**The Gilded Age Politics, Big Business and Modern Society**

**I. Politics from 1870s to 1890s**

* **Political culture**
	+ Following the Civil War, politics took on air of parades and pageantry
		- these events provided excitement and entertainment to the masses
		- political rituals helped voters make sense out of complex issues and helped get young men involved with partisan politics
	+ spectacular campaigns simplified politics by reducing voter options to two political opposites
		- reinforced partisanship
		- resulted in high voter turnouts--almost 80% in some presidential elections
	+ Beginning in late 1870s, liberal upperclass, college-educated reformers (often referred to as Mugwumps) began a series of reforms as a response to what they saw as political corruption
		- reforms included: political pressure groups, modifying or eliminating the patronage system, and adopting the secret ballot
		- also developed an educational political style designed to convince undecided voters to go for their candidates--this led to lack of emotional attachment to parties and a rapid decline in voter turnout
		- During the 1896 election, party leaders tried to restore emotion and simplicity to politics through use of advertisement based campaigns--emphasis on personality of the candidate rather than party loyalties
* **Presidential and congressional politics (1877-1894)**
	+ From Rutherford B. Hayes through Grover Cleveland, presidents showed little flair or initiative
	+ most content to hold the office, made little effort to assume strong leadership position
	+ these presidents took a pro-business stance, advocating that government not interfere with operations of business (at least not in a harmful manner)
	+ Congressional policy during this period focused on building the nation's economic strength--what was good for business was good for America

**II. Agrarian Revolt**

* **Changes in rhythms of traditional rural life**
	+ Farmers not isolated people living in island communities
		- they were tied directly into an agricultural market economy
		- they enjoyed extensive networks of kinship and friendship
	+ Change brought about by:
		- spread of railroads
		- merchants began to set up shops in the towns and crossroad communities, providing points of contact between farmers and the larger markets
		- the railroad and the country store brought machines and chemical fertilizers which made farming more productive (and at same time more dependent on credit)
		- In the west and south, farmers of two minds about the networks of transportation and trade that linked them to the outside world
			* farmers knew railroads and markets were as essential to their way of life as theland itself--and saw that these agents of modernity held great promise
			* at same time, farmers increasingly viewed railroads and markets as engines of oppression
	+ Farmers' vision of a well-ordered society dated back to a body of thought stemming from the founding fathers
		- set of ideas frequently called radical republicanism (or producerism)
		- based on simple idea that the producer deserves the fruits of his or her work (compare with beliefs of Knights of Labor and American Socialist Party)
		- the enemies of this ideology were the "special privilieges" or monopolies
			* banks held monopolies over credit
			* land syndicates monopolized acreage
			* manufacturers who substituted traditional relations of shop with wage slavery
			* railroads who monopolized transportation
* **Origins of the Farmers Alliances**
	+ During the 1880s and early 1890s, western and southern farmers felt the federal government was unresponsive to their problems
		- falling agricultural prices
		- tight money supply, high interest rates and debt
		- overcharging by farm-implement dealers, grain-elevator operators, and railroads
	+ Political efforts
		- At first, farmers had turned to the Grange and to the Greenback party for political assistance, but those efforts produced little
		- In the mid-1880s, farmers began to join Farmers' Alliances
			* Southern
			* National Colored
			* Northwestern
			* National Farmers' Alliance (umbrella organization)
		- Alliances originally formed as cooperatives, seeking to give more buying and selling power to farmers through collective effort
		- By 1890, the different Alliances began to back candidates for election--helping elect 4 governors and gaining control of 11 state legislatures, 3 senators and 50 congressmen
	+ Dissatisfaction with traditional parties lead alliance members to form the People's Party (Populists) in 1892
		- Meet in Omaha in 1892 and draft platform which calls for:
			* tariff reduction
			* graduated income tax
			* public ownership of the railroads and telegraphs
			* free silver
			* prohibition of land ownership by aliens
		- Leonidas Polk (of N.C.), head of National and Southern Farmers' Alliances was to have been pres. candidate, but he dies of heart attack just before convention
		- James B. Weaver becomes Populist candidate
		- Populists got over 1 million votes (8.5% of total), elected five senators, ten congressmen, and 3 governors
		- Election of 1892 showed weaknesses
			* no support from New England, urban parts of the East, and the Midwest
			* no support from organized labor
* **Death by compromise--the election of 1896**
	+ Populist movement dead by 1896
		- Grover Cleveland elected again in 1892
			* Nation goes into severe depression in 1893, lasts until 1897--worst ever up to that time
			* Unemployment in industrial sector as high as 25%
			* farm prices drop 1/5, finishing off many farmers
			* In 1894, Jacob Coxey leads an "army" of unemployed demanding public-work efforts to create jobs--he's arrested and demonstration broken
		- Middle and upper class frightened by unrest
		- Appeal of Populist Party should be high
	+ Election of 1896
		- Free silver becomes big symbolic issue--symbolizing the deep split between economic classes
			* creditors fear abandonment of gold standard will lead to runaway inflation and ruin
			* debt-ridden farmes see silver as way to ease credit problems, raise farm prices, and return prosperity
		- Democratic National convention
			* western and southern delegates gain control
			* write platform calling for free silver and lower tariffs
			* Nominate William Jenning Bryan
				+ 36 year old lawyer from Nebraska who had served 2 terms in Congress
				+ Great orator--"Cross of Gold" speech

"You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold"

"If you burned down all the cities, fields would grow in their places. But if you destroyed all the fields, cities would wither and die."

