CHAPTER 3

1877–1900

The Birth of Modern America

The Big Ideas

SECTION 1: Settling the West
Societies change over time. Native Americans’ way of life came to an end as miners and ranchers found new riches in the West and farmers settled the Great Plains.

SECTION 2: Industrialization
The Industrial Revolution changed the face of America. The Industrial Revolution resulted in a nationwide railroad system and a new focus on business and industry.

SECTION 3: Immigration and Urbanization
The Industrial Revolution changed the face of America. Immigrants flooded into the United States. Together with rural Americans, they moved into cities that adapted to the increased population.

SECTION 4: Early Reforms in a Gilded Age
People react to periods of breathtaking social and cultural change in different ways. While some people espoused individualism and Social Darwinism, others tried to ease the problems that arose from urbanization and industrialization.

SECTION 5: Politics and Reform
People react to periods of breathtaking social and cultural change in different ways. Americans disagreed on how to deal with economic and reform issues. African Americans faced increasing discrimination and segregation.


1877
- Farmers’ Alliance founded in Texas

1879
- Edison perfects lightbulb

1882
- Chinese Exclusion Act passed by Congress
HISTORY
Chapter Overview
Visit the American Vision: Modern Times Web site at
tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on Chapter Overviews—
Chapter 3 to preview chapter information.
Comparing and Contrasting

Good readers look for similarities and differences in new information they read. This helps them figure out what it means. You do this subconsciously in everyday life. For example, if you meet someone new, you probably compare that person to people you know. Is the person the same or different? If different, what makes that person different?

When you read, comparing and contrasting helps you understand new information. Luckily, authors can use certain signal words to tell you when they are comparing and contrasting information to something you already know. Some signal words for showing similarity are same, at the same time, like, and still. Signal words for showing differences include however, rather, but, or on the other hand.

Read the following sentences and notice how signal words describe similarities and differences.

The story of the Comstock Lode is similar to other stories of gold, silver, and copper strikes throughout the West. (page 237)

Like ranching, farming also seemed unsuitable for the Great Plains. (page 239)

At the same time, a new resource, petroleum, began to be exploited. (page 244)

Although the Industrial Revolution began in the United States in the early 1800s, the nation was still largely a farming country when the Civil War erupted. (page 244)

However, employers generally regarded unions as illegitimate conspiracies that interfered with their property rights. (page 250)

In the first three sentences, the authors compare developments in mining and ranching, along with events that occurred at the same time. The last two sentences present contrasts. The fourth sentence contrasts industrialization to the general state of the economy, while the last sentence clarifies the general attitude of employers toward unions.

As you read this chapter, take note of the signal words that the authors use to clue you into the causes and effects of different events. Recognizing the signal words will help you better understand the text.
Chronological and Spatial Thinking As you study history, you will use a variety of maps and documents to interpret human movement, including major patterns of domestic and international migration, changing environmental preferences and settlement patterns, the frictions that develop between population groups, and the diffusion of ideas, technological innovations, and goods.

Have you ever traveled somewhere unfamiliar? You, or the people you traveled with, probably used maps or other reference materials to help you find your way. You may have used a small-scale map to plot the general route you would be traveling. Then you may have used a more detailed map or perhaps a map on the Internet for instructions on finding the exact address.

Maps visually represent the physical and political layout of a land. They may describe the shape and elevation of the terrain, such as a contour map, or illustrate the impact of humans on the land, such as the boundaries of nations. Two general types of maps are most commonly used: topographical maps describe physical characteristics, while thematic maps provide specific information, such as roads.

When you look at a map, you need to consider the accuracy of the information presented. For instance, a map created by early explorers will probably not precisely represent the rivers, mountains, and shorelines. Instead, these are approximations of what the explorers knew at the time. You also must take into account when and how, by whom, and for what purpose the map was made. Some maps may be deliberately misleading. For example, it was not uncommon for these same early explorers to exaggerate the size or natural resources of a new land to impress potential investors.

The U.S. National Archives and Records Administration houses many of the nation’s most important documents, maps, and other historical artifacts. As with all historical documents, the National Archives suggests that you should read maps with analysis in mind. Whenever you look at maps, consider these questions:

- Who is the mapmaker?
- When was the map made?
- What type of map is it?
- What is the purpose of the map?
- Does the text contain information supported by the map?

Before you begin studying Chapter 3, take a look at the Geography Handbook on pages 84–91 of your textbook, if you have not done so already. On these pages you can learn more about different types of maps.

This chapter contains several maps. For each of the maps, answer the questions above to help you better understand the information.
Settling the West

Connection
In the previous section, you learned about the Reconstruction of the United States after the Civil War. In this section, you will discover how the Gold Rush attracted settlers to the West and how people began to settle the Great Plains.

Main Idea
• Miners seeking to strike it rich settled large areas of the West. (p. 237)
• Ranchers built vast cattle ranches on the Great Plains, while settlers staked out homesteads and began farming the region. (p. 238)
• The settlement of the West dramatically altered the way of life of the Plains Indians. (p. 241)

Content Vocabulary
placer mining, quartz mining, vigilance committee, open range, long drive, homestead, assimilate

Academic Vocabulary
extract, adapt, prior

People and Terms to Identify
Henry Comstock, Homestead Act, Indian Peace Commission, Sitting Bull, Ghost Dance, Dawes Act

Places to Locate
Great Plains, Wheat Belt

Reading Objectives
• Trace the growth of the mining industry and big ranches in the West.
• Explain how and why people began settling the Great Plains.

• Summarize problems caused by attempts to assimilate Native Americans.

Reading Strategy
As you read about the settlement of the West, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below listing resources and government policies that encouraged settlement, and the effects of these measures on Native Americans.

Preview of Events
1859 Comstock Lode discovered in Nevada
1862 Homestead Act
1867 Cattle drives begin on Chisholm Trail
1887 Dawes Act
1890 Wounded Knee Massacre

Resources/ Government Policies
How It Attracted New Settlers
Impact on Native Americans

The Big Idea
Societies change over time. Following Reconstruction, many people moved West in hopes of making fortunes mining newly discovered deposits of gold, silver, and copper needed for industries in the East. As railroads were constructed, settlers also moved to the Great Plains to farm or ranch. This influx of settlers had a profound effect on the lives of the Native Americans who had roamed the Plains for centuries. Hunters and sharpshooters clearing the way for railroads drastically depleted the buffalo herds many Native Americans depended on for survival. Many were forced to relocate or give up their culture by assimilating.
Growth of the Mining Industry

Main Idea  Miners seeking to strike it rich settled large areas of the West.

Reading Connection  Under what circumstances would you choose to move to another state? Read on to find out what motivated miners to relocate to the western states.

The rich deposits of gold, silver, and copper in the West served the needs of growing industries in the East. They also brought the first wave of settlers that populated the mountain states of the West.

An American Story

Jacob Waldorf arrived in Virginia City, Nevada, in 1873 to seek his fortune in the fabled silver mines of the Comstock Lode. Like many others, he found work at one of the big mining companies. Seven days a week he toiled in a dangerous mine shaft, earning enough to support his family and buy a little stock in local mining companies. As his son John recalled:

"The favorite game with our father was stocks. . . . Mother used to say to me, ‘Some day we’re going back east,’ but for years none of the stocks in which Dad invested showed any disposition to furnish us with the price of transportation.""

In 1877 the stock Waldorf owned skyrocketed in value. "Dad’s holdings rose . . . to $10,000 and mother began to talk of buying a farm," John wrote. "The stock kept going upward. Dad was worth $15,000 for at least a minute." He waited for the stock to go even higher before selling, but instead it plummeted: "The bottom fell out of Ophi [a mining stock], and Mother’s dream farm fell with it, for Dad was broke."

Jacob Waldorf overcame this financial setback. Earning the respect of his fellow workers, he headed the miners’ union in 1880 and later served as a state legislator.

—adapted from A Kid on the Comstock

The search for wealth brought many fortune seekers like Jacob Waldorf. News of a mineral discovery in an area would start a stampede of prospectors desperately hoping to strike it rich. Early prospectors would extract the shallow deposits of ore largely by hand in a process called placer mining, using simple equipment like picks, shovels, and pans. After these surface deposits dwindled, corporations would move in to begin quartz mining, which dug deep beneath the surface. As those deposits dried up, commercial mining either disappeared or continued on a restricted basis.

The Big Strike in Nevada  The story of the Comstock Lode is similar to other stories of gold, silver, and copper strikes throughout the West. In 1859 a prospector named Henry Comstock staked a claim in Six-Mile Canyon, Nevada. The sticky, blue-gray mud found there turned out to be nearly pure silver ore. News of the Comstock strike brought hordes of miners to Virginia City, Nevada. Almost overnight the town went from a frontier outpost to a boomtown of about 30,000, boasting an opera house, shops with furniture and fashions from Europe, several newspapers, and a six-story hotel with the West’s first elevator, called a “rising room.” When the silver veins were exhausted several years later, the mines closed. Without the mines, the town’s economy collapsed, and most of the townspeople moved on in search of new opportunities. This cycle of boom and bust—from boomtown to ghost town—was repeated throughout the mountainous West.
During the booms, crime posed a serious problem. Prospectors fought over claims, and thieves haunted the streets and trails. Law enforcers were scarce, and self-appointed volunteers sometimes formed vigilance committees to track down and punish wrongdoers. In some cases, they punished the innocent or let the guilty go free, but most people in these communities respected the law and tried to deal firmly but fairly with those accused of crimes.

Mining towns such as Virginia City at first were inhabited mostly by men, but soon they attracted more women. Some women owned property and were influential community leaders. Others worked as cooks or in laundries. Still other women worked at “hurdy-gurdy” houses (named after the mechanical musical instrument), where they danced with men for the price of a drink.

**Other Bonanzas** Mining also spurred the development of Colorado, the Dakota Territory, and Montana. The discovery of gold near Pikes Peak in 1858 set miners on a frantic rush. Inspired by the phrase “Pikes Peak or Bust,” many panned for gold without success and headed home, complaining of a “Pikes Peak hoax.”

In truth, there was plenty of gold and silver in the Colorado mountains, but much of it was hidden beneath the surface and hard to extract. One of the richest strikes occurred in the late 1870s in Leadville, named for deep deposits of lead that contained large amounts of silver. By the summer of 1879, as many as 1,000 newcomers per week were pouring into Leadville, creating one of the most famous boom-towns to dot the mining frontier.

Overall, operations at Leadville and other mining towns in Colorado yielded more than $1 billion worth of silver and gold (many billions in today’s money). This bonanza spurred the building of railroads through the Rocky Mountains and transformed Denver, the supply point for the mining areas, into the second largest city in the West after San Francisco.

The discovery of gold in the Black Hills of the Dakota Territory and copper in Montana led to rapid development of the northern Great Plains. Miners flooded into the region in the 1870s. After railroads were built in the 1880s, many farmers and ranchers moved to the territory. In 1889, Congress divided the Dakota Territory and admitted North Dakota and South Dakota, as well as Montana, as new states.

**Ranching and Farming the Plains**

*Main Idea* Ranchers built vast cattle ranches on the Great Plains, while settlers staked out homesteads and began farming the region.

**Reading Connection** When you think of cowhands, what images come to mind, and from what sources do these images derive? Read on to learn about the realities of life as a cowboy in the West.

While many Americans headed to the Rocky Mountains to mine gold and silver after the Civil War, others began building vast cattle ranches and farming homesteads on the Great Plains. This region extends westward to the Rocky Mountains from around the 100th meridian—an imaginary line running north and south from the central Dakotas through western Texas.

**Ranching the Plains** In the early 1800s, Americans did not think cattle ranches on the Great Plains were practical. Water was scarce, and cattle from the East could not survive on the tough prairie grasses. Farther south, however, in Texas, there existed a breed of cattle adapted to living on the Great Plains.

The Texas longhorn was a breed descended from Spanish cattle that had been brought to Mexico two centuries earlier. Ranchers in Mexico and Texas had allowed their cattle to run wild, and slowly a new breed—the longhorn—had emerged. Lean and rangy, the longhorn could easily survive in the harsh climate of the Plains, and by 1865, as many as 5 million of them roamed the grasslands of Texas.

Mexicans had introduced cattle ranching in California, New Mexico, and Texas before these areas became part of the United States. The industry grew in part because of the open range—a vast area of government-owned grassland. The open range covered much of the Great Plains and provided land where ranchers could graze their herds free of charge and unrestricted by the boundaries of private farms.

