograph machine, and the motion picture camera. Of all the inventions of the era, Edison's improvements to the incandescent lamp in 1879 (the first practical electric lightbulb), was arguably the most significant. **Electric light** revolutionized life, especially in the cities, from the way people worked to the way they shopped. During his lifetime, Edison became a mythic figure, even though others inventors improved on his work.

Another remarkable inventor, **George Westinghouse**, held more than 400 patents and was responsible for developing an air brake for railroads (1869) and a transformer for producing high-voltage alternating current (AC). The latter invention made possible the **lighting** of cities and the operation of electric streetcars, subways, and electrically powered machinery and appliances. Westinghouse and General Electric came to dominate electric technology with their AC power supply systems, which came to replace Edison's direct current technology. By 1900, various electric trades employed nearly a million people, making electric light and power one of the nation's largest and fastest growing industries.

Technology and Growth of Cities

Developments in how people moved from place to place and the kind of buildings they lived and worked in remade the urban landscape. Cities grew both outward and upward.

Changes in Transportation Improvements in urban transportation made the growth of cities possible. In the walking cities of the pre-Civil War era, people had little choice but to live within walking distance of their shops or jobs. Such cities gave way to streetcar cities, in which people lived in residences many miles from their jobs and commuted to work on horse-drawn streetcars. By the 1890s, both horse-drawn cars and cable cars were being replaced by electric trolleys, elevated railroads, and **subways**, which could transport people

to urban residences even farther from the city’s commercial center. The building of massive steel suspension bridges such as New York’s **Brooklyn Bridge** (1883) also made possible longer commutes between residential areas and city centers.

Skyscrapers As cities expanded outward, they also soared upward, since increasing land values in the central business district made the construction of taller and taller buildings profitable. In 1885, Chicago became the home of the first true **skyscraper** with a steel skeleton, a ten-story building designed by William Le Baron Jenny. Structures of this size were made possible by such innovations as the **Otis elevator** and the central steam-heating system with radiators in every room. By 1900, steel-framed skyscrapers for offices of industry had replaced church spires as the dominant feature of American urban skylines.

Marketing Consumer Goods

The increased output of U.S. factories and the invention of new consumer products enabled businesses to sell merchandise to a large public. **R. H. Macy** in New York and Marshall Field in Chicago made the **large department store** popular in urban centers. Frank Woolworth’s five-and-dime stores brought nationwide chain stores to towns and urban neighborhoods. Two large **mail-order companies**, **Sears, Roebuck and Co.**, and Montgomery Ward, used the improved rail system to ship to rural customers everything from hats to houses that people ordered from each company’s thick catalog. The Sears catalog became famous as the “wish book.”

Packaged foods under such brand names as Kellogg and Post became common items in American homes. Refrigerated railroad cars and **canning** enabled **Gustavus Swift** and other packers to change the eating habits of Americans with mass-produced meat and vegetable products. **Advertising** and new marketing techniques not only promoted a **consumer economy** but also created a consumer culture in which shopping became a favorite pastime.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain three technological innovations and their effects during the period from 1865 to 1898.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Technology (WXT)	electric light	large department store
transatlantic cable	George Westinghouse	mail-order companies
telephone	subways	Sears, Roebuck & Co.
Alexander Graham Bell	Brooklyn Bridge	packaged foods
Eastman’s Kodak camera	skyscraper	canning
Henry Bessemer	Otis elevator	Gustavus Swift
Thomas Edison	Marketing Innovations	advertising
Menlo Park	(WXT)	consumer economy
electric power	R. H. Macy	

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the following excerpt.

My laboratory will soon be completed. . . . I will have the best equipped and largest Laboratory extant, and the facilities incomparably superior to any other for rapid and cheap development of an invention and working it up into Commercial shape with models, patterns and special machinery. . . . In fact there is no similar institution in Existence. We do our own castings and forging. Can build anything from a lady's watch to a Locomotive.

Thomas Alva Edison, letter, November 14, 1887

1. What did Edison mean with the claim that “there is no similar institution in Existence”?
 - (A) He had created the first factory to mass-produce commercial products.
 - (B) He had created the first laboratory dedicated to producing inventions.
 - (C) He had developed the designs for electric-powered streetcars and locomotives.
 - (D) He had developed marketing practices that promoted a consumer economy.
2. How did the development described in the excerpt cause a lasting change in how science and industry operated?
 - (A) It showed that large corporations would need to invent new products in order to survive.
 - (B) It marked the first time an inventor became famous for developing something new.
 - (C) It started the tradition of individual inventors working on their own.
 - (D) It promoted the idea that teams of people working together could invent new products profitably.

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - (a) Briefly explain how ONE innovation caused changes in communications during the period from 1865 to 1898.
 - (b) Briefly explain how ONE innovation caused changes in the marketing of consumer goods during the period from 1865 to 1898.
 - (c) Briefly explain how ONE innovation caused changes in the development of cities during the period from 1865 to 1898.

The Rise of Industrial Capitalism

Then, again, the ability to organize and conduct industrial, commercial, or financial enterprises is rare; the great captains of industry are as rare as great generals.

William Graham Sumner, "What Social Classes Owe to Each Other," 1903

Learning Objective: Explain the socioeconomic continuities and changes associated with the growth of industrial capitalism from 1865 to 1898.

While new technologies played a key role in the economic growth after 1865, in many ways the more important "inventions" were the management and financial structures that helped to create the large-scale industries that came to dominate the era. The continued quest for increased profits inspired a variety of approaches to the consolidation of businesses and wealth.

The Business of Railroads

The dynamic combination of business leadership, capital, technology, markets, labor, and government support was especially evident in the development of the **nation's first big business**—railroads. After the Civil War, railroad mileage increased more than fivefold in a 35-year period (from 35,000 miles in 1865 to 193,000 miles in 1900). The federal government subsidized this growth by providing companies low-interest loans and millions of acres of public lands. Railroads created a market for goods that was national in scale and by so doing encouraged mass production, mass consumption, and economic specialization. The resources used in railroad building promoted the growth of other industries, especially coal and steel.

Railroads also affected the routines of daily life. Prior to 1883, each community or region could determine when noon was for itself based on when the sun was directly overhead. In effect, the country had 144 different time zones. In 1883 that ended. The **American Railroad Association** divided the country into four **time zones**. Railroad time became standard time for all Americans.

Maybe the most important innovation of the railroads was the creation of the modern stockholder corporation. Railroads required so much investment that they needed to develop complex structures in finance, business management, and the regulation of competition.

Competition and Consolidation

In the early decades of railroading (1830–1860), the building of dozens of separate local lines had resulted in different gauges (distance between tracks) and incompatible equipment. These inefficiencies were reduced after the Civil War through the **consolidation** of competing railroads into integrated trunk lines. A trunk line was the major route between large cities; smaller branch lines connected the trunk line with outlying towns. “Commodore” **Cornelius Vanderbilt** used his millions earned from a steamboat business to merge local railroads into the New York Central Railroad (1867), which ran from New York City to Chicago. It operated more than 4,500 miles of track. Other trunk lines, such as the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Pennsylvania Railroad, connected eastern seaports with Chicago and other Midwestern cities and set standards of excellence and efficiency for the rest of the industry.

Problems and Corruption However, railroads were not always efficient. As has been the case with other forms of new technology through history, investors overbuilt in the 1870s and 1880s. Some companies suffered from mismanagement and outright fraud. Speculators such as **Jay Gould** entered the railroad business for quick profits and made their millions by selling off assets and **watering stock** (inflating the value of a corporation’s assets and profits before selling its stock to the public). In a ruthless scramble to survive, railroads competed by offering **rebates** (discounts) and kickbacks to favored shippers while charging exorbitant freight rates to smaller customers such as farmers. Railroads also attempted to increase profits by forming **pools**, in which competing companies agreed secretly to fix rates and share traffic.

Concentration of Railroad Ownership A financial panic in 1893 forced one-quarter of all railroads into **bankruptcy**. Bankers led by **J. Pierpont Morgan** quickly moved in to take control of the bankrupt railroads and consolidate them. With competition eliminated, they could stabilize rates and reduce debts. By 1900, seven giant systems controlled nearly two-thirds of the nation’s railroads. The consolidation made the rail system more efficient. However, the system was controlled by a few powerful men such as Morgan, who dominated the boards of competing railroad corporations through **interlocking directorates** (the same directors ran competing companies). In effect, they created regional railroad monopolies.

Railroad Power Railroads captured the imagination of late-19th century America, as the public, local communities, states, and federal government invested in their development. At the same time, however, customers and small investors often felt that they were the victims of slick financial schemes and ruthless practices. Early attempts to regulate the railroads by law did little good. Granger laws passed by Midwestern states in the 1870s were overturned by the Supreme Court, and the federal Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 was at first ineffective (see Topic 6.12). Not until the Progressive era in the early 20th century did Congress expand the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission to protect the public interest.

TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROADS, 1865-1900



Industrial Empires

The late 19th century witnessed a major shift in the nature of industrial production. Early factories had concentrated on producing textiles, clothing, and leather products. After the Civil War, a “second Industrial Revolution” resulted in the growth of large-scale industry and the production of steel, petroleum, electric power, and the industrial machinery to produce other goods.

Andrew Carnegie and the Steel Industry Leadership of the fast-growing steel industry passed to a shrewd business genius, **Andrew Carnegie**. Born in 1835 in Scotland, Carnegie immigrated to the United States and worked his way up from poverty to become the superintendent of a Pennsylvania railroad. In the 1870s, he started manufacturing steel in Pittsburgh and soon outdistanced his competitors by a combination of salesmanship and the use of the latest technology. Carnegie employed a business strategy known as *vertical integration*, in which a company would control every stage of the industrial process, from mining the raw materials to transporting the finished product. By 1900, Carnegie Steel employed 20,000 workers and produced more steel than all the mills in Britain.

Deciding to retire from business to devote himself to philanthropy, Carnegie sold his company in 1900 for more than \$400 million to a new steel combination headed by Morgan. The new corporation, **United States Steel**, was the first billion-dollar company. It was also the largest enterprise in the world, employing 168,000 people and controlling more than three-fifths of the nation's steel business.

Rockefeller and the Oil Industry The first U.S. oil well was drilled by Edwin Drake in 1859 in Pennsylvania. Only four years later, in 1863, a young **John D. Rockefeller** founded a company that would quickly eliminate its competition and take control of most of the nation's oil refineries. By 1881, his company—by then known as the **Standard Oil** Trust—controlled 90 percent of the oil refinery business. It had become a **monopoly**, a company that dominates a market so much that it faces little or no competition from other companies. By controlling the supply and prices of oil, Standard Oil's profits soared and so did Rockefeller's fortune. When he retired, his fortune was worth about \$900 million.

In part, Standard Oil grew because Rockefeller applied new technology and efficient management practices. Sometimes this kept prices low for consumers. However, as the company grew, it became very powerful. Rockefeller was able to extort rebates from railroad companies and temporarily cut prices in order to force rival companies to sell out.

Controversy over Corporate Power Emulating the success of Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Morgan, leaders in the meat, sugar, tobacco, and other industries also formed dominant companies to gain control of the markets. These companies were organized in various ways:

- A **trust** is an organization or board that manages the assets of other companies. Under Rockefeller, Standard Oil became a trust in which one board of trustees managed a combination of once-competing oil companies. (“Trust” added other meanings in later years.)
- **Horizontal integration** is a process through which one company takes control of all its former competitors in a specific industry, such as oil refining or coal mining.
- **Vertical integration** is a process through which one company takes control of all stages of making a product. For example, Carnegie Steel controlled coal mines, the ore ships, steel mills, and distribution systems for the steel company to reduce costs, improve efficiency, and increase profits.
- A **holding company** is one created to own and control diverse companies. Banker J. Pierpont Morgan managed a holding company that orchestrated the management of the companies it had acquired in various industries, such as banking, rail transportation, and steel.

Critics of these giant corporations charged that they were bad for the economy. By creating monopolies, they subverted competition in open and free markets. According to the critics, monopolies slowed innovation, overcharged

consumers, and developed excessive political influence. The word “monopoly” came to stand for a company that was so large and powerful that it threatened the public interest.

Laissez-Faire Capitalism

Federal, state, and local government all supported businesses and economic growth with actions such as passing high tariffs, building infrastructure, and operating public schools and universities. However, the prevailing economic, scientific, and religious beliefs of the late 19th century led people to reject government regulation of business. The economic expression of these beliefs was summed up in the phrase “**laissez-faire**.”

Conservative Economics

In 1776, economist **Adam Smith** had argued in *The Wealth of Nations* that mercantilism, which included extensive regulation of trade by government, was less efficient than allowing businesses to be guided by the “invisible hand” (impersonal economic forces) of the law of supply and demand. While Smith supported some government regulations, he believed that in general, unregulated businesses would be motivated by their own self-interest to offer improved goods and services at low prices.

In the 19th century, American industrialists appealed to laissez-faire theory to justify their methods of doing business. The rise of monopolistic trusts in the 1880s seemed to undercut the very competition needed for natural regulation. Even so, among conservatives and business leaders, laissez-faire theory was constantly invoked in legislative halls and lobbies to ward off any threat of government regulation.

Social Darwinism Charles Darwin’s theory of natural selection in biology offended the beliefs of many religious conservatives, but it bolstered the views of economic conservatives. Led by English social philosopher Herbert Spencer, some people argued for **Social Darwinism**, the belief that Darwin’s ideas of natural selection and **survival of the fittest** should be applied to the marketplace. Spencer believed that concentrating wealth in the hands of the “fit” benefited everyone.

A student of Spencer’s beliefs, Professor **William Graham Sumner** of Yale University, introduced the principles of Social Darwinism to the study of sociology in the United States. He argued that helping the poor was misguided because it interfered with the laws of nature and would only weaken the evolution of the species by preserving the unfit. The teachings of respected scholars such as Sumner provided a “scientific” sanction for racial intolerance. Race theories about the superiority of one group over others would continue into the 20th century.

Protestant Work Ethic A number of Americans found religion more convincing than Social Darwinism in justifying the wealth of successful industrialists and bankers. John D. Rockefeller diligently applied the **Protestant**

work ethic (that material success was a sign of God’s favor and a just reward for hard work) to both his business and personal life. Because of this, he concluded that “God gave me my riches.” In a popular lecture, “Acres of Diamonds,” the Reverend Russell Conwell preached that everyone had a duty to become rich.

The Concentration of Wealth

By the 1890s, the richest 10 percent of the U.S. population controlled 90 percent of the nation’s wealth. Industrialization created a new class of millionaires, some of whom flaunted their wealth by living in ostentatious mansions, sailing enormous yachts, and throwing lavish parties. The Vanderbilts graced the waterfront of Newport, Rhode Island, with summer homes that rivaled the villas of European royalty. Guests at one of their dinner parties were invited to hunt for their party favors by using small silver shovels to seek out the precious gems hidden in sand on long silver trays.