* + - Populists aren't satisfied with the Democratic platform (too much emphasis on silver)
			* but they fear running a candidate against Bryan would split the farm vote
			* they endorse Bryan as the Populist candidate, although they choose a different V.P.
		- Republicans nominate Senator William McKinley of Ohio as candidate
			* McKinley promises to raise protective tariff to protect industry
			* maintain the gold standard
			* his campaign receives huge contributions from businessmen who fear Bryan
			* Mark Hanna, campaign manager, creates a masterful political advertising strategy that holds McKinley as a good, God-fearing man and Bryan as a wild-eyed radical (development of cult of personality in politics)
		- McKinley beats Bryan by 600,000 votes
			* Bryan loses in the Northeast and the big cities of the midwest
			* does not appeal to factory workers, urban middle class, or immigrants
* People's Party is dead following the election

**The Birth of Modern America**
**Economic Developments**

**I. Introduction--From "island communities" to corporate liberalism**

* **Societies in flux**
	+ American society, like those of other nations, constantly in flux, continuously changing
	+ Changes that began in the North in the early 19th century, grew in strength and spread to the rest of the nation after the Civil War
* **Island communities**
	+ "America during the 19th century was a society of island communities"--Robert Wiebe
		- Weak communication severely restricted interaction among these islands
		- Education (formal and informal) inhibited specialization and accumulation of knowledge
	+ Heart of American democracy was local autonomy
	+ Controlling society was based on personal, informal ways
* During latter part of 19th century, American began to turn away from the island communities to an urban-industrial life
* system which ran the island communities could not handle this new life--people in the U.S. had to develop a new way of handling society
* **Corporate liberalism**
	+ By the end of World War I (1918), a new scheme was created for controlling American society
	+ Urban-industrial lifestyle needed order to survive--an order based on regulations and hierarchies
	+ This new scheme of creating order functioned by:
		- rules with impersonal sanctions
		- seeking continuity and predictability in the face of continuous change
		- giving far greater power to government--especially to various administrative agencies with flexible responses
		- encouraged centralization of authority
	+ People were now identified more by their skill and occupation than their community
	+ This new way of ordering the world came to be known as corporate liberalism

**II. The Machine Age: Industrialization--1850s-1920**

* **Change from agrarian to urban, industrial society**
* Technology, organization, and the quest for wealth
	+ Railroads and telegraph
		- First large-scale industries
		- opening of Pennsylvania coalfields in 1840s made operation of steam trains possible on wide-scale basis
		- getting the full potential out of this new technology required unprecedented organizational efforts in:
			* scheduling
			* bookkeeping--cost accounting
			* personnel management
		- organizational innovation came through the creation of administrative hierarchies which
			* hired men to supervise functional activities over a wide geographic area
			* and executives to monitor, coordinate, and evaluate the work of lower level managers
			* large numbers of salaried experts were needed to run these railroads
		- even with changes in organization, railroads in U.S. were by no means standardized at the end of the Civil War
			* standardization of railroads took place in a twenty year period following the war
			* the areas of standardization included:
				+ track size
				+ rate-setting
				+ time keeping methods (standard time zones--mention resistance)
		- even after standardization took place, railroads still faced the problem of competition
			* cutthroat competition was keeping many railroads from making any profits, thus driving them into bankruptcy
			* often, managers of several railroads would run their lines to the same small towns, just so their competitors would not have an advantage (this proved very costly--often all roads lost)
			* some railroads began to join others to form cartels--to reduce competition by controlling rates and volume of traffic
			* the failure of so many railroads during the 1890s forced the adoption of centralized administrative structures for the railroads--frequently controlled by those outside the industry
			* still, overall success of railroad organizations was imitated by others in transportation and communications--steamships, streetcars, telegraph, and later, telephone companies
		- Railroads and telegraphs provided the fast, regular, and dependable transportation and communication essential to high-volume production and distribution
			* trains provided more direct communication than did other types of transportation and could do so in most any type of weather
			* telegraph provided almost instantaneous communication over long distances
	+ **Distribution**
		- Next major group of industries to combine new organizational schemes with new technologies were distribution businesses--originally wholesalers, then retailers
		- distributors had to have fast transportation and communications to get goods from a large number of suppliers to a large number of buyers
		- first to do this were Marshall Field and A.T. Stewart, soon joined by John Wanamaker and Rowland Macy
			* they created department stores to sell a wide variety of merchandise
			* succeeded by maintaining high-volume, high-turnover flow of business by selling at low prices and low profit margins
			* Soon challenged by Montgomery Ward and Sears, Roebuck in 1890s--opening of mailorder firms
				+ developed rigid system of timetables to fill orders
				+ could process these orders from different departments
				+ used RR's to ship
	+ **Manufacturing**
		- last area to really take advantage of new organizational systems
		- had to wait for new technologies to mass produce, as well as all-weather transportation and organizational development
		- development of technology in form of continuous-process machines (turning out products automatically) or building of factories where materials flowed continuously from one stage of production to another allowed mass production
			* James Duke--cigarette rolling machines
			* Steel mills--automatic steel rollers
		- depression of the 1870s (beginning in 1873) turned managements attention from technology to management techniques (plants were underutilized during the period)--scientific management evolved during the period
			* Henry Metcalfe and especially Frederick Taylor develpoed of scientific management
				+ they argued that costs and savings should be based on a standard time and output to be scientifically determined through detailed study of the work being done (time and motion studies)
				+ humans become basically another piece of machinery to be fine tuned
		- Textile mills--technology without organization
* **Why and how do businesses become so large--Integration and birth of large-scale businesses**
	+ two types of integration
		- vertical
		- horizontal
	+ the largest corporations that developed used one or both methods of integration to achieve large size
	+ vertical integration allowed manufacturers to combine several parts together--supply, production, and distribution
		- some wanted own distribution systems to sell to the now wide-based market
			* James Duke--American Tobacco could now make many cigarettes, but who would buy
				+ developed his own system of marketing
				+ first to use heavy advertising to convince people they needed his products
				+ Others included Pillsbury (flour), Campbell and Heinz (canned goods), Pond and Proctor and Gamble (soap), George Eastman (photography)
		- others had special needs to met in distribution
			* Armour and Swift--meatpacking (needed refrigated train cars and warehouses)
			* McCormick and John Deere (farm equipment), Remington, and NCR needed to provide special instructions for their customers on how to use equipment
		- still others needed steady stream of suppliers
			* Rockefeller and Standard Oil (needed oil for refineries, as well as pipelines and tank cars for distribution)
			* Carnegie Steel and other steel mills bought mines (coal and iron ore) to guarantee themselves raw materials)
	+ horizontal integration (mergers) came about mainly as an attempt to reduce competition and introduce stability and certainty to prices and profits
		- cartels were informal, and broke down easily
		- mergers worked sometimes, but were frowned upon as being non-competitive
		- some mergers worked (usually where vertical integration had taken place first)
* **New managerial class**
	+ As the larger corporations developed, a new class evolved--managers
	+ Ownership and management of corporations becomes separate
	+ Managers work to ensure stability, continuity--to protect their positions
	+ Expertise becomes their key to advancement
* **Why do Americans accept this new way of doing business?**
	+ The **new industrial world far different from what most Americans used to handling**
		- brought hardships to many
		- run smaller, less efficient firms out of business
	+ **Americans embraced the new industrial order because**
		- saw it as more promising environment in terms of material well-being
		- possibilities for economic and social mobility (climbing the ladder of success)
	+ **The gospel of wealth and progress**
		- **Social Darwinism**
			* Darwin had no direct ties to use of his ideas
			* Darwinism used to buttress the conservative outlook in two ways
				+ it suggested that nature would provide that the best competitors in a competitive situation would win, thus leading to continued improvement ("survival of the fittest" and "struggle for existence")
				+ idea of development of eons suggested that all sound development should be slow and unhurried (without assistance or interference from the government)
			* Herbert Spencer and Wm. Graham Sumner--leading proponents
				+ Spencer (Britain, 1850s)

