

THE GILDED AGE: 1869-1889

Themes of the Gilded Age:

1. *Politics*: hard vs. soft money ('70s & '90s); tariff ('80s); corruption due to greed, patronage & trusts (throughout late 19th c.)
2. *Industrialism*: U.S. became the world's most powerful economy by 1890s: railroads, steel, oil, electricity, banking – America was transformed from an agrarian nation to an urban nation between 1865 and 1920.
3. *Urbanization*: millions of "New Immigrants" came from Southern and Eastern Europe, mostly to work in factories.
 - a. Unions and Reform movements sought to curb the injustices of industrialism.
 - b. Farmers increasingly lost ground in the new industrial economy and eventually organized (Populism)
4. *The "Last West"*: farming, mining, & cattle raising
5. By 1900 society had become more stratified into classes than any time before or since.

POLITICS

I. Ulysses S. Grant as president

- A. Most popular figure to emerge from Civil War
 1. People eager for a change from politics-as usual; Grant appeared to be non-political
 2. Grant received and accepted many gifts such as houses and large sums of money as if the country owed him for winning the war.
- B. Presidential election of 1868
 1. Grant the Republican nominee
 - a. Platform of continued military Reconstruction
 - b. Grant supporters during campaign began "waving the bloody shirt" – reviving gory memories of the Civil War
 2. Democrats nominated Horatio Seymour on plank denouncing military Reconstruction.
 - a. Wealthy easterners demanded federal bonds issued during war be redeemed in gold despite being purchased with badly depreciated paper greenbacks.
 - b. "Ohio Idea" --Poorer mid-western delegates called for "repudiation" plank by demanding redemption of bonds in greenbacks to maximum extent possible - Hoped to keep more \$ in circulation making loans less costly & easier to find
 - c. Seymour refused to support "Ohio Idea" hurting Democrats chances.
 - d. Significance: Money issue dominates politics in 1870s (and 1890s)
 3. Grant d. Seymour 214 to 80 but only by 300,000 in popular vote
 - a. Freedmen gave Grant 500,000 votes and his margin for victory.
- C. Grant presided over an era of unprecedented growth and corruption
 1. Grant considered one of worst presidents in U.S. history
 2. much corruption in his administration and his reluctance to try to end graft in other areas.
 3. "Jubilee Jim" Fiske and Jay Gould attempted to corner gold market in 1869
 - a. Persuaded Grant to make the federal Treasury refrain from selling gold.
 - b. Fiske and Gould then bid price of gold upward.
 - c. Treasury finally released gold and the bubble burst ("Panic of 1869")
 - d. Like the Crash of 1929 with overspeculation and inflated stock values.
 - e. Congressional probe found Grant did nothing illegal but acted recklessly.
 4. Tweed Ring in NYC (William Marcy Tweed -- 1823-1878)
 - a. Boss Tweed used bribery, graft, and fraudulent elections to gain perhaps \$200 at the expense of NYC – headed notorious Tammany Hall political machine.
 - b. NY Times exposed him in 1871
 - c. Cartoonist Thomas Nast offered \$100K bribe to "study art in Paris" so not to portray Tweed badly
 - d. Nast refused despite even higher \$ offers.
 - e. Samuel Tilden prosecuted Tweed & he was sent to jail where he died

- f. Paved way for Tilden's presidential nomination in 1876
 - 5. Credit Mobilier scandal
 - a. Railroad construction company formed by insiders of Union Pacific Railway
 - b. Hired themselves to build the railroad and paid themselves huge fees.
 - i. Paid dividends of 348% in one year
 - ii. Distributed shares of stock to congressmen to avoid interference.
 - c. NY newspaper exposed scandal in 1872 & charges confirmed by subsequent Congressional investigation that censured 2 members & VP
 - d. Grant's reputation tarnished although most corruption before his presidency.
 - 6. Whiskey Ring
 - a. 1875, public discovered Whiskey Ring had robbed millions in excise-tax revenues.
 - b. Grant: "Let no man escape"
 - c. Yet, one of Grant's own cabinet members part of the scam.
 - d. Grant persuaded the jury not to convict.
 - e. Secretary of War Belknap pocketed \$24,000 for selling the privilege of disbursing supplies to Indians; supplies often worthless.
 - f. House voted to impeach him and he resigned the same day.
 - g. Grant accepted resignation "with great regret."
 - D. Secretary of State Hamilton Fish
 - 1. one of few bright spots in Grant's cabinet
 - 2. Reorganized State Department
 - 3. Adhered to the merit system in civil service.
 - 4. Treaty of Washington (1871): Britain agreed to pay U.S. \$15.5 million for Alabama claims during Civil War.
 - 5. Averted war with Spain by persuading Grant to remain neutral in Cuba's struggle for independence.
 - E. 15th Amendment
 - 1. Only major significant accomplishment of Grant administration
 - 2. Grant much more sympathetic to Radical Republicans than Johnson and the Democrats.
 - F. Election of 1872 (Liberal Republican revolt)
 - 1. Liberal Republican party formed in response to Grant's corrupt presidency.
 - a. Slogan: "Turn the rascals out"
 - b. Horace Greeley nominated for president. (1811-1872)
 - c. Supported by Carl Schurz,
 - i. a German immigrant in the 40s
 - ii. was an abolitionist
 - iii. in favor of honesty in gov't.
 - 2. Democratic party endorsed Greeley
 - a. had earlier bashed them
 - b. he seemed to be the strongest candidate available
 - c. no Democrats willing to run against Grant
 - 3. Grant d. Greeley 286-66 and by almost 800,000 popular votes.
 - 4. Liberal Republican influence forced the Republican Party to reform itself.
 - a. All but 500 ex-Confederates pardoned in 1872 by a general amnesty act.
 - b. Reduced high Civil War tariffs.
- II. Panic of 1873 and the subsequent depression (1873-1879)
- A. Causes
 - 1. Overproduction of railroads, mines, factories and farm products.
 - 2. Bankers made too many risky loans to finance growth.
 - a. Many loans went unpaid and the banking system collapsed
 - b. 15,000 businesses went bankrupt.
 - 3. Depreciation of Greenbacks resulted in hard-money advocates seeking to increase dollar's value
 - a. Treasury withdrew \$100 million decreasing money available to \$350 million
 - b. Hard-money advocates pleased; soft-money advocates dismayed.

- B. Greenback Issue
 - 1. Contraction
 - a. 1874, to stimulate economic growth Congressional Democrats sought inflation by printing more Greenbacks into circulation.
 - b. Grant persuaded by hard money folks to veto bill to print more paper \$
 - 2. Conservatives feared uncontrolled growth of money supply and inflation.
 - 3. Specie Resumption Act of 1875
 - a. Further withdrawal of Greenbacks
 - b. Redemption of all paper currency in gold (not silver) at face value in 1879.
 - 4. Deflation resulted due to less money in circulation.
 - 5. Worsened impact of depression
 - 6. Yet, boosted nation's credit rating
 - 7. brought Greenbacks up to full face value.
- C. Debtors push for silver
 - 1. Debtors sought to cause inflation which would increase money supply, making it easier to pay debts.
 - 2. Treasury in early 1870s claimed silver was only 1/16 value of gold although silver although prices were higher in the market.
 - 3. Silver producers stopped offering silver for sale to federal mints and Congress stopped coinage of silver dollars in 1873 – U.S. now off bimetal standard.
 - 4. Silver values hurt further by new mines in West that drove downward silver prices.
 - 5. Westerners cried that the downward trend in silver prices was the "crime of 1873"
 - a. Silver mining states demanded return to earlier silver prices in order to boost inflation.
 - b. Republicans refused and Grant maintained hard-money policy.
 - 6. Bland-Allison Act of 1878
 - a. Compromise where gov't would buy and coin between \$2-4 million silver per month.
 - b. Yet, gov't stuck to legal minimum and inflation did not occur.
 - c. Although economy grew, currency in circulation didn't keep pace
 - d. Resulting in lower prices.
- D. Greenback Labor Party
 - 1. Formed in 1878
 - 2. Seeking soft-money
 - 3. Elected 14 members to Congress while polling over a million votes.
 - 4. After depression ended in 1879, the currency issue did not come back to center stage until 1890s.

III. Politics in the Gilded Age – sarcastically by Mark Twain & Charles Dudley Warner

- A. Era of the "forgettable presidents": Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, and Harrison; Cleveland the only exception – did little of enduring value to the nation
- B. Era was most highly competitive politically in U.S. history
 - 1. All presidential elections close
 - 2. House of Reps switched 6 times between 1869 and 1891
 - 3. Voter turnout reached highest levels in U.S. history before and after
 - 4. Politicians extremely cautious not to tip balance to other party
 - 5. Yet, few significant economic issues separated the major parties (only money & tariff)
 - 6. Republicans differed only in that they were more successful.
 - 7. Social issues more pronounced in party differences
 - 8. Republicans
 - a. traced their lineage to Puritanism
 - b. stressed strict codes of personal morality
 - c. stressed gov't's involvement in regulating both economic and moral affairs of the community as a whole—middle class WASP values.
 - d. Heavy support from businessmen
 - e. Support from the Midwest and small and rural towns in NE

- f. Heavy support from African Americans
- g. Emphasized identify-of-interest argument: people should accept their place in society because the wealthy know what's best for the country
- 9. GAR (Grand Army of the Republic), a politically potent fraternal organization of several hundred thousand Union vets in the Civil War.
- 10. Democrats
 - a. consisted of many immigrant Lutherans and Catholics (esp. Irish)
 - b. Religions stressed less stern views of human weaknesses
 - c. Views opposed gov't efforts to impose single moral standard on whole society.
 - d. Support came from the Solid South and large industrial cities where immigrants factored in significantly under political machines.
 - e. Emphasized economic equity
- 11. Prohibition and education became intense issues at the local level.
- C. Patronage and bribery dominated politics
 - 1. Giving away many gov't offices for votes, kickbacks, and party service.
 - 2. Gov't employment expanded significantly (e.g. postal service)
 - 3. Reformers targeted the spoils system as being inefficient and a breeding corruption.
 - 4. Civil service reform largely anti-Irish in politics.
 - 5. Republican factions
 - a. "Stalwarts" headed by Roscoe Conkling, U.S. Senator who favored spoils system
 - b. "Half-Breeds" led by James G. Blaine, Congressman who favored civil service reform
 - c. "Mugwumps" -- represented in thought by Thomas Nast
 - i. Composed of young liberal reformers
 - ii. Favored Reconstruction policies to help African Americans
 - iii. Anti-corruption (continued Liberal Republican ideas)
 - 6. Infighting 1870s and 80s resulted in a dead-locking of the party.

IV. Election of 1876

- A. Supporters urged Grant to run for a third term in 1876; Grant was willing
- B. House passed a resolution (233-18) to remind the country of two-term tradition.
- C. Republicans nominated Rutherford B. Hayes as a compromise candidate
- D. Democrats nominated Samuel Tilden (of Boss Tweed fame)
- E. Election results
 - 1. Tilden one of only two candidates to win majority of popular votes but lose election.
 - 2. Election fraud in SC, FL, and LA resulted in commission created to determine election.
- F. Compromise of 1877
 - 1. Hayes would become president in return for withdrawing remaining federal troops from last two states, LA and SC.
 - 2. Republicans assured Democrats of presidential patronage and support for a bill subsidizing a southern transcontinental railroad route.
 - 3. Officially ended Reconstruction and blacks sacrificed in the South.