Mexican cowhands developed the tools and techniques for rounding up and driving cattle. These Hispanic herdsmen taught American cowhands their trade and enriched the English vocabulary with words of Spanish origin, including “lariat,” “lasso,” and “stampede.”

Prior to the Civil War, ranchers had little incentive to round up the longhorns. Beef prices were low, and moving the cattle to eastern markets was not practical. Two developments changed this situation: the
Civil War and the construction of the railroads. During the Civil War, eastern cattle were slaughtered in huge numbers to feed the armies of the Union and the Confederacy. After the war, beef prices soared, making it worthwhile to round up the longhorns if a way could be found to move them east.

By the 1860s, railroads had reached the Great Plains. Lines ended at Abilene and Dodge City in Kansas and at Sedalia in Missouri. Ranchers and livestock dealers realized that if the longhorns were rounded up and driven north several hundred miles to the railroad, they could be sold for a huge profit and shipped east to market.

In 1866 ranchers rounded up cattle and drove about 260,000 of them to Sedalia, Missouri. Although only a fraction of the herds survived this first long drive, the drive overall was a tremendous success as cattle was sold for 10 times the price it could get in Texas. As railroads expanded in the West, other trails soon opened from Texas to towns in Kansas, Nebraska, Montana, and Wyoming.

**Farming Becomes Big Business** Like ranching, farming also seemed unsuitable for the Great Plains. Rainfall averages less than 20 inches per year there, and trees grow naturally only along rivers and streams. During the late 1800s several factors undermined the belief that the Plains was a “Great American Desert.” One important factor was the construction of the railroads, which provided easy access to the Great Plains. Railroad companies sold land along the rail lines at low prices and provided credit to prospective settlers. Railroads opened offices throughout the United States and in major cities in
Europe where land was scarce. Posters and pamphlets proclaimed that booking passage to the Plains was a ticket to prosperity.

The catchy slogan “Rain follows the plow,” coined by a Nebraskan to sell the idea that cultivating the Plains would increase rainfall, encouraged settlers. As if to prove the saying correct, the weather cooperated. For more than a decade beginning in the 1870s, rainfall on the Plains was well above average. The lush green of the endless prairies contradicted the popular belief that the region was a desert.

In 1862 the government also supported settlement in the Great Plains region by passing the **Homestead Act**. For a $10 registration fee, an individual could file for a **homestead**—a tract of public land available for settlement. A homesteader could claim up to 160 acres of public land and could receive title to that land after living there for five years. Later government acts increased the size of the tracts available. The Homestead Act provided a legal method for settlers to acquire clear title to property in the West. With their property rights secured, settlers were more willing to move to the Plains.

When settlers arrived on the Plains, they often found life very difficult. The lack of trees and water forced them to build their first homes from sod cut from the ground and to drill wells up to 300 feet deep. Summer temperatures often soared over 100° Fahrenheit. Prairie fires were a constant danger. Sometimes swarms of grasshoppers swept over farms and destroyed the crops. In winter there were terrible blizzards and extreme cold. Despite these challenges, most homesteaders persisted and learned how to live in the harsh environment.

For those who had the financial resources, farming could be highly profitable on the Plains. During the 1880s, many farmers from Minnesota and other Midwestern states moved to the Great Plains to plant wheat, which was more drought-resistant than other crops. They took advantage of the inexpensive land and utilized new farming technology, such as reapers and threshers. This productive new **Wheat Belt** began at the eastern edge of the Great Plains and encompassed much of the Dakotas and the western parts of Nebraska and Kansas.

The bountiful harvests in the Wheat Belt helped the United States become the world’s leading exporter of wheat by the 1880s. In fact, wheat became as important to the Great Plains as cotton was to the South. American wheat growers faced rising competition, however, from other wheat-producing nations. In the 1890s, a glut of wheat on the world market caused prices to drop.

> **Reading Check**  **Analyzing** Why did the Homestead Act motivate settlers to move to the Great Plains?

---

**Picturing History**

**Farming the Great Plains** Technology made farming the vast open plains of America feasible. Here horse-drawn binders are being used to gather hay in the late 1800s. **What other factors encouraged settlement on the Great Plains?**
Native Americans

Main Idea The settlement of the West dramatically altered the way of life of the Plains Indians.

Reading Connection Can you recall a situation in which someone broke a promise or agreement with you? Do you remember your reaction? Read on to find out how Native Americans responded when the government broke treaties during the late 1800s.

For centuries the Great Plains was home to many Native American nations. Some lived in communities as farmers and hunters, but most were nomads who roamed vast distances, following their main source of food—the buffalo.

Despite their differences, the groups of Plains Indians were similar in many ways. They lived in extended family networks and had a close relationship with nature. Plains Indian nations, sometimes numbering several thousand people, were divided into bands consisting of up to 500 people. A governing council headed each band, but most members participated in making decisions. Gender determined the assignment of tasks. Women generally performed domestic tasks: rearing children, cooking, and preparing hides. Men performed tasks such as hunting, trading, and supervising the military life of the band. Most Plains Indians practiced a religion based on a belief in the spiritual power of the natural world.

Cultures Under Pressure As ranchers, miners, and farmers moved onto the Plains, they deprived Native Americans of their hunting grounds, broke treaties guaranteeing certain lands to the Plains Indians, and often forced them to relocate to new territory. Native Americans resisted by attacking wagon trains, stagecoaches, and ranches. Occasionally an entire group would go to war against nearby settlers and troops. Congress became convinced that something had to be done to end the growing conflict with Native Americans on the Great Plains. In 1867 Congress formed an Indian Peace Commission, which proposed creating two large reservations on the Plains, one for the Sioux and another for southern Plains Indians. Agents from the federal government’s Bureau of Indian Affairs would run the reservations. The army would be given authority to deal with any groups that refused to report or remain there.

This plan was doomed to failure. Pressuring Native American leaders into signing treaties did not ensure that chiefs or their followers would abide by the terms. Those who did move to reservations faced poverty, despair, and the corrupt practices of American traders.

Conflict and Assimilation By the 1870s, many Native Americans on the southern Plains had left the reservations in disgust. They preferred hunting buffalo on the open Plains, so they joined others who had also shunned the reservations. Buffalo, however, were being killed in large numbers by migrants, professional buffalo hunters, and sharpshooters clearing rail

Profiles in History

Sitting Bull
1831–1890

In June 1876, a showdown loomed between Custer’s troops and the Lakota Sioux who had left their reservation. Lakota chief Sitting Bull sought help for his people from the supreme power they called Wakan Tanka, or the “Great Mystery,” by performing the Sun Dance.

Before dancing, an assistant made many small cuts in the chief’s arms and shoulders. Then Sitting Bull raised his bleeding arms to heaven and danced around a sacred pole with his eyes on the sun. He continued to dance through the night and into the next day, when he entered a death-like trance. When he revived, he told of a vision in which he saw white soldiers upside down. The Lakota were encouraged by Sitting Bull’s dream and the sacrifice he had made for them. Many felt that his Sun Dance helped bring them victory over Custer.

Sitting Bull remained devoted to the traditional religious practices of his people even after he and his followers reluctantly returned to the reservation under pressure from the army. Federal authorities regarded ceremonies like the Sun Dance—practiced in one form or another by many Plains Indians—as heathen and subversive. In 1883 the federal government outlawed the Sun Dance and many other Native American religious rites.
lines for railroad companies. By 1889 very few of the animals remained.

The Lakota Sioux, led by Sitting Bull, and the Nez Perce under Chief Joseph tried to resist government efforts to force them back on reservations. Sitting Bull and his followers escaped to Canada, but the remaining Lakota and the Nez Perce had to give up their fight against military forces.

Native American resistance to federal authority finally came to a tragic end on the Lakota Sioux reservation in 1890. Defying the orders of a government agent, the Lakota continued to perform the Ghost Dance, a ritual that celebrated a hoped-for day of reckoning. The government agent blamed Sitting Bull, who had returned to the reservation from Canada. The attempt to arrest him ended in an exchange of gunfire and the death of the chief. The participants of the Ghost Dance then fled the reservation. On December 29, 1890, as U.S. troops tried to disarm the Native Americans at Wounded Knee Creek, gunfire broke out. A deadly battle ensued, costing the lives of 25 U.S. soldiers and approximately 200 Lakota men, women, and children.

Even before Wounded Knee, some Americans had long opposed the treatment of Native Americans. Author Helen Hunt Jackson described the years of broken promises and assaults on Native Americans in her book, A Century of Dishonor, published in 1881. Jackson’s descriptions sparked discussions—even in Congress—of better treatment for Native Americans. Some people believed that the situation would improve only if Native Americans could assimilate, or be absorbed, into American society as landowners and citizens. That meant breaking up reservations into individual allotments, where families could become self-supporting.

This policy became law in 1887 when Congress passed the Dawes Act. The act allotted to each head of household 160 acres of reservation land for farming; single adults received 80 acres, and 40 acres were allotted for children. The land that remained after all members had received allotments would be sold to American settlers, with the proceeds going into a trust for Native Americans.

While some Native Americans succeeded as farmers or ranchers, many had little training or enthusiasm for either pursuit. They often found their allotments too small to be profitable, and so they sold them. Some Native American groups had grown attached to their reservations and hated to see them transformed into homesteads for settlers as well as Native Americans.

In the end, the assimilation policy proved a dismal failure. The Plains Indians were doomed because they were dependent on buffalo for food, clothing, fuel, and shelter. When the herds were wiped out, Native Americans on the Plains had no way to sustain their way of life, and few were willing or able to adopt American settlers’ lifestyles in place of their traditional cultures.

**Reading Check**  Cause and Effect  What impact did Helen Hunt Jackson’s book A Century of Dishonor have?

### Checking for Understanding

1. **Vocabulary** Define: extract, placer mining, vigilance committee, adapt, open range, prior, long drive, homestead, assimilate.


3. **Places** Locate: Great Plains, Wheat Belt

4. **Identify** the goals and terms of the Homestead Act.

5. **Explaining** How did the mining industry and the growth of ranching and farming each contribute to the development of the West?

### Critical Thinking

6. **Evaluating** What factors contributed to the making of the Wheat Belt in the Great Plains and then to troubled times for wheat farmers in the 1890s?

7. **Analyzing** How would you evaluate the government’s policy of assimilation of Native Americans?

8. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to demonstrate the cycle of boom and bust in mining.

### Analyzing Visuals

9. **Analyzing Maps** Examine the map of mining country and cattle trails on page 239. Based on the details of the map, how did railways contribute to the opening and the settling of the West?

### Writing About History

10. **Descriptive Writing** Write a summary for the story line of a Hollywood movie. Your summary should realistically portray the lives of a miner, a rancher, or a Native American in the West in the mid-to late 1800s. Be sure to include detailed descriptions of people and places.
Connection
In the previous section, you learned about the settlement of the West and the Great Plains. In this section, you will discover how the Industrial Revolution changed the United States and created a new focus on business and industry.

Main Idea
- American industry grew rapidly after the Civil War, bringing revolutionary changes to American society. (p. 244)
- After the Civil War, the rapid construction of railroads accelerated the nation’s industrialization and linked the country together. (p. 246)
- Big business assumed a more prominent role in American life following the Civil War. (p. 248)
- In an attempt to improve their working conditions, industrial workers came together to form unions in the late 1800s. (p. 249)

Content Vocabulary
- gross national product
- entrepreneur
- laissez-faire
- corporation
- vertical integration
- horizontal integration
- monopoly
- Marxism
- industrial union
- closed shop

Academic Vocabulary
- practice
- distribution
- concept

People and Terms to Identify
- Alexander Graham Bell
- Thomas Alva Edison
- Pacific Railway Act
- Andrew Carnegie
- American Federation of Labor
- Samuel Gompers

Reading Objectives
- Discuss how the availability of natural resources, new inventions, and the railroads spurred industrial growth.
- Analyze how large corporations came to dominate American business and labor.

Reading Strategy
Organizing As you read about the changes brought about by industrialization, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below listing the causes of industrialization.

The Big Idea
The Industrial Revolution changed the face of America. Industry in the United States flourished following the Civil War. The natural resources industries needed were readily available through mining operations in the West. A large population increase provided a readily available workforce. The increase in industry spurred the expansion of railroads, which further accelerated industrialization as railroads linked the country together. To manage the burgeoning industries, business leaders founded corporations. At the same time, workers began to organize and form unions in an effort to improve their working conditions.