argued that a general law of evolution could be formulated

that law argued for a biological law of society--poor were obviously unfit, should be eliminated by nature

government should not interfere with natural process

* + - * + At Yale, William Graham Sumner became strong advocate of Spencer's theories--popularized Social Darwinism in U.S.

progress of civilization depends upon the selection process, which in turn depends upon unrestricted competition

society is the product of gradual evolution, it cannot be quickly refashioned by changing the laws

* + - * **Social Darwinism as a tool to promote racism**
				+ Rev. Josiah Strong, Our Country (1885)

believed in universal progress, both material and moral, so long as Anglo-Saxon race could be protected

he felt Anglos were threatened by immigrants, Catholics, Mormons, saloons, large cities, and socialists

* + - * + Theodore Roosevelt--concluded that coming of the whites to the western frontier could not be stopped, and that a racial war to the finish was inevitable
			* **Critics of Social Darwinism**
				+ Lester Ward and Dynamic Sociology--challenges Social Darwinism

sharply distinguished between what he called physical (animal) or purposeless evolution and mental (human) evolution--which could be modified by purposeful action

while environment transforms the animal, man transforms the environment

Ward believed unrestricted competition was harmful

it prevented the most fit from surviving

he argued rational economics not only saves resources, but produces superior organisms

pointed to cultivation of fruit trees and cereal grains and the breeding of cattle as examples of improvements

Ward believed education was a leveling instrument--a means of bringing opportunity to humble people and enabling them to use their talents--strong supporter of public schools

* + - * + Washington Gladden--minister

warned that the weaker classes would unite to attack a competitive system in which they were threatened with annihilation

saw the principle of competition as the law of plants and animals and "brutish" men, not the highest law of civilized society

* + - * **Why Social Darwinism on rise until 1890s**
				+ American society saw its own image in the tooth-and-claw version of natural selection--the rugged individualist
				+ the dominant groups in society were able to dramatize this vision of competition as a thing good in itself
		- **Culture of professionalism and Universities**
			* during late 19th century, the developing middle class developed a culture of professionalism which dominated the habits of thought and action by which most educated Americans organized their behavior--both public and private
			* Middle-class Americans of late 19th century were a people in motion, seeking success and betterment--they saw their world not as a fixed organic whole, but as a fluid environment open to manipulation according to their needs and values
			* these people needed a new style of thought which could provide self-discipline and forms of esteem and achievement that fit with broader values of society
			* these needs were met by developing an outlook (a culture) that saw a profession as an occupation requiring mastery of esoteric skills and embodying an ethic of service to a client's interest
			* thus, becoming a professional in a given field provided a source of self-esteem and social prestige
			* Education and the culture of professionalism
				+ the newly developing American universities served and promoted this middle-class professionalism
				+ offered more electives to the traditional "classical" education
				+ began classes in applied skills, especially in scientific areas
				+ began to develop different schools--business, law, medicine, engineering, social work, education, etc.
				+ opened more graduate schools, for advanced training
				+ provided education and skills in professions--key to authority--helpd to set standards for what it meant to be a professional in a particular field
				+ in turn, the middle class looked upon the universities as institutional centers for this cultural process of creating professionalism
		- **Government assistance to business**
			* **Tariffs**
				+ taxes on foreign goods
				+ raised prices on foreign goods, thus protected American industries from strong competition by outsiders
			* **Subsidies-**-government grants to businesses
				+ land grants to railroads
				+ Homestead and Morrill Act--designed to help provide land for settlers and colleges, it principally benefitted businessmen, speculators, merchants, lawyers
			* **patent protection**
		- **Gospel of Wealth**
			* Andrew Carnegie
				+ America as land of free and prosperous
				+ reasons for America's success