V. Election of 1880, Garfield and Arthur

- A. James Garfield (R) d. Winfield Hancock (D)
- B. Garfield second president to be assassinated
 - 1. June, 1881
 - 2. by a office seeker Charles J. Guiteau
 - 3. "I am a Stalwart. Arthur is now president of the U.S."
- C. Because VP Arthur was a Stalwart, it seemed as if Stalwarts (Conklingites) would get all the good civil service jobs.
- D. Garfield seen as a martyr in a corrupt civil service system—spurred public demand for reform
- E. Pendleton Act of 1883
 - 1. Provisions
 - a. Prohibited hiring office holders based on wealth.
 - b. Merit system for making appointments

- c. Set up Civil Service Commission charged with administering open competitive examinations to applicants for posts in classified office.
 - d. Offices not "classified" by the president open to spoils.
 - e. By 1884, nearly 10% of federal offices "classified"
 - f. By 1980's, about 90% were classified.
2. Problem: Federal patronage from powerful office-seekers was significantly reduced thus forcing politicians to look increasingly to corporations for campaign financing.

VI. Election of 1884

- A. James G. Blaine became the Republican nominee
 - 1. Many Republicans believed Blaine was corrupt
 - 2. Some Republicans left for the Democratic party and dubbed Mugwumps
- B. Democrats nominated Grover Cleveland, ex-mayor of Buffalo & ex-governor NY
 - 1. Seen by many as a reformer who stood firm against the railroads in NY
 - 2. Platform included more honesty and efficiency in government
- C. Campaign:
 - 1. Republicans publicized Cleveland's claimed of having an illegitimate child 8-years prior
 - 2. In NY, a Republican clergyman damned the Democrats as the party of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" – insulting NY's Irish community
 - 3. Blaine failed to repudiate the statement
 - 4. Shortened phrase "RRR" stuck and ultimately cost Blaine crucial NY
- D. Election results:
 - 1. Cleveland won 219-182 and by about 40,000 popular votes.
 - 2. The desertion of Mugwumps and the NY incident sealed Cleveland's victory
 - 3. Cleveland also won the Solid South
 - 4. First Democratic president since Buchanan 28-years earlier

VII. Cleveland's presidency

- A. Staunch believer in laissez faire
- B. Initially favored cause of Mugwump reformers but eventually caved in to the Democratic political machine mindset and fired about 2/3 of federal Military pensions
 - 1. By 1880, military pensions for Civil War veterans were being abused through loopholes that allowed able-bodied veterans to file fraudulent claims.
 - 2. The GAR was a powerful lobby organization that influenced elections.
 - 3. Cleveland courageously vetoed several hundred thousand new pensioners.
- C. Tariffs became the major issue separating the two parties in the 1880s.
 - 1. Republicans favored a high tariff
 - 2. Democrats hated it
 - 3. Republicans (esp. William McKinley) argued that it stimulated American industry and enriched all Americans (like "trickle down")
 - 4. labor supported McKinley somewhat
 - 5. High tariffs since the Civil War created a treasury surplus annually by 1881 amounting to \$145 million.
 - 6. Tariffs stifled American foreign trade, 75 to 80% of which was agricultural
 - a. Pushed costs for farm production higher
 - b. As producers and consumers, farmers were double victims
 - c. Workers' wages did not increase nearly at the rate tariffs increased prices
 - 7. Cleveland sought lower tariffs
 - a. Believed lower tariffs = lower prices for consumers & less protection for monopolies.
 - b. Would also end embarrassing treasury surplus
 - c. In 1887 annual address to Congress, Cleveland spent entire speech appealing for lower tariffs
 - d. The tariff determined the election of 1888
- D. Landmarks during Cleveland's term (though not necessarily supported by Cleveland)
 - 1. Dawes Act -- designed to control Indians

2. Interstate Commerce Act -- designed to curb railroads
3. Retrieved 81 million acres of public domain in the West
 - a. land that had been improperly acquired
 - b. by "cattle barons" or the railroads

VIII. Election of 1888 – tariff primary issue

- A. Democrats grudgingly renominated Cleveland.
- B. Republicans nominated Benjamin Harrison
- C. Harrison d. Cleveland 233-168
- D. Cleveland had more popular votes
- E. Only 2nd time in U.S. history person with most popular votes lost election
- F. Cleveland the first sitting president to be voted out since Van Buren in 1840.
- G. Republicans interpreted victories in House (1st time in over a decade) and the Senate as a mandate for the tariff
- H. Tariffs subsequently increased

INDUSTRIALISM: 1865-1900

I. Major Ideas

- A. By 1900 the U.S. exceeded the combined output of Germany and Great Britain
 1. U.S. borrowed heavily from Europe
 2. after WWI, U.S. emerged as largest creditor.
 3. Technological innovations:
 - a. steel: railroads, skyscrapers, engines
 - b. oil: internal combustible engine, cars, subways, street railroads
 - c. Electricity: lights, power, refrigerated railroad cars
 - d. Advances in business: telephone, typewriter, cash register, adding machines
 - e. Mass popular culture (early 20th century): Cameras, phonographs, bicycles, moving pictures, amusement parks, professional sports
 - f. Contrasts 1st Industrial Revolution: textiles, coal, iron, early railroads.
 4. In 1880, about 50% of Americans worked in agriculture; only 25% by 1920
 5. Class divisions became most pronounced in US history during this period
 6. Farmers lost ground
 - a. In 1880, 25% of those who farmed did not own their land.
 - b. African Americans
 - i. 90% lived in the South
 - ii. 75% were tenants or sharecroppers
 7. Depressions and recessions led to unrest
 - a. 1873-1879; 1882-1885; 1893-1897; 1907-1908; 1913-1915

II. Railroad building

- A. By 1900, 192,556 miles of track; 35,000 in 1865 alone (more than all Europe combined)
 1. Gov't subsidized transcontinental railroad building since unpopulated areas were initially unprofitable
 2. Railroad companies given 155.5 million acres along RR lines
 3. Gov't received low rates for postal service and military traffic in return
 4. Cities flourished where lines were laid while bypassed cities became "ghost towns"
- B. The Transcontinental Railroad (completed in 1869)
 1. Pacific Railway Act (1862):
 - a. Passed by Republican Congress during Civil War
 - b. Connecting the Pacific states seen as urgent to security
 2. Union Pacific Railroad appointed by Congress to build west from Omaha, NE
 - a. Company granted 20 square miles for each mile of track constructed
 - b. Company also granted federal loans for each mile:
 - i. \$16,000 for flat land

- ii. \$32,000 for hilly country
 - iii. \$48,000 for mountainous country
 - c. Construction began in 1865
 - d. Irish "paddies" who fought in the Union armies worked at a frantic pace.
 - e. Workers fended off attacks from hostile Indians; scores lost their lives
 - f. "Hell on wheels": tented towns sprang up at rail's end; drinking, prostitution
 - g. Insiders of the Credit Mobilier construction company pocketed \$73 million for some \$50 million worth of work – Bribed congressmen looked the other way
 - 3. Central Pacific Railroad pushed east from Sacramento over Sierra Nevada
 - a. Led by the "Big Four"
 - i. Leland Stanford – ex-governor of CA & future Senator
 - ii. Collis P. Huntington – VP; managed enterprise on day-to-day basis.
 - b. CP ran a relatively clean operation compared to Union Pacific (Credit Mobilier)
 - c. Gov't provided same subsidies as to Union Pacific
 - d. 10,000 Chinese laborers:
 - i. "coolies," worked as cheap, efficient and docile labor
 - ii. Hundreds lost their lives in premature explosions & other mishaps
 - e. Sierra Nevada became a major challenge as workers could only chip through a few inches a day through rocky tunnels
 - 4. Railroad completed at Promontory Point, Utah on May 10, 1869
 - a. Union Pacific built 1,086 miles of line
 - b. Central Pacific built 689 miles
 - 5. Significance:
 - a. Linked the entire continent via railroad and by telegraph
 - b. Paved the way for incredible growth of the Great West
 - c. Facilitated a burgeoning trade with the Orient
 - d. Seen by Americans at the time as a monumental achievement along with the Declaration of Independence and the freeing of the slaves
 - 6. Other Transcontinental lines
 - a. No subsequent RR received gov't loans but all received generous land grants
 - b. Northern Pacific Railroad completed in 1883 (Lake Superior to Puget Sound)
 - c. Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe RR completed in 1884 – Connected those cities through the southwestern deserts to California.
 - d. Southern Pacific: New Orleans to San Francisco via Los Angeles (1884)
 - e. Great Northern Railroad: Duluth, Minn. to Seattle; completed in 1893
 - i. Created by James G. Hill, probably the greatest of all the railroad builder – Believed prosperity of railroad depends on prosperity of area it serves
 - ii. Hill ran agricultural demonstration trains along his lines and imported bulls from England which he distributed to farmers
- C. Railroad Consolidation and Mechanization
- 1. Cornelius Vanderbilt (1794-1877)
 - a. Popularized the steel rail
 - i. replaced the old iron tracks of the NY Central RR
 - ii. Steel safer & more economical since it could carry a heavier load
 - b. Amassed a fortune of \$100 million dollars
 - 2. Jay Gould & Russell Sage by 1880 controlled much of RR traffic in West
 - a. Gutted their railroads by stock watering and pocketing profits rather than reinvest
 - b. Gould had earlier tried to corner the gold market during Grant's presidency
 - 3. Significant improvements in railroad building:
 - a. Steel, standard gauge of track width, Westinghouse air brake
 - b. Pullman Palace Cars afforded luxurious travel, introduced in 1860s
- D. Significance of America's railroad network
- 1. Spurred the industrialization of the post-Civil War years (especially steel)
 - 2. Sprawling nation became united physically.