The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.1.4 Examine the effects of the Civil War and Reconstruction and of the Industrial Revolution, including demographic shifts and the emergence in the late 19th century of the United States as a world power.
11.2.1 Know the effects of industrialization on living and working conditions, including the portrayal of working conditions and food safety in Upton Sinclair’s The Jungle.
11.2.5 Discuss corporate mergers that produced trusts and cartels and the economic and political policies of industrial leaders.
11.6.5 Trace the advances and retreats of organized labor, from the creation of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations to current issues of a postindustrial, multinational economy, including the United Farm Workers in California.
The United States Industrializes

Main Idea  
American industry grew rapidly after the Civil War, bringing revolutionary changes to American society.

Reading Connection  
If you had to name the invention most valuable in your daily life, what would it be, and why? Read on to learn about the many new inventions that emerged in the late 1800s, and find out how these innovations fueled the nation’s industrial growth.

Although the Industrial Revolution began in the United States in the early 1800s, the nation was still largely a farming country when the Civil War erupted. In 1860, out of a population of more than 30 million, only 1.3 million Americans worked in industry. After the Civil War, industry expanded rapidly, and millions of Americans left their farms to work in mines and factories.

An American Story

On October 21, 1879, Thomas Alva Edison and his team of workers were too excited to sleep. For weeks they had worked to create an electric incandescent lamp, or lightbulb, that would burn for more than a few minutes. For much of the 1800s, inventors had struggled to develop a form of lighting that would be cheaper, safer, and brighter than traditional methods such as candles, whale oil, kerosene, and gas. If Edison and his team could do it, they would change the world. Finally, after weeks of dedicated effort, they turned night into day. Edison later recalled:

“We sat and looked and the lamp continued to burn and the longer it burned the more fascinated we were. None of us could go to bed and there was no sleep for over 40 hours; we sat and just watched it with anxiety growing into elation. It lasted about 45 hours and then I said, ‘If it will burn 40 hours now I know I can make it burn a hundred.’”

—quoted in Eyewitness to America

Natural Resources  
An abundance of raw materials was one reason for the nation’s industrial success. The United States contained vast natural resources upon which industry in the 1800s depended, including water, timber, coal, iron, and copper. American companies could obtain these resources cheaply and did not have to import them from other countries. Many of the nation’s resources were located in the mountains of the American West. The settlement of this region after the Civil War helped to accelerate industrialization, as did the construction of the transcontinental railroad. Railroads brought settlers and miners to the region and carried the resources back to factories in the East.

At the same time, a new resource, petroleum, began to be exploited. Even before the invention of the automobile, petroleum was in high demand because it could be turned into kerosene. Kerosene was used in lanterns and stoves. The American oil industry was built on the demand for kerosene. As oil production rose, it fueled economic expansion.

A Large Workforce  
The human resources available to American industry were as important as natural resources in enabling the nation to industrialize rapidly. Between 1860 and 1910, the population of the United States almost tripled. This population provided industry with a large workforce and also created greater demand for the consumer goods that factories produced.

Population growth stemmed from two causes: large families and a flood of immigrants. American industry began to grow at a time when social and
economic conditions in China and eastern Europe convinced many people to leave their nations and move to the United States in search of a better life. Between 1870 and 1910, roughly 20 million immigrants arrived in the United States. These multitudes added to the growing industrial workforce, helping factories to increase their production and furthering the demand for industrial products.

**Free Enterprise** Another important factor that enabled the United States to industrialize rapidly was the free enterprise system. At the heart of this system was the profit motive, which attracted entrepreneurs—people who risk their capital in organizing and running a business—to manufacturing and transportation.

Another central tenet of free enterprise is the ability of businesses to operate without government control. In the late 1800s, many Americans embraced the idea of *laissez-faire* (leh-say-FAR), literally “let do,” a French phrase meaning “let people do as they choose.” Supporters of laissez-faire believe the government should not interfere in the economy other than to protect private property rights and maintain peace. These supporters argue that if the government regulates the economy, it increases costs and eventually hurts society more than it helps.

In many respects, the United States practiced laissez-faire economics in the late 1800s. State and federal governments kept taxes and spending low and did not impose costly regulations on industry. Nor did they try to control wages and prices. In other ways, the government went beyond laissez-faire and adopted policies intended to help industry, although these policies often had negative results.

By the end of the Civil War, for example, Congress had imposed new tariffs, or duties on imported goods, to protect American industry from foreign competition. While this helped American companies in the United States, it hurt those trying to sell goods overseas, because other countries raised their tariffs against American goods. In particular, it hurt farmers who sold their products to Europe. Ironically, the problems farmers faced may have helped speed up industrialization, as many rural Americans decided to leave their farms and take jobs in the new factories. In addition, by the early 1900s, many American companies were large and highly competitive. Business leaders increasingly began to push for free trade.

**New Inventions** A flood of inventions helped increase the nation’s productive capacity and improved the network of transportation and communications that was vital to the nation’s industrial growth.
New inventions led to the founding of new corporations, which produced new wealth and new jobs.

One of the most dramatic inventions in the late 1800s came in the field of communications. In 1874 a young Scottish-American inventor named Alexander Graham Bell suggested the idea of a telephone to his assistant, Thomas Watson. Watson recalled, “He had an idea by which he believed it would be possible to talk by telegraph.” Bell worked until 1876 before he succeeded in transmitting his voice. The telephone revolutionized both business and personal communication. In 1877 Bell and others organized the Bell Telephone Company, which eventually became the American Telephone and Telegraph Company (AT&T).

Perhaps the most famous inventor of the late 1800s was Thomas Alva Edison. A great innovator, Edison worked tirelessly to invent new products and to improve devices created by others. He first achieved international fame in 1877 with the invention of the phonograph. Two years later, Edison perfected the lightbulb and the electric generator. His laboratory then went on to invent or improve several other major devices, including the battery and the motion picture.

In 1882 the Edison Electric Illuminating Company launched a new industry—and the transformation of American society—when it began to supply electric power to customers in New York City. In 1889 several of Edison’s companies merged to form the Edison General Electric Company, which today is known as GE.

As knowledge about technology grew, almost everyone in the United States felt its effects. Shortly after the Civil War, Thaddeus Lowe invented the ice machine, the basis of the refrigerator. In the early 1870s, Gustavus Swift hired an engineer to develop a refrigerated railroad car. New inventions and standardization also improved the clothing and shoe industries. Prices for food, clothes, shoes, and other products dropped as the United States industrialized.

**Reading Check**

How much did the availability of resources aid in industrialization? Why?

**The Railroads: Linking the Nation**

**Main Idea** After the Civil War, the rapid construction of railroads accelerated the nation’s industrialization and linked the country together.

**Reading Connection** In what ways has technology helped unify the United States in recent years? Read on to learn how railroads helped connect Americans who lived in different sections of the nation.

In 1865 the United States had about 35,000 miles of railroad track, almost all of it east of the Mississippi River. After the Civil War, railroad construction expanded dramatically, linking the distant regions of the nation in a transportation network. By 1900 the United States, now a booming industrial power, boasted more than 200,000 miles of track.

The railroad boom began in 1862 when President Abraham Lincoln signed the **Pacific Railway Act**. This act provided for the construction of a transcontinental railroad by two corporations, the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific railroad companies. To encourage rapid construction, the government offered each company land along its right-of-way. Feverish competition between the two companies developed as each sought to obtain as much public land and money as possible. On May 10, 1869, seven years after the act was signed, hundreds of spectators
gathered at Promontory Summit, Utah, as dignitaries hammered gold and silver spikes into the final rails that joined the rails and completed the first transcontinental railroad.

**Railroads Spur Growth** The transcontinental railroad was the first of many lines that began to crisscross the nation after the Civil War. This expansion spurred American industrial growth. By linking the nation, railroads helped increase the size of markets for many products. Huge consumers themselves, the railroads also stimulated the economy by spending extraordinary amounts of money on steel, coal, timber, and other necessities.

The railroads, which by 1865 consisted of hundreds of small unconnected lines, began consolidating. Large integrated railroad systems were able to shift cars from one section of the country to another according to seasonal needs and in order to speed long-distance transportation. To improve reliability, in 1883 the American Railway Association divided the country into four time zones, in which the same time would be kept. The new rail systems, along with more powerful locomotives, made railroad operation so efficient that the average rate per mile for a ton of freight dropped from two cents in 1860 to three-fourths of a cent in 1900.

The nationwide rail network helped unite Americans in different regions. The *Omaha Daily Republican* observed in 1883 that railroads had “made the people of the country homogeneous, breaking through the peculiarities and provincialisms which marked separate and unmingling sections.” This was a vast overstatement, but it recognized a significant contribution that railroads made to the nation.

**The Land Grant System** Building and operating railroad lines, especially across the vast unsettled regions of the West, often required more money than most private investors could raise on their own. To encourage railroad construction, the federal government gave land grants to many railroad companies. Railroads would then sell the land to settlers, real estate companies, and other businesses to raise the money they needed to build the railroad.

In the 1850s, the federal government granted individual states more than 28 million acres of public lands to give to the railroads. After the Pacific Railway Acts of 1862 and 1864, the government gave the land directly to the railroad companies.
The federal land grant system awarded railroad companies more than 120 million acres of land, an area larger than New England, New York, and Pennsylvania combined. Several railroad companies, including the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific, earned enough money from the government’s generous land grants to cover much of the cost of building their lines.

**Robber Barons** The great wealth many railroad entrepreneurs acquired in the late 1800s led to accusations that they had built their fortunes by swindling investors and taxpayers, bribing government officials, and cheating on their contracts and debts. Bribery occurred frequently in this era, partly because the state and federal governments were so deeply entangled in funding the railroads.

When the existence of corruption in the railroad industry became public, it created the impression that all railroad entrepreneurs were robber barons—people who loot an industry and give nothing back—but the term was not always deserved. One railroad entrepreneur who was clearly not a robber baron was James J. Hill. Hill built and operated the Great Northern Railroad from St. Paul, Minnesota, to Everett, Washington, without any federal land grants or subsidies. The Great Northern became the most successful transcontinental railroad and the only one that was not eventually forced into bankruptcy.

**Reading Check** Describing How did the railways help in the industrialization of the United States?

---

**The Rise of Big Business**

**Main Idea** Big business assumed a more prominent role in American life following the Civil War.

**Reading Connection** In a typical day, what products do you use that have been made by corporations? Read on to learn about the emergence of corporations in the late 1800s.

Before the Civil War, the personal wealth of a few people operating in partnership financed most businesses, including many early factories. Most manufacturing enterprises were very small. By 1900, everything had changed. Big businesses dominated the economy, operating vast complexes of factories, warehouses, offices, and distribution facilities.

**The Role of Corporations** Big business would not have been possible without the corporation. A **corporation** is an organization owned by many people but treated by law as though it were a single person. The people who own the corporation are called stockholders because they own shares of ownership called stock. Issuing stock allows a corporation to raise large amounts of money for big projects while spreading out the financial risk.

Before the 1830s, corporations needed charters by state legislatures. Beginning in the 1830s, states began passing general incorporation laws, allowing companies to become corporations and issue stock without such charters. With the money they raised from the sale of stock, corporations could invest in new technologies, hire a large workforce, and purchase many machines, greatly increasing their efficiency.

Small businesses with high operating costs found it difficult to compete against large corporations. At the time, many people criticized corporations for cutting prices and negotiating rebates, believing that corporations were behaving unethically. Still, many small companies were forced out of business.

**The Consolidation of Industry** To increase manufacturing efficiency even further, some business owners went one step further in building their business. One example is Andrew Carnegie, a Scottish immigrant who rose from bobbin boy in a textile

---

**Analyzing Political Cartoons**

**Big Business Takes Over** Large companies, such as Standard Oil, owned by John D. Rockefeller, could negotiate rebates from railroads that wanted his business. How did large business manage to dominate the economy?
factory to owner of a steel company in Pittsburgh. Carnegie began the **vertical integration** of the steel industry. A company with vertical integration owns all of the different businesses on which it depends for its operation. Instead of paying companies for coal, lime, and iron, Carnegie’s company bought coal mines, limestone quarries, and iron ore fields.