ethnic character of people--esp. Anglo-Saxons

geography--plentitude of North America

influence of political institutions based on equality of the citizen

* + - * Rev.Russell Conwell (1915)
				+ Baptist businessman and lay minister
				+ Christian duty to become rich
				+ "98 out of 100 of the rich men of America are honest. That is why they are rich." Dishonest rich men are rare
				+ People are poor because of their own shortcomings (God is punishing them)
				+ Money also helps the churches--especially the ministers (Crowell will not turn down a raise in salary)
			* Rev. DeWitt Tallmadge
				+ Presbyterian minister in Brooklyn
				+ wanted no working men stinking up his church--"If you are going to kill the church thus with bad smells, I will have nothing to do with this type of evangelization."
		- **Dissenting voices**
			* Henry George and Progress and Poverty (1879)
				+ disturbed by amount of poverty in land of plenty
				+ proposed to redistribute wealth
				+ advocated a single (flat) tax on "unearned increment" that speculators got from rising land prices
			* Mark Twain and "Poor Little Stephen Girard"
				+ "rags to riches" was just a myth
				+ business success was more likely to come to those who lied and cheated
			* Edward Bellamy and Looking Backward (1888)
				+ hero falls asleep and wakes up in 2000
				+ finds a nation without wars or poverty
				+ government runs a centralized economy--everyone works for common welfare
				+ religion of solidarity among all preached
			* Karl Marx and Das Kapital (1867)--had little appeal--mostly to a small group of German immigrants
	+ **Antitrust legislation**
		- Sherman Anti-trust Act
			* explain a trust
			* Sponsored by Sen. John Sherman in 1890
			* outlawed trusts and "any other contracts or combinations in restraint of trade"
			* Act based on Congress' power to regulate interstate commerce
			* failed to define its terms clearly
			* Rockefeller dissolves the Standard Oil Trust and creates a holding company--avoids the Sherman Act
		- U.S. v. E.C. Knight Co. (USSC, 1895)
			* E.C. Knight Co., a Louisiana trust manufacturing sugar
			* controls almost 95% of all sugar refining in U.S.--clearly restrained trade
			* Supreme Court ruled that sugar refining was manufacturing, not part of interstate commerce
		- Atty. Gen. Richard Olney
			* did not go after business trusts aggressively
			* did turn around though and use the law against labor unions