3. Created enormous domestic market for US raw materials and manufactured goods – Probably the largest integrated market in the world.
 4. Stimulated creation of 3 Western frontiers:
 - a. Mining
 - b. Agriculture
 - c. Ranching
 5. Railroad led to great cityward movement of late 19th c
 6. RRs could feed huge numbers of people; supply raw materials & markets
 7. Facilitated large influx of immigrants
 8. Advertised in Europe free travel to new farms in the American West
 9. Spurred investment from abroad
 10. Concept of time altered with creation of distinct "time zones" from coast to coast
 11. Maker of millionaires; a new railroad aristocracy emerged
 12. Native Americans displaced and herded into ever-shrinking reservations
- E. Railroad corruption by the "Robber Barons"
1. Employed Selfish, Ruthless Biz Methods
 2. Exploited Workers
 3. Killed Competition
 4. Jay Gould: Forced prices of stocks to boom and bust on some of his lines
 5. stock watering:
 - a. Railroad stock promoters grossly inflated value of railroad stock
 - b. Railroad managers
 - i. forced to charge high rates
 - ii. waged ruthless competition to pay off the exaggerated financial obligations
 6. Railroad tycoons, for a time, became the most powerful people in America
 - a. Bribed judges and legislatures, employed effective lobbyists, and elected their own men to office
 - b. Gave free passes to journalists and politicians
 7. Eventually ruled as an oligarchy instead of cutthroat competition
 - a. "Pools"
 - i. Formed defensive alliances to protect their profits
 - ii. Competing firms agreed to divide the market, establish prices, place profits in a common fund, and pro-rate profits
 - b. Some gave secret rebates or kickbacks to large corporations
 - c. Slashed rates on competing lines but made up difference on other lines
 - d. Hurt farmers with long-haul, short-haul practices
 8. Cornelius Vanderbilt:
 - a. "Law! What do I care about the Law? Hain't I got the power?"
 - b. Ruined opponents rather than sue them legally
- F. Government regulation of the "Robber Baron" railroad tycoons
1. Initially, Americans slow to react to the excesses of the railroad plutocracy
 - a. Jeffersonian ideals hostile to gov't interference with business
 - b. Dedicated to free enterprise & to principle that competition fuels trade
 2. Believed anyone could become a millionaire: the "American dream"
 - a. Adam Smith:
 - i. The Wealth of Nations (1776)
 - ii. "bible" of capitalism
 3. Supreme Court decisions
 - a. Depression of 1870s inspired farmers to protest against being forced into bankruptcy by unfair railroad policies
 - b. Organized agrarian groups such as the Grange (Patrons of Husbandry) pressured many Midwestern legislatures to regulate the railroad monopoly
 - c. Slaughterhouse Cases, 1873
 - i. molded Court's interpretation of 14th Amendment for decades

- ii. Court ruled protection of "labor" was not a federal responsibility under the 14th Amendment but a state responsibility
 - iii. Significance: Protected businesses from federal regulation if they engaged only in intrastate commerce
 - d. Munn v. Illinois, 1877
 - i. One of so-called farmer "Granger Laws"
 - ii. Decision: Public always has the right to regulate business operations in which the public has an interest
 - iii. ruled against railroads
 - e. Wabash case, 1886
 - i. Significance: Supreme Court ruled that individual states had no power to regulate interstate commerce;
 - ii. responsibility rested with the federal gov't.
 - iii. In effect, overturned Munn v Illinois
 - iv. Illinois law had prohibited short haul & long haul practices
 - v. Stimulated push for Interstate Commerce Act of 1887
 - f. 1886, Court ruled a corporation was a "person" under the 14th Amendment
 - i. Thus, extremely difficult for federal gov't to regulate corporations especially since Court justices and many gov't officials often sided with corporations
 - ii. Railroad companies in particular hid behind the decision
- 4. Interstate Commerce Act passed in 1887
 - a. Passed despite Cleveland's disapproval
 - b. Set up Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) (most important provision) to enforce and administer the new legislation
 - c. Prohibited rebates and pools and required railroads to publish their rates openly
 - d. Forbade unfair discrimination against shippers and outlawed charging more for short haul than long haul over the same line
 - e. Positive result: provided an orderly forum where competing business interests could resolve their conflicts in peaceful ways
 - f. Yet, ICC didn't effectively regulate the railroads
 - g. more of a panacea to public
 - h. 1st large-scale attempt by gov't to regulate business in the interest of society
 - i. Precedent for future regulatory commissions in 20th century

III. Industrialism and Mechanization

- A. Civil War profiteering created huge fortunes and a class of millionaires now eager to invest.
- B. Natural resources fed industrial growth.
 - 1. Mesabi Range deposits in Minnesota-Lake Superior region yielded huge tracts of iron ore for steel industry
 - 2. Unskilled labor, both domestic and foreign, was now cheap and abundant
- C. Whitney's interchangeable parts concept now perfected by industry
 - 1. Cash register, stock ticker, and typewriter facilitated business operations
 - 2. Women increasingly entered the workplace to run these machines
 - 3. Patents increased significantly between 1860-1890
 - 4. Urbanization spurred by the refrigerator car, electric dynamo, & the electric railway
- D. Alexander Graham Bell's telephone (1876)
 - 1. Telephone network created nation-wide within a few years
 - 2. Young women (usually middle class) worked as operators
 - 3. Office positions still within "Cult of Domesticity" parameters
- E. Thomas A. Edison
 - 1. Electric light (most famous), phonograph, mimeograph, Dictaphone, moving pictures
 - 2. "Genius is 1% inspiration and 99% perspiration"
 - 3. Electricity became another cornerstone of the industrial revolution
 - 4. Cities illuminated, electric railcars, etc.

IV. The Trust emerges – destruction of competition

- A. "Vertical integration"
 - 1. controlling every aspect of the production process
 - 2. Pioneered by Andrew Carnegie:
 - a. steel co. mined ore in Mesabi Range (leased from Rockefeller)
 - b. shipped ore to the Great Lakes
 - c. railroaded to steel factories in Pittsburgh
 - 3. Goal is to improve efficiency by making supplies more reliable, controlling the quality of the product at all stages of production, and eliminate middlemen's fees
 - 4. Not as detrimental as horizontal consolidation
- B. "Horizontal integration"
 - 1. Consolidating with competitors to monopolize a given market
 - 2. John D. Rockefeller: Pioneered the "trust" in 1882 as a means of controlling his competition through the Standard Oil Company
 - 3. Trust: Stockholders in various smaller oil companies sold their stock and authority to the board of directors of Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company
 - a. Stockholders receive trust certificates and the board of trustees exercises full control of the business
 - b. Trust consolidated operations of previously competing enterprises
 - c. Standard Oil eventually cornered the world petroleum market
 - d. Was worth about \$900 million upon his retirement in 1897
 - e. Incredible considering auto industry not born yet
- C. "Interlocking directorates" mastered by J. P. Morgan
 - 1. Depression of 1890s drove many struggling businessmen into Morgan's arms
 - 2. Sought to consolidate rival enterprises and ensure future harmony by placing officers of his own banking syndicate on their various boards of directors
 - 3. Eventually, holding companies, came to thwart anti-trust legislation
 - a. Bought controlling shares of stock in member companies instead of purchasing companies outright
 - b. While the "held" companies remained separate businesses on paper, in reality, the holding company controlled them
 - c. Holding Companies made trusts unnecessary and permitted actual mergers
- D. Concentration of financial power enhanced economic growth, paved the way for large-scale mass production, and stimulated new markets

V. The Steel Industry emerges

- A. Cornerstone of the 2nd American Industrial Revolution
 - 1. Held together skyscrapers, coal scuttles, railroad tracks.
 - 2. Typified "heavy industry" which concentrated on making "capital goods" rather than consumer goods
 - 3. By 1900, U.S. was producing as much steel as Britain and Germany combined
- B. Bessemer process -1850s
 - 1. Turned iron into steel
 - 2. Steel could now be readily produced for locomotives, steel rails, and the heavy girders used in building construction
- C. Andrew Carnegie
 - 1. Brought to US from Scotland as a boy by impoverished parents in 1848
 - 2. Disliked monopolistic trusts
 - a. His organization was a partnership that involved about 40 "Pittsburgh Millionaires" at one point.
 - b. Henry Clay Frick – his general manager and partner
 - 3. By 1890, Carnegie was producing about 1/4 of the nation's Bessemer steel
 - 4. Eventually sold his company to J. P. Morgan for over \$400 million
 - 5. Spent rest of life giving money away to the public: libraries, pensions for professors, etc.
 - 6. in all, gave away about \$350 million
- D. J. Pierpont Morgan

1. Owned a Wall Street banking house
2. financed the reorganization of railroads, insurance companies, and banks
3. Reputation for integrity; did not believe "money power" was dangerous unless it was in the wrong hands
4. In 1901, he launched the enlarged United States Steel Corporation
 - a. Combination of Carnegie's holdings and others, and stock watering
 - b. Corporation capitalized at \$1.4 billion making it America's first billion-dollar corporation (greater than sum of entire nation in 1800!)
 - c. However, half of stock's worth was water
 - d. Elbert H. Gary, a co-leader of USX
5. Charles Schwab also important in shaping steel industry (Bethlehem Steel)

VI. The Petroleum industry and other trusts

- A. First well in PA in 1859 started U.S. petroleum industry overnight
 1. Oil would dwarf the wealth generated by all the gold extracted in West
 2. Kerosene emerged as standard for lamps, crippling old whale-oil business
- B. John D. Rockefeller
 1. Came from modest background & became a successful businessman at 19
 2. In 1870, organized the Standard Oil Co. of Ohio
 3. By 1877, Rockefeller controlled 95% of oil refineries in U.S
 4. Pursued a policy of rule or ruin; ruthless in his business tactics
 5. Believed he was obeying law of nature – survival of the fittest.
 6. Standard Oil produced a quality product at a cheap price which fueled important economies home and abroad
 - a. Large-scale methods of production and distribution
 - b. Consolidation proved more profitable than ruinous price wars
- C. Gustavus F. Swift & Philip Armour became kings of the meat industry
 1. Enormous profits from western herds
- D. Andrew Mellon
 1. Financier who became one of America's greatest venture capitalists
 2. Expert ability to select, back, and acquire shares of promising business ventures such as Aluminum Co. of America, Gulf Oil Corporation, and the Pittsburgh Coal Company

VII. "Nouveau Riche" – arrogant class of "new rich" after Civil War

- A. Older American aristocracy of successful merchants and professionals highly resentful and concerned about the change in the order of society
 1. Patrician families losing power and prestige in the face of the "new rich"
 2. Economic liberty and community involvement being overshadowed by monopoly and political machines
- B. Antitrust crusaders generally led by the "best men"
 1. genteel old-family do-gooders who were conservative defenders of their own vanishing influence
 2. Roosevelts, Wilson, Mugwumps
- C. Despite plutocracy and deep class divisions, the captains of industry provided material progress
- D. Social Darwinism
 1. Charles Darwin – Origin of the Species
 2. "survival of the fittest" theory
 3. Although Darwin's work was rooted in biology, others used his theory as the foundation for promoting the virtues of free-market capitalism
 4. Herbert Spencer – advocated idea of Social Darwinism
 - a. Applied Darwin's theory of natural selection to human competition
 - b. Established sociology as a respected discipline in the U.S.
 5. "Millionaires a product of natural selection" – William Graham Sumner
- E. Some argued that Divine Providence was responsible for winners and losers in society
 1. God had granted wealth as He had given grace for material and spiritual salvation of the select few – John D. Rockefeller: "The good Lord gave me my money"

2. Resembled "Divine Right of Kings" in justifying power
3. Identity-of-interest idea held that existing hierarchy was just & decreed by God
4. Those who stayed poor must be lazy and lacking in enterprise
 - a. Many of the new rich had succeeded from modest beginnings (Carnegie)
 - b. Rev. Russell Conwell:
 - i. "Acres of Diamonds" lectures made him rich
 - ii. "There is not a poor person in the U.S. who was not made poor by his own shortcomings."