Many Americans ignored the widening gap between the rich and the poor. They found hope in the examples of “**self-made men**” in business such as Andrew Carnegie and Thomas Edison and novels by **Horatio Alger Jr.** Every Alger novel portrayed a young man of modest means who becomes wealthy through honesty, hard work, and a little luck. In reality, opportunities for upward mobility (movement into a higher economic bracket) did exist, but the rags-to-riches career of an Andrew Carnegie was unusual. Statistical studies demonstrate that the typical wealthy businessperson of the day was a White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant male who came from an upper- or middle-class background and whose father was in business or banking.

Business Influence Outside the United States

Corporations in the late 19th century increasingly desired to do business in Latin America and Asia. Industries wanted the raw materials they could process into finished goods. Around 1900, imports from Cuba, Brazil, and Asia of products such as sugar and rubber accounted for about 30 percent of U.S. imports. Businesses also wanted to sell manufactured goods and agricultural products abroad. Around 1900, the United States included about 5 percent of the world population but accounted for about 15 percent of world exports. The growth of business interests around the world was one reason the United States became more involved in international affairs in the late 1800s and early 1900s (see Topics 7.1 and 7.2).

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain three socioeconomic changes associated with the growth of industrial capitalism from 1865 to 1898.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Business of Railroads (WXT)

nation's first big business
American Railroad
Association
time zones
consolidation
Cornelius Vanderbilt
Jay Gould
watering stock
rebates
pools
bankruptcy
J. Pierpont Morgan

Large Scale Industry (WXT)

interlocking directorates
Andrew Carnegie
United States Steel
John D. Rockefeller
monopoly
Standard Oil
trust
horizontal integration
vertical integration
holding company

Capitalism (CUL)

laissez-faire
Adam Smith
Social Darwinism
survival of the fittest
William Graham Sumner
Protestant work ethic
concentration of wealth
"self-made men"
Horatio Alger

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

“Competition therefore is the law of nature. Nature is entirely neutral; she submits to him who most energetically and resolutely assails her. She grants her rewards to the fittest; therefore, without regard to other considerations of any kind. . . . Such is the system of nature. If we do not like it and if we try to amend it, there is one way in which we can do it. We take from the better and give to the worse. . . . Let it be understood that we cannot go outside this alternative: liberty, inequality, survival of the fittest; not-liberty, equality, survival of the unfittest. The former carries society forward and favors all its best members; the latter carries society downward and favors all its worst members.”

William Graham Sumner, sociologist, *The Challenge of Facts*, 1882

1. Sumner most clearly expresses ideas associated in the 19th century with
 - (A) John Locke's description of the social contract in the *Second Treatise of Government*
 - (B) Thomas Jefferson's belief about human equality in the Declaration of Independence
 - (C) Charles Darwin's explanation on why some species survive and others do not in *On the Origins of Species*
 - (D) J. Pierpont Morgan's use of interlocking directorates to consolidate ownership among railroads

2. Supporters of the position expressed by Sumner would likely defend
 - (A) monopolies because they reduced destructive economic competition
 - (B) laissez-faire capitalism because it reduced business regulations
 - (C) socialism because it emphasized equality among people
 - (D) populism because it helped farmers who were poor
3. Which of the following developments would be most consistent with the beliefs expressed in the excerpt?
 - (A) Consolidation of wealth by an elite
 - (B) Expansion of rights for women
 - (C) Passage of antitrust legislation
 - (D) Spread of organized labor

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. “We accept and welcome . . . the law of competition between these, as being not only beneficial, but essential for the progress of the race.”

Andrew Carnegie, “Gospel of Wealth,” 1889

“The struggle for the survival of the fittest . . . as well as the law of supply and demand, were observed in all ages past until Standard Oil company preached cooperation, and it did cooperate so successfully.”

John D. Rockefeller, interview given around 1917

Using the excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain ONE significant difference between Carnegie’s perspective and Rockefeller’s perspective on the role of competition in industrial development.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE historical event or development from Carnegie’s career that supports his view on competition.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE historical event or development from Rockefeller’s career that supports his view on competition.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - (a) Briefly explain ONE specific example of how government promoted the growth of railroads in the United States before 1900.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific example of how the rise of large corporations influenced the U.S. economy from 1865 to 1900.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific text or belief that influenced the United States to follow laissez-faire policies.

Labor in the Gilded Age

We have been brought to the ragged edge of anarchy.

Richard Olney, U.S. Attorney General on the
Pullman Strike, July 4, 1894

Learning Objective: Explain the socioeconomic continuities and changes associated with the growth of industrial capitalism from 1865 to 1898.

The expression *Gilded Age*, first used by Mark Twain in 1873 as the title of a book, referred to the superficial glitter of the new wealth so prominently displayed in the late 19th century. The characterization of the period from 1865 to 1898 as the Gilded Age has proved a useful label for an era in which the “captains of industry” controlled large corporations, created great fortunes, and dominated politics. At the same time, the problems faced by workers, farmers, and burgeoning cities festered under the surface of the new wealth.

Challenges for Wage Earners

The growth of industry was based on hard physical labor in mines and factories. However, for the people doing these jobs, life was hard.

Wages By 1900, two-thirds of all employed Americans worked for wages, usually at jobs that required them to labor ten hours a day, six days a week. Wages were determined by the laws of supply and demand. Because there was usually a large supply of immigrants competing for factory jobs, wages were barely above the level needed for bare subsistence. Low wages were justified by David Ricardo (1772–1823), whose famous “**iron law of wages**” argued that raising wages would only increase the working population, and the availability of more workers would in turn cause wages to fall, thus creating a cycle of misery and starvation.

Real wages (income adjusted for inflation or deflation) rose steadily in the late 19th century, but even so most **wage earners** could not support a family decently on one income. Therefore, working-class families depended on the income of women and children. In 1870, about 12 percent of children were employed outside the home. By 1900, that number had increased to about 20 percent. In 1890, 11 million of the 12.5 million families in the United States averaged less than \$380 a year in income.

Labor Discontent Before the Industrial Revolution, workers labored in small workplaces that valued an artisan's skills. People often felt a sense of accomplishment in creating a product from start to finish. Factory work was radically different. Industrial workers were often assigned just one step in the manufacturing of a product, performing semiskilled tasks monotonously. Both immigrants from abroad and migrants from rural America had to learn to work under the tyranny of the clock. In many industries, such as railroads and mining, working conditions were dangerous. Many workers were exposed to chemicals and pollutants that only later were discovered to cause chronic illness and early death.

Industrial workers rebelled against intolerable working conditions by missing work or quitting. They changed jobs on the average of every three years. About 20 percent of those who worked in factories eventually dropped out of the industrial workplace rather than continuing. This was a far higher percentage than those who protested by joining labor unions.

The Struggles of Organized Labor

The late 19th century witnessed the most deadly—and frequent—labor conflicts in the nation's history. Many feared the country was heading toward open warfare between capital and labor.

Industrial Warfare

With a surplus of low-cost labor, management held most of the power in its struggles with organized labor. Strikers could easily be replaced by bringing in strikebreakers, or scabs—unemployed persons desperate for jobs. Employers used several tactics for defeating unions:

- *Lockout*: the act of closing a factory to break a labor movement before it could get organized
- *Blacklist*: a roster of the names of pro-union workers that employers circulated so that these people could not find work
- *Yellow-dog contract*: a contract that included as a condition of employment that workers could not join a union
- *Private guards* and *state militia*: forces used by employers to put down strikes
- *Court injunction*: judicial action used by an employer to prevent or end a strike

Moreover, management fostered public fear of unions as anarchistic and un-American. Before 1900, management won most of its battles with organized labor because, if violence developed, employers could almost always count on the support of the federal and state governments.

Tactics by Labor Workers were divided on the best methods for defending themselves against management. Some union leaders advocated political

action. Others favored direct confrontation: strikes, picketing, boycotts, and slowdowns to achieve union recognition and **collective bargaining**, the ability of workers to negotiate as a group with an employer over wages and working conditions.

Great Railroad Strike of 1877 One of the worst outbreaks of labor violence in the century erupted in 1877. During an economic depression, the railroad companies cut wages in order to reduce costs. A strike on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad quickly spread across 11 states and shut down two-thirds of the country's rail lines. Railroad workers were joined by 500,000 workers from other industries in an escalating strike that quickly became national in scale. For the first time since the 1830s, a president (Rutherford B. Hayes) used federal troops to end a labor dispute. The strike and the violence finally ended, but not before more than 100 people had been killed. After the strike, some employers addressed the workers' grievances by improving wages and working conditions, while others took a harder line by busting workers' organizations.

Attempts to Organize National Unions

Before the 1860s, unions had been organized as local associations in one city or region. They were usually **craft unions**, ones focused on one type of work.

National Labor Union The first attempt to organize all workers in all states—skilled and unskilled, agricultural and industrial—was the **National Labor Union**. Founded in 1866, it had some 640,000 members by 1868. Besides championing the goals of higher wages and the eight-hour day, it also had a broad social program: equal rights for women and African Americans, monetary reform, and worker cooperatives. Its chief victory was winning the eight-hour day for federal government workers. It lost support, however, after a depression began in 1873 and after the unsuccessful strikes of 1877.

Knights of Labor A second national labor union, the **Knights of Labor**, began in 1869 as a secret society in order to avoid detection by employers. Under the leadership of Terence V. Powderly, the union went public in 1881, opening its membership to all workers, including African Americans and women. Powderly advocated a variety of reforms: (1) forming worker cooperatives “to make each man his own employer,” (2) abolishing child labor, (3) abolishing trusts and monopolies, and (4) settling labor disputes by arbitration rather than strikes. Because the Knights were loosely organized, however, Powderly could not control local units that decided to strike.

The Knights of Labor grew rapidly, attaining a peak membership of 730,000 workers in 1886. However, it also declined rapidly after the violence of the Haymarket riot in Chicago in 1886 turned public opinion against the union.

Haymarket Bombing Chicago, with about 80,000 Knights in 1886, was the site of the first May Day labor movement. Also living in Chicago were about 200 anarchists who advocated the violent overthrow of all government. In response to the May Day movement calling for a general strike to achieve an eight-hour day, labor violence broke out at Chicago's McCormick Harvester

plant. On May 4, workers held a public meeting in Haymarket Square, and as police attempted to break up the meeting, someone threw a bomb, which killed seven police officers. The bomb thrower was never found. Even so, eight anarchist leaders were tried for the crime, and seven were sentenced to death. Horrified by the bomb incident, many Americans concluded that the union movement was radical and violent. The Knights of Labor, as the most visible union at the time, lost popularity and membership.

American Federation of Labor Unlike the reform-minded Knights of Labor, the **American Federation of Labor** (AFL) concentrated on “bread-and-butter unionism,” attaining narrower economic goals. Founded in 1886 as an association of 25 craft unions of skilled workers, and led by **Samuel Gompers** until 1924, the AF of L focused on just higher wages and improved working conditions. Gompers directed his local unions to walk out until the employer agreed to negotiate a new contract through collective bargaining. By 1901, the AF of L was by far the nation’s largest labor organization, with 1 million members. Even this union, however, would not achieve major successes until the early decades of the 20th century.

Strikes and Strikebreaking in the 1890s

Two massive strikes in the last decade of the 19th century demonstrated both the growing discontent of labor and the continued power of management to prevail in industrial disputes.

Homestead Strike Henry Clay Frick, the manager of Andrew Carnegie’s Homestead Steel plant near Pittsburgh, precipitated a strike in 1892 by cutting wages by nearly 20 percent. Frick used the weapons of the lockout, private guards, and strikebreakers to defeat the steelworkers’ walkout after five months. Sixteen people, mostly steelworkers, died in the conflict. The failure of the **Homestead strike** set back the union movement in the steel industry until the New Deal in the 1930s.

Pullman Strike Even more alarming to conservatives was a strike started by workers living in George Pullman’s company town near Chicago. The Pullman Palace Car Company manufactured widely used railroad sleeping cars. In 1894, Pullman announced a general cut in wages and fired the leaders of the workers’ delegation who came to bargain with him. The workers at Pullman laid down their tools and appealed for help from the American Railroad Union. The ARU’s leader, **Eugene V. Debs**, directed railroad workers not to handle any trains with Pullman cars. The union’s boycott tied up rail transportation across the country.

Railroad owners supported Pullman by linking Pullman cars to mail trains. They then appealed to President Grover Cleveland, persuading him to use the army to keep the mail trains running. A federal court issued an injunction forbidding interference with the operation of the mail and ordering railroad workers to abandon the boycott and the strike. For failing to respond to this injunction, Debs and other union leaders were arrested and jailed. The jailing

of Debs and others effectively ended the strike. In the case of *In re Debs* (1895), the Supreme Court approved the use of court injunctions against strikes, which gave employers a very powerful legal weapon to break unions.

After serving a six-month jail sentence, Debs concluded that more radical solutions were needed to cure labor’s problems. He turned to socialism and the American Socialist Party, which he helped to found in 1900.

Conditions in 1900

By 1900, only 3 percent of American workers belonged to unions. Management held the upper hand in labor disputes, with government generally taking its side. However, people were beginning to recognize the need for a better balance between the demands of employers and employees to avoid the numerous strikes and violence that characterized the late 19th century.

During the Gilded Age, industrial growth was concentrated in the Northeast and Midwest regions, the parts of the country with the largest populations, the most capital, and the best transportation. As industries grew, these regions developed more cities and attracted more immigrants from overseas and migrants from rural areas.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain three changes for workers during the period associated with the growth of industrial capitalism from 1865 to 1898.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Organized Labor (WXT)	craft unions	Samuel Gompers
“iron law of wages”	National Labor Union	Homestead strike
wage earners	Knights of Labor	Pullman strike
collective bargaining	Haymarket bombing	Eugene V. Debs
railroad strike of 1877	American Federation of Labor (AFL)	

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

“You evidently have observed the growth of corporate wealth and influence. You recognize that wealth, in order to become more highly productive, is concentrated into fewer hands, and controlled by representatives and directors, and yet you sing the old siren song that the workingman should depend entirely upon his own ‘individual effort.’

The school of laissez-faire, of which you seem to be a pronounced advocate, has produced great men in advocating the theory of each for himself and his Satanic majesty taking the hindermost, but the most

pronounced advocates of your school of thought in economics have, when practically put to the test, been compelled to admit that combination and organizations of the toiling masses are essential both to prevent the deterioration and to secure an improvement in the condition of the wage earners.”

Samuel Gompers, Letter to Judge Peter Grosscup,
“Labor in Industrial Society,” 1894

1. This excerpt was written to most directly support which of the following?
 - (A) Formation of trusts
 - (B) The right to organize and bargain collectively
 - (C) The antitrust movement
 - (D) Employee ownership of business
2. Which of the following best explains why Gompers thought that “organizations of the toiling masses are essential both to prevent the deterioration and to secure an improvement in the condition of the wage earners”?
 - (A) The school of laissez-faire economics
 - (B) The rise of the captains of industry
 - (C) The concentration of corporate wealth and power
 - (D) The belief in individualism and self-reliance
3. The ideas expressed in this excerpt are most closely allied with
 - (A) the theory of wages by David Ricardo
 - (B) the practice of horizontal integration
 - (C) the establishment of Pullman’s company town for workers
 - (D) the rise of the American Federation of Labor

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - (a) Briefly explain ONE specific example of the impact of a labor organization during the period from 1865 to 1900.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific example of a tactic used by employers to defeat the organization of labor unions.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific example of the role of government in a labor conflict during the period from 1865 to 1900.