**E. Mechanization and the changing status of labor**

* **From workshops to mass production**
	+ Typical working days
		- workshops
			* work done in small shops by skilled artisans
			* artisans controlled pace of work and flow of workday (breaks, working conditions, etc.)
		- Small manufacturing concerns
			* centralized workers in one place
			* skilled craftsmen worked in groups, each doing one job (over and over)
			* skilled workers still controlled pace of work, but lost control over other areas (holidays, drinking on job, etc.)
		- Mechanized shops
			* workers still centralized
			* skilled craftsmen not needed to handle routine operations any more as more sophisticated machines took over those tasks--could be run by unskilled operatives
			* control of shop-floor now passed to management--skilled workers now did set-up, moved into management, or were troubleshooters
* **Working conditions**
	+ length of workday/workweek
		- normally a 10-12 hour day, depending on industry
		- six days a week
	+ pay
		- Men in the North--anywhere from $3.00/day for highly skilled laborers to $1.25/day for unskilled workers
		- Pay sufficient for people to survive if they worked full time, year-round
		- Men in the South--$.75-$1.50/day in the South, depending on skill levels--most jobs called for unskilled workers
	+ sporadic nature of work
		- seasonal unemployment a norm for workers
		- few worked year round
		- economic downswings often meant loss of hours and/or reductions in pay
	+ industrial safety
		- little concern on part of many employers for industrial safety
		- workers seldom received more than minimal training on equipment
		- accidents were common, especially in heavy industries--steel, railroad, mining, and textiles
		- 1913--25,000 fatalities and 700,000 injured severely enough to miss more than 4 weeks work
		- even minor injuries could become bad, due to lack of proper treatment
		- diseases common in some industries-- black lung (coal), brown lung (textiles), and white lung (baking) in particular
		- employers fought against government regulation of safety and health--arguing that these measures would be too expensive
	+ fate of disabled workers
		- usually no compensation from employers--hazards were a risk borne by employees (their regular wages were seen as taking the risk into account)
		- no government safety net--workers' comp. and disability payments did not exist
		- some workers joined fraternal organizations (brotherhoods) which provided minimal coverage in case of disabilities--could not provide much for long-term or death
		- families and neighbors became the only source of help
	+ **Employment of women**
	+ Number working
		- by 1890s, large number of women had entered the workplace
		- women were entering the factories in large numbers for the first time
	+ Types of work
		- occupations that employed what were seen as traditional female skills
			* domestic
			* teaching
			* nursing
		- non-traditional occupations
			* industrial--garment, shoe, cigar, and cigarette, baking
			* secretarial
				+ previously dominated by males
				+ now with large numbers needed to handle growing paperwork and new machines, women moved into positions
			* store clerks
	+ **Wages**
		- generally half of what men received
		- reasons
			* in jobs seen as unskilled
				+ women seen as temporary, not permanent breadwinners for families
		- Reactions to women entering workforce in large numbers
			* some traditional occupations were seen as fitting for women--fit in with notions as being in the proper sphere for "ladies" (nursing and teaching)
			* other occupations viewed as being unfit for "good" women
	+ Employment of children
		- Working conditions
		- Child-Labor laws
	+ **Labor reform laws**
		- States and the 14th Amendment
			* a number of state legislatures passed acts limiting amount of hours person could work in certain industries, also age children could work
			* state courts generally struck the laws down on basis that it violated due process clause of the 14th Amendment, no state could interfere with the right to make lawful contracts
		- U.S. Supreme Court becomes involved
			* Holden v. Hardy (1898)
				+ Utah passes law limiting miners to eight-hour work day as proper health measure
				+ Court upheld law due to hazardous nature of mining
			* Lochner v. New York (1905)
				+ New York passes law limiting bakers to 10-hour work days, or 60-hour work week as health measure
				+ Supreme Court strikes down the law (5-4 decision)--baking not considered a hazardous occupation in their mind (what difference between 10 hours or 12 hours per day?), thus the law unwarranted restriction of freedom of contract
				+ strong dissent from Justices Harlan and Holmes--arguing court should not override valid exercise of state legislature's police power and side with one economic faction
			* Muller v. Oregon (USSC, 1908)
				+ Oregon law set max. working hours for women laundry workers to 10 per day
				+ Supreme Court upheld law--gender of workers seen as key element, women could be treated differently than men
				+ showed slight change in nature of the legal climate--laws affecting adult males still strictly scrutinized
			* Other than the courts, the federal government remains uninvolved in labor reform legislation
			* Should government become involved in regulating working conditions and hours? Are there reasons for protecting children or women that don't apply to men?
* **Strikes of 1877**
	+ Importance of strikes
		- helped spur organized labor movement
		- caused many middle-class Americans to view workers as a mob, influenced by outside agitators
	+ Causes
		- depression of 1870s cuts down on rail traffic
		- rail lines go through a series of pay cuts to workers
		- Workers on B & O strike, blocking the railroad
	+ Pittsburgh
		- heavy violence in Pittsburgh against Penn RR
		- Railroad calls in Pinkertons to break the strike and protect property
		- Pinkertons run off by strikers in gun battle
	+ State militias called out in a number of states
	+ Federal government's response
		- Pres. Rutherford B. Hayes sends in U.S. Army--reason, to protect the U.S. Mail
		- When shooting stopped, almost 100 people had died
* **The union movement**
	+ **Knights of Labor**
		- formed a wide-scale labor union in 1877, amid the turmoil of the railway strikes of that year
		- Reason for founding K of L
			* belief that the producer of a good (laborers) deserves the fruits of his or her work (i.e.--labor creates value)
			* many new workers came from farming background, where farmer works and receives pay for product
		- Terrence Powderly
			* Irish Catholic President of the union
			* dynamic speaker
			* helped bring in thousands of new members
			* sought to work through collective bargaining, against strikes
		- Membership
			* included all wage earners
			* excluded: gamblers, speculators, lawyers, bankers, doctors, and stockbrokers
		- Platform
			* supported greenbacks, government regulation of health and safety, public ownership of railways and telegraphs, equal pay for women, graduated income tax, and worker-owned cooperative manufacturing enterprises
			* against child and convict labor
		- worked to influence politics, sought to elect those friendly to labor
		- Railroad strikes in 1884-85
			* several locals launched successful wildcat strikes against a few railroads in 1884 (without Powderly's approval)
			* in 1885, Jay Gould tries to get rid of all K of L supporters working on his Wabash RR
			* Powderly authorized a strike against the line and ordered all members to refuse to handle Wabash cars
			* Gould backs down
		- 1886--Success leads to demise of K of L
			* success of the strike against Wabash caused ranks to swell to over 700,000 members by 1886
			* number too large for national leadership to control
			* a number of locals launched unsuccessful strikes without support of national leadership, which left many disillusioned
			* Haymarket riot and backlash against unionism
			* Union membership declines to less than 200,000 over next three years
		- Rise of yellow-dog contracts
	+ **Haymarket Riot**
		- Chicago in May 1886
			* booming city
			* meatpacking, railroad, and farming equipment major industries
			* pro-business atmosphere in government, pro-labor among workers
		- Events leading to riot
			* McCormick Harvester plant scene of strike
			* workers wanted an 8 hour work day
			* four striking workers shot and killed by police at the plant
		- May 4, protest rally at Haymarket Square
			* someone throws a bomb into crowd, killing 7 policemen
			* police return fire, killing 4 protestors
			* 8 labor activists arrested for murder
		- Trial and aftermath
			* trial
				+ no evidence to link 8 arrested to bombing
				+ all were convicted
			* 4 executed, one commits suicide
			* Gov. John Altgeld pardons remaining 3 in 1893
			* backlash against labor--organizers seen by middle and upper class as being in league with anarchists
	+ **American Federation of Labor**
		- founded in 1886
		- Reasons for founding A F of L
			* belief in trade unionism--use the bargaining power of skilled workers
		- Samuel Gompers
			* English immigrant, started in cigar-making trade
			* believed that large-scale industrial organization required large-scale labor organization
			* work through individual craft guilds for collective bargaining
		- Membership
			* limited to members of craft guilds
			* unskilled laborers not welcome
			* women and blacks excluded
			* new immigrants discouraged from joining
			* membership remained limited until after 1900, when number grew to nearly 1.5 million
		- Activities
			* sought to control shop floor--working conditions
			* worked primarily through attempts at collective bargaining
			* avoided strikes
			* stayed out of politics until 1910s, did not trust politicians
	+ **Pullman Strike and American Railway Union (1893)**
		- Pullman company policies -- company town
		- Debs vs. Olney
	+ **IWW (Wobblies)**
		- "Big Bill" Haywood
		- most radical of American labor unions
		- membership open to all
	+ Women and the labor movement
		- Opposition by men
		- Women form own unions (ILGWU--International Ladies Garment Workers Union)
	+ Immigrants, blacks, and the labor movement
		- Excluded by most labor groups
		- Accepted by IWW and K of L
	+ Problems of coping outside of labor unions