F. The Gospel of Wealth

1. justified uneven distribution of wealth by industrialists
2. Andrew Carnegie: The Gospel of Wealth synthesized prevailing attitudes of wealth and survival of the fittest
3. Wealth was God's will
4. Stated money should be give away for the public good but not to individuals in want (Rockefeller gave away \$550 million by his death at age 97).
5. Believed in the long run extreme disparities of wealth were good for the "race," because the wealthy added to civilization
6. Believed alternative to inequities of wealth was universal squalor
7. Identity-of-interest argument

G. By 1890, value of all property in U.S. estimated at \$65 billion

H. \$25 billion of which was represented in the assets of corporations

VIII. Government regulation of trusts

A. Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890

1. Created in response to public demand for curbing excesses of trusts
2. Provisions:
 - a. Forbade combinations in restraint of trade in interstate commerce
 - b. no distinction between "good" trusts and "bad" trusts
 - c. provided fines & imprisonment for violators
 - d. Prescribed 3-fold damages in court to any person proving he had been injured by competition of business monopoly
3. Largely ineffective as it had no significant enforcement mechanism
 - a. First 7 of 8 decisions presented by atty general shot down by Court
 - b. U.S. v. E.C. Knight, Co. 1895 – Court ruled sugar refining was manufacturing and not trade or commerce
 - c. More trusts formed in 1890s under President McKinley than during any other like period
 - d. Not until 1914 (Clayton Anti-Trust Act) was Sherman Act given teeth
4. Ironically, used by corporations to curb labor unions or labor combinations that were deemed to be restraining trade

B. Public interests now eclipsing private enterprise in political power due to such acts as the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 and the Sherman Anti-Trust Act

C. Revolutionary in the sense that public was shifting toward government protection

IX. The "New South"

A. The Changing South after the Civil War

1. Politics: for Southern whites, Democratic party only viable political organization
2. To ensure its control, each southern state passed legislation taking voting rights away from blacks (e.g., literacy tests, poll taxes, and "grandfather clauses.")
3. Social: White leadership adopted Jim Crow laws that required racial separation of public facilities Most political/economic power remained in hands of powerful white aristocracy.
4. "Redeemers" and "Bourbons": Powerful conservative oligarchy that controlled every Southern state government after the end of Reconstruction
5. Although at times similar to antebellum planter class, it also included merchants, industrialists, railroad developers, or financiers.

- B. "New South"
 - 1. Some gains made in textile industry but by 1900, South still produced a smaller % of nation's manufactured goods than it had before the Civil War
 - 2. Henry W. Grady, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, most famous of southerners who urged the South to out-produce the North commercially and industrially
 - 3. Mill towns: Most visible signs of Southern industrial expansion after Reconstruction
 - a. Textile factories encouraged by Southern conservative governments, which could offer low taxes, a cheap labor supply, and an abundance of water power
 - b. Mill towns controlled their workers' lives. While providing community and solidarity among workers, mill towns prevented union organization
 - C. The Tobacco Trust
 - 1. Tobacco industry grew dramatically after 1880 when machine-made cigarettes replaced hitherto practice of rolling one's own
 - 2. James Buchanan Duke & family: mass-produced slim cigarettes: American Tobacco Co.
 - D. Industrialism partially impaired by high railroad rates traveling northward
 - E. Agriculture still dominated; South remained rural, industrialism slow to take hold
 - 1. Plantation system degenerated into a pattern of absentee land ownership among both with and black sharecroppers
 - 2. Crop-lien system was at the core of Southern agriculture – Sharecropping
 - a. A farmer mortgaged his ungrown crop in return for use of land and to acquire supplies from the owner of a local store selling tools or seed
 - b. Since merchants seldom had competitors, farmers paid inflated prices for goods purchased on credit as well as high interest
 - c. Often, a farmer's harvest was given away in its entirety to the merchant but the farmers still remained in debt
 - d. Indebtedness tended to increase annually resulting in the eventual loss of land for the farmer.
 - e. This system of economic tyranny contributed in increase in cash crop growth as they were seen as a more profitable way of paying off debts
 - F. The "Lost Cause" and "Redemption"
 - 1. Southerners remained proud of their defiance in defense of states' rights during the Civil War
 - 2. After Reconstruction ended, "Redemption" resulted in Confederate memorials and cemeteries commemorating the "Lost Cause."
 - 3. Joel Chandler Harris: Uncle Remus (1880)
 - a. Harris' tales depicted antebellum slave society as a harmonious world
 - b. Nostalgic tales popular & showed the role & power of Southern past
- X. Impact of the Second Industrial Revolution on America
- A. Standard of living rose sharply as well-fed American workers enjoyed more physical comforts than any other nation
 - B. Urban centers mushroomed as factories increasingly demanded more labor
 - C. American agriculture eclipsed by industrialism: railroads, steel, oil, electricity
 - D. Free-enterprise eclipsed by monopoly
 - E. The work-place became regimented and impersonal
 - F. Women achieved social and economic independence as careers in typing, stenography, and switchboard operators became available
 - G. Marriages delayed, smaller families resulted
 - H. Social stratification most pronounced in US history
 - 1. By 1900, about 10% controlled 90% of the nation's wealth
 - 2. Lower classes envious and resentful of the nouveau riche
 - I. Foreign trade developed as high US productivity threatened to flood US market
- XI. Rise of the Labor Movement
- A. Conditions for workers in the 2nd industrial revolution were precarious
 - 1. Low-skilled jobs make workers expendable as number of workers abundant

- a. Automation created short-term losses of jobs; better in long-run
- b. Before mechanization, most manufacturing done by skilled craft workers
- 2. earliest unions were trade unions, such as shoemakers, saddle-makers, etc.
 - a. Working conditions often dismal and impersonal
 - b. Recourse minimal the face of the vast power of industrialists
 - i. Strikes often nullified by the use of "scab" workers
 - ii. Conservative federal courts often ruled in favor of corporations
 - iii. Corporations could also ask states to call in troops.
 - iv. Employers could lock-out rebellious workers & starve them into submission.
 - v. Forced to many to sign "ironclad oaths" or "yellow dog contracts" which were agreements not to join a labor union.
 - vi. Also blacklisted noncompliant workers.
 - c. Corporations sometimes owned a "company town" where high priced grocery stores, easy credit, and sometimes rent deductions created a cycle debt.
 - d. Public grew tired of frequent strikes; often unsympathetic to the workers' plight
 - e. Strike seemed to many foreign and socialistic and thus, unpatriotic
- 3. Labor's goals of currency reform, greenback currency, and opposition to national banks alarmed conservatives for the rest of the century
- 4. Yet, US wages were perhaps the highest in the world
- B. Civil War boosted labor unions
 - 1. Drain of human resources put more value on labor
 - 2. Mounting cost of living created urgent incentive to unionization
 - 3. By 1872, several hundred thousand organized workers and 32 national unions existed including crafts as bricklayers, typesetters, and shoemakers.
 - 4. Collective bargaining emerged as standard union practice.
- C. National Labor Union organized in 1866
 - 1. led by William Sylvis
 - 2. Major boost to the union movement
 - 3. Designed to bring together skilled craft unions into one large one
 - 4. Lasted 6 years; attracted about 600,000 workers inc. skilled & unskilled farmers
 - 5. Focused on social reform such as abolition of the wage system
 - 6. but also fought for goals such as 8-hr. work-day and arbitration of industrial disputes
 - 7. Succeeded in getting 8-hr day for gov't workers but laws had no means of enforcement and provisions were not implemented.
 - 8. Blacks formed their own national labor union in 1869 when they were no longer welcome in the NLU
 - 9. NLU killed by depression of 1870s
- D. Molly Maguires
 - 1. formed in 1875 by Irish anthracite-coal miners in Pennsylvania
 - 2. Members were part of an Irish American secret fraternal organization (Ancient Order of Hibernians)
 - 3. Mollies used intimidation, arson, and violence to protest owners' denial of their right to unionize.
 - 4. President of Reading Railroad called in Pinkerton detective agency for help
 - 5. Mollies infiltrated and incriminating evidence was gathered
 - 6. Mollies destroyed and twenty of its members hanged in 1877
 - 7. The Mollies became martyrs for labor and a symbol for violence among conservatives.
- E. Great Railroad Strike (1877)
 - 1. Several railroads informed workers wages to be cut by 10% for 2nd time since 1873.
 - 2. First nationwide strike
 - 3. Paralyzed railroads throughout the East and Midwest and idled some 100,000 workers.
 - a. Later, farmers, coal miners, craft workers, & the unemployed joined in
 - b. Involved 14 states and ten railroads.
 - 4. President Hayes sanctioned use of federal troops in PA
 - a. set precedent for future federal intervention

- b. Led to over 100 deaths and terrified propertied classes.
 - 5. The strike inspired support for the Greenback-Labor party in 1878 and Workingmen's parties in the 1880s.
- F. Knights of Labor seized the torch of the defunct NLU
 - 1. Background
 - a. Led by Terence Powderly – a moderate; not a radical
 - b. Founded in 1869 as a secret society (like the Masons and others)
 - 2. Officially known as The Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor
 - a. Secrecy continued through to 1881 to forestall possible reprisals by employers
 - b. Used republican imagery associated with Lincoln that each man should have a say in the political & economic issues that affected him
 - c. Much of leadership and membership was Irish
 - 3. Sought to include all workers in "one big union" including blacks & women
 - a. Excluded only liquor dealers, gamblers, lawyers, bankers, and stockbrokers
 - b. Industrial unionism idea was ahead of its time (not seen until 1930s)
 - c. Most 19th c. unions were trade unions with skilled workers
 - 4. Campaigned for economic and social reform
 - a. Producers' cooperatives and codes for safety and health
 - b. end to child labor
 - i. Cooperative idea paralleled the Grange in the west
 - ii. Sought to replace wage system with all workers owning factories
 - c. Fought for
 - i. an 8-hr workday through winning a number of strikes,
 - ii. higher pay and equal pay for women.
 - iii. Government regulation of railroads
 - iv. postal savings banks
 - v. gov't paper currency
 - vi. Sought arbitration rather than industrial warfare.
 - vii. Discouraged strikes and violence as a means for change
 - viii. Powderly's ban on strikes would be ignored and lead to the Knight's demise
 - d. Won major strike in 1885 against Gould's struggling railroads
 - e. Victory increased Knight's membership to more than 700,000 in 1886.
 - 5. Demise due to the Great Upheaval (1886)
 - a. 1,400 strikes involving 500k workers.
 - b. Knights seen as huge organization that could throw econ. into chaos
 - c. Involvement in a number of May Day strikes in 1886 resulted in 50% failure
 - d. Haymarket Square Bombing in Chicago
 - i. May 4, 1886, Chicago police advanced on a meeting called to protest alleged brutalities by the authorities in May Day strikes
 - ii. Alleged German anarchists present who advocated a violent overthrow of gov't
 - iii. A dynamite bomb was thrown in the crowd that killed 8 police; 60 officers injured by police fire; 7 or 8 civilians killed; 30-40 wounded
 - iv. Resulted in the first full-blown red scare in Chicago for 2 months.
 - v. Five anarchists sentenced to death and three others given stiff prison sentences although nobody could prove they had anything to do with the bombing
 - vi. In 1892, Gov. John P. Altgeld, a German-born Democrat pardoned the 3 survivors after exhaustive study of the Haymarket case
 - vii. Defeated for reelection probably due to a conservative backlash.
 - e. The rise of Workingmen's parties in various cities scared conservatives who blacklisted members through employers' associations
 - f. Employees had to sign "yellow dog" contracts or take "iron clad" oaths
 - g. Knights of Labor became mistakenly associated with anarchists
 - h. 8-hr movement suffered and subsequent strikes met with many failures