Successful business leaders like Carnegie also pushed for **horizontal integration**, or combining many firms engaged in the same type of business into one large corporation. Horizontal integration took place frequently as companies competed. When a company began to lose market share, it would often sell out to competitors to create a larger organization. By 1880, for example, a series of buyouts had enabled Standard Oil, a company owned by John D. Rockefeller and his associates, to gain control of approximately 90 percent of the oil refining industry in the United States. When a single company achieves control of an entire market, it becomes a **monopoly**. Opponents feared monopolies because they believed that a company with a monopoly could charge whatever it wanted for its products. Those who supported monopolies believed that monopolies had to keep prices low because raising prices would encourage competitors to reappear and offer the products for a lower price.

By the late 1800s, many Americans had grown suspicious of large corporations and monopolies. To preserve competition and prevent horizontal integration, many states made it illegal for one company to own stock in another without specific permission from the state legislature. In 1882 Standard Oil formed the first trust, a new way of merging businesses that did not violate the laws against owning other companies. A trust is a legal **concept** that allows one person to manage another person’s property. The person who manages another person’s property is called a trustee. This arrangement enabled the Standard Oil trustees to control a group of companies as if they were one large merged company.

Many companies also created new organizations called holding companies. A holding company does not produce anything itself. Instead, it owns the stock of companies that produce goods, effectively merging them into one large enterprise.

**Horizontal and vertical integration were the two most common business combinations in the late 1800s.**

**Evaluating** Which combination do you think would yield the most efficient business? Why?

**Unions**

**Main Idea** In an attempt to improve their working conditions, industrial workers came together to form unions in the late 1800s.

**Reading Connection** What do you think would motivate workers to form unions? Read on to learn why government and industry opposed early unions.

While workers saw some improvements in their lives, they also faced many difficulties. Their early attempts at unionization, however, were met with strong opposition.
Working in the United States  Industrialization brought about a dramatic rise in the standard of living for all Americans. While only a few entrepreneurs became rich, real wages earned by the average worker rose by about 50 percent between 1860 and 1890. Despite these improvements, the uneven division of income between the working class and the wealthy caused resentment among workers.

In addition, life for workers in industrial America was difficult. As machines replaced skilled labor, work became monotonous. Workers had to perform highly specific, repetitive tasks and could take little pride in their work. Working conditions also often were unhealthy and dangerous. Workers breathed in lint, dust, and toxic fumes. Heavy machines lacking safety devices caused a high number of injuries.

Eventually, many workers decided they needed to organize unions to improve their working conditions. With a union, they could bargain collectively to negotiate higher wages and better working conditions.

Opposition to Unions  Workers who wanted to organize a union faced several major problems. There were no laws giving workers the right to organize or requiring owners to negotiate with them. Courts frequently ruled that strikes were “conspiracies in restraint of trade,” for which labor leaders might be fined or jailed.

Unions also suffered from the perception that they threatened American institutions. In the late 1800s, the ideas of Karl Marx, called Marxism, had become very influential in Europe. Marx argued that the basic force shaping capitalist society was the class struggle between workers and owners. He believed that workers would eventually revolt, seize control of the factories, and overthrow the government. Ultimately, Marx thought, the state would wither away, leaving a Communist society where classes did not exist. Marxism strongly shaped the thinking of European unions.

As Marxist ideas spread in Europe, tens of thousands of European immigrants began arriving in the United States. Anti-immigrant feelings already were strong in the United States. As people began to associate immigrant workers with revolution, they became increasingly suspicious of unions. These fears, as well as the government’s duty to maintain law and order, often led officials to use the courts, the police, and even the army to crush strikes and break up unions.

The Struggle to Organize  As early as the 1830s, craft workers began forming trade unions limited to people with specific skills. Employers were often forced to recognize and negotiate with these trade unions because they represented workers whose skills they needed. However, employers generally regarded unions as illegitimate conspiracies that interfered with their property rights. Owners of large corporations particularly opposed industrial unions, which united all craft workers and common laborers in a particular industry. Although workers attempted on many occasions to create large industrial unions, they rarely succeeded.

Companies used several techniques to prevent unions from forming. They required workers to take oaths or sign contracts promising not to join a union, and they hired detectives to go undercover and identify union organizers. Workers who tried to organize a union or strike were fired and placed on a blacklist—a list of “troublemakers.” Once blacklisted, a laborer could get a job only by changing residence, trade, or even his or her name.

If workers formed a union, companies often used a lockout to break it. They locked workers out of the property and refused to pay them. If the union called a strike, employers would hire replacement workers, or strikebreakers, also known as scabs.

In many cases the confrontations with owners and the government led to violence and bloodshed. A riot at Haymarket Square in Chicago led to the eventual discrediting of the Knights of Labor, the first nationwide industrial union. Two strikes, the Great Railroad Strike of 1877 and the Pullman Strike of 1894, involved rail workers who responded to wage cuts. Both times, the army was sent to restore order.

Unsafe Working Conditions  Workers in the late 1800s often faced unsafe working conditions. Many began to join labor unions in an attempt to improve these conditions. What unsafe conditions does this photograph of a steel mill show?
The American Federation of Labor
Although large-scale industrial unions generally failed in the late 1800s, trade unions continued to prosper. In 1886 delegates from over 20 of the nation’s trade unions organized the American Federation of Labor (AFL). The AFL’s first leader was Samuel Gompers. His approach to labor relations, which he called “plain and simple” unionism, helped unions to become accepted in American society.

Gompers believed that unions should stay out of politics. He was willing to use the strike but preferred to negotiate. Under Gompers’s leadership, the AFL had three main goals. First, it tried to convince companies to recognize unions and to agree to collective bargaining. Second, it pushed for closed shops, meaning that companies could only hire union members. Third, it promoted an eight-hour workday.

By 1900 the AFL was the biggest union in the country, with over 500,000 members. Still, at that time, the AFL represented less than 15 percent of all non-farm workers. All unions represented only 18 percent. As the 1900s began, the vast majority of workers remained unorganized, and unions were relatively weak.

Working Women
By 1900 women made up more than 18 percent of the labor force. The type of jobs women did outside the home in the late 1800s and early 1900s reflected society’s ideas about what constituted “women’s work.” Roughly one-third of women worked as domestic servants. Another third worked as teachers, nurses, sales clerks, and secretaries. The remaining third were employed in light industrial jobs that people believed appropriate to their gender. Many worked in the garment industry and food processing plants.

Women received less pay than men even when they performed the same jobs. It was assumed that a woman had a man helping to support her, either her father or her husband, and that a man needed higher wages to support a family. For this reason, most unions, including the AFL, excluded women.

In 1903 two women, Mary Kenney O’Sullivan and Leonora O’Reilly, decided to establish the Women’s Trade Union League (WTUL), the first national association dedicated to promoting women’s labor issues. The WTUL pushed for an eight-hour work day, the creation of a minimum wage, an end to evening work for women, and the abolition of child labor.

Reading Check
Comparing
What specific problems did workers want to remedy by forming unions?

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding
3. Identify the major inventions that helped spur economic growth.

Reviewing Big Ideas
4. Explaining What impact did the development of large businesses have on the economy of the United States?

Critical Thinking
5. Historical Analysis Synthesizing
What role did the federal government play in increasing industrialization in the United States after the Civil War?

6. Analyzing Why did attempts in the late 1800s to form labor unions fail?
7. Organizing Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list ways business leaders in the late 1800s tried to eliminate competition.

Analyzing Visuals
8. Study the map and graph on railroads and miles of track on page 247. Then make up a quiz of at least five questions based on the information presented.

Writing About History
9. Persuasive Writing Imagine that you are an American worker living in one of the nation’s large cities. Write a letter to a friend explaining why you support or oppose the work of labor unions.
Investigating Standard Oil

By the 1880s, the Standard Oil Company, under the direction of John D. Rockefeller and his associates, had gained control of more than 90 percent of the oil refining business in the United States. Did Standard Oil use unfair tactics? The United States Industrial Commission investigated, calling Rockefeller himself to testify. Rockefeller said his success was due to the efficiency of his company. George Rice, an independent refiner from Marietta, Ohio, told the Industrial Commission that Standard Oil’s advantage was criminal collusion with the railroads. Was he right? You’re the historian.

Read the following excerpts from the Industrial Commission hearings of 1899. Then complete the questions and activities on the next page.

From John D. Rockefeller’s testimony

**Question:** To what advantages, or favors, or methods of management do you ascribe chiefly the success of the Standard Oil Company?

**Answer [Rockefeller]:** I ascribe the success of the Standard to its consistent policy to make the volume of its business large through the merits and cheapness of its products. It has spared no expense in finding, securing, and utilizing the best and cheapest methods of manufacture. It has sought for the best superintendents and workmen and paid the best wages. It has not hesitated to sacrifice old machinery and old plants for new and better ones. It has placed its manufactories at the points where they could supply markets at the least expense. It has not hesitated to invest millions of dollars in methods of cheapening the gathering and distribution of oils by pipe lines, special cars, tank steamers, and tank wagons.

**Question:** What are, in your judgment, the chief advantages from industrial combinations—(a) financially to stockholders; (b) to the public?

**Answer:** All the advantages which can be derived from a cooperation of person and aggregation of capital. It is too late to argue about advantages of industrial combinations. They are a necessity. And if Americans are to have the privilege of extending their business in all the States of the Union, and into foreign countries as well, they are a necessity on a large scale, and require the agency of more than one corporation. Their chief advantages are:

1. Command of necessary capital.
2. Extension of limits of business.
3. Increase the number of persons interested in the business.
4. Economy in the business.
5. Improvements and economies which are derived from knowledge of many interested persons of wide experience.
6. Power to give the public improved products at less prices and still make a profit from stockholders.
7. Permanent work and good wages for laborers.
From George Rice’s testimony

I am a citizen of the United States. . . . Producer of petroleum for more than 30 years, and a refiner of same for 20 years, but my refinery has been shut down during the past 3 years, owing to the powerful and all-prevailing machinations of the Standard Oil Trust, in criminal collusion and conspiracy with the railroads to destroy my business of 20 years of patient industry, toil, and money in building up, wholly by and through unlawful freight discriminations. I have been driven from pillar to post, from one railway line to another, for 20 years, in the absolutely vain endeavor to get equal and just freight rates with the Standard Oil Trust, so as to be able to run my refinery at anything approaching a profit, but which I have been utterly unable to do. I have had to consequently shut down, with my business absolutely ruined and my refinery idle. This has been a very sad, bitter, and ruinous experience for me to endure, but I have endeavored to the best of my circumstances and ability to combat it the utmost I could for many a long waiting year, expecting relief through the honest and proper execution of our laws, which have as yet, however, never come. . . . Outside of rebates or freight discriminations I had no show with the Standard Oil trust, because of their unlawfully acquired monopoly, by which they could temporarily cut only my customers’ prices, and below cost, leaving the balance of the town, nine-tenths, uncut. This they can easily do without any appreciable harm to their general trade, and thus effectively wipe out all competition, as fully set forth. Standard Oil prices generally were so high that I could sell my goods 2 to 3 cents a gallon below their prices and make a nice profit, but these savage attacks and cuts upon my customers’ goods, and their consequent loss, plainly showed them their power for evil, and the uselessness to contend against such odds, and they would buy no more of my oil. . . .

Understanding the Issue

1. What potential advantages could companies like Standard Oil offer consumers?
2. What did George Rice believe to be the reason Standard Oil was so successful?
3. How would you assess the credibility of the two accounts?

Activities

1. Investigate Today many industries, unions, and special interest groups lobby Congress for favorable legislation. What are the most powerful groups? How do they operate?
2. Check the News Are there any companies that recently have been investigated for unfair or monopolistic practices? Collect headlines and news articles and create a bulletin board display.
Immigration and Urbanization

Guide to Reading

Connection
In the previous section, you learned about the growth of industrialization, big business, and labor unions. In this section, you will discover how immigration affected the United States and how the country shifted to a more urban society.

Main Idea
• After the Civil War, millions of immigrants from Europe and Asia settled in the United States. (p. 255)
• During the three decades following the Civil War, the United States transformed rapidly from a rural nation to a more urban one. (p. 258)

Preview of Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Chinese Exclusion Act passed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>First steel girder construction used in building in Chicago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>American Protective Association founded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Jacob Riis publishes <em>How the Other Half Lives</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Ellis Island immigration center opens</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Content Vocabulary
nativism, tenement, political machine, graft

Academic Vocabulary
induce, commission

People and Terms to Identify
Chinese Exclusion Act, William M. “Boss” Tweed

Places to Locate
Ellis Island, Angel Island

Reading Objectives
• Analyze the effects of immigration on national policy.
• Evaluate the changes that cities experienced because of the increased population.