**Social and Cultural Developments**

**I. The Fame and Shame of the Cities, 1877-1920**

* **The impact of the new urban environment**
* **Transportation and Industrial Growth in the Modern City**
	+ shape of the city during the early 19th century
	+ New shape of the city
	+ Formation of distinct districts--residential, industrial, business
	+ Mechanization of mass transportation
		- Horse trolleys, omnibusses, and cable cars
		- Electric trolleys
		- Elevated trains and subways
	+ **Beginnings of urban sprawl**
		- . Middle to upper class phenomenon
		- . Development of suburbs
		- Business follows consumers
	+ **Urban-industrial development**
		- Cities as entrepots
		- Centers of communication, transportation
		- Provide labor for factories
		- Impact of industrialization
* **Peopling the Cities: Migrants and immigrants**
	+ How cities grew
		- Expansion of borders
		- Natural increase of native pop.
		- Migration
	+ **Major waves of migration and immigration**
		- Rural to urban migration
		- Black migration (small in comparison to what will come later)
		- Immigration as part of world trend
		- The new immigration
			* Where from
			* Numbers
			* Where they went
			* American reactions to immigrants
		- **Immigrant cultures**
			* Attempts to transplant communities from Old World
			* Modification of old attitudes and customs
			* Younger generations adapt
			* Clash between old and young generations
			* Influence on religion
				+ Predominance of Protestant religions before newcomers
				+ Influx of Catholics and Jews
				+ Attempts to convert newcomers
		- **Black migration to the cities**
			* Movement begins during 1880s
			* Flood of migration during World War I era
	+ **Living and working conditions found in the cities**
		- **Living conditions in the inner city**
			* Housing problems
				+ Description of tenements
				+ Life in the tenements
				+ Housing reform

City based safety codes

Scientific improvements

Jacob Riis and his photography -- show some photos

* + - * **Urban poverty**
				+ Seasonal nature of employment during the period
				+ Determining which poor to help
				+ Beginnings of the belief that environment may have something to do with poverty
			* **Crime and violence**
				+ Growth of violence
				+ Who caused the violence?
				+ Image of America as a violent society
				+ Role of the police

Enforcing the law -- selectively

Corruption

Weakness of reform efforts

* + **Promises of mobility**
		- **Occupational mobility**
			* Opportunities from industrial expansion
			* Horatio Alger stories -- Andrew Carnegie
			* Rates of upward mobility -- differences between communities
			* Acquisition of property
		- **Residential mobility**
			* People most likely to move
			* Rates of success in upward mobility
		- **Ethnic neighborhoods and ghettos**
			* Impact of migration on neighborhoods
			* Definition of ghetto (also barrio)
			* Effects of life in the ghetto
			* Chances for upward mobility
	+ **The rise of urban boss politics**
		- **Political machines**
			* Arise out of chaos of the cities
			* Evolution of the political bosses
			* How machine system worked
			* Techniques of bossism
				+ Different styles
				+ Use of patronage
				+ Knowledge of constituents needs and wants
			* Problems of boss system
		- **Civic reform**
			* Structural reforms in government
			* City manager system of government
			* Battles with the political machine
		- **Social reform**
			* Housing reforms
			* Educational reforms
			* Settlement house movement -- Jane Addams and Hull House
			* Beautification campaigns
				+ Fredrick Law Olmsted and parks
				+ City Beautiful movement
			* Failures
			* Engineering reforms
				+ Basic utilities -- sanitation (sewage and garbage), water, and electricity
				+ role of engineers as new urban professionals
* **The legacy of urbanism**
	+ Cultural pluralism
	+ Cultural-political alignments

**II. Everyday Life and Culture, 1877-1920**

* **Overview**
	+ **American lifestyles at beginning of period**
	+ **Movement outside the home**
	+ **Standards of living**
		- Rising personal income -- increases for all classes
		- Cost of living
			* Rose faster than incomes
			* How families coped (or failed to cope)
			* Sending new family members into workforce (women and children)
			* Supplements to family income
				+ Taking in boarders
				+ Second jobs
		- Higher life expectancy -- advances in medical care
* **The quest for convenience -- Mechanization takes command**
	+ **Processed and preserved foods**
		- Tin cans
		- Refrigeration
		- Shipping and marketing systems
	+ **Ready-made clothing**
		- Rise of garment industry
		- Concern with style becomes prevalent
	+ **Department and chain stores**
		- Rise of department in the cities
		- The growth of chain stores -- A & P
* **Family life**
	+ Family and household structures
		- Household vs. Family
		- Nuclear vs. Extended
		- Causes for changes in family patterns
			* Declining birthrates
				+ Acceleration of decline
				+ Reasons for decline
			* Impact on families
		- Boarding
			* Primarily urban phenomenon
			* Advantages and disadvantages to family and boarder
		- Importance of kinship
			* Reliance on kin
			* Frictions caused by kinship obligations
			* Stages of life
* **Impact of demographic and social changes**
	+ Rise of schools and importance of education in family life
	+ The new leisure and mass culture
		- Increase in leisure time
			* Reduction of work weeks
			* Impact of mechanization
		- **Amusements as organized activity**
			* Baseball
				+ Growth of baseball
				+ Socializing impact of baseball (observance of rules, social interaction, competition)
			* Croquet, cycling, and football
			* Circuses
			* Theatre
				+ Popular drama and musical comedy
				+ Vaudeville