- i. Inclusion of both skilled and unskilled workers proved a fatal handicap
 - i. Unskilled labor could easily be replaced with "scabs."
 - ii. High-class craft unionists enjoyed a superior bargaining position
 - iii. Became frustrated with giving up their bargaining advantage due to the failure of unskilled labor strikes
 - iv. Powerly's cautious leadership squandered rank-and-file mobilization by opposing strikes and forbidding political action.
 - v. Skilled craftsmen sought a union of exclusively skilled craft unions
 - j. By 1890s, Knights of Labor had only 100,000 members left who ultimately left to join other protest groups
- G. American Federation of Labor (AFL)
 - 1. Formed in 1886 under the leadership of Samuel Gompers
 - 2. Consisted of an association of self-governing national unions with the AFL unifying overall strategy.
 - 3. Gompers' path fairly conservative; bitter foe of socialism; non-political
 - a. Accepted existence of two conflicting classes: workers and employers.
 - b. Only wanted labor to win its fair share; better wages and hours, and improved working conditions ("bread and butter" issues)
 - c. Did, however, attempt to persuade members to vote for favorable candidates
 - 4. Closed shop
 - a. all workers in a unionized industry had to belong to the union.
 - b. Provided necessary funds to ride out prolonged strikes.
 - 5. Chief strategies of AFL: walk-out and boycott
 - a. By 1900, about 500,000 members (critics called it the "labor trust")
 - b. Shortcomings: did not represent unskilled labor esp. women and blacks.
- H. Major strikes in the 1890s
 - 1. Homestead Strike, 1892
 - a. in Carnegie's steel plant near Pittsburgh
 - b. Demonstrated a strong employer could break a union if it hired a mercenary police force and gained gov't and court protection.
 - c. Frick & Carnegie announced 20% pay slash for steelworkers
 - d. Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers went on strike and Frick then locked them out
 - e. Led to worker uprising – factory surrounded; scabs not allowed through lines
 - f. Frick called in 300 Pinkerton detectives.
 - i. Armed strikers forced their assailants to surrender after 9 Pinkertons and 7 workers were killed and about 150 wounded.
 - ii. PA governor brought in 8,000 state militia and scabs replaced workers.
 - iii. In Sept. scores of workers indicted on 167 counts of murder, rioting, and conspiracy; jury eventually found the leaders innocent
 - g. Union was effectively broken
 - 2. Pullman Strike, 1894
 - a. Pullman Co. responded to the Great Railroad Strike of 1877 by building a model company town for his workers near the factory in Chicago
 - b. Pullman Palace Car Company hit hard by the depression & cut wages by 1/3 but maintained rent prices in the company town
 - c. Eugene V. Debs helped to organize the American Railway Union of about 150K
 - i. Workers went on strike and even overturned some Pullman cars
 - ii. Railway traffic from Chicago to Pacific Coast paralyzed.
 - d. Attorney General Richard Olney sent federal troops stating strikers interfering with transit of U.S. mail.
 - i. President Cleveland: "If it takes the entire army and navy to deliver a postal card in Chicago, that card will be delivered"
 - ii. Troops sent in over Governor Altgeld's objections and violence spread to several states costing 34 lives.

- iii. Strike crushed and 150,000 ARU destroyed.
 - e. Debs and his lieutenants sentenced to 6 mos. jail time for contempt of court
 - f. Debs used his time to read radical literature which laid a philosophical foundation for his later leadership of the Socialist movement in U.S.
 - g. First time gov't used an injunction to break a strike
 - i. The gov't made striking, an activity not previously defined as illegal, a crime
 - ii. Labor cried "gov't by injunction"
 - iii. Laborites held in contempt of court could be imprisoned w/o jury trial.
 - iv. Populists & other debtors concerned as Pullman episode proof of an alliance between big business and the courts
- 3. Between 1881-1900, 23,000 strikes occurred involving 6.6 million workers.
 - a. Biggest weakness: only represented about 3% of all working people.
 - b. Public finally began to accept workers' right to organize, bargain collectively, and strike
 - c. Labor Day made a legal holiday by Congress in 1894.
- I. Labor movement by the early 20th century
 - 1. Lochner v. New York, 1905 – Supreme Court overturned a New York law limiting New York bakers to 60/hr weeks
 - 2. Danbury Hatters case, 1908 in CT had assessed more than \$250K on striking hatmakers who were striking
 - a. workers were to lose savings and homes.
 - b. Supreme Court had ruled trade union had violated Sherman Act by interfering with interstate commerce
 - 3. Supreme Court in 1908 upheld use of broadest injunctions and did much to destroy organized labor
 - 4. In 1910 membership had been reduced to 1.5 million, down from 2 million in 1904; 250k in 1897; 870k in 1900
 - 5. AFL vigorously entered national politics in 1908 and endorsed Democratic party
 - 6. Clayton Anti-Trust Act, 1913
 - a. exempted unions from Sherman Antitrust provisions
 - b. Hailed by Gompers as "the Magna Carta of labor."
 - c. By 1917 AFL membership reached 3 million
 - 7. "Red Scare" after WWI led to crackdowns on labor and the movement declined significantly until New Deal in the 1930s

URBANIZATION: 1865-1900

I. The Rise of Urban America

- A. Population in 1900 doubled to about 80 million since the census of 1870
- B. 105 million by 1920
 - 1. Population in cities tripled; by 1900 40% of Americans lived in cities.
 - 2. By 1900, New York had 3.5 million people; 2nd largest in world
 - a. Chicago and Philadelphia had over 1 million people.
 - b. No American city had 1 million people in 1860.
- C. Skyscrapers emerged as steel allowed for taller buildings and elevators were perfected.
 - 1. Louis Sullivan (1856-1924) – "form follows function" when making buildings.
 - 2. Brooklyn Bridge (John A. Roebling) linked 1st & 3rd largest cities in U.S.
- D. Commuting increased due to mass-transit e.g. electric trolleys – streetcar suburbs emerged
- E. Megalopolis emerged divided into distinctly different districts for business, industry, and residences; segregated by race, ethnicity, and social class.
- F. Economic and social opportunities lured people to the city; rural America could not compete
 - 1. Commercial districts mushroomed, with department stores emerging
 - 2. Also lure of entertainment, amenities such as electricity, indoor plumbing, and telephones
 - 3. City a new frontier of opportunity for women

- a. over 1 million new workers in 1890s
 - b. Social workers, secretaries, store clerks, seamstresses, telephone operators, bookkeepers.
 - c. Many worked in deplorable conditions (such as sweat shops)
 - d. Middle and upper-class women usually did not work – not acceptable.
4. Teaching and nursing were among few acceptable vocations.
- a. By 1900, over 5 million women worked for wages
 - i. 18% worked in clothing & garment trades or textile mills
 - ii. Nearly 40% were domestic servants.
 - iii. Others were farm laborers, teachers, and salesclerks.
 - b. Most workingwomen were young, poor, and unmarried.
 - c. Castes emerged among women workers
 - i. Clerking open to mainly "American" girls – WASP; respectable work
 - ii. Factory work did not gain instant respectability
 - ◆ Usually farm girls or working-class girls
 - ◆ These workers could be accepted by those higher on social ladder
 - ◆ Women's Trade Union League & other female unions active in this class.
 - iii. Domestic servants considered on the bottom class
 - ◆ Usually foreign-born (usually Irish) or black
 - ◆ Often worked 12/hrs per day, 6 days a week
 - ◆ Had no organizations to improve their situations
- G. Class distinctions became most pronounced in America history by 1900
- 1. New class of super-wealthy: the nouveau riche
 - a. 1890: Wealthiest 1% of families owned 51% of real and personal property
 - b. Meanwhile, 44% of families at the bottom owned 1.2% of all property.
 - c. Wealthy (incl. nouveau riche) and well-to-do = 12% of families; 86% of wealth
 - d. Poorer & middle classes = 88% of families but owned only 14% of wealth.
 - e. Traveled to Europe as children, attended colleges or academies, owned more than one house, boats, carriages, and automobiles.
 - f. Employed several servants.
 - g. Believed in identify-of-interest idea of social order.
 - 2. Middle class
 - a. Lower end: salesmen, clerks and government workers; teachers
 - b. Upper end: lawyers and doctors
 - c. Mostly WASP (but poorer in South, West, and Midwest)
 - d. Usually lived in relatively large homes; employed at least one domestic servant.
 - e. "Respectable" women didn't debate public issues; didn't attract attention to themselves
 - f. No middle ground existed between purity and immorality.
 - 3. Working class
 - a. Usually Catholic (esp. Irish), foreign (esp. E & S Europe), or black
 - b. Between 23% and 30% of work force out of work for some period every year
 - c. In 1900, nearly 20% of children under 15 worked in non-agricultural work
 - d. About 20% of women worked, most were young—between school & marriage
- H. Cities had deplorable conditions.
- 1. Rampant crime: prostitution, cocaine, gambling, violent crime.
 - 2. Unsanitary conditions persisted as cities could not keep up with growth
 - 3. Perfection of "dumbbell" tenement in 1879
 - a. 7 or 8 stories high with little ventilation
 - b. families were crammed into each floor
 - c. 50% of New York City housing

II. "New Immigration" occurred after 1880

- A. Between 1850 & 1880, over 6 million immigrants came to US (part of "Old Immigration")
 1. Most Anglo-Saxon who came from Britain & Western Europe (Germany, Scandinavia)
 2. Most were literate and easily adapted to American society
 3. Before 1880 the stereotype of immigration was German and Irish
 - a. Germans seen as sturdy, hardworking, serious people
 - i. Constituted largest number of immigrants in 19th century.
 - ii. After upheavals of late 19th c., seen as socialists, anarchists, and communists.
 - iii. Germans could be Protestant, Catholic or Jewish.
 - iv. Some joined Republican party and gained respectability among WASPs
 - b. Irish seen as dirty, drunk, immoral, Catholic, and violent
 - i. 2nd in numbers to German immigrants by end of century (though largest in number between 1840-1860)
 - ii. Became America's first proletariat; could not afford land.
 - iii. Climbed to middle-class through politics.
 - iv. Most were Democrats and gained political stereotypes:
 - ◆ bossism, herd voting, corruption (although it was widespread in both parties)
 - ◆ Civil service reform largely a nativist, class reaction against Irish.
- B. "New Immigration"
 1. Between 1880 & 1920 about 27 million immigrants came to the US
 2. about 11 million went back
 3. Most came from Eastern and Southern Europe (Italians, Jews, Poles, Greeks, Hungarians, Croat/Slovenian, Slovaks, Bulgarian, Czech, Serbian/Montenegrin)
 4. By 1910 1/3 of Americans either foreign born or had one parent foreign born. (only 19% in 1890).
 - a. Most came through Ellis Island in New York harbor from 1882-1954
 - b. Others came through Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, Galveston, Mobile, New Orleans, and West Coast ports
 - c. Came to live in enclaves in NY & Chicago where their numbers were larger than their Old World cities
 5. Many were Orthodox Christians or Jewish (from Eastern Europe)
 6. Came from countries with little democracy
 7. Heavily illiterate
- C. Struggled to maintain their cultures in America
 1. Many Catholic parochial schools & Jewish Hebrew schools established
 2. Foreign-language newspapers, theaters, food stores, restaurants, parishes, social clubs.
 3. 1st generation Americans often rejected culture of parents and became mainstreamed
- D. Why immigration from Eastern & Southern Europe?
 1. Overpopulation in Europe and rapid industrialization left many with either nowhere to go or forced many to change their customary occupations.
 2. America seen as a land of opportunity (conditions in Europe dismal)
 - a. Statue of Liberty erected in NY harbor, a gift from the French
 - b. "Give us your tired, your poor/ Your huddled masses yearning to breath free" – Emma Lazarus
 3. Industrialists sought low-wage labor, railroads sought buyers for their land grants, states wanted more population, & steamship lines wanted more business
 4. Persecution of minorities in Europe
 - a. Jews savagely persecuted in Russia in 1880s esp. in Polish areas
 - i. Most fled to NY.
 - ii. Resented by German Jews who had arrived decades earlier as well as WASPs