Reading Strategy
As you read about urbanization in the United States in the late 1800s, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by filling in the problems people in the nation’s urban areas faced.

The Big Idea
The Industrial Revolution changed the face of America. In the three decades following the Civil War, the population of urban areas in the United States approximately tripled. Millions of immigrants came to the United States in search of better lives and jobs created by the Industrial Revolution. Many people in rural areas also migrated to the cities to find better-paying jobs and the modern conveniences city life offered. New materials for buildings and bridges spurred construction and required more workers. The increase in immigrants eventually led to feelings of nativism and bans on immigration. As city populations increased, overcrowding became a problem. People lived in cramped tenements with poor ventilation. Crime was common, and diseases spread quickly in the crowded and unclean streets and buildings. Political machines developed as a way to address some of these problems.

The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.1.4 Examine the effects of the Civil War and Reconstruction and of the Industrial Revolution, including demographic shifts and the emergence in the late 19th century of the United States as a world power.

11.2 Students analyze the relationship among the rise of industrialization, large-scale rural-to-urban migration, and massive immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe.

11.2.1 Know the effects of industrialization on living and working conditions, including the portrayal of working conditions and food safety in Upton Sinclair’s *The Jungle*.

11.2.2 Describe the changing landscape, including the growth of cities linked by industry and trade, and the development of cities divided according to race, ethnicity, and class.

11.2.3 Trace the effect of the Americanization movement.

11.2.4 Analyze the effect of urban political machines and responses to them by immigrants and middle-class reformers.

11.3.3 Cite incidences of religious intolerance in the United States (e.g., persecution of Mormons, anti-Catholic sentiment, anti-Semitism).
Immigration

After the Civil War, millions of immigrants from Europe and Asia settled in the United States.

Reading Connection  Think about the ethnic composition of your community. What groups are represented? Read on to learn about the neighborhoods in which immigrants to the United States settled in the late 1800s.

By 1900, more than half of all immigrants in the United States were eastern and southern Europeans, including Italians, Greeks, Poles, Slavs, Slovaks, Russians, and Armenians.

Europeans Flood Into the United States

Europeans abandoned their homelands and headed to the United States for many reasons. Many poor rural farmers came simply because the United States had plenty of jobs available and few immigration restrictions. Others moved to avoid forced military service, which in some nations could last for many years. Some, especially Jews living in Poland and Russia, fled to avoid religious persecution.

By the late 1800s, most European governments had made moving to the United States easy. Immigrants were allowed to take their savings with them, and most countries had repealed old laws that had forced peasants to stay in their villages and had banned skilled workers from leaving the country.

Getting to the United States was often very difficult. Most immigrants booked passage in steerage, the most basic and cheapest accommodations on a steamship. In steerage, passengers faced “crowds everywhere, ill smelling bunks, [and] uninviting washrooms,” as one observer put it. At the end of a 14-day journey, the passengers usually disembarked at Ellis Island in New York Harbor, which served as the processing center for many immigrants arriving on the East Coast after 1892. Most immigrants passed through Ellis Island in about a day.

An American Story

Samuel Goldwyn was born in Warsaw, Poland, in 1879. His family lived in a tiny two-room apartment. As Jews the Goldwyn family feared the pogroms—anti-Jewish riots—that often erupted in the city. At age 16, Goldwyn set out for America, first walking 500 miles to the port of Hamburg, Germany. When he arrived in the United States, Goldwyn worked as a floor sweeper and then as a cutter in a glove factory, putting in 13-hour days. At night, he went to school. Within two years he was a foreman in the factory, and soon after he became a successful glove salesman.

In 1913 Goldwyn visited a nickelodeon, an early movie theater. As he watched the film, he became convinced that this new industry would grow into something big. He used his savings to set up a film company, and in 1914 he released his first movie. The film was an instant success. During his career, Goldwyn helped found three film companies: Paramount Studios, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM), and United Artists. All three companies still make movies today. Looking back on his rise from poverty to wealth, Goldwyn commented:

“...When I was a kid...the only place I wanted to go was America. I had heard them talking about America, about how free people were in America. . . . Even then America, actually only the name of a faraway country, was a vision of paradise.”

—adapted from Goldwyn: A Biography

Many of the 14 million immigrants who came to the United States between 1860 and 1900 were eastern Europeans Jews. Like Samuel Goldwyn, they came to make a new life for themselves.
enormous hall, crowds of immigrants filed past doctors for an initial inspection. “Whenever a case aroused suspicion,” an inspector wrote, “the alien was set aside in a cage apart from the rest... and his coat lapel or shirt marked with colored chalk” to indicate the reason for the isolation. Newcomers who failed the inspection might be separated from their families and returned to Europe.

Those immigrants who stayed often settled in larger cities. By the 1890s, they made up significant percentages of some of the country’s largest cities, including New York, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Detroit. In the cities, immigrants lived in neighborhoods that were often separated into ethnic groups, such as “Little Italy” or the Jewish “Lower East Side” in New York City. There they spoke their native languages and re-created the churches, synagogues, clubs, and newspapers of their homelands. Jacob Riis, a Danish-born journalist, observed in 1890 that a map of New York City, “colored to designate nationalities, would show more stripes than on the skin of a zebra.”

How well immigrants adjusted depended partly on how quickly they learned English and adapted to American culture. Immigrants also tended to adjust well if they had marketable skills or money, or if they settled among members of their own ethnic group.

As many as one in three immigrants returned to Europe shortly after coming to the United States. Some had never planned to stay and had come simply to make a little money before returning home.

Asian Immigration to America Chinese immigrants began crossing the Pacific to arrive in the United States in the mid-1800s. By that time, China’s population had reached about 430 million, and the
country was suffering from severe unemployment, poverty, and famine.

The 1848 discovery of gold in California began to lure Chinese immigrants to the United States. Then, in 1850, the Taiping Rebellion erupted in their homeland. This insurrection against the Chinese government took some 20 million lives and caused such suffering that thousands of Chinese left for the United States. In the early 1860s, as the Central Pacific Railroad began construction of its portion of the transcontinental railroad, the demand for railroad workers further increased Chinese immigration.

Chinese immigrants settled mainly in western cities, where they often worked as laborers or servants or in skilled trades. Others worked as merchants. Because native-born Americans kept them out of many businesses, some Chinese immigrants opened their own.

Another group of Asians, the Japanese, also immigrated to the United States. Until 1910, however, their numbers remained small. Between 1900 and 1908, this number increased. Large numbers of Japanese migrated to the United States as Japan began building both an industrial economy and an empire. Both developments disrupted the economy of Japan and caused hardships for its people, thus stimulating emigration.

Until 1910 Asian immigrants arriving in San Francisco first stopped at a two-story shed at the wharf. As many as 500 people at a time were often squeezed into this structure, which Chinese immigrants from Canton called muk uk, or “wooden house.”

Angel Island to house and process the Asian immigrants. Most of the immigrants were young males in their teens or twenties, who nervously awaited the results of their immigration hearings in dormitories packed with double or triple tiers of bunks. This unpleasant delay could last for months. On the walls of the detention barracks, the immigrants wrote anonymous poems in pencil or ink. Some even carved their verse into the wood.

The Resurgence of Nativism Eventually, the wave of immigration led to increased feelings of nativism on the part of many Americans. Nativism is a preference for native-born people and a desire to limit immigration. In the 1840s and 1850s, it had focused primarily on Irish immigrants. Now anti-immigrant feelings focused on Asians, Jews, and eastern Europeans.

Nativists opposed immigration for various reasons. Some feared that the influx of Catholics from Ireland and southern and eastern Europe would swamp the mostly Protestant United States and give the Catholic Church too much power in the American government. Many labor unions also opposed immigration, arguing that immigrants would work for low wages or accept work as strike-breakers, thus undermining American-born workers.

In the Northeast and Midwest, increased feelings of nativism led to the founding of two major anti-immigrant organizations. The American Protective Association was formed in 1887 to stop Catholic immigration. Its membership declined after the economic recession of 1893 ended. In the West, Denis Kearney—himself an Irish immigrant—organized the Workingman’s Party of California in the 1870s to fight Chinese immigration. The party won seats in California’s legislature and made opposition to Chinese immigration a national issue.

Such concern over unchecked immigration stimulated the passage of a new federal law. Enacted in 1882, the law banned convicts, paupers, and the mentally disabled from immigrating to the United States. The new law also placed a 50¢ head tax on each

Angel Island Over 200,000 immigrants from Japan and China arrived on the West Coast during the late 1800s.
Urbanization

During the three decades following the Civil War, the United States transformed rapidly from a rural nation to a more urban one.

Reading Connection  Do you currently live in an urban, rural, or suburban area? In which of these kinds of areas do you hope to live 10 years from now? Why? Read on to learn what life was like in the late 1800s for residents of urban communities in the United States.

During the three decades after the Civil War, the urban population of the United States—those living in towns with a population of 2,500 or more—grew from around 10 million in 1870 to more than newcomer. That same year, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act. This law barred Chinese immigration for 10 years and prevented the Chinese already in the country from becoming citizens. The Chinese in the United States protested that white Americans did not oppose immigration by Italians, Irish, or Germans. Some Chinese organized letter-writing campaigns, petitioned the president, and even filed suit in federal court.

All efforts proved fruitless. Congress renewed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1892 and then made it permanent in 1902. In 1890 the number of Chinese living in the United States totaled 105,000. By 1900 that number had dropped to just above 74,000. In the 40 years after the passage of the act, the Chinese population in the United States continued to decrease. The act was not repealed until 1943.

Reading Check  Explaining  Why did nativists oppose immigration?
30 million in 1900. New York City alone, which had over 800,000 inhabitants in 1860, grew to almost 3.5 million by 1900. In 1840 the United States had only 131 cities; by 1900 that number had risen to over 1,700.

The Technology of Urbanization

Before the mid-1800s, few buildings exceeded four or five stories. To make wooden and stone structures taller required enormously thick walls in the lower levels.

By the late 1800s, steel companies were making girders capable of bearing a building's weight. Walls no longer had to support the building—a steel frame skeleton was all that was needed. Meanwhile, Elisha Otis invented the safety elevator in 1852, and by the late 1880s, the first electric elevators had been installed, making tall buildings practical.

Steel also changed the way bridges were built. New technology enabled engineers to suspend bridges from steel towers using cables also made of steel. Using this technique, John A. Roebling, a German American engineer, designed New York's Brooklyn Bridge—the largest suspension bridge in the world at the time it was completed in 1883.

The Growth of American Cities

Most of the immigrants who poured into the United States in the late 1800s lacked the money to buy farms and the education to obtain higher-paying jobs. They remained in the nation's growing cities, where they toiled long hours for little pay in the rapidly expanding factories. Despite the harshness of their new lives, most immigrants found that the move had still improved their standard of living.

The United States offered immigrants a chance at social mobility, or moving upward in society. Although only a few immigrants rose from poverty to great wealth, many seized the opportunities the American system offered and rose from the working class to the middle class. Although some immigrants faced prejudice, most Americans accepted the idea that people in the lower classes could rise in society.

Many rural Americans also began moving to the cities at this time. Farmers moved to the cities because urban areas offered more and better-paying jobs than did rural areas. Cities had much to offer, too—bright lights, running water, and modern plumbing, plus many things to do and see, including museums, libraries, and theaters.

The New Urban Environment

As millions of people flooded into the nation’s cities, engineers and architects developed new approaches to housing and transporting such a large number of people. Demand raised the price of land, inducing owners to grow upward rather than outward. Soon, tall steel frame buildings called skyscrapers began to appear on American skylines. Chicago’s ten-story Home Insurance Building, built in 1885, was the first skyscraper, but other buildings quickly dwarfed it. New York City boasted more skyscrapers than any other city in the world. With limited land, New Yorkers had to build up, not out.

Various kinds of mass transit developed in the late 1800s to move huge numbers of people around cities quickly. In 1890 horsecars—railroad cars pulled by horses—moved about 70 percent of urban traffic in the United States. More than 20 cities, beginning with San Francisco in 1873, installed cable cars, which were pulled along tracks by underground cables. In 1887 engineer Frank J. Sprague developed the electric trolley car.
In the largest cities, congestion became so bad that engineers began looking for ways to move mass transit off the streets. Chicago responded by building an elevated railroad, while Boston, followed by New York, built America’s first subway systems.