Blacks and immigrants in vaudeville

* + - * Movies
				+ Edison and moving pictures
				+ D.W. Griffith and Birth of a Nation
		- **Homogenizing influence of popular entertainments**
		- **The transformation of mass communications**
			* **Advertising**
				+ Purpose is to create demand for a product
				+ Legal protection of advertising
				+ Methods and vehicles for advertising
			* **Yellow journalism**
				+ Pulitzer and the World, Hearst and the Journal
				+ Methods -- Muckraking, sensationalism, tear-jerkers
				+ Other forms of journalism
			* **Popular literature**
				+ Dime novels

Edgar Rice Burroughs--Tarzan and John Carter series

Wild West -- Zane Grey

Detective thrillers

* + - * + Magazine serials
				+ Moral messages of popular fiction

Horatio Alger stories

Hard work, refinement, valor

Louisa May Alcott and women writers

The romance of Lew Wallace's Ben Hur

* + - * + Local colorists

Joel Chandler Harris -- southern apologist

Bret Harte and the west

George Washington Cable and New Orleans

Mary Murfree and Appalachia

* + - * **Literary classics**
				+ Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens) and Tom Sawyer, Life on the Mississippi, and Huckleberry Finn
				+ Henry James
				+ Stephen Crane and Maggie: A Girl of the Streets
				+ Kate Chopin and Sister Carrie and The Awakening
			* Shift from escapism to social commentaries

**New South**

* **Transformation of southern economy**
	+ South's infrastructure destroyed during the Civil War
		- Roads, RR's, etc. are gone
		- Shortage of credit or banks
		- Weaknesses of education system
	+ **Rise of the New South economy**
		- Sharecropping
		- Extractive industries
		- Textile mills
	+ Northern control of the southern economy
* **Growth of Jim Crow segregation**
	+ Jim Crow a gradual development
		- did not happen overnight
		- postwar, not a pre-Civil War phenomenon
		- happened South and North (to a much lesser degree)
	+ First signs--voting
		- Poll taxes and literacy tests
		- Exemptions--grandfather clauses
	+ Schools and transportation
		- earliest school segregation cases from Mass. in 1850s (C.J. Lemeul Shaw--abolitionist--ruled in favor of "separate but equal facilities")
		- several other northern states adopted separate systems
		- long accepted rule that passengers on RR's could be segregated on reasonable grounds, so long as facilities substantially equal
			* women/men
			* smokers/non-smokers
		- Penn. passed law in 1867 that separated the races on RR (blacks sit in back of car)
		- Most states gradually began to implement laws mandating separate transportation facilities--primarily on intrastate vehicles at first--streetcars, local RRs, local boats and ferries
		- Official segregation of public schools began to grow during the 1870s and 1880s
		- by the mid-1890s, many states were beginning to get serious about offically segregating the races
	+ **Different white views on race relations**
		- **Liberal** -- strongest in 1880s
			* believed that abilities of African Americans had never been fully explored, their potential unknown
			* sought to assimilate blacks into mainstream American culture through education--compare with Booker T. Washington
			* never gained much of a following in the South
		- **Radical**
			* insisted that the black race had no place in the America of the future
			* held that emancipation and Reconstruction had sent the blacks spiraling downward into a state of savagery--slavery had been the only thing that had kept blacks civilized
			* radicals eagerly looked forward to the demise of the race in America
			* strongest in the late 1880s and 1890s
				+ Radicals gained its mass following in the 1880s and 1890s because that was a period of economic depression during which poorer men were unable to support their families adequately--Feelings of failure were compensated for by rage against the blacks
			* Radicals viewed lynching as a means of controlling what they saw as the "black beast rapist"
			* Gov. Ben Tillman of S.C. and Thomas Dixon (The Klansman) were strongest proponents of this view
		- **Conservative**
			* advocated the control rather than the destruction of blacks based on a fundamental belief in the racial inferiority of African Americans
			* Conservatives kept alive the Southern ideal of the organic society, with its feudalistic roots of proper hierarchies in social relationships
			* For the organic society to function properly, each element must know its place, and the proper place for blacks was as subordinated laborers
			* by late 1890s, this had become the dominant view in the South
	+ **Plessy v. Ferguson (USSC, 1896)**
		- Supreme Court and state police power
			* earlier Supreme Court cases--Slaughterhouse Cases (1873), United States vs. Cruikshank (1876), and Powell vs. Pennsylvania (1888)--established that states could establish reasonable regulations of social and economic behavior
			* key test was the "reasonableness" of use of power
			* These decisions set the constitutional stage for "fact"-based discrimination stemming from scientific and popular views of blacks as an inferior race
		- passage of the Separate Car Act (1890) by the Louisiana legislature--required separate cars for different races on all trains carrying black and white passengers
			* challenged by Louisiana black leaders
			* Plessy's attorneys argued that the Fourteenth Amendment provided protection of all rights of citizens protected prior to the Civil War by either state or federal governments--in essence, their argument rested on a color-blind Constitution
		- Justice Henry Billings Brown wrote for the majority
			* easily concluded that the Louisiana separate car law constituted a reasonable exercise of the state's police power
			* He stated that the Fourteenth Amendment did not categorically prohibit states from establishing race distinctions in statutory law
		- Justice John Marshall Harlan provided the only dissent
			* a former slave holder from Kentucky
			* argued that the Reconstruction Amendments categorically outlawed race distinctions
		- Following Plessy decision, southern states moved quickly to cement the idea of official segregation in public places
	+ **Rise of second KKK in 1915**
		- instability of times helped give boost to racism that was widespread in the U.S.
		- began in Stone Mountain, GA
		- influenced by release of Birth of a Nation
		- lasted until the late 1920s
* **Differing paths to African American power**
	+ While the years following the Compromise of 1877 witnessed increasing emphasis on economic development, self-help, racial solidarity, and race pride, the Reconstruction emphases on the franchise, political activity, and civil rights continued
	+ **Booker T. Washington-**-late 1880s-1910s
		- placed strong emphasis on gaining technical skills as way of gaining power and status
		- Industrial education among blacks had a long history before Booker T. Washington emerged as a figure of national stature. A generation before he founded Tuskegee, blacks advocated industrial education as part of a program of self-help and racial solidarity
	+ **W.E.B. DuBois** (Souls of the Black Folk, 1903)
		- disputes ideas of Washington
		- argues blacks should fight for economic, political, and educational equality
	+ Founding of the N.A.A.C.P.
		- 1905, DuBois and other black critics of Washington start the Niagara Movement
		- 1909, Oswald Garrison Villard and other white progressives join with members of the Niagara Movement in organizing the NAACP
			* organization rejects accomodationist stance
			* calls for full equality and end to racial discrimination
			* mainly a northern-based movement at first
			* seeks to change the laws