Immigration and Migration in the Gilded Age

*Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me:
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.*

Emma Lazarus, "The New Colossus," 1883, later inscribed
on the Statue of Liberty

Learning Objective: Explain how cultural and economic factors affected migration patterns over time.

In 1893, more than 12 million people attended a world's fair in Chicago known as the World's Columbian Exposition. In just six decades, Chicago's population had grown from a small town of fewer than 4,000 people to the country's second largest city with more than a million residents, the fastest growing city in the nation, if not the world. However, visitors complained of the confusion of tongues, "worse than the tower of Babel," for in 1893 Chicago was a city of immigrants. More than three-fourths of its population were either foreign-born or the children of the foreign-born.

Growth of Immigration

The growing connections between the United States and the world are evident during this period, especially in the area of immigration. In the last half of the 19th century, the U.S. population more than tripled, from about 23.2 million in 1850 to 76.2 million in 1900. The arrival of 16.2 million immigrants fueled the growth. An additional 8.8 million more arrived during the peak years of immigration, 1901–1910.

Push and Pull Factors An increased combination of "pushes" (negative factors from which people are fleeing) and "pulls" (positive attractions of the adopted country) increased migrations around the world. Several negative forces drove Europeans to emigrate:

- The poverty of displaced farmworkers driven from the land by political turmoil and the mechanization of farm work

- Overcrowding and joblessness in European cities as a result of population growth
- Religious persecution, particularly against Jews in eastern Europe

Positive reasons for moving to the United States included the country's reputation for political and religious freedom and the economic opportunities afforded by the settling of the West and the abundance of industrial jobs in U.S. cities. Economic opportunity fluctuated with the economy. The years of prosperity attracted more immigrants than did the years of depression. Furthermore, the introduction of large steamships and the relatively inexpensive one-way passage in the ships' steerage" made it possible for millions of poor people to emigrate.

"Old" Immigrants from Europe Through the 1880s, the vast majority of immigrants came from northern and western Europe: the British Isles, Germany, and Scandinavia. Most of these **"old" immigrants** were Protestants. Their language (mostly English-speaking) and high level of literacy and occupational skills made it relatively easy for these immigrants to blend into a mostly rural American society in the early decades of the 19th century. However, Irish and German Roman Catholics faced significant discrimination.

"New" Immigrants from Europe Beginning in the 1890s and continuing to the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the national origins of most immigrants changed. The **"new" immigrants** came from southern and eastern Europe. They were Italians, Greeks, Croats, Slovaks, Poles, and Russians. Many were poor and illiterate peasants who had left autocratic countries and therefore were unaccustomed to democratic traditions. Unlike the earlier groups of Protestant immigrants, the newcomers were largely Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Russian Orthodox, or Jewish. On arrival, most new immigrants crowded into poor ethnic neighborhoods in New York, Chicago, and other major U.S. cities. An estimated 25 percent of them were "birds of passage," young men contracted for unskilled factory, mining, and construction jobs, who would return to their native lands once they had saved a fair sum of money to bring back to their families.

Immigrants from Asia The first large migration of Asians to the United States came from China after gold was discovered in California in 1848. Passage of the **Chinese Exclusion Act** in 1882 ended the immigration of people from China (see Topic 6.9). However, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino immigrants found work in Hawaii, and some settled in California and other states. The first immigrants from South Asia arrived in the early 1900s. However, in response to anti-Asia feelings, Congress passed immigration restrictions in 1917 and 1924 that almost completely stopped immigration from the entire continent. Only Filipinos, because the United States took possession of the Philippines in 1898, could immigrate (see Topic 7.3).

Immigration and Growth of Cities

Urbanization and industrialization developed together. Cities provided both laborers for factories and a market for factory-made goods. The shift

in population from rural to urban became more obvious with each passing decade. By 1900, almost 40 percent of Americans lived in towns or cities. By 1920, for the first time, more Americans lived in urban areas—then defined as places with 2,500 people or more—than in rural areas.

People moving into the cities included both immigrants and internal migrants born in the rural United States. In the late 19th century, millions of young Americans from rural areas decided to seek new economic opportunities in the cities. They left the farms for industrial and commercial jobs, and few of them returned. Among those who joined the movement from farms to cities were African Americans from the South. Between 1897 and 1930, nearly 1 million Black Southerners resettled in northern and western cities.

Patterns of Urban Development Cities of the late 19th century underwent significant developments. Not only did they grow in size, but also their internal structure and design changed.

Mass transportation had the effect of segregating urban workers by income. The upper and middle classes moved to **streetcar suburbs** (communities that grew along transit routes leading to an urban center) to escape the pollution, **poverty**, and crime of the city. The exodus of higher-income residents left older sections of the city to the working poor, many of whom were immigrants. The residential areas of the cities and suburbs both reflected and contributed to the class, race, ethnic, and cultural divisions in American society.

Ethnic Neighborhoods As affluent citizens moved out of residences near the business districts, the poor moved into them. To increase their profits, landlords divided up inner-city housing into small, windowless rooms. The resulting slums and **tenement apartments** could cram more than 4,000 people into one city block. In an attempt to correct unlivable conditions, New York City passed a law in 1879 that required each bedroom to have a window. The cheapest way for landlords to respond to the law was to build the so-called **dumbbell tenements**, buildings constructed with open ventilation shafts in the center to provide windows for each room. However, overcrowding and filth in new tenements continued to promote the spread of deadly diseases, such as cholera, typhoid, and tuberculosis.

In their crowded tenement quarters, immigrant groups created distinct **ethnic neighborhoods** where each group could maintain its own language, culture, church or temple, and social club. Many groups even supported their own newspapers and schools. While often crowded, unhealthy, and crime-ridden, these neighborhoods (sometimes called “ghettos”) often served as springboards for ambitious and hardworking immigrants and their children to achieve their version of the American Dream.

This explosive growth of immigrants to the United States after 1865 renewed populist protests to keep down the number of immigrants, especially ones who differed by ethnicity, languages, and religions from the “old” immigrants. The efforts to discourage or restrict “new” immigrants drew upon earlier opposition to Irish, Italian, and Chinese immigration.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain how three cultural and economic factors affected migration patterns during the Gilded Age.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Immigration (MIG)

“pushes”

“pulls”

“old” immigrants

“new” immigrants

Chinese Exclusion Act

streetcar suburbs

tenement apartments

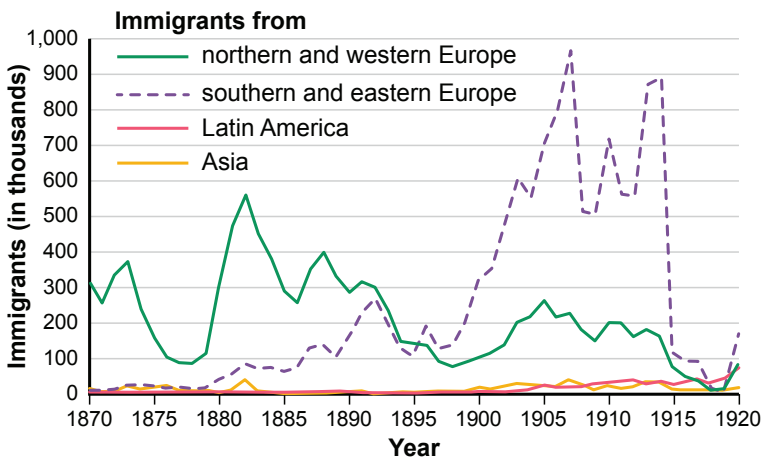
dumbbell tenements

ethnic neighborhoods

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the following graph.

IMMIGRATION, 1870 TO 1920



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

1. In the graph above, the group of immigrants who would be considered “new” immigrants were those from
 - (A) northern and western Europe
 - (B) southern and eastern Europe
 - (C) Latin America
 - (D) Asia

2. Which of the following best explains why immigration declined in some years between 1870 and 1900?
- (A) Increased religious persecution in Europe
 - (B) Military conflicts in Europe
 - (C) Economic depressions in the United States
 - (D) Restrictions on Europeans entering the United States

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. “Between 1820 and 1930, over 62 million people uprooted themselves from their native countries to seek a better life in newer lands around the globe. Almost two-thirds of these enterprising souls came to the United States. . . . Other new countries like Australia and Argentina, it is true, are as much the product of immigration as the United States, but all these such countries were peopled by a very narrow range of nationalities. . . . Only in America were many nationalities mixed together.”

Carl N. Degler, historian, *Out of Our Past*, 1970

“Relatively few outsiders entered the [Southern] region. The borders of the old Confederacy might as well have been a dam, so effectively did they turn aside immigrants and hold Southerners within the confines of Dixie. The percentage of foreign born in the South actually fell from 1860 to 1900. By 1910 only 2 percent of the Southern population had been born outside the United States, compared with 14.7 percent for the country as a whole. Immigrants avoided the South because of low wages, sharecropping.”

Richard White, historian, *The Republic for Which It Stands*, 2017

Using the excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly describe ONE major difference between Degler’s and White’s historical interpretations of immigration to the United States.
- (b) Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development in the period 1865 to 1900 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Degler’s interpretation.
- (c) Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development in the period 1865 to 1900 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support White’s interpretation.

Responses to Immigration in the Gilded Age

*Wide open and unguarded stand our gates,
And through them presses a wild, motley throng . . .
O liberty, white Goddess: Is it well
To leave the gates unguarded?*

Thomas Bailey Aldrich, "The Unguarded Gates?," 1892

Learning Objective: Explain the various responses to immigration in the period over time.

In the 1870s, when the French sculptor Frédéric-Auguste Bartholdi began work on the **Statue of Liberty**, few laws restricted immigration to the United States. The only large restriction banned Chinese immigrants. By 1886, however—the year that the great welcoming statue was placed on its pedestal in New York Harbor—Congress had passed a number of new laws restricting immigration.

Opposition to Immigration

Several groups supported efforts to restrict immigration in the period from 1865 to 1898. Each focused on its own reasons, though often these reasons overlapped.

- Labor union members were motivated by economic concerns. They resented that employers used immigrants to depress wages and break strikes.
- Employers benefitted from competition among workers for jobs, but they feared that immigrants would advocate radical reforms. Business owners often blamed strikes and the labor movement on foreign agitators.
- Nativists felt alarmed that immigrants would not only take their jobs but would also weaken the culture of the Anglo majority. Often, nativists were Protestants who were openly prejudiced against Roman Catholics. The largest anti-Catholic organization of the 1890s was the **American Protective Association**.
- Social Darwinists believed that southern and eastern Europeans and all non-Europeans were biologically inferior to people of English and Germanic heritage. This idea was supported by many of the leading biologists of the 19th century before it was completely discredited.

Restrictions on Chinese and Other Immigrants The first major laws limiting immigration based on race and nationality targeted the Chinese. This hostility toward the Chinese mainly came from the western states. In many mining towns, half the population was foreign-born, and often most of these were Chinese immigrants. In response to pressure from native-born miners, California passed a Miner's Tax of \$20 a month on all foreign-born miners. Then, in 1882, Congress passed the **Chinese Exclusion Act**, which banned all new immigration from China. The restrictions were not fully lifted until 1965.

Restrictions also came in 1882 on the immigration of “undesirable” persons, such as paupers, criminals, convicts, and those diagnosed as mentally incompetent. The **Contract Labor Law of 1885** restricted temporary workers, an effort to protect American workers from competition. A literacy test for immigrants was vetoed by President Cleveland but passed in 1917. Soon after the opening of **Ellis Island** in New York harbor as an immigration center in 1892, new arrivals had to pass more rigorous medical examinations and pay a tax before entering the United States. During a severe depression in the 1890s, nativist sentiment increased, as some jobless workers and employers used foreign-born residents as a convenient scapegoat for economic problems.

The Impact of Restrictions However, anti-immigrant feelings and early restrictions did not stop the flow of newcomers. Between 1860 and 1920, the foreign-born population numbered consistently between 13 and 15 percent of the population. The Statue of Liberty remained a beacon of hope for the poor and the oppressed of southern and eastern Europe until the Quota Acts of the 1920s almost closed Liberty's golden door (see Topic 7.8).

Boss and Machine Politics

In many cities, politicians welcomed newly arrived immigrants to gain their loyalty in future elections. These tightly organized groups of politicians became known as **political machines**. Each machine had its “**boss**,” the top politician who gave orders to the rank and file and doled out government jobs to loyal supporters. Several political machines, such as **Tammany Hall** in New York City, started as social clubs and later developed into power centers to coordinate the needs of businesses, immigrants, and the underprivileged. In return, machines asked for people's votes on election day.

Successful party bosses knew how to manage the competing social, ethnic, and economic groups in the city. Political machines often brought modern services to the city, including a crude form of welfare for urban newcomers. The political organization would find jobs and apartments for recently arrived immigrants and show up at a poor family's door with baskets of food during hard times.

But the political machines could be greedy as well as generous and often stole millions from the taxpayers in the form of graft and fraud. In New York City in the 1860s, for example, an estimated 65 percent of public building funds ended up in the pockets of Tammany Hall's “Boss” Tweed and his cronies.

Settlement Houses

Concerned about the lives of the poor and new immigrants, a number of young, well-educated, middle-class women and men settled into immigrant neighborhoods to learn about the problems of immigrant families firsthand. Living and working in places called **settlement houses**, the young reformers hoped to relieve the effects of poverty by providing social services for people in the neighborhood. The most famous such experiment was Hull House in Chicago, which was started by **Jane Addams** and a college classmate in 1889. Settlement houses taught English to immigrants, pioneered early-childhood education, taught industrial arts, and established neighborhood theaters and music schools. By 1910, there were more than 400 settlement houses in America's largest cities.

Although many immigrants remained in low paying jobs and lived in relative poverty in tenements, their children who took advantage of public education and the many opportunities of the industrial economy did join the growing middle class of this period.



HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WAS THE UNITED STATES A MELTING POT?

Politicians in the United States often claim that the country is a land of immigrants. To what extent did immigrants give up their heritage to become Americanized, or fully assimilated, into the existing culture?

The Melting Pot Idea The prevailing view in the 19th and early 20th centuries was that the United States was a **melting pot**, in which immigrant groups quickly shed old-world characteristics in order to become successful citizens of their adopted country. This view was expressed as early as 1782 by a naturalized Frenchman, J. Hector St. John Crèvecoeur. In his *Letters From an American Farmer*, Crèvecoeur described how the American experience “melted” European immigrants “into a new race of men.” The term “melting pot” became firmly associated with immigration in a popular play by that name: Israel Zangwill’s *The Melting Pot* (1908). One line of this drama described “how the great Alchemist melts and fuses them [immigrants] with purging flames!”

The Salad Bowl Comparison In recent decades, the melting pot concept has come under intense scrutiny and has been challenged by modern historians. Carl N. Degler, for example, has argued that a more accurate metaphor would be the salad bowl, in which each ingredient (ethnic culture) remains intact. To support this view, Degler points to the diversity of religions in the United States. Neither immigrants nor their descendants gave up their religions for the Protestantism of the American majority.