Separation by Class In the growing cities, wealthy people and the working class lived in different parts of town. So too did the middle class. The boundaries between neighborhoods can still be seen in many cities today.

During the last half of the 1800s, the wealthiest families established fashionable districts in the hearts of cities. Americans with enough money could choose to construct a feudal castle, an English manor house, or a Tuscan villa. In New York, Cornelius Vanderbilt’s grandson commissioned a $3 million French château equipped with a two-story dining room and a marble bathroom.

American industrialization also helped create a growing middle class. The nation’s rising middle class included doctors, lawyers, engineers, managers, social workers, architects, and teachers. It was typical for many people in the emerging middle class to move away from the central city. Some took advantage of the new commuter rail lines to move to “streetcar suburbs.” During this period, middle-class salaries were about twice that of the average factory worker. In 1905 a college professor earned a middle-class salary of $1,100.

In New York City, three out of four residents squeezed into tenements, dark and crowded multifamily apartments. To supplement the average industrial worker’s annual income of $490, many families sent their young children to work in factories or rented precious space to a boarder.

Urban Problems and Politics Especially for the working poor, city living posed threats such as crime, violence, fire, disease, and pollution. Native-born Americans often blamed immigrants for the increase in crime and violence. In reality, the crime rate for immigrants was not significantly higher than that for other Americans.
Alcohol contributed to violent crime. Danish immigrant Jacob Riis, who documented slum life in his 1890 book *How the Other Half Lives*, accused saloons of “breeding poverty,” corrupting politics, bringing suffering to the wives and children of drunkards, and fostering “the corruption of the child” by selling beer to minors.

Improper sewage disposal contaminated city drinking water and triggered epidemics of typhoid fever and cholera. Though flush toilets and sewer systems existed in the 1870s, pollution remained a severe problem as horse waste was left in the streets, smoke belched from chimneys, and soot and ash accumulated from coal and wood fires.

A new kind of political system, the political machine, developed to meet these urban problems. This system provided essential city services in return for political power. The political machine, an informal political group designed to gain and keep power, came about partly because cities had grown much faster than their governments. New city dwellers needed jobs, housing, food, heat, and police protection. In exchange for votes, political machines and the party bosses who ran them eagerly provided these necessities. The payoff for party bosses came on Election Day. Urban immigrant groups, which wielded tremendous voting strength, voted in overwhelming numbers for the political machines.

The party bosses who ran the political machines also controlled the city’s finances. Many machine politicians grew rich as the result of fraud or graft—getting money through dishonest or questionable means. Outright fraud occurred when party bosses accepted bribes from contractors, who were supposed to compete fairly to win contracts to build streets, sewers, and buildings. Corrupt bosses also sold permits to their friends to operate public utilities, such as railroads, waterworks, and power systems.

Tammany Hall, the New York Democratic political machine, was the most famous such organization. William M. “Boss” Tweed was its corrupt leader during the 1860s and 1870s. Tweed’s corruption led him to prison in 1874.

Other cities’ machines controlled all the city services, including the police department. For example, St. Louis’s boss never feared arrest when he called out to his supporters at the police-supervised voting booth, “Are there any more repeaters out here that want to vote again?” Based in Kansas City, Missouri, the Pendergast brothers, James and Thomas, ran state and city politics from the 1890s until the 1930s.

Opponents of political machines, such as political cartoonist Thomas Nast, blasted bosses for their corruption. Defenders countered that city and state governments were ineffective. Machines provided necessary services and helped to assimilate the masses of new city dwellers.

**Reading Check** Evaluating How did the influx of immigrants affect the cities?

**Critical Thinking**

6. **Analyzing** What problems could arise in cities in which political machines controlled all services?

7. **Organizing** Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by listing reasons nativists opposed immigration to the United States.

![Reasons to Oppose Immigration](image)

**Analyzing Visuals**

8. **Examining Photographs** Study the photographs on page 259 of the Brooklyn Bridge and Flatiron Building. Why was it advantageous to construct taller buildings rather than purchase more land?

**Writing About History**

9. **Persuasive Writing** Imagine that you are a newspaper editor in the late 1800s. Write an editorial in which you support or oppose political machines. Include reasons to support your position. (CA TWSS1.2; TWWA2.4)
Chicago’s apartment buildings, or tenements, were squeezed onto lots that measured 25 by 125 feet (7.6 by 38.1 m). These lots typically held three families and their boarders. Unlike New York City’s tenements, most were only two or three stories tall.
Immigrants Arrive In Chicago

A major port and a conduit for the nation’s east-west rail travel, Chicago was a booming industrial center for the lumber, grain, meatpacking, and mail-order businesses at the end of the 1800s. Since the early 1870s, more ships had been docking in Chicago than in New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Charleston, and San Francisco combined. The city’s expansion was phenomenal. In 50 years, it grew from a modest frontier town to the second-largest city in the country.

Immigrants swarmed into Chicago seeking jobs. Poles found work slaughtering livestock; Irish laying railroads; Russian and Polish Jews making clothes; Swedes constructing buildings and Italians forging steel. Women established boardinghouses, took in sewing to do at home, and worked in factories. In most factories, the hours were long and the working conditions difficult: noisy, hot, grimy, and overcrowded. By the beginning of the 1900s, three-fourths of the people in this teeming metropolis were European immigrants and their American-born children.

Ethnic neighborhoods dotted the city, as did blocks of tenements thrown up to house the flood of newcomers. The inset map at left—an enlargement of the highlighted rectangle on the lithograph—shows the Hull House neighborhood in Chicago’s West Side in 1893. Hull House was established by social reformer Jane Addams to “investigate and improve the conditions in the industrial districts of Chicago.” The neighborhood was one of the city’s poorest. Its tenement buildings were disease-ridden and dangerous, crowding about 270 residents into each acre. Jane Addams wrote: “The streets are inexpressibly dirty, the number of schools inadequate, sanitary legislation unenforced, the street lighting bad, the paving miserable and altogether lacking in the alleys.”

The neighborhood was also one of the most ethnically diverse. As the inset shows, the bewildered new immigrants tended to settle in enclaves that had already been established by others from their homeland. They banded together as they learned about the ways of the new land. Many immigrants found comfort in social life centered on the church or synagogue. Younger immigrants were more eager to abandon their old customs. Many of them quickly adopted American clothes and manners, learned to speak English, and tried to make American friends.
In the previous section, you learned about the effects of population growth in the cities. In this section, you will discover the effects of industrialization and urbanization on society and efforts for social reform.

**Main Idea**

- Industrialization and urbanization changed American society’s ideas and culture in the late 1800s. (p. 265)
- The pressing problems of the urban poor in the late 1800s and early 1900s stimulated attempts to reform industrial society. (p. 267)

**Content Vocabulary**
individualism, Social Darwinism, philanthropy, settlement house, Americanization

**Academic Vocabulary**
evolve, function

**People and Terms to Identify**
Gilded Age, Herbert Spencer, Social Gospel, Dwight L. Moody, Booker T. Washington

**Reading Objectives**
- **Evaluate** the influence of Social Darwinism and the Social Gospel movement on American society.
- **Analyze** the efforts of early reformers to help the urban poor.

**Reading Strategy**
Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by filling in the main idea of each of the theories and movements listed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theory or Movement</th>
<th>Main Idea</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Darwinism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laissez-faire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gospel of Wealth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Gospel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Preview of Events**

1881
Booker T. Washington founds Tuskegee Institute

1884
Mark Twain publishes *Huckleberry Finn*

1889
Jane Addams founds Hull House

1899
Scott Joplin publishes “The Maple Leaf Rag”

---

The Big Idea

People react to periods of breathtaking social and cultural change in different ways. Historians refer to the late 1800s as the Gilded Age. While everything seemed shiny and golden on the outside, underneath was a society filled with poverty, crime, and a large disparity between the rich and the poor. New philosophies, such as individualism and Social Darwinism, stressed the importance of individual responsibility and hard work to become successful in life. While these ideas were popular, many people became convinced that reform was needed to help end corruption and to assist people in need. Several reform movements began during this time. The Social Gospel movement attempted to reform society based on biblical ideas and beliefs. Other reform efforts included the development of settlement houses, better public education and vocational training, and public libraries.
The Gilded Age

Main Idea Industrialization and urbanization changed American society’s ideas and culture in the late 1800s.

Reading Connection Which scientist came up with the concept of “survival of the fittest” among animal species, and what does this phrase mean? Read on to find out how the notion of “survival of the fittest” was applied to human society.

In 1873 Mark Twain and Charles Warner co-authored a novel about American politics and society entitled The Gilded Age. Historians later adopted the term and applied it to the era in American history that begins about 1870 and ends around 1900. This was a time of tremendous change, in which old ideas of society and culture no longer seemed to apply.

An American Story

In 1872, at the age of 32, William Graham Sumner became a professor of political and social science at Yale College. Sumner’s classes were very popular. One of his students, William Lyon Phelps, illustrated Sumner’s tough, no-nonsense approach with this example of a class discussion:

Student: “Professor, don’t you believe in any government aid to industries?”

Sumner: “No! It’s root, hog, or die.”

Student: “Yes, but hasn’t the hog got a right to root?”

Sumner: “There are no rights. The world owes nobody a living.”

Student: “You believe then, Professor, in only one system, the contract-competitive system?”

Sumner: “That’s the only sound economic system. All others are fallacies.”

Student: “Well, suppose some professor of political economy came along and took your job away from you. Wouldn’t you be sore?”

Sumner: “Any other professor is welcome to try. If he gets my job, it is my fault. My business is to teach the subject so well that no one can take the job away from me.”

—adapted from Social Darwinism in American Thought

Professor Sumner was only one of many voices that reflected new ideas about people and how they fit into the new industrial society.

A Changing Culture The decades after the Civil War were in many ways a time of marvels. Amazing new inventions led to rapid industrial growth. Cities expanded to sizes never seen before. Masses of workers thronged the streets. Skyscrapers reached to the sky, and electric lights banished the darkness. Newly wealthy entrepreneurs built spectacular mansions.

By calling this era the Gilded Age, however, Twain and Warner were sounding an alarm. Something is gilded if it is covered with gold on the outside but made of cheaper material inside. A gilded age might appear to sparkle, but Twain, Warner, and other writers sought to point out that beneath the surface lay corruption, poverty, crime, and great disparities in wealth between the rich and the poor.

Whether the era was golden or merely gilded, it was certainly a time of great cultural activity. Industrialism and urbanization altered the way Americans looked at themselves and their society, and these changes gave rise to new values, new art, and new forms of entertainment.

“The world owes nobody a living.”

—William Graham Sumner
Social Darwinism  Herbert Spencer’s application of the theory of evolution to human society found many followers. How did industrial leaders react to this theory?

One of the strongest beliefs of the era—and one that remains strong today—was the idea of individualism. Many Americans firmly believed that no matter how humble their origins, they could rise in society and go as far as their talents and commitment would take them. No one expressed the idea of individualism better than Horatio Alger. Alger, a former minister who eventually left the clergy, wrote more than 100 “rags-to-riches” novels, in which a poor person goes to the big city and becomes successful. Many young people who read these inspiring tales concluded that no matter how many obstacles they faced, success was possible.

Social Darwinism  Another powerful idea of the era was Social Darwinism, which strongly reinforced the idea of individualism. English philosopher Herbert Spencer first proposed this idea. Historian John Fiske, political scientist William Graham Sumner, and the magazine Popular Science Monthly all popularized it in the United States.

Philosopher Herbert Spencer applied Charles Darwin’s theory of evolution and natural selection to human society. In his 1859 book, On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, Darwin argued that plant and animal life had evolved over the years by a process he called natural selection. In this process, those species that cannot adapt to the environment in which they live gradually die out, while those that do adapt thrive and live on.

Spencer took this biological theory, intended to explain developments over millions of years, and argued that human society also evolved through competition and natural selection. He argued that society progressed and became better because only the fittest people survived.

Spencer and others who shared his views became known as Social Darwinists, and their ideas were known as Social Darwinism. “Survival of the fittest” became the catchphrase of their philosophy. By 1902 over 350,000 copies of Spencer’s books had been sold in the United States.