**\*The Union Movement\***

**- Important strikes/events relating to the Unions**:

* **1877**: In July, Unionized RRD workers struck to protest wage cuts [b/c of **Panic of 1873**]. The strikes led to violence, which was broken up by state militia companies hired by the employers. Strikebreakers were also hired. Finally Hayes sent federal troops to quell the unrest. After 1877, the union movement really began picking up speed. Trade unions, which specialized in skilled workers in particular crafts, had been around for years, but no real organizations of nat’l scope survived the panic except for the **Knights of Labor**.
* **Haymarket Riot** [May 1, 1886]: In Chicago, several groups joined for the campaign for an 8-hour workday and organized mass strikes and labor demonstrations. Workers involved included the craft unions as well as anarchists. Consequently, in response to an outbreak of police brutality a bomb was set off in Haymarket Square [presumably by anarchists], resulting in the arrest of 8 immigrant radicals, some of who were pardoned. The HR led to increased paranoia with respect to anarchism and labor.
* **July 1892**: AFL-affiliated Iron and Steelworkers Association went on strike in Pennsylvania, causing **Henry Frick** to close the plant and hire Pinkerton detectives to defend it. Although the strikers eventually gave in, it gave the union more bad PR due to workers attacking, etc.
* **Pullman Strike** [1894]: To protest Pullman’s policies in his company town, workers walked out at the factory. Pullman would not negotiate, so workers for the American Railway Union called a strike. Pullman closed the factory; the Union [**Eugene V. Debs**] refused to handle Pullman cars; and finally a court injunction was used to stop the strike.

**- Important workers’ organizations:**

* **Knights of Labor**: Founded in **1869** by **Terence V. Powderly**, the KOL welcomed all unskilled and semiskilled workers on a nat’l level. The basic ideology of the KOL was pretty utopian: i.e. they wanted to get rid of capitalism in favor of a “cooperative workers’ alliance” in which workers worked for themselves. Consequently, the KOL refused to strike, b/c it would go against the “cooperative” idea. As a result of their cooperative policies, the KOL lost influence, esp. after, in **1886**, a strike began among a sector of the KOL against RRD boss Jay Gould to protest cut wages. Powderly met with Gould and called off the strike, but Gould would not concede, so the militant unions began to quit the KOL, seeing it as weak.
* **American Federation of Labor**: The AFL emerged as the major organization after **1866**. Led by **Samuel Gompers**, it avoided the KOL idealistic rhetoric, concentrated on concrete goals [higher wages, shorter hours, right to bargain collectively], and excluded unskilled workers and women. The AFL also avoided party politics.
* **Industrial Workers of the World** [IWW, “Wobblies”]: The IWW, which aimed to unite all workers, was basically a socialist/anarchist organization that believed violence was justified to overthrow capitalism. The organization finally collapsed in WWI.

- *Women in the Union movement:* most Unions rejected women due to a fear of competition [women would work for lower wages] and sex segregation. Still, some women formed their own Unions, and in **1903** the **Women’s Trade Union League** was founded. The WTUL encouraged protective legislation, education, and women’s suffrage – it was an important link between labor and the women’s movements.

- *Immigrants/AA in the Union movement:* most Unions also rejected immigrants and African Americans b/c of lower wages, and prejudices were reinforced when blacks worked as strikebreakers.

- REMEMBER only a portion of workers were in unions; job instability really made it hard for organizations to form effectively. Fraternal societies were also prevalent during the time.