- iii. Most had lived in cities in Europe as tailors or shopkeepers
 - iv. Difficult to assimilate since they lived together in slum enclaves.
 - b. Ethnic & religious minorities in Europe faced conscription, economic hardship and persecution.
- 5. About 25% of 20 million who came between 1820 & 1900 went back to Europe.
 - a. Earned enough money to improve their lives in the Old World
 - b. Had no intentions of Americanizing.
- E. Chinese immigration (not considered part of "New Immigration")
 - 1. Burlingame Treaty
 - a. in 1868 between U.S. and China
 - b. allowed unrestricted immigration to work on the transcontinental RR
 - c. Sec. of State Seward hoped to open Chinese markets to U.S. goods.
 - d. By 1870, accounted for 9% of California population; 75,000
 - 2. Chinese in America
 - a. Came to work gold fields and build the transcontinental railroad.
 - b. Highest percentage of immigrants in America who returned home.
 - c. Chinatowns developed with mostly all single men
 - d. The few Chinese women who came were turned into prostitutes
 - e. Most worked as cooks, laundrymen, or domestic servants.
 - 3. After railroad completed, Chinese immigration continued causing intense friction with white workers in California, esp. Irish led by Denis Kearney in San Francisco.
 - a. Bad economic times stemming from 1873 Panic a major cause
 - b. Employers used Chinese workers as a hedge against unionization
 - c. "Coolies" terrorized in streets: many killed, others had pigtailed sheared off
 - d. Also persecuted in mining towns in Colorado
 - 4. Workingmen's Party of California
 - a. led by Kearney
 - b. Formed in 1877 called for exclusion of Chinese from CA and the US
 - i. Emerged into large party
 - ii. earlier helped draft California constitution in late-1840s
 - iii. Claimed Chinese were taking jobs from US workers.
 - c. California Constitution denied Chinese jobs on public works projects and stated they could not work for companies in the state.
 - d. Influenced national policy.
 - 5. Chinese Exclusion Act (1882)
 - a. Ended Chinese immigration
 - b. lasted until 1943

III. Reaction to New Immigration

- A. Political machines catered to new immigrants
 - 1. Bosses often traded jobs and services for votes creating powerful immigrant voting blocks for their own purposes
 - a. Provided employment on city's payroll, found housing for new arrivals, gave gifts of food and clothing to the needy, helped with legal counseling,
 - b. helped get schools, parks, and hospitals built in immigrant neighborhoods.
 - 2. Tammany Hall in NYC most infamous political machine
 - a. George Washington Plunkett a minor boss in the Tammany machine gained notoriety for his pandering to immigrants and corruption.
 - i. Plunkett would get word from civil boards about imminent projects and he would secretly buy land and resale it to the city at a higher price.
 - ii. He called it "honest graft"
 - 3. Reformers infuriated by these practices; wanted to curb power of political machines
- B. Social Crusaders attempted to improve the "shame of the cities"
 - 1. Motivation: fear of violent revolution among the working class
 - 2. Social Gospel advocates emerged
 - a. Christianity should improve life on earth rather than waiting for the afterlife.

- i. Sought to improve problems of alcoholism & unemployment
 - ii. Tried to mediate between managers and unions
 - iii. Did much to spark the Progressive reform at the turn of the century.
 - b. Washington Gladden – Sought to open branches in working class districts.
 - c. Salvation Army
 - i. arrived from England in 1879
 - ii. Appealed to the poverty stricken
 - iii. free soup most obvious contribution
- 3. Settlement House Movement
 - a. Primarily a women's movement of white, northeastern and midwestern, college educated and prosperous.
 - i. Teaching or volunteerism were almost the only permissible occupations for a young woman of her social class.
 - ii. Women prohibited from involvement in politics (Victorian ideal & cult of domesticity)
 - b. Jane Addams (1860-1935)
 - i. "St. Jane"
 - ii. One of first generation of college-educated women
 - iii. She believed living among the poor would give meaning to lives of young educated women who needed firsthand experience with realities poverty in the city.
 - iv. Est. Hull House in Chicago (along with Ellen Gates Starr)
 - ◆ American settlement house where immigrants were taught English, offered classes in nutrition, health, and child care, discussed the day's events, and could hold celebrations
 - ◆ Helped immigrants cope with American big-city life; provided child-care
 - ◆ Became a model for other settlement houses in other cities.
 - v. Condemned war as well as poverty and won Nobel Peace Prize in 1931.
 - c. Lillian Wald – Henry Street Settlement in NY.
 - d. Settlement houses became centers of women's activism and social reform.
 - i. Florence Kelley most important figure
 - ◆ Won legislation regulating hours and working conditions for women and children
 - ◆ Also sought to help African Americans
 - ◆ Served 3 decades as general secretary of Nat'l Consumers League.
 - ◆ Pioneer of occupational safety legislation
 - ◆ Socialist views.
- 4. American Red Cross launched in 1881 under leadership of Clara Barton who had been an "angel" of the Civil War battlefields.
- 5. Municipal Housekeeping:
 - a. concentrated on the quality of life in poor neighborhoods
 - b. Street cleaning, slaughterhouses and butchering, sanitation in public schools, pure milk and water, and suppression of vice.
- 6. American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to animals founded in 1866.
- 7. YWCA founded in 1858 – eventually became a boon to young women in urban areas.
- C. Antiforeignism or "nativism"
 - 1. Nativists viewed Eastern and Southern Europeans as culturally and religiously exotic and often treated them badly
 - a. Alarmed at high birthrates common among people of low standard of living
 - b. More alarmed at prospect of mongrelized America with a mixture of "inferior" South European blood.
 - c. Angry at immigrant willingness to work for "starvation" wages.

- d. Concerned at foreign doctrines e.g. socialism, communism & anarchism.
- 2. Antiforeign organizations
 - a. American Protective Association (APA) formed in 1887
 - i. Urged voting against Roman Catholic candidates for office
 - ii. Soon, claimed a million members.
 - b. Labor leaders infuriated at use of immigrants as strike breakers.
- 3. Rev. Josiah Strong: *Our Country*, 1885
 - a. Congregational minister who condemned cities as wicked places
 - b. Disliked immigrants and their impact on cities
 - c. Also condemned real city problems such as low worker wages leading to gambling, robbery, and extortion for survival.

IV. The New Morality

- A. Many WASPs concerned moral principles (middle-class Victorian ideals) now under attack
 - 1. Victoria Woodhull's periodical *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly* included much feminist propaganda including appeals for women's suffrage, equal rights, and "free love"
- B. "Comstock Law" of 1873 passed by Congress forbade publishing of material provocative sexual material

V. Prohibition of Alcohol

- A. Liquor consumption increased in years following Civil War.
 - 1. Immigrant groups resisted temperance or prohibition laws.
 - 2. Saloons in late-19th century were exclusively male.
- B. Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) organized in 1874
 - 1. Led by Francis Willard
 - a. Increasingly saw drunkenness as a result of poverty, not cause of it.
 - b. Put enormous pressure on states to abolish alcohol; somewhat successful.
 - 2. Most important female organization in the 19th c. and most powerful lobbying group.
 - 3. Championed Planned Parenthood.
 - 4. Most important women's suffrage group in late 19th c. (incl. blacks and Indians)
 - 5. Supported 8-hr work day and supported Knights of Labor
- C. Carrie A. Nation used her hatchet to smash saloon bottles and bars
 - 1. Her actions hurt the prohibition movement
 - 2. she was arrested over 30 times
- D. Anti-Saloon League formed in 1893
 - 1. Picked up WCTUs fight but had more political connections to get legislation passed.
 - 2. By 1900, 25% of Americans living in communities with restrictions on alcohol.
- E. Statewide prohibition laws were now sweeping new states during the Progressive Era.
- F. In 1919, 18th Amendment made alcohol illegal (lasted only 14 years).

VI. Women's fight for liberation and suffrage

- A. Woman growing more independent in the urban environment
 - 1. Less children born as couples used birth control increasingly; marriages delayed.
 - 2. Extra children not economically feasible
- B. National American Women's Suffrage Association (formed in 1890)
 - 1. Women's rights movement had split after Civil War.
 - a. National Women's Suffrage Association founded in 1869
 - i. Included Elizabeth Cady Stanton & Susan B. Anthony
 - ii. Excluded men; opposed black suffrage until women could vote.
 - b. American Women Suffrage Association led by Lucy Stone.
 - i. Included men
 - ii. Supported black suffrage as stepping-stone to female suffrage.
 - iii. Worked for suffrage at state level rather than national level
 - iv. Successful in gaining suffrage in Wyoming (1869) and Utah (1870)
 - 2. The rival NWSA and the AWSA merged in 1890 to form the WAWSA

3. Women's rights movement unable to make headway b/t 1896 & 1908
- C. WCTU—most important suffrage organization for women prior to 1910s
 1. In 1876 focused energies toward achieving of female suffrage.
 2. Claimed drunkenness ruined homes and could be abolished only through temperance legislation, which men alone would not enact.
 3. Narrowed focus to prohibition after Willard's death in 1898.
- D. Gains for women
 1. Women increasingly permitted to vote in local elections esp. issues related to schools.
 2. Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho granted full suffrage -- In California, liquor lobby defeated suffrage; believed (correctly) women would seek to outlaw liquor.
 3. Most states by 1890 passed laws to permit wives to own or control their property after marriage.

VII. Churches confront urban challenge

- A. Protestant churches suffered heavily from population shift to the city.
- B. Dwight Lyman Moody:
 - a. Urban revivalist
 - b. sometimes considered part of Social Gospel
 - c. Urban circuit rider adapted old-time religion to the facts of city life.
- C. Catholic Church: kept the common touch better than many of leading Protestant churches.
- D. Church of Christ, Scientist (Christian Science)
 - a. est. by Mary Baker Eddy in 1879
 - b. Preached that the true practice of Christianity heals sickness

VIII. Charles Darwin disrupts the Churches

- A. *Origin of the Species* (1859) brought forth theory that humans had slowly evolved from lower life forms
 1. soon summarized to mean "survival of the fittest."
 2. Cast serious doubt on the literal interpretation of the Bible, esp. creationism
 3. Conservatives or "Fundamentalists" stood firmly on the Scripture as the inspired and infallible Word of God
 4. condemned the "bestial hypothesis" of Darwinians.
 5. "Modernists" refused to accept the Bible in its entirety as either history or science – Henry Ward Beecher
- B. Rifts occurred as a result in post-Civil War churches and colleges.