Alienation In his groundbreaking study of immigration, *The Uprooted* (1952), Oscar Handlin observed that newcomers to a strange land often became alienated from both their native culture and the culture of their new country. According to Handlin, first-generation immigrants remained alienated and did not lose their cultural identity in the melting pot. Only the immigrants’ children

and children's children became fully assimilated into mainstream culture. Many historians agree with Handlin that, after two or three generations, the melting pot, or assimilation, process reduced the cultural differences among most ethnic groups.

African Americans However, certain groups have had a different experience. Historian Richard C. Wade has observed that African Americans who migrated to northern cities faced the special problem of racism, which has created seemingly permanent ghettos with “a growingly alienated and embittered group.”

Ongoing Debate Historians remain divided in their analyses of the melting pot. Those who accept the concept see people of diverse ethnic backgrounds coming together to build a common culture. Others see American urban history characterized by intergroup hostility, alienation, crime, and corruption. The questions about past immigration shape current views of ethnic tensions in contemporary society. Is there a process, common to all groups, in which initial prejudice against the most recent immigrants fades after two or three generations?

Support an Argument *Explain two perspectives on the assimilation of immigrants.*

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain three responses to immigration during the period from 1865 to 1898.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Responses to Immigration (MIG)

Statue of Liberty

American Protective Association

Chinese Exclusion Act

Ellis Island

political machines

“boss”

Tammany Hall

Jane Addams

settlement houses

melting pot

cultural diversity

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt.

“Today three-fourths of its [New York’s] people live in tenements. . . .

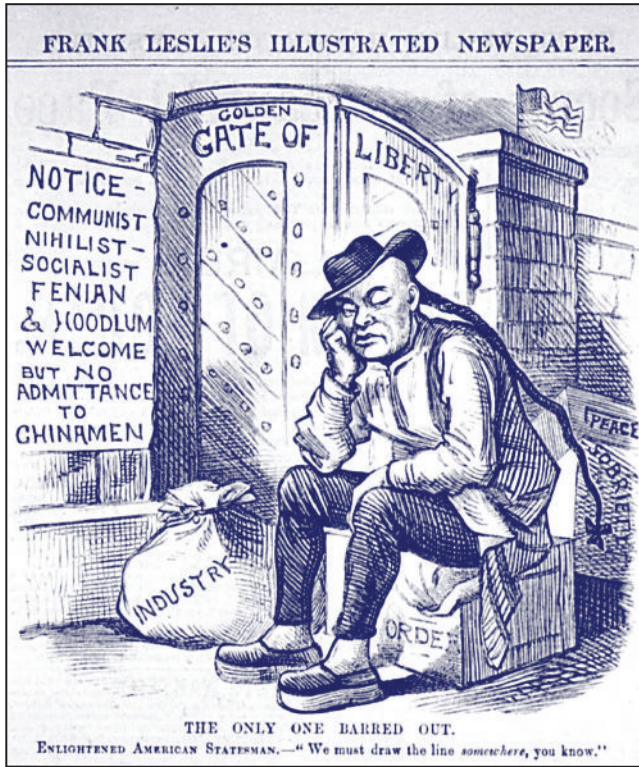
If it shall appear that the sufferings and the sins of the ‘other half,’ and the evil they breed, are but as a just punishment upon the community that gave it no other choice, it will be because that is the truth. . . . In the tenements all the influences make for evil; because they are the hotbeds of the epidemics that carry death to rich and poor alike; the nurseries of pauperism and crime that fill our jails and police courts; that throw off a scum of forty thousand human wrecks to the island asylums and workhouses year by year; that turned out in the last eight years around half million beggars to prey upon our charities; that maintain a standing army of ten thousand tramps with all that that implies; because above all, they touch the family life with deadly moral contagion.”

Jacob A. Riis, journalist, *How the Other Half Lives*, 1890

1. Which phrase best summarizes what Riis considers the cause of the problems he sees?
 - (A) “are but as a just punishment upon the community”
 - (B) “In the tenements all the influences make for evil”
 - (C) “throw off a scum of forty thousand human wrecks”
 - (D) “touch the family life with deadly moral contagion”
2. During the late 19th century, which of the following groups used the conditions described by Riis to become powerful?
 - (A) Religious organizations such as churches and synagogues
 - (B) Political machines that operated in big cities
 - (C) Social Darwinists who were influenced by Herbert Spencer
 - (D) Residents who lived in tenements
3. Which group would be most likely to support government intervention to change the housing conditions described by Riis?
 - (A) Opponents of raising taxes
 - (B) Advocates of laissez-faire policies
 - (C) Members of nativist organizations
 - (D) Workers in the settlement house movement

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

1.



Source: Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 1882. Library of Congress

Using the cartoon above, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly describe ONE specific event or historical development in the period from 1865 to 1900 that caused the creation of this cartoon.
 - (b) Briefly describe ONE specific event or historical development in the period from 1865 to 1900 that caused some people to disagree with this cartoon's perspective.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific event or historical development in the period from 1865 to 1900 that showed this cartoon's effectiveness.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
- (a) Briefly explain ONE specific result of the influx of immigrants into American cities during the period from 1865 to 1900.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE reason that American cities were slow to address issues or problems such as the one identified above.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific reform movement that developed in the period from 1865 to 1900 to address urban problems.

Development of the Middle Class

It is the tendency of all social burdens to crush out the middle class, and to force the society into an organization of only two classes, one at each social extreme.

William Graham Sumner, "What Makes the Rich Richer and the Poor Poorer?" 1887

Learning Objective: Explain the causes of increased economic opportunity and its effects on society.

The inequality and widening gap between the nation's wealthy and the working class during the Gilded Age should not obscure the development of the American middle class. The industrialization also created many better paying jobs. Cities needed more professionals and specialists, and changes in American education also created more opportunities for both men and women. The growing middle class had more leisure time, which contributed to the development of the popular culture.

The Expanding Middle Class

Since colonial times, self-employed doctors, lawyers, merchants, and artisans had formed a middle class between the small wealthy elite and the numerous small farmers and farm laborers. The growth of large industries and corporations created new jobs for millions of **white-collar workers** (salaried employees whose jobs generally do not involve manual labor). **Middle management** was needed to coordinate the operations between the chief executives and the factories. Advanced technologies needed scientists and engineers. Sales and marketing departments required salespersons, accountants, and clerical workers. In turn, these middle-class employees increased the demand for services from other middle-class workers: professionals (doctors and lawyers), public employees, and storekeepers. The number of white-collar and salaried jobs increased to more than a fourth of all nonagricultural employees by 1910.

The Gospel of Wealth

The role wealthy and upper-income Americans played in the late 19th century went beyond starting businesses and creating jobs. Many business leaders joined civic organizations and charitable institutions to address problems related to rapid urbanization. Andrew Carnegie's "**Gospel of Wealth**" argued

that the wealthy had a moral responsibility to carry out projects of civic **philanthropy** to help other members of society to better themselves and in turn improve society. Carnegie defended unregulated capitalism, arguing that though it might be “hard for the individual” it was “best for the race.”

However, he also believed that the wealthy had a duty to use their wealth wisely to improve the community. Practicing what he preached, Carnegie distributed more than \$350 million of his fortune to fund libraries, universities, concert halls, and other public institutions. Critics attack his philosophy as paternalistic and based on the bogus racial science of his times.

Working Women

One adult woman out of every five in 1900 was in the labor force working for wages. Most were young and single—only 5 percent of married women worked outside the home. In 1900, men and women alike believed that, if a family could afford it, a woman’s proper role was in the home raising children. However, some women with access to higher education broke into **professions** as doctors, lawyers, and college professors. As the demand for clerical workers increased, women moved into formerly male occupations as secretaries, bookkeepers, typists, and telephone operators. Occupations or professions, such as nursing and teaching, that became feminized (women becoming the majority) usually lost status and received lower wages and salaries. Factory work for women was usually in industries that people perceived as an extension of the home, such as the textile, garment, and food-processing businesses.

Impact of Income on Urban Development

Cities of the late 19th century underwent significant changes not only in their size but also in their internal structure and design. The residential pattern in the United States contrasted with that in Europe, where higher-income people remained near the business districts of modern cities and lower-income people lived in the outlying areas. In the United States the wealthy and middle class migrated to the “healthier” suburbs to escape the problems of the cities.

Growth of Suburbs Middle-class families moved out of large cities to create suburbs for several reasons:

- Low-cost, abundant land reduced the price of buying a home.
- The inexpensive transportation by rail made commuting to work easy.
- The spread of new construction methods such as the building of wooden, balloon-frame houses reduced the cost of building homes.
- Some people wanted to live in an all-White community because of their ethnic and racial prejudice.
- Many people enjoyed having grass, privacy, and detached individual houses.

Landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, who designed New York's Central Park in the 1860s, went on to design suburban communities with graceful curved roads and open spaces—"a village in the park." By 1900, suburbs had grown up around every major U.S. city. Owning a single-family home surrounded by an ornamental lawn soon became the American ideal of comfortable living and a hallmark of middle-class status. Thus began the world's first suburban nation.

Private City Versus Public City At first, city residents tried to carry on life in large cities much as they had in small villages. Private enterprise shaped the development of American cities and provided services such as streetcars and utilities for a profit. Over time, increasing disease, crime, waste, water pollution, and air pollution slowly convinced reform-minded citizens and city governments of the need for municipal water purification, sewerage systems, waste disposal, street lighting, police departments, and zoning laws to regulate urban development. In the 1890s, the "**City Beautiful**" movement advanced grand plans to remake American cities with tree-lined boulevards, public parks, and public cultural attractions. The debate between the private good and the public good in urban growth and development has continued as an open issue.

Changes in Education

The growth of the middle class, industry, and knowledge in the physical and social sciences raised challenging questions about what schools should teach.

Public Schools Elementary schools after 1865 continued to emphasize the "3 Rs" (reading, writing, arithmetic). They taught traditional moral values through texts such as McGuffey's readers that had been used in schools since the 1840s. New compulsory education laws that required children to attend school dramatically increased the number of students enrolled. As a result, the literacy rate rose to 90 percent of the population by 1900. The practice of sending children to **kindergarten** (a concept borrowed from Germany) became popular and reflected the growing interest in early-childhood education.

Perhaps even more significant than lower-grade schools was the growing support for tax-supported **public high schools**. At first these schools followed the college preparatory curriculum of private academies, but soon the public high schools became more comprehensive. They began to provide vocational and citizenship education for a changing urban society.

Higher Education The growing demand for white-collar workers prompted a sharp increase in number and size of U.S. colleges in the late 1800s. Funding for these schools came from several sources:

- The federal Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890 provided land grants to states to establish colleges. While earlier schools prepared students to be clergy or lawyers, land-grant schools focused on careers in agriculture, mining, engineering, science, and industry. These state-run colleges were also more affordable for the middle class, and they became valuable research centers that created new products and techniques.

- Wealthy philanthropists founded new colleges or helped existing ones grow. For example, John D. Rockefeller provided the money to start the University of Chicago.
- Advocates of education for females founded new colleges for women, such as Smith, Bryn Mawr, and Mount Holyoke. By 1900, 71 percent of colleges admitted women, and they made up more than one-third of all students.
- Supporters of education for African Americans founded more than 50 private and public colleges and universities, including Fisk, Howard, Morehouse, and Meharry Medical College.

The availability of an affordable college education encouraged a boost in enrollment, from 50,000 students nationwide in 1870 to more than 600,000 students by 1920.

The college curriculum also changed greatly in the late 19th century. Soon after becoming president of Harvard in 1869, Charles W. Eliot reduced the number of required courses and introduced **electives** (courses chosen by students) to accommodate the teaching of modern languages and the sciences: physics, chemistry, biology, and geology. **Johns Hopkins University** was founded in Baltimore in 1876 as the first American institution to specialize in advanced graduate studies. Following the model of German universities, Johns Hopkins emphasized research and free inquiry. As a result of such innovations in curriculum, the United States produced its first generation of scholars who could compete with the intellectual achievements of Europeans. As the curriculum was changing, colleges added social activities, fraternities, and intercollegiate sports, additions that soon dominated the college experience for many students.

Social Sciences The application of the scientific method and the theory of evolution to the study of human affairs revolutionized how scholars analyzed human society in the late 19th century. New fields, known as the **social sciences**, emerged, such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, and political science, which focused on using data to address social issues. For example, **Richard T. Ely** of Johns Hopkins studied labor unions, trusts, and other existing economic institutions not only to understand them but also to suggest remedies for economic problems of the day. Based on his research, he attacked laissez-faire economic thought as dogmatic and outdated. Evolutionary theory influenced leading sociologists (Lester F. Ward), political scientists (Woodrow Wilson), and historians (Frederick Jackson Turner) to study the dynamic process of actual human behavior instead of logical, unchanging abstractions.

One social scientist who used new statistical methods to study crime in urban neighborhoods was **W. E. B. Du Bois**. The first African American to receive a doctorate from Harvard, Du Bois was the leading Black intellectual of the era. He advocated for racial equality, integrated schools, and equal access to higher education for the “talented tenth” of African Americans.

The Professions Scientific theory and methodology also influenced the work of doctors, educators, social workers, and lawyers. **Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr.** argued that the law should evolve with the times in response to changing needs and not remain restricted by legal precedents and judicial decisions of the past. **Clarence Darrow**, a famous lawyer, argued that criminal behavior could be caused by a person's environment of poverty, neglect, and abuse. Darrow's view challenged the traditional belief that people were born as criminals or consciously chose to become lawbreakers. These changes in the professions, along with changes in the universities, would provide a boost to progressive legislation and liberal reform in the 20th century.

Growth of Popular Culture

The **growth of leisure time**, especially for the expanding middle class, became a big business in the late 19th century. In addition to higher incomes, other factors also promoted the growth of leisure-time activities: (1) a gradual reduction in the hours people worked, (2) improved transportation, (3) promotional billboards and advertising, and (4) the decline of restrictive Puritan and Victorian values that discouraged "wasting" time on play.

Popular Press **Mass-circulation newspapers** had been around since the 1830s, but the first newspaper to exceed a million in circulation was **Joseph Pulitzer's** *New York World*, around 1890. Pulitzer filled his daily paper with both sensational stories of crimes and disasters and crusading feature stories about political and economic corruption. Another New York publisher, **William Randolph Hearst**, pushed scandal and sensationalism to new heights (or lows).

Mass-circulation magazines also became common in the 1880s. Advertising revenues and new printing technologies made it possible for the *Ladies' Home Journal* and similar magazines to sell for as little as 10 cents a copy.

Amusements Theaters that presented comedies and dramas flourished in most large cities, but vaudeville, with its variety of acts, drew the largest audiences. Traveling **circuses** such as ones operated by the Ringling Brothers and by **Barnum and Bailey** ("**The Greatest Show on Earth**") used the new railroad network to move a huge number of acts and animals from town to town. Also immensely popular was the **Wild West show** brought to urban audiences by William F. Cody ("**Buffalo Bill**") and headlining such personalities as Sitting Bull and the markswoman Annie Oakley.