Social Darwinism paralleled the economic doctrine of laissez-faire that opposed any government programs that interfered with business. William Graham Sumner, for example, argued in numerous essays that competition would eliminate those who could not adapt. Not surprisingly, industrial leaders like John D. Rockefeller heartily embraced the theory of Social Darwinism. Rockefeller maintained that survival of the fittest, as demonstrated by the growth of huge businesses like his own Standard Oil, was “merely the working out of the law of nature and the law of God.”

Rockefeller may have appreciated Spencer’s interpretation of evolution, but Darwin’s conclusions about the origin of new species frightened and outraged many devout Christians as well as some leading scientists. They rejected the theory of evolution because they believed it contradicted the Bible’s account of creation. Some American scholars and ministers, however, concluded that evolution may have been God’s way of creating the world. Henry Ward Beecher of Plymouth Church in Brooklyn called himself a “cordial Christian evolutionist.” Beecher accepted Spencer’s ideas of Social Darwinism and championed the success of American business.

A wealthy and prominent business leader, Andrew Carnegie believed whole-heartedly in Social Darwinism and laissez-faire. At the same time, he thought that those who profited from society owed it something in return. Carnegie attempted to extend and soften the harsh philosophy of Social Darwinism
with the Gospel of Wealth. This philosophy held that wealthy Americans bore the responsibility of engaging in philanthropy—using their great fortunes to further social progress. Carnegie himself, for example, donated millions of dollars as the “trustee and agent for his poorer brethren.” Other industrialists also contributed to social causes. (See page 975 for more information on the Gospel of Wealth.)

Realism  Just as Darwin had looked at the natural world scientifically, a new movement in art and literature known as realism attempted to portray people realistically instead of idealizing them as romantic artists had done. Realist painters rejected the idealistic depictions of the world of the earlier 1800s. Thomas Eakins, for example, painted President Hayes working in shirtsleeves instead of in more traditional formal dress.

Writers also attempted to capture the world as they saw it. Mark Twain gave his readers a piercing view of American society in the pre–Civil War era in his 1884 masterpiece, Adventures of Huckleberry Finn. Twain was lauded to have written a true American novel, in which the setting, subject matter, characters, and style were unmistakably American. Henry James and Edith Wharton gave their readers stark and realistic portrayals of the upper class.

Popular Culture  Industrialization improved the standard of living for many people, enabling them to spend money on entertainment and recreation. Increasingly, urban Americans, unlike rural people, divided their lives into separate units—that of work and home. Saloons played a major role in the life of male workers. Working-class families or single adults who sought excitement and escape could go to amusement parks such as New York’s Coney Island.

Spectator sports such as baseball, football, and the new game of basketball gained popularity. With work becoming less physically strenuous, people also looked for leisure activities that involved physical exercise. Lawn tennis, golf, and croquet became popular.

The many people living in cities provided large and eager markets for other types of entertainment. Vaudeville offered a hodgepodge of animal acts, acrobats, gymnasts, and dancers. Like vaudeville, ragtime music, which was based on the patterns of African American music, echoed the hectic pace of city life.

**Reading Check** Summarizing What was the main idea of Social Darwinism?

**The Rebirth of Reform**

The pressing problems of the urban poor in the late 1800s and early 1900s stimulated attempts to reform industrial society.

**Reading Connection** Have you ever participated in a food drive or other community activity to help those in need? Read on to learn how reformers tried to better people’s lives.

The tremendous changes brought about by industrialism and urbanization—along with mounting opposition to corrupt political machines—triggered a debate among Americans as to how best to address society’s problems. While many Americans embraced the ideas of individualism and Social Darwinism, others argued that society’s problems could be fixed only if Americans and their government began to take a more active role in regulating the economy and helping those in need.
Social Criticism  In 1879 journalist Henry George published *Progress and Poverty*, which quickly became a national bestseller. George observed that despite industrial and social progress, “the gulf between the employed and the employer is growing wider.... [A]s liveried carriages appear, so do barefoot children.” George offered a simple solution of land ownership and a “single tax” to make society more equal and also provide the government with enough money to help the poor. Economists have since rejected George’s economic theory. His real importance to American history is that he raised questions about American society and led the way in challenging the ideas of Social Darwinism and laissez-faire economics. Many future reform leaders first became interested in reform because of George’s book.

Lester Frank Ward reached a different conclusion about Social Darwinism than George in his book *Dynamic Sociology*. Ward’s ideas, known as Reform Darwinism, stated that people had succeeded in the world not because of their ability to compete but because of their ability to cooperate. Government, he argued, could regulate the economy, cure poverty, and promote education more efficiently than could competition in the marketplace.

Helping the Urban Poor  Some critics of industrial society became actively involved in reform movements. From about 1870 until 1920, reformers in the Social Gospel movement strove to improve conditions in cities according to the biblical ideals of charity and justice. An early advocate of the Social Gospel, Washington Gladden, a minister from Columbus, Ohio, tried to apply what he called “Christian law” to social problems. During a coal strike in 1884, for example, Gladden preached about the “right and necessity of labor organizations.”

Other critics, such as Edward Bellamy, were more extreme in their ideas. Bellamy described an ideal society based on socialism in *Looking Back, 2000–1887*. The ideas of people such as George, Ward, and Bellamy helped shape the thinking of American reformers in the late 1800s.

Criticism of industrial society also appeared in literature in a new style of writing known as naturalism. Writers such as Stephen Crane, Frank Norris, Jack London, and Theodore Dreiser described the power of the natural environment over civilization and told of people whose lives were destroyed through no fault of their own.
despite the fact that his congregation included top officers of the coal company. Walter Rauschenbusch, a later leader of the movement, believed that competition was the cause of many social problems, causing good people to behave badly. Other ministers opposed certain reform movements. For example, Billy Sunday, a former professional baseball player, in numerous revivals warned people of alcohol. At the same time, he denounced reforms that he thought would threaten traditional society, such as labor unions and women’s rights.

The efforts of leaders like Gladden and Rauschenbusch inspired many organized churches to expand their missions. These churches began to take on community functions designed to improve society, such as social programs, day care, and helping the poor. The combination of religious faith and interest in reform nourished the growth of the Christian Mission, a social welfare organization that became known as the Salvation Army in 1878. It provided practical aid and religious counseling to the urban poor.

Founded in England, the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) tried to help industrial workers and the urban poor by organizing Bible studies, prayer meetings, citizenship training, and fitness activities. One prominent organizer of the American YMCA was Dwight L. Moody, the president of the Chicago YMCA in the late 1860s. A gifted preacher and organizer, Moody organized revival meetings in other American cities. In 1870 Moody met Ira Sankey, a hymn writer and singer. Together they introduced the gospel hymn into worship services in the United States and Great Britain. Moody strongly supported charities that helped the poor, but he rejected both the Social Gospel and Social Darwinism. He believed in helping the poor by redeeming their souls and reforming their character.

The settlement house movement, in some ways an offshoot of the Social Gospel movement, attracted idealistic reformers who believed it was their Christian duty to improve living conditions for the poor. During the late 1800s, reformers such as Jane Addams established settlement houses in poor neighborhoods. In these establishments, middle-class residents lived with and helped poor residents, mostly immigrants, by providing everything from medical care and English classes to hot lunches for factory workers. Addams, who opened the famous Hull House in Chicago in 1889, inspired many more such settlements across the country. Their efforts helped shape the social work profession, in which women came to play a major role.
Public Education  As the United States became increasingly industrialized and urbanized, it needed more workers who were trained and educated. In 1870 around 6,500,000 children attended school. By 1900 that number had risen to over 17,300,000. Public schools were often crucial to the success of immigrant children. It was there the children usually became knowledgeable about American culture, a process known as Americanization. To assimilate newcomers into American culture, schools taught immigrant children English, American history, and the responsibilities of citizenship. They also tried to instill discipline and a strong work ethic, values considered important to the nation’s progress. Americanization could also pose a problem for immigrant children, however, because sometimes parents worried that it would make the children forget their own cultural traditions.

While grammar schools provided basic education, vocational and technical education in high schools prepared students for specific trades. College attendance also rose during this time, aided by the Morrill Land Grant Act. This Civil War-era law gave federal land grants to states for the purpose of establishing agricultural and mechanical colleges. Private colleges gave access to education for women, whose educational opportunities lagged behind men’s.

Not everyone had access to school. In the rush to fund education, cities were way ahead of rural areas. Many African Americans, also, did not have equal educational opportunities. To combat this discrimination, some African Americans started their own schools. The leader of this movement was Booker T. Washington, who founded the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama in 1881.

Like public schools, free libraries also made education available to city dwellers. One of the strongest supporters of the public library movement was industrialist Andrew Carnegie, who donated millions of dollars toward the construction of libraries all across the United States. These libraries, as well as the various educational and social reform movements that arose in the late 1800s, helped people cope with the harsher aspects of a newly industrialized society.
In the previous section, you learned about efforts to reform society. In this section, you will discover how politics often hindered reform efforts and how African Americans faced increasing discrimination.

**Main Idea**

- From 1877 to 1896, Republicans and Democrats were so evenly matched that only a few reforms were possible at the national level. (p. 272)
- Farmers in economic crisis embraced an independent political movement called populism that emerged in the 1890s to challenge the two major parties. (p. 275)
- In the late 1800s, Southern states passed laws that denied African Americans the right to vote and imposed segregation. (p. 279)

**Content Vocabulary**
- populism, inflation, deflation, graduated income tax, poll tax, grandfather clause, Jim Crow laws

**Academic Vocabulary**
- volume, prospective

**People and Terms to Identify**

**Reading Objectives**
- Explain why the Republicans and Democrats were so evenly matched during this period and why the People's Party gained support.
- Discuss how African Americans in the South were disfranchised and how segregation was legalized.

**Reading Strategy**

**Taking Notes** As you read about the stalemate between Republicans and Democrats, the emergence of Populists, and the rise of segregation in the late 1800s, use the major headings of the section to create an outline similar to the one below.

**The Big Idea**

People react to periods of breathtaking social and cultural change in different ways. In the late 1800s, division between the Democrats and Republicans and corruption in politics prevented lawmakers from addressing many of the nation’s problems. Following the election of President Cleveland, economic issues took prominence over the nation’s concerns about political corruption. Farmers began to organize to protest high tariffs, which increased the cost of manufactured goods they needed and made it more difficult to sell goods overseas. They embraced a new political movement called populism and created the People’s Party in an effort to work for laws to protect their interests. Populism and the People’s Party, however, slowly lost momentum. African Americans, particularly in the South, faced increasing discrimination and violence. In the late 1800s, Southern states began denying African Americans the right to vote and enforced segregation. Several African Americans became prominent when they spoke out against discrimination and worked to obtain the right to vote.
Stalemate in Washington

Main Idea From 1877 to 1896, Republicans and Democrats were so evenly matched that only a few reforms were possible at the national level.

Reading Connection What U.S. presidents have been assassinated? Read on to learn how the nation and the Congress responded to the killing of President James Garfield.

Many Americans believed that political reforms were necessary to make government more efficient. At the heart of their concerns was the spoils system.

An American Story

After the election of President James A. Garfield in 1880, many of his supporters tried to claim the “spoils of office”—the government jobs that follow an election victory. One of these job-seekers was Charles Guiteau.

In the spring of 1881, Guiteau made daily trips to the White House or State Department, repeatedly asking for a job. Finally, on the night of May 18, he had a crazed inspiration: “If the president was out of the way,” he thought, “everything would go better.” Unlike Garfield, Guiteau reasoned, Vice President Chester Arthur was comfortable with the old spoils system. Arthur would give him the position he deserved. On July 2, 1881, Guiteau shot President Garfield in a train station near Capitol Hill. In a note left behind, Guiteau stated:

“The President’s tragic death was a sad necessity, but it will unite the Republican party and save the Republic... I had no ill-will toward the President. His death was a political necessity. I am a lawyer, theologian, and politician. I am a Stalwart of the Stalwarts...”

—quoted in Garfield

For many, the assassination of President Garfield highlighted the need for changes. Although Congress enacted civil service reform, few new policies were introduced in the 1870s and 1880s because Republicans and Democrats were so closely tied in elections.

Cleaning Up Politics Traditionally, under the spoils system, or patronage, government jobs went to supporters of the winning party in an election. Many Americans believed that the spoils system prevented lawmakers from addressing the nation’s issues and corrupted those who worked for the government. By the late 1870s, a movement to reform the civil service began to build support.