IX. Education

- A. Public education continued to gain strength
 1. Tax-supported elementary schools adopted on a nationwide basis before Civil War
 2. Ideal that free gov't cannot function successfully if people were ignorant.
 3. By 1870, more and more states making at least a grade-school education compulsory
 4. Helped check abuses of child labor.
 5. Public high schools spread significantly by 1880s and 1890s.
- B. "Normal schools" (teachers-training schools) expanded after Civil War
- C. Kindergarten also saw wide support (earlier borrowed from Germany)
 1. Private Catholic parochial schools spawned from New Immigration, fast became a pillar of U.S. education system.
- D. Chautauqua movement launched in 1874 in NY to educate adults through nationwide lectures that often featured well-known speakers inc. Mark Twain;
 1. often held in tents
 2. Chautauqua courses of home study made available
 3. 100,000 enrolled in 1892 alone.
- E. Illiteracy rate dropped from 20% in 1870 to 10.7% in 1900
- F. Education in cities generally more effective than in rural America.

X. Higher education

- A. By 1900, 25% of college graduates were women.
- B. Morrill Act of 1862 granted public lands to states for support of education.
 - 1. "Land-grant colleges" mostly became state universities
 - 2. also supplied military training.
- C. Hatch Act of 1887 supplemented Morrill Act
 - 1. Provided federal funds for est. of agricultural experiment stations in connection with land grant colleges.
 - 2. Sought research for breeding disease-resistant strains of plants and animals, increased productivity, development of new crops, and new uses for overabundant crops.
- D. Philanthropy supplemented federal funds for higher education: Cornell, Stanford, Univ. Chicago
- E. William James: served 35 years on faculty at Harvard.
 - 1. *Principles of Psychology* (1890) helped est. modern discipline of behavioral psychology.
 - 2. *Pragmatism* (1907) most famous work
 - a. Described America's greatest contribution to the history of philosophy.
 - b. Truth was to be tested, above all, by the practical consequences of an idea, by action rather than theories.

XI. The Press

- A. Newspapers
 - 1. Editorials akin to Greeley were diminishing
 - 2. Sensationalism was climbing as public thirsted for sex, scandal, and other human-interest stories.
 - 3. Joseph Pulitzer: Yellow Journalism attributed to his newspapers
 - 4. William Randolph Hearst also built up a powerful chain of newspapers
 - a. Like Pulitzer extremely sensationalistic in his editing for increased circulation.
 - 5. Syndicated news such as the emerging Associated Press helped check sensationalism.
- B. Reform Press (some sought panaceas, others focused on specific reform)
 - 1. *The Nation*, founded by Edwin L. Godkin in 1865
 - a. became era's most influential journal.
 - b. Liberal and highly intellectual, read largely by professors, preachers, and publicists.
 - c. Advocated civil service reform, honesty in gov't, and a moderate tariff.
 - 2. Henry George: *Progress and Poverty* (1879)
 - a. Though available land still plentiful, increased demand increased property values, making land speculators rich.
 - b. A single tax of 100% on those with land appreciation would eliminate speculation
 - i. Everyone would be able to buy land.
 - ii. Workers would become farmers; resulting labor shortage would increase wages and end unemployment.
 - iii. Poverty and crime would end
 - iv. His ideas horrified the wealthy
 - 3. Edward Bellamy: *Looking Backward* (1888)
 - a. Socialistic novel: hero, falling into a hypnotic sleep, awakens in 2000.
 - b. "Looks backward" and finds social and economic injustices of 1887 have been erased under an idyllic gov't, which has nationalized big business to serve the public interest.
 - i. Money abolished
 - ii. no more unemployment, strikes, violence, etc.
 - c. Bellamy clubs (Nationalist clubs) emerged to discuss his mild utopian socialism
 - d. Heavily influenced Populist movement.
 - 4. Henry Demarest Lloyd: *Wealth against Commonwealth* (1894)
 - a. One of first anti-big business tracts to come from a member of the elite.
 - b. Influential model of investigative journalism
 - c. grew into muckraking in 20th century
 - d. Criticized Standard Oil for corrupting the political system.
 - e. His remedy was socialism gained through peaceful means.

5. Thorstein Veblen: *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899)
 - a. Assailed the nouveau riche
6. Jacob A. Riis: *How the Other Half Lives* (1890)
 - a. Exposed the dirt, disease, vice, and misery of the rat-infested New York slums
 - b. Heavily influenced Theodore Roosevelt
7. Charlotte Perkins Gilman: *Woman and Economics* (1898)
 - a. Considered a classic masterwork of feminist literature.
 - b. Called on women to abandon their dependent status and contribute to the larger life of the community through productive involvement in the economy.
 - c. Advocated centralized nurseries and cooperative kitchens to facilitate women's participation in the work force
 - d. Anticipated day-care centers & convenience-food services of a half-century later.
8. Coin Harvey's Financial School advocated silver standard/soft money
9. By century's end, sweeping panaceas had lost appeal
10. reformers worked to solve specific problems thus leading to Progressive Movement

SETTLING THE WEST: 1865-1890

Frederick Jackson Turner: *Significance of the Frontier in American History* (1893)

- A. "Up to our own day American history has been in a large degree the history of the colonization of the Great West. The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development."
 1. Argued closing of the frontier had ended an era in American history
 2. Used census report of 1890 to explain that settlement of the frontier had provided an explanatory framework for American development.
 3. His work also illustrates the psychological power of the frontier in that, with its passing, Americans began to realize that revitalizing opportunities were also vanishing.

I. "The Great West" or the "Great American Desert"

- A. From the Great Plains in the east to the California desert in the west.
- B. Flood of whites into area after Civil War
 1. 1865, no white people in area
 2. exception: Mormons in Utah & scattered Mexican settlements in SW
- C. Area inhabited by
 1. Plains Indians: Sioux & Comanche
 2. SW Indians: Apache & Navajo
 3. NW Indians: Nez Perce & Shoshoni
- D. By 1890, entire area carved into states except for four territories
 1. Pioneers poured into the vast area in one of the most rapid settlements of such a vast area in all history.
 2. Expansion spurred by the Homestead Act of 1862
- E. Native Americans stood in the way of expansion on two fronts:
 1. westward from the trans-Mississippi East
 2. eastward from the Pacific Coast
 3. epic clash inevitable
- F. African-Americans
 1. 18% of California population by 1890
 2. Many involved in fur trade in 1820s and 1840s.
 3. Over 500,000 lived west of Mississippi; many came west as slaves
 4. After 1877, about 200,000 blacks moved west, many homesteading in Kansas or Oklahoma.
 5. As many as 1 in 4 cowboys were black

II. Subduing of Native Americans

- A. Plains Indians
 1. Spanish-introduced horse in 16th, 17th and 18th centuries

2. made Indians more nomadic and war-like
 3. they had more range and competed for resources.
 4. By 1860, tens of thousands of buffalo-hunting Indians roamed the western plains.
 - a. Their society was organized into tribes
 - i. which were usually subdivided into "bands" of about 500 men and women
 - ii. each with a governing council.
 - b. Women assumed domestic and artistic roles
 - c. Men hunted, traded, and supervised religious and military life.
 - d. Each tribe's warrior class competed with others to established reputation for bravery.
 - e. Western tribes never successfully united politically or militarily against white power, thus contributing to their defeat by the white society.
 5. Government policy toward Native Americans:
 - a. Federal gov't traditionally regarded Indian tribes both as independent nations and as wards of the state
 - b. negotiated treaties with them that required ratification by the Senate.
 - c. Tribes often victimized by incompetent white officials charged with protecting them.
 6. As white settlers moved west, exerted more pressure for access to Indian lands.
 7. Gov't frequently responded by violating treaties they made with Native Americans.
 8. Concentration policy:
 - a. 1851, U.S. gov't began policy of inducing tribes to "concentrate" in certain "inviolable" areas to the north and south of intended white settlement.
 9. Policy intensified during 1860s
 10. Indians herded into still smaller areas – "relocation"
 - i. Sioux "guaranteed" sanctuary of Black Hills in Dakota Territory.
 - ii. Other tribes relocated to "Indian Territory" (present-day OK)
 - iii. Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior in charge of the reservations.
 11. Indians surrendered ancestral lands provided that they would be left alone and provided with food, clothing and other supplies.
 - a. Federal Indian agents often corrupt giving poor or damaged provisions.
 - b. Some profited handsomely from "savings" of expenditures
 - c. Treaties often disregarded flagrantly while lands seized and game killed.
 - d. Poor administration by BIA resulted in constant conflicts between tribes and nearby white settlers.
- B. Warfare 1868-1890
1. constant warfare raged in Western area between Indians & whites
 - a. U.S. troops largely made of Civil War veterans
 - i. 1/5 of all soldiers assigned to frontier were black
 - ◆ Buffalo Regiment
 - ii. Led by Sherman, Sheridan ("the only good Indian is a dead Indian") and Custer.
 - b. Plains Indians expert fighters who often had state-of-the-art weapons supplied from fur traders, i.e. repeating rifles
 2. Sand Creek Massacre, Colorado, 1864
 - a. 1861, Cheyenne & Arapaho forced into desolate Sand Creek reservation due to gold mining.
 - b. Colonel J. M. Chivington's militia massacred in cold blood about 400 Indians who thought they had been promised immunity and protective custody by the gov't.
 3. Sioux War of 1876-1877
 - a. Began when gold miners rushed to Black Hills of S.D. in 1875 stampede.
 - b. Warriors led by Sitting Bull took the warpath after treaties violated.
 - c. Led by George A. Custer, federal forces pursued Sioux
 - d. Battle of Little Big Horn
 - i. Custer's forces clashed with 2,500 well armed warriors in eastern Montana led by Crazy Horse

- ii. Custer and his 264 men completely wiped out
 - iii. about 150 Indians dead
 - e. U.S. reinforcements eventually drove Sitting Bull to Canada where he received political asylum
 - f. hunger forced him to return and surrender by 1876
 - 4. Nez Perce led by Chief Joseph
 - a. located in Idaho 250 miles west of Portland, Oregon
 - b. Chief Joseph noble & humane leader, earlier helped white settlers & explorers.
 - c. Nez Perce had ceded much land to U.S. in 1855 in return for large reservation in Oregon and Idaho
 - d. later ceded more lands when gold discovered
 - e. 1877, U.S. gov't ordered removal of Nez Perce from Wallowa Valley in Oregon by agreement or by force.
 - f. War ensued and Nez Perce won several battles before fleeing.
 - g. Nez Perce 75-day, 1,500 mile retreat to Canada
 - h. sought out Sitting Bull's camp in Canada but subdued only 30 miles from border
 - i. Nez Perce shipped south to malaria-infested camp in Kansas
 - j. final relocation in Oklahoma
 - k. had been promised a reservation in the Dakotas
 - l. Over a third died of disease
 - m. Nez Perce eventually allowed to return to northwest but not Wallowa Valley.
 - 5. Apache
 - a. Cochise led successful 9-year guerrilla war from base in Rocky Mountains
 - b. Americans offered deal but later reneged
 - c. Apache then led by Geronimo (Arizona, New Mexico)
 - d. Pursued by Federals into Mexico and finally induced to surrender
 - e. Many Apache became successful farmers in OK
 - f. they raised cattle.
 - 6. Battle of Wounded Knee (1890)
 - a. last major clash between U.S. troops and Indians.
 - b. Issue: Army sent end sacred "Ghost Dance" that had spread to the Dakota Sioux.
 - i. Believers of cult expected buffalo to return and God's wrath to wipe the white man from the face of the earth.
 - ii. Fearful whites (many were Christian reformers on reservations) successfully urged US gov't to make it illegal.
 - c. 300 Sioux men, women, & children massacred in SD
 - d. 60 US soldiers killed
- C. Result of Indian Wars
1. By 1890, effectively all North American tribes in reservations
 - a. U.S. gov't felt it was cheaper to feed Indians than to fight them.
 - b. Many reservations grossly ignored by gov't.
 2. Killing of buffalo resulted in Indians being subdued
 - a. Extermination of buffalo eliminated food supply, skins, etc.
 - b. Originally 50 million alive; 15 million in 1868; less than 1,000 by 1885
 - c. Much food supply during railroad construction came from bison while U.S. Army and agents of BIA also encouraged bison slaughter.
 3. Railroads: transported troops, farmers, cattlemen, sheepherders, & settlers
 4. White diseases ravaged Native Americans as well as alcohol.
- D. National sentiment began to urge reform toward Native Americans
1. Helen Hunt Jackson: *A Century of Dishonor* (1881)
 - a. Chronicled record of gov't ruthlessness and deceit toward Indians.
 - b. Had similar emotional impact of Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin
 - c. Inspired movement to assimilate Indians "for their own good."
 2. Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 (Allotment Act)
 - a. during Cleveland's first term
 - b. Reflected forced-civilization views of reformers and western land speculators