Commuter streetcar and railroad companies also promoted weekend recreation in order to keep their cars running on Sundays and holidays. They created parks in the countryside near the end of the line so that urban families could enjoy picnics and outdoor recreation.

Music With the growth of cities came increasing demand for musical performances appealing to a variety of tastes. By 1900, most large cities had an orchestra, an opera house, or both. In smaller towns, outdoor bandstands were the setting for the playing of popular marches by **John Philip Sousa**.

Among the greatest innovators of the era were African Americans in New Orleans. **Jelly Roll Morton** and Buddy Bolden expanded the audience for **jazz**, a musical form that combined African rhythms with European instruments, and mixed improvisation with a structured format. The remarkable Black composer and performer **Scott Joplin** sold nearly a million copies of sheet music of his “Maple Leaf Rag” (1899). Also from the South came **blues** music that expressed the pain of the Black experience. **Jazz, ragtime, and blues** music gained popularity during the early 20th century as New Orleans performers headed north into the urban centers of Memphis, St. Louis, Kansas City, and Chicago.

Spectator Sports Professional **spectator sports** originated in the late 19th century. **Baseball**, while it recalled a rural past of green fields and fences, was very much an urban game that demanded the teamwork needed for an industrial age. Owners organized teams into leagues, much as trusts of the day were organized. In 1909, when President William Howard Taft started the tradition of the president throwing out the first ball of the season, baseball was the national pastime. However, Jim Crow laws and customs prevented Black players from joining all-White big-league baseball teams between the 1890s and 1947.

Football developed out of earlier games, primarily as a college activity. The first game was played in 1869 between two New Jersey colleges, Rutgers and Princeton. In the 1920s professional football teams and leagues were organized. Basketball was invented in 1891 at Springfield College, in Massachusetts. Within a few years, high schools and colleges across the nation had teams. The first professional basketball league was organized in 1898. It took years for some spectator sports, such as football, to gain middle-class respectability.

Amateur Sports The value of sports as healthy exercise for the body gained acceptance by the middle and upper classes in the late 19th century. Women were considered unfit for most competitive sports, but they engaged in such recreational activities as croquet and **bicycling**. Sports such as **golf** and **tennis** grew, but mostly among the prosperous members of **athletic clubs**. The very rich pursued the expensive sports of **polo** and **yachting**. Private clubs generally discriminated against Jews, Catholics, and African Americans.

During the Gilded Age of industrialization, urban development and immigration created both problems and opportunities for the nation. The next topic will explore how the expanding middle class, along with intellectuals, religious leaders, artists, and others promoted a wide spectrum of reforms of American economic, political, social, and cultural institutions.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain two causes of increased economic opportunity and two effects on society during the late 19th century and early 20th century.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Growth of the Middle Class (SOC)

expanding middle class
white-collar workers
middle management
“Gospel of Wealth”
philanthropy
working women
growth of suburbs
“City Beautiful” movement

Education and Science (SOC)

kindergarten
public high schools
electives
Johns Hopkins University
social sciences

Richard T. Ely
W. E. B. Du Bois
professions
Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr.
Clarence Darrow

Popular Culture (SOC)

growth of leisure time
mass-circulation newspapers
Joseph Pulitzer
William Randolph Hearst
Ladies’ Home Journal
circuses
Barnum & Bailey
“The Greatest Show on Earth”
Wild West show

“Buffalo Bill”
John Philip Sousa
jazz
Jelly Roll Morton
Scott Joplin
blues
ragtime
spectator sports
baseball
football
amateur sports
bicycling
golf
tennis
athletic clubs
polo
yachting

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the following excerpt.

“The problem of our age is the proper administration of wealth, so that the ties of brotherhood may still bind together the rich and poor in harmonious relationship. . . . By taxing estates heavily at death the state marks its condemnation of the selfish millionaire’s unworthy life. . . . This policy would work powerfully to induce the rich man to attend to the administration of wealth during his life. . . . Thus is the problem of Rich and Poor to be solved. The laws of accumulation will be left free; the laws of distribution free. Individualism will continue, but the millionaire will be but a trustee for the poor; [entrusted] for a season with a great part of the increased wealth of the community, but administering it for the community far better than it could or would have done for itself. . . . ‘The man who dies thus rich dies disgraced.’ Such, in my opinion, is the true Gospel concerning Wealth.”

“Wealth,” Andrew Carnegie, 1889

1. Carnegie’s remarks in the excerpt were most likely in response to
 - (A) the development of the social sciences
 - (B) the spread of racial theories about the survival of the fittest
 - (C) the rise of monopolies in major industries, such as oil and steel
 - (D) the discontent in society over the increase in economic inequality

2. Carnegie was most likely hoping his comments would promote
- (A) the passage of a graduated income tax by the government
 - (B) the religious values that could reform greedy behavior
 - (C) an increase in large-scale philanthropy to fund civic institutions
 - (D) an increase in contributions by working people to religious institutions

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. “The continuing process of sorting out classes at the workplace and in metropolitan space made the denial of class more difficult in the post-Civil War America. . . . In nineteenth century America, ‘middle class’ represented a specific set of experiences, a specific style of living, and a specific social identity.”

Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class*, 1989

Using the excerpt above, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain ONE specific cause of the process of “sorting out classes at the workplace” that Blumin referred to during the period from 1865 to 1900.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific cause of the development of what Blumin called a “specific social identity” during the period from 1865 to 1900.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific example of how the changes described by Blumin affected working women during the period from 1865 to 1900.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
- (a) Briefly explain ONE historical development in education that was influenced by the economic or cultural changes from 1865 to 1898.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE way in which urban development was affected by the growth of the middle class during the period from 1865 to 1898.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE way in which popular culture was affected by the growth of the middle class during the period from 1865 to 1898.

Reform in the Gilded Age

For every wrong there must be a remedy. But the remedy can be nothing less than the abolition of the wrong.

Henry George, *Social Problems*, 1884

Learning Objective: Explain how different reform movements responded to the rise of industrial capitalism in the Gilded Age.

Early efforts by farmers to regulate railroads (see Topic 6.2) and by workers to establish labor unions (see Topic 6.6) largely failed during the Gilded Age. However, many reform ideas and movements gained strength with the development of an educated middle class who also had the time to create and join organizations to bring about change. Literature, the arts, and architecture also responded in new ways to the challenge of industrialization and urbanization.

Awakening of Reform

Urban problems, including the desperate poverty of working-class families, inspired a new social consciousness among the middle class. Reform movements begun in earlier decades increased strength in the 1880s and 1890s.

Books of Social Criticism A San Francisco journalist, **Henry George**, published a provocative book in 1879 that became an instant bestseller and jolted readers to look more critically at the effects of laissez-faire economics. George called attention to the alarming inequalities in wealth caused by industrialization. In his book *Progress and Poverty*, George proposed an innovative solution to poverty: replacing all taxes with a single tax on land.

Another popular book of social criticism, *Looking Backward, 2000–1887*, was written by **Edward Bellamy** in 1888. It envisioned life in the year 2000, when a cooperative society had eliminated poverty, greed, and crime.

George and Bellamy shared some similarities. Both were criticized as utopians. Both inspired enthusiastic followers who supported other reform movements. Both encouraged a shift in American public opinion away from laissez-faire and toward greater government regulation. Because of their criticisms of the economic system of their time, George and Bellamy were sometime categorized as socialists.

Religion and Society All religions adapted to the stresses and challenges of modern urban living. Roman Catholicism grew rapidly in the United States

from the influx of new immigrants from Ireland, Italy, and eastern Europe. Catholic leaders such as **Cardinal James Gibbons** of Baltimore inspired the devoted support of old and new immigrants by defending the Knights of Labor and the cause of organized labor.

Among Protestants, **Dwight Moody**, who founded the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago in 1889, would help generations of urban evangelists to adapt traditional Christianity to city life. The **Salvation Army**, imported from England in 1879, provided basic necessities to the homeless and the poor while preaching the Christian gospel.

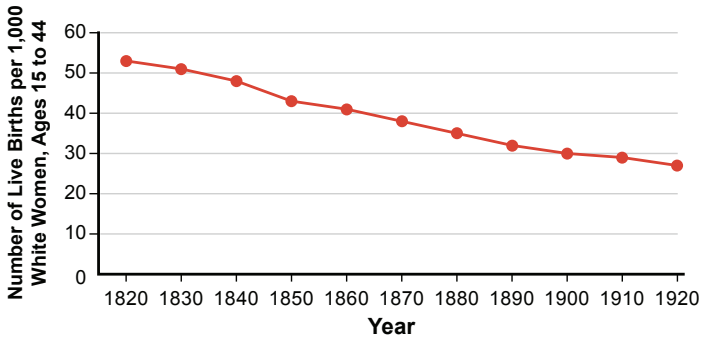
The Social Gospel Movement In the 1880s and 1890s, a number of Protestant clergy espoused the cause of social justice for the poor—especially the urban poor. They preached what they called the **Social Gospel**, or the importance of applying Christian principles to social problems by improving housing, raising wages, and supporting public health measures. They believed that addressing issues of poverty would enable people to find individual salvation. This was a contrast with the beliefs of many traditional Christians, who argued that focusing on individual salvation would lead to a society with fewer problems.

Leading the Social Gospel movement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was a Baptist minister from New York, **Walter Rauschenbusch**. He worked in the poverty-stricken neighborhood of New York City called Hell's Kitchen and wrote several books urging organized religions to take up the cause of social justice. His Social Gospel preaching linked Christianity with the Progressive reform movement and encouraged many middle-class Protestants to attack urban problems (see Topic 7.4).

Social Workers Settlement workers, such as **Jane Addams** of Hull House in Chicago, were civic-minded volunteers who created the foundation for the later job of social worker. Many were also political activists who crusaded for child-labor laws, housing reform, and women's rights. Two settlement workers, Frances Perkins and Harry Hopkins, went on to leadership roles in President Franklin Roosevelt's reform program, the New Deal, in the 1930s.

Families in Urban Society Urban life placed severe strains on parents and their children by isolating them from the extended family (relatives beyond the family nucleus of parents and children) and village support. **Divorce** rates increased to 1 in 12 marriages by 1900, partly because a number of state legislatures had expanded the grounds for divorce to include cruelty and desertion. Another consequence of the shift from rural to urban living was a reduction in **family size**. Children were an economic asset on the farm, where their labor was needed at an early age. In the city, however, they were more of an economic liability. Therefore, in the last decades of the 19th century, the national average for birthrates and family size continued to drop.

THE BIRTH RATE, 1820 TO 1920



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

Voting Rights for Women The cause of women's suffrage, launched at Seneca Falls in 1848, was vigorously carried forward by a number of middle-class women. In 1890, two of the pioneer feminists of the 1840s, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and **Susan B. Anthony** of New York, helped found the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) to secure the vote for women. A western state, Wyoming, was the first to grant full suffrage to women, in 1869. By 1900, some states allowed women to vote in local elections, and most allowed women to own and control property after marriage.

Temperance Movement Another cause that attracted the attention of urban reformers was temperance. Excessive drinking of alcohol by male factory workers was one cause of poverty for immigrant and working-class families. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was formed in 1874. Advocating total abstinence from alcohol, the WCTU, under the leadership of **Frances E. Willard** of Evanston, Illinois, had 500,000 members by 1898. The **Anti-Saloon League**, founded in 1893, became a powerful political force and by 1916 had persuaded 21 states to close down all saloons and bars. Unwilling to wait for the laws to change, **Carry A. Nation** of Kansas created a sensation by raiding saloons and smashing barrels of beer with a hatchet.

Urban Reforms Across the country, grassroots efforts arose to combat corruption in city governments. In New York, a reformer named Theodore Roosevelt tried to clean up the New York City Police Department. As a result of his efforts, he became a vice-presidential nominee in 1896 and later the president (see Topic 7.4). However, many of the reformers of the Gilded Age would not see their efforts reach fruition or have a national impact until the early 20th century.

Literature and the Arts

American writers and artists responded in diverse ways to industrialization and urban problems. In general, the work of the best-known innovators of the era reflected a new **realism** and an attempt to express an authentic American style.

Realism and Naturalism Many of the popular works of literature of the post-Civil War years were romantic novels that depicted ideal heroes and heroines. Breaking with this genteel literary tradition were regionalist writers such as Bret Harte, who depicted life in the rough mining camps of the West. **Mark Twain** (the pen name for Samuel L. Clemens) became the first great realist author. His classic work, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884), revealed the greed, violence, and racism in American society.

A younger generation of authors who emerged in the 1890s became known for their **naturalism**, which focused on how emotions and experience shaped human experience. In his naturalistic novel *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* (1893), **Stephen Crane** told how a brutal urban environment could destroy the lives of young people. Crane also wrote the popular *The Red Badge of Courage* about fear and human nature on the Civil War battlefield before dying himself of tuberculosis at only 29. **Jack London**, a young California writer and adventurer, portrayed the conflict between nature and civilization in novels such as *The Call of the Wild* (1903). A naturalistic book that caused a sensation and shocked the moral sensibilities of the time was **Theodore Dreiser's** novel about a poor working girl in Chicago, *Sister Carrie* (1900).

Painting Some American painters continued to cater to the popular taste for romantic subjects, but others responded to the new emphasis on realism. **Winslow Homer**, the foremost American painter of seascapes and watercolors, often rendered scenes of nature in a matter-of-fact way. **Thomas Eakins's** realism included paintings of surgical scenes and the everyday lives of working-class men and women. He also used the new technology of serial-action photographs to study human anatomy and paint it more realistically.

James McNeill Whistler was born in Massachusetts but spent most of his life in Paris and London. His most famous painting, *Arrangement in Grey and Black, No. 1* (popularly known as “Whistler’s Mother”), hangs in the Louvre. This study of color, rather than subject matter, influenced the development of modern art. A distinguished portrait painter, **Mary Cassatt**, also spent much of her life in France, where she learned the techniques of **impressionism**, especially in her use of pastel colors. As the 19th century ended, a group of social realists, such as George Bellows of the **Ashcan School**, painted scenes of everyday life in poor urban neighborhoods.

Upsetting to romanticists and realists alike were abstract, nonrepresentational paintings that some artists were experimenting with. A large exhibit of these works, the **Armory Show** in New York City in 1913, sent shocks through the artistic community. Art of this kind would be rejected by most Americans until the 1950s, when it finally achieved respect among collectors of fine art.

Architecture In the 1870s, **Henry Hobson Richardson** changed the direction of American architecture. While earlier architects found inspiration in classical Greek and Roman styles, his designs were often based on the medieval **Romanesque style** of massive stone walls and rounded arches. Richardson gave a gravity and stateliness to functional commercial buildings. **Louis Sullivan** of Chicago went a step further by rejecting historical styles in

his quest for a suitable style for the tall, steel-framed office buildings of the 1880s and 1890s. Sullivan's buildings achieved a much-admired aesthetic unity, in which the form of a building flowed from its function—a hallmark of the Chicago School of architecture.



Source: Frank Lloyd Wright, Robie House, Chicago, 1909. Library of Congress

Frank Lloyd Wright, an employee of Sullivan's in the 1890s, developed an “organic” style of architecture that was in harmony with its natural surroundings. Wright's vision is exemplified in the long, horizontal lines of his prairie-style houses. Wright became the most famous American architect of the 20th century. Some architects, such as Daniel H. Burnham, who revived classical Greek and Roman architecture in his designs for the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, continued to explore historical styles.