- c. Provisions
 - i. Dissolved many tribes as legal entities
 - ii. Wiped out tribal ownership of land.
 - iii. Set up individual Indian family heads with allotment of 160 free acres.
 - iv. Designed to eradicate Indian culture ("for their own good")
 - v. If Indians "behaved" like "good white settlers," they would get full title to their holdings and citizenship in 25 years.
 - vi. Probationary period later extended.
- d. Results:
 - i. Accelerated already advanced decay of traditional Indian culture
 - ii. Army-style boarding schools set up where Indians prohibited to exercise any portion of their culture.
 - iii. 2/3 of Indians' remaining land was lost
 - iv. 1889 land rushes took what was once Cherokee, Creek, & other lands
 - v. Remained govt's official Indian policy until 1934 when Indian Reorganization Act ("the Indian New Deal") tried to restore tribal basis of Indian life.
 - vi. Helped Indian population to grow from about 243,000 in 1887 to 1.5 million in 1990.
- e. Indians finally received full citizenship in 1924.
- f. Today, 2 million Native Americans live in U.S.

III. Impact of the Transcontinental Railroad on the Frontier

- A. Established three western frontiers
 - 1. Mining
 - 2. Cattle
 - 3. Farming (largely made possible by homesteading or land purchases from railroads)
- B. Towns sprang up along railroad routes
 - 1. Railroads given alternating square miles of territory 3 miles wide on each side of the track
 - 2. Railroads sold much land to settlers

IV. Mining in the West (first of three frontiers)

- A. Mineral-rich areas of the West were the first to extensively settled.
 - 1. Following prospectors & commercial miners, ranchers & farmers followed
 - 2. Copper, lead, tin, quartz, & zinc more profitable than gold or silver in the long term
- B. Pike's Peak, Colorado
 - 1. Gold discovered in 1858 and thousands of "Pike's Peakers" rushed west.
 - 2. Though only a few of the 100,000 "59-ers" profited
 - 3. thousands stayed in region to mine silver or farm grain.
- C. Comstock Lode
 - 1. discovered in Nevada in 1859 (gold and silver)
 - 2. Big population influx resulted in statehood in 1864
 - 3. gave Lincoln 3 electoral votes
- D. Copper mining
 - 1. Colorado, Montana, Wyoming
 - 2. Increased demand for copper
 - 3. due to increased use of telegraph wires, electric wires, and telephone wires
- E. Boom towns to ghost towns occurred when mines petered out and towns abandoned
- F. Corporations gradually came to dominate mining (need large capitalization)
- G. Significance of mining
 - 1. Attracted population and wealth to the Wild West
 - 2. Helped finance the Civil War
 - 3. Facilitated building of the railroads.

4. Intensified conflict between whites and Indians.
5. Enabled gov't to resume specie payments in 1879
6. Introduced the silver issue into American politics.
7. Added to American folklore and literature e.g. Bret Harte & Mark Twain.

V. Cattle Raising (second of three frontiers)

- A. Transcontinental railroad facilitated transportation of meat from long-horned cattle to cities.
 1. Cattle now driven to stockyards (e.g. Kansas City & Chicago)
 2. Beef tycoons like the Swifts and Armours emerged
 3. Refrigerator cars allowed transportation of fresh meat from stockyards to East
- B. "Long Drive"
 1. Mexican ranchers had developed ranching techniques later used by Texans, then by Great Plains cattlemen and cowboys
 2. Spanish words: rodeo, bronco, lasso
 3. Texas cowboys included former Confederate soldiers, northern whites, blacks, and Mexicans.
 4. Cowboys drove herds through the plains until they reached a RR terminal – e.g. Abilene (KA), Dodge City, Ogallala (NB), & Cheyenne (WY)
- C. Challenges to the "long drive"
 1. Homesteaders brought out by trans-continental railroad built barbed-wire (invented by Joseph Glidden) fences that were too numerous to be cut down by the Cowboys.
 2. Terrible winter of 1885-86 & 1886-1887 followed by scorching summer killed thousands of steer.
 3. Overgrazing and over expansion also took their toll.
 4. Ranchers built heartier stock and fenced them into controlled lands where they could feed and water them to keep them healthy.

VI. Farming (the third western frontier)

- A. Homestead Act of 1862
 1. Settler could acquire as much as 160 acres of land by living on it 5 yrs, improving it, and paying a nominal fee averaging about \$30 (as low as \$10)
 2. Residency on land required for ownership
 3. As an alternative, land might be acquired after only 6 months' residence at \$1.25/acre.
- B. Departure from previous federal land policy (selling land for revenue)
- C. Now, given away to encourage settlement of West and stimulus to the family farm
- D. Results
 1. About 500,000 families migrated to the West. (20,000 by 1865)
 2. About 5X as many purchased lands from RRs, land companies, or states.
 3. Thousands of homesteaders, maybe 2 of 3, forced to give up in the face of inadequate 160-acre plots and drought, hail, and ravage from insects.
 4. Perhaps 10X more of public domain ended up belonging to promoters, not farmers
 5. Corporations used "dummy" homesteaders to grab the best properties containing lumber, minerals, and oil.
 6. Federal trend of "free land" lasted until 1934
- E. Development of the Great American Desert
 1. Black sod of the prairies (e.g. Kansas) could now be developed with special plows
 2. Land became extremely fruitful and shattered the myth of the Great American Desert
 3. Railroads played a role in taming the West
 - a. Profitable marketing of crops.
 - b. Inducing Americans & European immigrants to buy cheap lands earlier granted by gov't.
 4. Improved irrigation techniques helped deserts to bloom (e.g. Mormons in UT)
 5. Tough strains of wheat resistant to cold imported from Russia.
 6. Flour-milling process by John S. Pillsbury of Minneapolis, increased demand for grain.
 7. Barbed-wire invented by Joseph F. Glidden in 1874
 - a. By 1883, his company using his patent was making 600 miles of wire each day.

- b. Gave farmer greater protection against trespassing cattle

VII. End of the Frontier

- A. Incredible growth from 1870s to 1890s
 - 1. New states:
 - a. Colorado (1876)
 - b. 1888-1889: Republican Congress admitted six new States as they sought more Republican electoral votes: ND, SD, MT, WA, ID, WY
 - c. Utah admitted in 1896 after it banned polygamy in 1890
 - d. Oklahoma Land Rush, April 22, 1889
 - i. U.S. made available to settlers vast stretches of land formerly occupied by the Creeks and Seminoles in the district of Oklahoma
 - ii. Nearly 100, 000 "boomers" or "eighty-niners" poured in from the OK border.
 - iii. By the end, nearly 2 million acres had been settled.
 - iv. "Sooners" – landgrabbers who claimed land illegally before land rush began
 - v. By years end, OK had 60,000 inhabitants and Congress made it a territory.
 - vi. In 1907, it became "the Sooner State."
- B. In 1890, the superintendent of the census announced that for the first time in U.S. History, a frontier line was no longer discernible.
 - 1. All unsettled areas now broken into by isolated bodies of settlement.
 - 2. Yet, more millions of acres taken up after 1890 than between 1862 & 1890.
 - 3. Once frontier was gone, farmers could not move west in significant numbers
 - 4. Had to stay and fight to improve their lot by organizing for political purposes.
- C. "Safety valve" theory
 - 1. Supposedly, when hard times came, city unemployed moved west to farm and prospered.
 - 2. In reality, few city folk in populous eastern centers migrated to frontier during depressions.
 - a. Did not know how to farm or could not raise necessary \$ for transportation, livestock, and machinery.
 - b. Most settlers who moved west came from farms on older frontier.
 - c. In fact, near century's end, many farmers moved to the city.
 - 3. Free acreage did lure immigrant farmers who would otherwise have stayed in eastern cities further increasing the perils of the slums.
 - 4. Frontier did lure restless and adventurous spirits, mostly young, who wanted to achieve the "American Dream"
 - 5. Frontier did have a psychological impact on easterners who could, if they desired, flee to the frontier
 - 6. May have had an impact in wage increases for eastern workers.

VIII. The Farm Becomes a Factory

- A. Mississippi region experienced somewhat of an agricultural revolution after the Civil War.
 - 1. Farmers concentrated on a single cash-crop such as wheat or corn.
 - a. America became the world's breadbasket and meat producer.
 - b. Farm attained status of a factory.
 - 2. Massive migration of white & black Americans out of Southern Cotton Belt
 - 3. Largest population shift in American history (most of whom were white).
 - 4. Large-scale commercial agriculture under auspices of entrepreneurial capitalists of the New South spread beyond plantations into predominantly white small farming regions
- B. For farmers, represented one of most wrenching changes in American history.
 - 1. "Crop lien" system was the basis of the commercialization of southern agriculture.
 - a. A planter or merchant extended a line of credit (at exorbitant interest rates) to a moneyless farmer.
 - i. Impossible for farmer to get out of debt.

- ii. Resulted in many poor white and black farmers becoming landless tenant farmers or sharecroppers.
 - b. Credit merchants who came to power in post-Reconstruction South acquired much land at the expense of small farmers.
 - i. 1870s: 20% of Southern farmers were tenants, mostly freed slaves.
 - ii. 1910s: 50% of farmers were tenants, many were newly landless whites.
 - 2. Some small-scale farmers, unskilled in business, often blamed banks and railroads rather than their own shortcomings for their losses.
 - 3. Gave rise to Populist movement of victimized farmers.
- C. Economic problems plaguing farmers
 - 1. Deflated currency and low food prices were the chief worries among farmers.
 - 2. Natural disasters: freezing temperatures, insects, diseases
 - 3. Government-added woes
 - a. Farmers' land often over assessed making property taxes higher.
 - b. Protective tariffs hurt the South as manufactured product prices increased
 - c. Farmers products unprotected in competitive world market.
 - 4. Agricultural-related trusts soaked farmers: barbed-wire trust, fertilizer trust, harvester trust, and railroad trust (freight rates)
 - 5. Farmers underrepresented politically and poorly organized

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