One of the most influential urbanists, **Frederick Law Olmsted** specialized in the planning of city parks and scenic boulevards, including Central Park in New York City and the grounds of the U.S. Capitol in Washington. As the originator of **landscape architecture**, Olmsted not only designed parks, parkways, campuses, and suburbs but also established the basis for later urban landscaping.

Preparation for Change While laissez-faire policies still dominated business and politics in the Gilded Age, the foundations for cultural change and reforms that would come about in the early 20th century had been established during the 1880s and 1890s. Critics and artists informed the expanding middle class on alternative visions for the economy and society.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain how three reform movements responded to the rise of industrial capitalism in the Gilded Age.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Reformers (SOC)

Henry George
Edward Bellamy
Cardinal James Gibbons
Dwight Moody
Salvation Army
Social Gospel
Walter Rauschenbusch
Jane Addams
divorce
family size
Susan B. Anthony
NAWSA

WCTU
Francis E. Willard
Anti-Saloon League
Carrie A. Nation

Arts and Writing (SOC)

realism and naturalism
Mark Twain
Stephen Crane
Jack London
Theodore Dreiser
Winslow Homer
Thomas Eakins

James McNeill Whistler
Mary Cassatt
impressionism
Ashcan School
Armory Show

Architecture (SOC)

Henry Hobson Richardson
Romanesque style
Louis Sullivan
Frank Lloyd Wright
Frederick Law Olmsted
landscape architecture

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

“I stand before you tonight under indictment for the alleged crime of having voted at the last presidential election, without having a lawful right to vote. It shall be my work this evening to prove to you that in thus voting, I not only committed no crime, but, instead, simply exercised my citizen’s rights, guaranteed to me and all United States citizens by the National Constitution, beyond the power of any state to deny. . . . Are women persons? And I hardly believe any of our opponents will have the hardihood to say they are not. Being persons, then, women are citizens; and no state has a right to make any law, or to enforce any old law, that shall abridge their privileges or immunities. Hence, every discrimination against women in the constitutions and laws of the several states is today null and void, precisely as is every one against Negroes.”

Susan B. Anthony, “Is It a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?” 1873

1. Susan B. Anthony was arrested and fined \$100 for casting an illegal vote in the presidential election of 1872. She refused to pay the fine. Her protest was most similar to which of the following?
 - (A) The dumping of chests of British tea into the Boston Harbor by colonists disguised as American Indians
 - (B) The jailing of Henry David Thoreau for not paying taxes for what he considered an immoral war
 - (C) The federal suit to free the enslaved Dred Scott after he resided in a free state
 - (D) The raid of abolitionists led by John Brown on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry

2. Anthony's arguments expressed in the excerpt above can best be understood in the context of
- (A) the Supreme Court decision in *Marbury v. Madison*
 - (B) the proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine
 - (C) the ratification of the three Reconstruction-era amendments
 - (D) the strength of the American Protective Association
3. Which of the following best describes why Anthony targeted states in this excerpt?
- (A) The United States Constitution generally left the power to states to determine who could vote.
 - (B) The states kept women in an inferior legal position to men through marriage laws.
 - (C) The president had vowed to veto any laws passed by Congress designed to protect suffrage for women.
 - (D) Congress was already shown strong support for a suffrage amendment that included women.

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
- (a) Briefly explain ONE specific response of religious institutions to the urban problems of the Gilded Age.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE impact that the urban experience had on family life during the Gilded Age.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE reason why temperance gained such strength as a reform movement during the Gilded Age.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
- (a) Briefly explain ONE effect that social and cultural changes had on American literature in the period from 1865 to 1898.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE effect that social and cultural changes had on the visual arts in the period from 1865 to 1898.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE effect that economic and urban developments had on architecture in the period from 1865 to 1898.

Role of Government in the Gilded Age

To explain the causes which keep much of the finest intellect of the country away from national business is one thing; to deny the unfortunate results would be quite another.

James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, 1891

Learning Objective: Explain the continuities and changes in the role of the government in the U.S. economy.

The “do-little” governments of this period were in tune with two popular ideas of the time: laissez-faire economics and Social Darwinism (see Topic 6.6). The laissez-faire views of the business leaders and their political supporters opposed most government actions to regulate businesses, levy taxes, or take steps to counter serious economic downturn or depressions. Supporters argued that the economy would grow most quickly if allowed to work without government intervention, even during economic downturns. The federal courts generally supported these views. Decisions narrowly interpreted the government’s powers to regulate business, which limited the impact of the few regulatory laws that Congress did pass.

However, the federal government was involved in the economy to promote business growth. It provided land grants to railroads at the expense of taxpayers, passed high tariffs to protect industries but cost consumers, and followed hard money policies that aided banks but hurt farmers.

Government Actions

Government was less active in the economy than it would be in later periods. However, it did take some steps to promote growth and competition.

Federal Land Grants Even though governments were reluctant to regulate businesses, they were willing to subsidize them. The federal government provided railroad companies with huge subsidies in the form of loans and land grants to promote progress. The government gave 80 railroad companies more than 170 million acres of public land, a total area larger than the state of Texas. The land was given in alternate mile-square sections in a checkerboard pattern along the proposed route of the railroad. The government expected that the railroad would sell the land to new settlers to finance construction. Furthermore,

the completed railroad might both increase the value of government lands and provide preferred rates for carrying the mail and transporting troops.

The subsidies carried some negative consequences. The land grants and cash loans promoted hasty and poor construction and led to **corruption** in all levels of government. Insiders used construction companies, like the notorious **Crédit Mobilier**, to bribe government officials and pocket huge profits. Protests against the land grants mounted in the 1880s when citizens discovered that the railroads controlled half of the land in some western states.

Interstate Commerce Act (1887) State laws passed earlier to regulate **railroad rates** (see Topic 6.2) ran into numerous legal problems. The Supreme Court ruled in the case of *Wabash v. Illinois* (1886) that individual states could not regulate interstate commerce. In effect, the Court's decision nullified many of the state regulations achieved by the Grangers. Congress responded to the outcry of farmers and shippers by passing the first federal effort to regulate the railroads. The **Interstate Commerce Act of 1887** required railroad rates to be “reasonable and just.” It also set up the first federal regulatory agency, the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), which had the power to investigate pools, rebates, and other discriminatory practices and prosecute companies participating in them.

Ironically, the first U.S. regulatory commission helped the railroads more than the farmers. The new commission lost most of its cases in the federal courts in the 1890s. On the other hand, the ICC helped railroads by stabilizing rates and curtailing destructive competition, providing little help to farmers and other shippers until the law was strengthened in the 20th century.

Antitrust Movement The corporate trusts, such as the Standard Oil Trust, came under widespread scrutiny and attack in the 1880s. Middle-class citizens feared the trusts' unchecked concentration of power, and urban elites (old wealth) resented the increasing influence of the new rich. After failing to curb trusts on the state level, reformers finally moved Congress to pass the **Sherman Antitrust Act** of 1890, which prohibited any “contract, combination, in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce.”

Although a federal law against monopolies was now on the books, it was too vaguely worded to stop the development of trusts in the 1890s. Furthermore, the Supreme Court in *United States v. E. C. Knight Co.* (1895) ruled that the Sherman Antitrust Act could be applied only to commerce, not to manufacturing. As a result, the U.S. Department of Justice secured few convictions until the law was strengthened during the Progressive Era.

Foreign Policy and the Economy The government also used its foreign policy to shape economic changes. For example, the United States purchased Alaska from Russia and annexed the Hawaii Islands to promote trade with Asia and became more involved in Latin American affairs (see Topic 7.2).

Political Issues: Civil Service, Currency, and Tariffs

During the 1870s and 1880s, the Congresses in Washington were chiefly concerned with such issues as patronage, the money supply, and the tariff issue.

They left the states and local governments to deal with the growing problems related to urbanization and industrialization.

Civil Service Reform Public outrage over the **assassination of President Garfield** in 1881 by a deranged office seeker pushed Congress to remove certain government jobs from the control of party patronage. The **Pendleton Act of 1881** set up the **Civil Service Commission** and created a system by which applicants for classified federal jobs would be selected on the basis of their scores on a competitive examination. The law also prohibited civil servants from making political contributions. At first, the law applied to only 10 percent of federal employees, but in later decades, the system was expanded until most federal jobs were classified (that is, taken out of the hands of politicians).

Politicians adapted to the reform by depending less on their armies of party workers and more on the rich to fund their campaigns. People still debate which approach is more harmful to democratic government.

Money Question The most hotly debated issue of the Gilded Age was how much to expand the money supply. For the economy to grow soundly, it needed more money in circulation. However, the money question reflected the growing tension in the era between the “haves” and the “have-nots.”

Debtors, farmers, and start-up businesses wanted more “easy” or “soft” money in circulation, since this would enable them to (1) borrow money at lower interest rates and (2) pay off their loans more easily with inflated dollars. After the **Panic of 1873**, many Americans blamed the gold standard for restricting the money supply and causing the depression. To expand the supply of U.S. currency, easy-money advocates campaigned first for more paper money (greenbacks) and then for the unlimited minting of silver coins.

On the opposite side of the question, bankers, **creditors**, investors, and established businesses stood firm for “sound” or “**hard**” money—meaning currency backed by gold stored in government vaults. Supporters of hard money argued that dollars backed by gold would hold their value against inflation. Holders of money understood that as the U.S. economy and population grew faster than the number of gold-backed dollars, each dollar would gain in value. As predicted, the dollar did increase in value by as much as 300 percent between 1865 and 1895.

Greenback Party Paper money not backed by specie (gold or silver) had been issued by the federal government in the 1860s as an emergency measure for financing the Civil War. Northern farmers, who received high prices during the war, prospered from the use of “greenbacks.” On the other hand, creditors and investors attacked the use of unbacked paper money as a violation of natural law. In 1875, Congress sided with the creditors and passed the Specie Resumption Act, which withdrew all greenbacks from circulation.

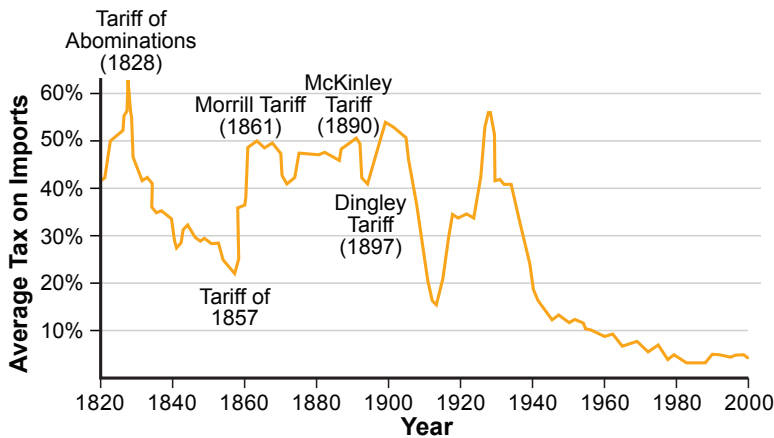
Supporters of paper money formed a new political party, the Greenback Party. In the congressional election of 1878, Greenback candidates received

nearly 1 million votes, and 14 members were elected to Congress, including James B. Weaver of Iowa (a future leader of the Populist Party). When the hard times of the 1870s ended, the Greenback Party died out, but the goal of increasing the amount of money in circulation did not.

Demands for Silver Money In addition to removing greenbacks, Congress in the 1870s also stopped the coining of silver. Critics call this action the “**Crime of 1873.**” Then silver discoveries in Nevada revived demands for the use of silver to expand the money supply. A compromise law, the **Bland-Allison Act**, was passed. It allowed only a limited coinage of between \$2 million and \$4 million in silver each month at the standard silver-to-gold ratio of 16 to 1. Not satisfied, farmers, debtors, and western miners continued to press for the unlimited coinage of silver.

Tariff Issue During the Civil War, the Republican Congress had raised tariffs to protect U.S. industry and also fund the Union government. After the war, southern Democrats and some northern Democrats objected to **high tariffs** because these taxes raised prices for **consumers**. Protective tariffs also caused other nations to retaliate by placing taxes of their own on U.S. farm products. American farmers lost some overseas sales, contributing to surpluses of corn and wheat and resulting in lower farm prices and profits. From a farmer’s point of view, industry seemed to be growing rich at the expense of rural America.

U.S. TARIFFS, 1820 TO 2000



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

The politics of stalemate and complacency would begin to lose their hold on the voters by the late 1880s. Protests over government corruption, the money issue, tariffs, railroads, and monopolistic trusts were growing. In response, politicians began to take small steps to respond to public concerns, but it would take a third party (the Populists) and a major depression in 1893 to shake the Democrats and the Republicans from their lethargy.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain three examples of changes in the role of the government in the U.S. economy from 1865 to 1898.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Role of Government (PCE)	Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890	"soft" money
federal land grants	<i>United States v. E. C. Knight Co.</i>	Panic of 1873
corruption	assassination of President Garfield	creditors
Crédit Mobilier	Pendleton Act of 1881	"hard" money
railroad rates	Civil Service Commission	"Crime of 73"
Interstate Commerce Act of 1887	debtors	high tariffs
antitrust movement		Bland-Allison Act
		consumers

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following chart.

MONEY IN CIRCULATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1865–1895		
Year	Total currency (in billions of dollars)	Population (in thousands)
1865	1.2	35,701
1870	0.9	39,905
1875	0.9	45,073
1880	1.2	50,262
1885	1.5	56,658
1890	1.7	63,056
1895	1.8	69,580

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

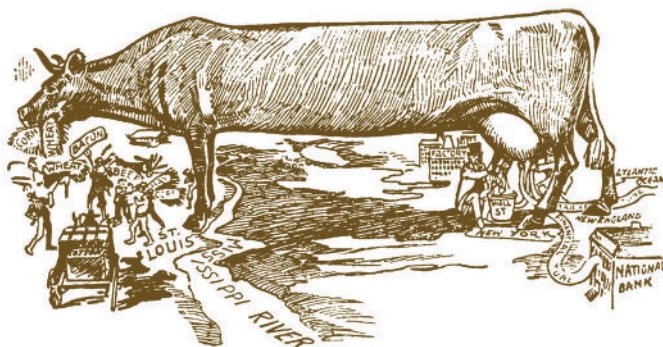
1. Which of the following most likely explains the change in the amount of currency in circulation between 1865 and 1870?
 - (A) The decline of gold mining in the United States
 - (B) The withdrawal of "greenbacks" from circulation
 - (C) The refusal of Congress to purchase silver for coinage
 - (D) The increasing poverty of most Americans
2. Which group supported the change in the total money supply between 1875 and 1895 but wanted the change to be larger than it was?
 - (A) Many farmers who were in debt
 - (B) Many bankers who had loaned money to individuals
 - (C) Many merchants who had sold goods on credit
 - (D) Many state governments that were trying to reduce taxes

3. The change in the amount of money in circulation in the 1890s would most likely have made
- (A) wages for most workers decrease slightly
 - (B) prices for most goods decrease slightly
 - (C) loans slightly easier to repay
 - (D) tariffs slightly harder to pay

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1.



Source: 1896, The Granger Collection, NYC

Using the cartoon above, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain ONE historical perspective expressed by the artist about the changes in the economy from 1865 to 1900.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE development in the period from 1865 to 1900 that supported the perspective expressed by the artist.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE development in the period from 1865 to 1900 that challenged the perspective expressed by the artist.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
- (a) Briefly explain ONE example of a federal government action to promote economic development from 1865 to 1900.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE example of a federal government action to regulate business practices from 1865 to 1900.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE reason that caused tariff policies to become an important political issue during the period from 1877 to 1900.

Politics in the Gilded Age

*My country, 'tis of thee, Once land of liberty, Of thee I sing.
Land of the millionaire; Farmers with pockets bare;
Caused by the cursed snare—The Money Ring.*

Alliance Songster, 1890

Learning Objective: Explain the similarities and differences between the political parties during the Gilded Age.

Congress had enacted an ambitious reform program during the 1860s and 1870s—the era of Civil War and Reconstruction. After the Compromise of 1877, the national government settled into an era of stalemate and comparative inactivity. It was an era of “forgettable” presidents, none of whom served two consecutive terms, and of politicians who largely ignored problems arising from the growth of industry and cities. Both major parties avoided taking stands on controversial issues. They rarely debated political ideology.

Political Stalemate

Several factors accounted for the complacency and conservatism of the era: (1) the way parties conducted campaigns, (2) the importance of party patronage, and (3) the beliefs about political strategy.

Popular Politics Election campaigns of the time were characterized by brass bands, flags, campaign buttons, picnics, free beer, and crowd-pleasing oratory. Both parties had strong organizations, the Republicans more on the state level and the Democrats more in the cities. Nearly 80 percent of the eligible voters voted in presidential elections, much higher than elections in later periods. The high turnout was a function of strong party identification and loyalty, often connected with the regional, religious, and ethnic ties of voters.

Party Patronage Since neither party had an active legislative agenda, politics in this era was chiefly a game of winning elections, holding office, and providing government jobs to the party faithful. Who got the patronage jobs within the party became a more important issue than any policy. Reform-minded politicians who did not play the patronage game were ridiculed as “Mugwumps” for sitting on the fence—their “mugs” on one side of the fence and “wumps” on the other. Because politicians failed to address pressing policy issues, historians generally consider this era a low point in American politics.

Republicans In the North, Republican politicians kept memories of the Civil War alive during the Gilded Age by figuratively waving the “**bloody shirt.**” This meant reminding the millions of **veterans of the Union army** that their wounds had been caused by (southern) Democrats and that Abraham Lincoln had been murdered by a Democrat. The party of Lincoln, because of its antislavery past, kept the votes of **reformers** and **African Americans**. The core of Republican strength came from men in business and from middle-class, **Anglo-Saxon Protestants**, many of whom supported **temperance** or prohibition. Republicans followed the **Hamiltonian tradition** and **Whig past**, supporting a **pro-business** economic program of high protective tariffs.

Democrats After 1877, Democrats could count upon winning every election in the “**solid South,**” the **former states of the Confederacy**, until the mid-20th century. In the North, Democratic strength came from **big-city political machines** and **immigrant voters**. Democrats were often **Catholics, Lutherans, and Jews** who objected to temperance and prohibition crusades conducted by Protestant (and largely Republican) groups. Gilded Age Democrats, following in the **Jeffersonian tradition** argued for **states’ rights** and **limited federal power**.

Campaign Strategy The closeness of elections between 1876 and 1892 was one reason that Republicans and Democrats alike avoided taking strong positions on the issues. The Democrats won only two presidential contests in the Electoral College (but four in the popular vote). They nevertheless controlled the House of Representatives after eight of the ten general elections. The result was divided government in Washington. With elections so evenly matched, the main objective for many politicians was to hold on to office by offering patronage jobs and government contracts to help their supporters.

Rise of the Populists

Politics as usual was disrupted in the 1890s by growing agrarian discontent in the West and the South. Members of the **Farmers’ Alliances** elected U.S. senators and representatives, the governors of several states, and majorities in four state legislatures in the West.

Omaha Platform The Alliance movement provided the foundation of a new political party—the People’s, or Populist, Party. Delegates from different states met in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1892 to draft a political platform and nominate candidates for president and vice president for the new party. Populists were determined to do something about the concentration of economic power held by trusts and bankers, and they saw the government as the tool they needed.

Their **Omaha Platform** called for both political and economic reforms. Politically, it demanded an increase in the power of common voters through (1) direct popular election of U.S. senators (instead of indirect election by state legislatures) and (2) the use of initiatives and referendums, procedures that allowed citizens to vote directly on proposed laws. Economically, the Populist platform was even more ambitious. Populists advocated (1) unlimited coinage

of silver to increase the money supply; (2) a graduated income tax—the greater a person’s income, the higher the percentage of the tax on his or her income; (3) **government ownership** of railroads, telegraph lines, and the telephone systems; (4) loans and federal warehouses for farmers to enable them to stabilize prices for their crops; and (5) an eight-hour day for industrial workers.

The Populist movement seemed revolutionary both for its attack on laissez-faire capitalism and its attempt to unite White and Black poor people politically. In the South, **Thomas Watson** of Georgia appealed to poor farmers of both races who shared economic grievances to join the People’s Party.

The Election of 1892 In 1892, James Weaver of Iowa, the Populist candidate for president, won more than 1 million votes and 22 electoral votes, making him one of the few third-party candidates to win votes in the Electoral College. Nevertheless, the Populist demand that government regulate the economic system more strongly did not overcome other concerns. The ticket failed to attract urban workers in the North. It lost badly in the South, where the fear of Populists uniting all poor people drove conservative Democrats to use every technique to disfranchise African Americans (see Topic 6.4).

The two major parties provided a rematch between President Harrison and former president **Grover Cleveland**. This time, Cleveland won a solid victory in both the popular and electoral vote. He won in part because of the unpopularity of the high-tax McKinley Tariff. Cleveland became the first and only former president thus far to return to the White House after having left it.

Depression Politics

Cleveland took office in March 1893. Almost immediately, the country entered into one of the worst and longest depressions in its history.

Panic of 1893 In the spring and summer of 1893, the stock market crashed as a result of overspeculation, and dozens of railroads went into bankruptcy as a result of overbuilding. The depression continued for almost four years. Farm foreclosures reached new highs, and the unemployed reached 20 percent of the workforce. Many people ended up relying on soup kitchens and riding the rails as hoboes. President Cleveland, more conservative than he had been in the 1880s, dealt with the crisis by championing the gold standard and otherwise adopting a hands-off policy toward the economy.

Gold Reserve and the Pullman Strike A decline in silver prices encouraged investors to trade their silver dollars for gold dollars. The gold reserve (bars of gold bullion stored by the U.S. Treasury) fell to a dangerously low level, and Cleveland decided to repeal the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890. This action, however, failed to stop the gold drain. The president then turned to the Wall Street banker J. Pierpont Morgan to borrow \$65 million in gold to support the dollar and the gold standard. This deal convinced many Americans that the government in Washington was only a tool of rich eastern bankers. Workers became further disenchanted with Cleveland when he used court injunctions and federal troops to crush the Pullman strike in 1894 (see Topic 6.7).

Tariff Reform and an Income Tax The Democrats did enact one measure that was somewhat more popular. Congress passed the Wilson-Gorman Tariff in 1894, which (1) provided a moderate reduction in tariff rates and (2) included a 2 percent income tax on incomes of more than \$2,000. Since the average American income at this time was less than \$500, only those with higher incomes would be subject to the income tax. Within a year after the passage of the law, however, the conservative Supreme Court declared an income tax unconstitutional. (Ratification of the 16th Amendment in 1913 made an income tax constitutional.)

Jobless on the March As the depression worsened and the numbers of jobless people grew, conservatives feared class war between capital and labor. They were especially alarmed by the spread of the Pullman strike across the nation (see Topic 6.7) and the **march to Washington** in 1894 by thousands of the unemployed led by Populist Jacob S. Coxey of Ohio. “**Coxey’s Army**” demanded that the federal government spend \$500 million on public works programs to create jobs. Coxey and other protest leaders were arrested for trespassing, and the dejected marchers returned home.

Also in 1894, a little book by William H. Harvey presenting lessons in economics seemed to offer easy answers for ending the depression. Illustrated with cartoons, *Coin’s Financial School* taught millions of discontented Americans that their troubles were caused by a conspiracy of rich bankers and that prosperity would return if the government coined silver in unlimited quantities.

Turning Point in American Politics: 1896

National politics was in transition. The repeal of the Silver Purchase Act and Cleveland’s handling of the depression thoroughly discredited the conservative leadership of the Democratic Party. The Democrats were buried in the congressional elections of 1894 by the Republicans. At the same time, the Populists continued to gain both votes and legislative seats. The stage was set for a major reshaping of party politics in 1896.

The 1896 Presidential Race

The election of 1896 was one of the most emotional in U.S. history. The party alignments still reflected the Civil War, with Republicans strong in the North and Midwest and the Democrats strong in the South. The issues remained similar to those of the previous 20 years. Republicans advocated for high tariffs and against silver coinage, with Democrats calling for lower tariffs and divided on currency issues. Both parties claimed to oppose corruption. Democrats attacked the Republicans for their ties to trusts and big-money interests. Republicans attacked Democrats for representing urban party bosses (see Topic 6.9). However, 1896 also marked the beginning of a new era in American politics.

Bryan, Democrats, and Populists Democrats were divided in 1896 between “gold” Democrats loyal to Cleveland and pro-silver Democrats looking for a leader. Their national convention in Chicago in the summer of 1896 was dominated by the pro-silver forces. Addressing the convention, **William Jennings Bryan** of Nebraska captured the hearts of the delegates with a speech that ended with the words “We will answer their demands for a gold standard by saying to them: ‘You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.’” So powerful was Bryan’s “**Cross of Gold**” **speech** that it made him instantly the Democratic nominee for president. Bryan was only 36 years old.

The Democratic platform favored the **unlimited coinage of silver** at the traditional, but inflationary, ratio of 16 ounces of silver to one ounce of gold. (The market price then was about 32 to 1.) Thus, the Democrats had taken over the leading issue of the Populist platform. Given little choice, the Populist convention in 1896 also nominated Bryan and conducted



Source: Library of Congress
Caption: Bryan’s “Cross of Gold” speech was so famous that he reprinted it on a campaign poster.

a “fused” campaign for “free silver.” Unhappy with Bryan and free silver, the conservative faction of “**Gold Bug**” **Democrats**, including Cleveland, either formed the separate National Democratic Party or voted Republican.

McKinley, Hanna, and Republicans For their presidential nominee, the Republicans nominated **William McKinley** of Ohio, best known for his support of a **high protective tariff** but also considered a friend of labor. **Marcus (Mark) Hanna**, who had made a fortune in business, was the financial power behind McKinley’s nomination as well as the subsequent campaign for president. After blaming the Democrats for the Panic of 1893, the Republicans offered the American people the promise of a strong and prosperous industrial nation. The Republican platform proposed a high tariff to protect industry and upheld the **gold standard** against unlimited coinage of silver.

The Campaign The defection of Gold Bug Democrats over the silver issue gave the Republicans an early advantage. Bryan countered by turning the Democratic-Populist campaign into a nationwide crusade. Traveling by train from one end of the country to the other, the young candidate covered 18,000 miles and gave more than 600 speeches. His energy, positive attitude, and rousing oratory convinced millions of farmers and debtors that the unlimited coinage of silver was their salvation.

Mark Hanna meanwhile did most of the work of campaigning for McKinley. He raised millions of dollars for the Republican ticket from business leaders who feared that “silver lunacy” would lead to runaway inflation. Hanna used the money to sell McKinley through the **mass media** (newspapers, magazines), while the Republican candidate stayed home and conducted a safe, front-porch campaign, greeting delegations of supporters.

In the campaign’s last weeks, Bryan was hurt by a rise in wheat prices, which made farmers less desperate, and threats by employers telling their workers that factories would shut down if Bryan won. In a decisive victory, McKinley carried all of the Northeast and the upper Midwest, winning both the popular vote (7.1 million to 6.5 million) and the electoral vote (271 to 176).

McKinley’s Presidency

McKinley was lucky to take office just as the economy began to revive. Gold discoveries in Alaska in 1897 increased the money supply under the gold standard, which resulted in the inflation that the silverites had wanted. Farm prices rose, factory production increased, and the stock market climbed. The Republicans honored their platform by enacting the Dingley Tariff of 1897 that increased the tariff to more than 46 percent and, in 1900, made gold the official standard of the U.S. currency. McKinley was a well-liked, well-traveled president who tried to bring conflicting interests together. As leader during the war with Spain in 1898, he helped to make the United States a world power.

Significance of the Election of 1896

The election of 1896 had significant short-term and long-term consequences on American politics. It marked the end of the stalemate and stagnation that had characterized politics in the Gilded Age.

Populist Demise The Populist Party declined after 1896 and soon ceased to be a national party. In the South, Thomas Watson and other Populist leaders gave up trying to unite White and Black people, having discovered the hard lesson that **racism** was stronger than common economic interests. Ironically, in defeat, much of the Populist reform agenda, such as the graduated income tax and popular election of senators, was adopted by both the Democrats and reform-minded Republicans during the Progressive Era (1900–1917).

Beginning of Modern Politics The defeat of Bryan and the Populist free-silver movement initiated an **era of Republican dominance** of the presidency, electing six of the next seven presidents, and controlling both houses of Congress for 17 of the next 20 sessions. Once the party of “free soil, free labor, and free men,” the Republicans had become the party of business and industry, though it continued to advocate for a strong national government. Mark Hanna, the master of high-finance politics, created a model for organizing and financing a successful campaign. Campaigns focused on winning favorable publicity in the dominant mass media of the day: print newspapers.

Urban Dominance The election of 1896 was a clear victory for big business, urban centers, conservative economics, and moderate, middle-class values. It proved to be the last hope of rural America to reclaim its former dominance in American politics. Some historians see the election marking the triumph of the values of modern industrial and urban America over the rural ideals of the America of Jefferson and Jackson.

President McKinley emerged as the **first modern president**, an active leader who took the United States from being relatively isolated to becoming a major player in international affairs during the 20th century. During the Gilded Age, the United States had developed into a leading industrial nation, but its role on the world stage had been of secondary importance. That would soon change with the Spanish-American War (see Topic 7.3).

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain three differences between the political parties during the Gilded Age.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Republican Party (PCE)

“bloody shirt”
 veterans of the Union army
 reformers
 African Americans
 Anglo-Saxon Protestants
 temperance
 Hamiltonian tradition
 Whig past
 pro-business

Democratic Party (PCE)

“solid South”
 former states of the Confederacy
 big-city political machines
 immigrant voters
 Catholics, Lutherans, and Jews
 Jeffersonian tradition
 states’ rights
 limited federal power

Rise of Discontent (PCE)

rise of the Populists
 Farmers’ Alliances

Omaha Platform
 government ownership
 Thomas Watson
 election of 1892
 Grover Cleveland
 Panic of 1893
 march to Washington
 “Coxey’s Army”
Coin’s Financial School
 racism

Election of 1896 (PCE)

William Jennings Bryan
 “Cross of Gold” speech
 unlimited coinage of silver
 “Gold Bug” Democrats
 William McKinley
 high protective tariff
 Marcus (Mark) Hanna
 gold standard
 mass media
 era of Republican dominance
 first modern president

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

“My Dear Nephew,

“Never allow yourself to lose sight of that fact that politics, and not poker, is our great American game. If this could be beaten into the heads of some presumably well-meaning but glaringly unpractical people, we should hear less idiotic talk about reform in connection with politics. Nobody ever dreams of organizing a reform movement in poker. . . .

Mr. Lincoln, a very estimable and justly popular, but in some respects an impracticable man, formulated another widely different error in regard to politics. He held that ours is a government of the people, by the people, for the people. I maintain, on the contrary, that it is government of politicians, by politicians, for politicians. If your political career is to be a success, you must understand and respect this distinction with a difference.”

William McElroy, journalist, “An Old War-Horse to a Young Politician,” a satire published anonymously in *The Atlantic Monthly*, 1880

1. Which of the following statements best reflects McElroy’s perspective about politics in his era?
 - (A) Americans should support politicians that talk about reform.
 - (B) Elections were so close that candidates saw them as gambling.
 - (C) Lincoln should not be admired by the general public.
 - (D) People held public office primarily for personal gain.
2. The best example that modifies or refutes McElroy’s description of “idiotic talk about reform in connection with politics” were the changes made in government hiring procedures after
 - (A) the compromise between parties to settle the election of 1876
 - (B) the successes by the Greenback Party in the elections in 1878
 - (C) the assassination of President James Garfield in 1881
 - (D) the loss by Grover Cleveland in the election of 1888
3. What is McElroy’s purpose in writing this article?
 - (A) To criticize young politicians because they were not well-meaning
 - (B) To explain to young politicians how to apply the ideas of Lincoln
 - (C) To encourage young politicians to find other careers
 - (D) To reveal to his readers the cynicism and corruption in U.S. politics

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. “The Populists looked backward with longing to the lost Eden, to the republican America of the early years of the nineteenth century in which there were few millionaires . . . when the laborer had excellent prospects and the farmers had abundance, when statesmen responded to the mood of the people and there was no such thing as the money power.”

Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, 1955

“Populists sought to rethink the meaning of freedom to meet the exigencies of the 1890s. . . . Like the labor movement Populists rejected the era’s laissez-faire orthodoxy. . . . A generation would pass before a major party offered so sweeping a plan for government action on the behalf of economic freedom as the Omaha platform.”

Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom*, 1998

Using the excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain ONE significant difference between Hofstadter’s and Foner’s interpretations of the Populists.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE historical event or development from 1865 to 1900 that could support Hofstadter’s interpretation of the Populists.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE historical event or development from 1865 to 1900 that could support Foner’s interpretation of the Populists.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - (a) Briefly explain ONE specific proposal of the Populist Party to change politics or elections in the United States.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific way the debate over the money supply changed the 1896 election.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific result of the election of 1896 to support the interpretation that it was an important change in American politics.

Continuity and Change Period 6

Learning Objective: Explain the extent to which industrialization brought changes from 1865 to 1898.

You can use the reasoning process of continuity and change to consider the many aspects of industrialization from 1865 to 1898. On the AP® exam, a question might focus on one factor such as markets, technological innovation, government policies, migration, or urban development. In an effort to “Explain the extent to which large-scale industries changed markets in the United States from 1865 to 1898,” one could make the argument that larger, more efficient manufacturers such as Carnegie Steel demonstrated a continuation of long-term trends. This argument could be made more complex in multiple ways:

- One could *corroborate* the argument with examples from other industries. For example, Rockefeller’s Standard Oil business improved efficiency and bought up competitors to dominate the oil industry.
- One could *qualify* the argument by pointing out changes introduced by industry. For example, Carnegie used vertical integration.
- One could *modify* the argument by explaining that some markets continued to be dominated by regional businesses such as local railroads and breweries.

The ability to corroborate, qualify, or modify an argument using diverse evidence is one way to develop a *complex* argument in an essay.

QUESTIONS ABOUT CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

1. Explain the extent to which industrialization led to continuity or change in migration patterns to and within the United States from 1865 to 1898. For example, the main argument might be that jobs created by industrialization greatly increased migration to Northeastern and Midwestern cities,
2. Explain the extent to which industrialization led to changes in American culture from 1865 to 1898. For example, the main argument might be that industrialization helped to expand the middle class in the United States, which influenced changes in reform movements, education, and literature.



THINK AS A HISTORIAN: CONTEXTUALIZATION

In everyday language, context means the words or conditions around something. The context for this passage is that it is part of a book about U.S. history. The context in which you are reading it is a class. To a historian, context includes a broader historical picture. Contextualization involves two skills:

- **Identify a context:** This means the test makers present you with a specific example of a person, event, object, or location. Then you identify or describe the context—the broader historical picture in which it took place.
- **Explain specifics:** This means the test makers provide you with a historical context. Then you list or describe one or more people, events, objects, or locations that were affected by that context.

For example, an item on the AP® exam might name a specific invention, such as barbed wire. The test makers might ask you to identify a context related to that invention. In the case of barbed wire, you could identify the context of the rise of the cattle-ranching industry in some western states. Or you could identify the pushing of Native Americans off their lands, the closing of the American frontier, or the establishment of the cattle frontier.

What about explaining specifics related to a larger historical context? For instance, an item on the exam might mention the labor movement and ask you to name a specific example related to that context. In this case, you might mention the names of specific labor leaders or business owners. You might also name a specific strike or describe one aspect of industrial warfare (such as blacklists).

Items related to contextualization may appear anywhere on the AP® exam. The easiest way to understand this skill is to practice it.

Read each example below. For each one, write a sentence or two that identifies its context.

1. The Great Railroad Strike of 1877
2. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882
3. Hull House being established in Chicago in 1889
4. The opening of an immigrant processing facility on Ellis Island in 1892
5. W. E. B. Du Bois receiving a doctorate from Harvard in 1895

Read each context below. For each one, identify one specific example that was shaped by that context.

6. Growth of the popular press
7. The rise of spectator sports
8. Women's suffrage
9. The conservation movement
10. Technology in cities

UNIT 6 — Period 6 Review: 1865–1898



WRITE AS A HISTORIAN: WRITE THE INTRODUCTION

After you analyze the task, gather and organize evidence, and develop an effective thesis statement, much of the hard work in writing a long essay is behind you. The most challenging task still remaining is to write an introduction that 1) serves as a blueprint for the rest of the essay and 2) casts the topic in a broader historical perspective.

The Introduction as Blueprint A good introduction conveys the framework or limits of the topic as well as a clear debatable and defensible claim. The claim should be expressed in one or more sentences in the same location—ideally the introduction. The introduction also suggests the organizational pattern and reasoning process that will unfold in the rest of the essay. In other words, it conveys (without saying), “Here’s what I’m going to argue. Here’s the reasoning process I am going to use to convince you. Here’s the order I will use to present my ideas.” The reasoning process may be causation, continuity and change, or comparison.

Historical Perspective A good introduction also demonstrates contextualization by relating the topic of the prompt to broader historical events, developments, or processes that occur before or during or that continue after the time frame of the question. The introduction is a good place to state the historical perspective, but it will need further development.

Application: Find both the blueprint and historical perspective in the following introduction. How does the introduction answer these questions:

- What is the author’s argument?
- What reasoning process will the author use?
- What order will the author likely use?
- How does the topic relate to broader historical events, developments, or processes?

The rise of industrial capitalism in the United States between 1865 and 1898 marked a dramatic break with the economic values that guided Americans before 1865. The beliefs of the Puritans toward work, the individualism represented by Benjamin Franklin, and the pragmatic use of government in Henry Clay’s American Plan were left behind as the country developed new ways to think about the economy. This change was part of a larger shift in the culture away from individualism that was reflected in politics and the arts.

For current free-response question samples, visit: <https://apcentral.collegeboard.org/courses/ap-united-states-history/exam>

LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS

Directions: The suggested writing time for each question is 40 minutes. In your response you should do the following:

- Respond to the prompt with a historically defensible thesis or claim that establishes a line of reasoning.
 - Describe a broader historical context relevant to the prompt.
 - Support an argument in response to the prompt using specific and relevant examples of evidence.
 - Use historical reasoning (e.g., comparison, causation, continuity or change) to frame or structure an argument that addresses the prompt.
 - Use evidence to corroborate, qualify, or modify an argument that addresses the prompt.
1. Evaluate the extent to which economic issues fostered continuity in the “New South” in the period from 1865 to 1898.
 2. Evaluate the extent to which industrial capitalism fostered change in society in the period from 1865 to 1898.
 3. Evaluate the extent to which the federal government’s role in the economy in the period from 1865 to 1898 differed from its role before 1865.
 4. Evaluate the extent to which the major political parties were similar during the Gilded Age.
 5. Evaluate the extent to which changes in how businesses were organized and reached consumers influenced the development of the United States between 1865 and 1898.
 6. Evaluate the extent to which cultural factors influenced internal migration patterns during the period from 1865 to 1898.
 7. Evaluate the extent to which reform movements responded to problems of industrialization in the period from 1865 to 1898.
 8. Evaluate the extent to which Social Darwinism was used to defend the economic order in the period from 1865 to 1898.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION

Directions: Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise. You are advised to spend 15 minutes planning and 45 minutes writing your answer. In your response you should do the following:

- Respond to the prompt with a historically defensible thesis or claim that establishes a line of reasoning.
- Describe a broader historical context relevant to the prompt.
- Support an argument in response to the prompt using at least six documents.
- Use at least one additional piece of specific historical evidence (beyond that found in the documents) relevant to an argument about the prompt.
- For at least three documents, explain how or why the document's point of view, purpose, historical situation, and/or audience is relevant to an argument.
- Use evidence to corroborate, qualify, or modify an argument that addresses the prompt.

1. Evaluate the impact of the business leaders on the American economy and society from 1865 to 1900.

Document 1

Source: Interview with William H. Vanderbilt, *Chicago Daily News*, 1882

Q: How is the freight and passenger pool working?

W.V.: Very satisfactorily. I don't like that expression "pool," however, that's a common construction applied by the people to a combination which the leading roads have entered into to keep rates at a point where they will pay dividends to the stockholders. The railroads are not run for the benefit of the "dear public"—that cry is all nonsense—they are built by men who invest their money and expect to get a fair percentage on the same.

Q: Does your limited express pay?

W.V.: No; not a bit of it. We only run it because we are forced to do so by the action of the Pennsylvania road. It doesn't pay expenses. We would abandon it if it was not for our competitor keeping its train on.

Q: But don't you run it for the public benefit?

W.V.: The public be damned. What does the public care for the railroads except to get as much out of them for as small consideration as possible? I don't take any stock in this silly nonsense about working for anybody's good but our own.

Document 2

Source: Thomas Alva Edison, letter written November 14, 1887

My laboratory will soon be completed. . . . I will have the best equipped and largest Laboratory extant, and the facilities incomparably superior to any other for rapid & cheap development of an invention, & working it up into Commercial shape with models, patterns & special machinery. In fact there is no similar institution in Existence. We do our own castings and forgings. Can build anything from a lady's watch to a Locomotive.

The Machine shop is sufficiently large to employ 50 men & 30 men can be worked in other parts of the works. Invention that formerly took months & cost a large sum can now be done in 2 or 3 days with very small expense, as I shall carry a stock of almost every conceivable material of every size, and with the latest machinery a man will produce 10 times as much as in a laboratory which has but little material, not of a size, delays of days waiting for castings and machinery not universal or modern. . . .

You are aware from your long acquaintance with me that I do not fly any financial Kites, or speculate, and that the works I control are well-managed. In the early days of the shops it was necessary that I should largely manage them [alone], first because the art had to be created, 2nd, because I could get no men who were competent in such a new business. But as soon as it was possible I put other persons in charge. I am perfectly well aware of the fact that my place is in the Laboratory; but I think you will admit that I know how a shop should be managed & also know how to select men to manage them.

Document 3

Source: Andrew Carnegie, "Wealth," *North American Review*, 1889

The problem of our age is the proper administration of wealth so that the ties of brotherhood may still bind together the rich and poor in harmony. . . .

The price which society pays for the law of competition, like the price it pays for cheap comforts and luxuries, is also great; but the advantages of this law are also greater still. For it is to this law that we owe our wonderful material development which brings improved conditions. While the law may be sometimes hard for the individual, it is best for the race, because it insures the survival of the fittest in every department. We welcome, therefore, as conditions to which we must accommodate ourselves, great inequality of environment, the concentration of business, industrial and commercial, in the hands of a few; and the law of competition between these, as being not only beneficial, but essential for the future progress of the race.

Document 4

Source: James B. Weaver, “A Call to Action,” 1892

It is clear that trusts are contrary to public policy and hence in conflict with the common law. They are monopolies organized to destroy competition and restrain trade. . . .

It is contended by those interested in trusts that they tend to cheapen production and diminish the price of the article to the consumer. . . . Trusts are speculative in their purpose and formed to make money. Once they secure control of a given line of business, they are masters of the situation and can dictate to the two great classes with which they deal—the producer of the raw material and the consumer of the finished product. They limit the price of the raw material so as to impoverish the producer, drive him to a single market, reduce the price of every class of labor connected with the trade, throw out of employment large numbers of persons who had before been engaged in a meritorious calling and finally . . . they increase the price to the consumer. . . . The main weapons of the trust are threats, intimidation, bribery, fraud, wreck, and pillage.

Document 5

Source: Standard Oil Company with tentacles, Library of Congress



Document 6

Source: Statement of Pullman Strikers, June 1894

Pullman, both the man and the town, is an ulcer on the body politic. He owns the houses, the schoolhouses, and the churches of God in the town he gave his once humble name. The revenue he derives from these wages he pays out with one hand—the Pullman Palace Car Company—he takes back with the other—the Pullman Land Association. He is able by this to bid under any contract car shop in this country. His competitors in business, to meet this, must reduce the wages of their men. This gives him the excuse to reduce ours to conform to the market. His business rivals must in turn scale down, so must he. And thus the merry war—the dance of skeletons bathed in human tears—goes on; and it will go on, brothers, forever unless you, the American Railway Union, stop it.

Document 7

Source: Major gifts by John D. Rockefeller before his death (1937)

American Baptist Foreign Mission Society New York City	\$6,845,688.52
American Baptist Home Mission Society, New York City	6,994,831.62
American Baptist Missionary Society, Dayton, Ohio	1,902,132.58
General Education Board	129,209,167.10
Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, New York	73,985,313.77
Minister and Missionaries Benefit Board of Northern Baptist Convention	7,090,579.06
Rockefeller Foundation, New York	182,851,480.90
Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research	59,931,891.60
University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois	34,708,375.28
Yale University, New Haven	1,001,000.00
Y.M.C.A. International Committee	2,295,580.73
TOTAL	\$506,816,041.18