Republican President Rutherford B. Hayes attacked the practice of patronage by appointing reformers to his cabinet and replacing officials who owed their jobs to party bosses. His actions infuriated the “Stalwarts,” as newspapers called local bosses of Republican political machines. The Stalwarts accused Republican reformers, whom they labeled the “Halfbreeds,” of backing reform simply to create openings for their own supporters.

Despite their disagreements, the Republicans nominated a mixed ticket—Halfbreed James Garfield for president and Stalwart Chester A. Arthur for vice president. The ticket managed to win the election, but a few months into his presidency, Garfield was assassinated.

Garfield’s assassination further excited public opinion against the spoils system. In 1883 Congress responded by passing the Pendleton Act, which set up a civil service system with appointments of candidates based on examinations. Under President Arthur 14,000 jobs (about one-tenth of the total) came under the control of the civil service. The federal government had finally begun to shift away from the spoils system.

National Tragedy A newspaper artist captured the attack on President Garfield. Why was Charles Guiteau obsessed with the idea of killing the president?
Two Parties, Neck and Neck  Although many people thought corruption prevented lawmakers from addressing the nation’s problems, few new policies were introduced in the 1870s and 1880s. During those years, the Republicans and Democrats were evenly divided and had to share power. The Republicans had a voting edge in New England and the Midwest and the support of big business and Great Plains farmers. The Democrats dominated the South and enjoyed strong support in big cities with large Catholic and immigrant populations.

From 1877 to 1896, these voting patterns gave the Democrats an edge in the House of Representatives, where voters in each congressional district elected members directly. The Republicans had the upper hand in the Senate, because state legislatures chose senators and Republicans generally controlled a majority of state governments.

Both parties were well organized to turn out the vote in elections, and narrow margins decided most presidential elections between 1876 and 1896. Twice during this period, in 1876 and 1888, a candidate lost the popular vote but won the election. This happened because even if candidates win several states by slim popular vote margins, they still receive all the electoral votes in those states. These narrow victories then give the candidate an Electoral College majority, regardless of the overall popular vote count.

Although Republicans won four of the six presidential elections between 1876 and 1896, the president often had to contend with a House controlled by Democrats and a Senate dominated by Republicans who did not always agree with him on the issues. Furthermore, this was an era when local political bosses, not the president, controlled the party. The nearly even division of power produced political deadlock at the federal level.

The Election of 1884  As the election of 1884 approached, Democrats saw their best chance to win the White House since before the Civil War. They nominated New York Governor Grover Cleveland, an opponent of Tammany Hall, the corrupt Democratic political machine in New York City. Cleveland’s Republican opponent was James G. Blaine, a former speaker of the House of Representatives who was wildly popular among party workers.

The campaign was sensational and frenzied. Because so many voters believed corruption was the main problem in American government, they focused their attention on the personal morals of the candidates. Blaine had been accused during the Crédit Mobilier scandal of profiting financially from...
a political favor he did for the Union Pacific Railroad while serving as Speaker of the House in the 1870s. Some Republican reformers were so unhappy with Blaine that they abandoned their party and supported Cleveland. These renegade reformers became known as “Mugwumps,” from an Algonquian word meaning “great chiefs.”

Cleveland, a bachelor, also faced moral criticism during the campaign when a newspaper revealed that he had fathered a child 10 years earlier. Aides asked Cleveland how they should respond to reporters seeking to know more about this story, and he replied, “Tell the truth.” By admitting to the charge, Cleveland preserved his reputation for honesty and retained the support of many Mugwumps.

Blaine hoped that he could make up for the loss of the Mugwumps by persuading Roman Catholics to defect from the Democratic Party. His mother was an Irish Catholic, and there were half a million Irish Americans in New York state alone at the time. During the campaign, however, Blaine met with a Protestant minister who denounced the Democratic Party for its ties to Catholicism. Because Blaine was slow to criticize the remark, he lost most of the Irish American vote. To make matters worse for Blaine, many pro-temperance Republicans in upstate New York backed the candidate of the Prohibition Party, which was dedicated to banning the sale of alcohol. Cleveland won New York by a margin of about 1,000 votes out of more than 1,000,000 cast, and his victory in that state decided the election.

**Commerce, Trusts, and Tariffs** Economic issues soon overshadowed the debate about political reform. With greater industrialization and the growth of the labor movement, unrest among workers was mounting across the country, and many strikes occurred in this period. The power of large corporations also concerned Americans. In particular, small businesses and farmers had become angry at the railroads. While large corporations such as Standard Oil were able to negotiate rebates—or partial refunds—and lower rates because of the volume of goods they shipped, others were forced to pay much higher rates. Although the high fixed costs and low operating costs of railroads caused much of this problem, many Americans believed railroads were gouging customers.

Neither Democrats nor Republicans moved quickly at the federal level to address these problems. Both parties believed that government should not interfere with corporations’ property rights, which courts had held to be the same as those of individuals. Public pressure finally forced Congress to enact the Interstate Commerce Act creating the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC). This act was the first federal law designed to regulate interstate commerce.

Congress could not agree on tariffs, though. High tariffs had helped protect weak domestic manufacturing after the Civil War. Many questioned the necessity of maintaining high tariffs in the 1880s, when large American companies were fully capable of competing internationally. In December 1887, Democratic President Grover Cleveland, who had won a highly contested election three years earlier, proposed lowering tariffs. The House, with a Democratic majority, passed moderate tariff reductions, but the Republican-controlled Senate rejected the bill. With Congress deadlocked, tariff reduction became a major issue in the election of 1888.

**Republicans Regain Power** In the 1888 presidential campaign, the Republicans and their presidential candidate, Benjamin Harrison, received large contributions from industrialists who benefited from tariff protection. Grover Cleveland and the Democrats campaigned against unnecessarily high tariff rates, arguing that these taxes effectively raised the prices of manufactured goods. In one of the closest races in American history, Harrison lost the popular vote but won the electoral vote with narrow victories in New York and Indiana.

The election of 1888 gave the Republicans control of both houses of Congress as well as the White House. Using this power, the party passed legislation
to address points of national concern. One major piece of legislation, introduced by Representative William McKinley of Ohio, was a tariff bill that cut tobacco taxes and tariff rates on raw sugar but greatly increased rates on other goods, such as textiles, to discourage people from buying those imports. The McKinley Tariff lowered federal revenue and transformed the nation’s budget surplus into a budget deficit.

The Republican-controlled Congress also responded to popular pressure to do something about the power of trusts. Senator John Sherman of Ohio introduced the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890, which declared illegal any “combination in the form of trust . . . or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States.” The courts were responsible for enforcement, however, and judges saw nothing in this vaguely worded legislation that required them to make big companies change the way they did business. In the years following passage of the act, businesses formed trusts and combinations at a great rate.

**Reading Check**  
Explaining Why were so few new policies introduced at the federal level in the 1870s and 1880s?

**Picturing History**

**Populist Territory** This farm family in Nebraska represents the kind of people who typically supported populism. Why did farmers dislike Eastern bankers?

---

### Populism

**Main Idea** Farmers in economic crisis embraced an independent political movement called populism that emerged in the 1890s to challenge the two major parties.

**Reading Connection** In what ways do today’s political parties serve the interests of individual citizens? Read on to learn why a new political party, the Populists, was formed in the late 1800s to address the needs of farmers.

As the midterm congressional election of 1890 approached, some Americans concluded that the two-party system was incapable of solving the nation’s problems. That conviction was strongest among farmers, who faced an economic crisis that developed in the years immediately following the Civil War.

**Unrest in Rural America** In those years, farmers were producing more crops, but greater supply tended to lower prices. At the same time, high tariffs increased the cost of the manufactured goods farmers
needed and made it harder for farmers to sell their goods overseas. Farmers also felt victimized by large and faraway entities: the banks from which they obtained loans and the railroads that set their shipping rates. They doubted that either the Democrats or the Republicans would respond to their concerns. Instead, farmers embraced populism, a movement to increase farmers’ political power and to work for legislation in their interest.

One problem that greatly concerned farmers was the nation’s money supply. To help finance the Union war effort, the United States Treasury had greatly expanded the money supply by issuing millions of dollars in greenbacks—paper currency that could not be exchanged for gold or silver coins. This rapid increase in the money supply without an accompanying increase in goods for sale caused inflation, or a decline in the value of money. As the paper money lost value, the prices of goods soared.

After the Civil War, the United States had three types of currency in circulation—greenbacks, gold and silver coins, and national bank notes backed by government bonds. To bring inflation under control, the federal government stopped printing greenbacks and began paying off its bonds. In 1873 Congress also decided to stop making silver into coins. These decisions meant that the United States did not have a large enough money supply to meet the needs of the country’s growing economy. As the economy expanded, deflation—an increase in the value of money and a decrease in the general level of prices—began. As money increased in value, prices began to fall.

Farmers’ Alliance This small band of farmers met in a cabin in Lampasas County, Texas, to form the Farmers’ Alliance.

Deflation hit farmers especially hard. Most farmers had to borrow money for seed and other supplies to plant their crops. Because money was in short supply, interest rates began to rise, which increased the amount farmers owed.

Many farmers concluded that Eastern bankers had pressured Congress into reducing the money supply. They began to call for the printing of more greenbacks and the minting of silver coins. Farmers realized that if they were going to convince the government to meet their demands, they needed to organize. In increasing numbers they joined the first national farm organization, the Patrons of Husbandry, better known as the Grange. Grangers tried to create cooperatives—marketing organizations that helped farmers by pooling crops and holding them off the market in order to force up prices and by negotiating better shipping rates with the railroads. The Grange’s cooperatives ultimately failed, partly because they were too small to have any effect on prices, and partly because Eastern businesses and railroads considered them to be similar to unions—illegitimate conspiracies in restraint of trade—and refused to do business with them.

Meanwhile, several Western states passed “Granger laws” setting maximum rates and prohibiting railroads from charging more for short hauls than for long ones. The railroads fought back by cutting services and refusing to lay new track until the laws were repealed. Then the 1886 Supreme Court ruling in Wabash v. Illinois greatly limited the states’ ability to regulate railroads by ruling that states could not regulate commerce that crossed state lines. (See page 1007 for more information on Wabash v. Illinois.)

The Farmers’ Alliance By the late 1870s, membership in the Grange had started to fall, and a new organization, the Farmers’ Alliance, took its place. Alliance leaders hoped that by establishing very large cooperatives, called exchanges, they could force farm prices up and make loans to farmers at low interest rates. Despite their temporary success, the large cooperatives failed. In many cases, wholesalers, manufacturers, railroads, and bankers discriminated against them, making it difficult for them to stay in business. The exchanges also failed because they were still too small to dramatically affect world prices for farm products.

By 1890 the failure of the Alliance to fix farmers’ problems had started a power struggle within the organization. Some Alliance leaders, particularly in the Western states, wanted to form a new party and push for political reforms. Members of the Kansas
Alliance formed the People's Party, also known as the Populists, and nominated candidates to run for Congress and the state legislature. Most Southern leaders of the Alliance did not want to undermine the Democrats' control of the South. Instead, they endorsed candidates who supported their demands.

**The Rise of Populism** In 1890 members of the Farmers' Alliance met in Ocala, Florida, and issued what came to be known as the Ocala Demands. These demands called for the free coinage of silver, an end to protective tariffs and national banks, tighter regulation of the railroads, and direct election of senators by voters instead of by state legislatures.

To discourage farmers from voting for Populists, the Republicans in Congress, led by Senator John Sherman, pushed through the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890. This act authorized the United States Treasury to purchase 4.5 million ounces of silver per month. It put more money into circulation and may have reduced the deflation slightly, but it did little to help the farmers.

The midterm elections of 1890 seemed to suggest that farmers’ strategies had worked. In the South, several states had pro-Alliance governors and state legislatures, and over 40 Democrats who supported the Alliance program were elected to Congress. The People's Party did equally well in the West.

Despite their promises, few Democrats followed through by supporting the Alliance program, either at the state or the federal level. In May 1891, Western populists met with some labor and reform groups and endorsed the creation of a new national People’s Party to run candidates for president. By early 1892 many Southern farmers had also reached the point where they were willing to break with the Democratic Party and join the People’s Party.

**A Populist for President** In July 1892, the newly organized People’s Party nominated James B. Weaver to run for president. At their convention in Omaha, Nebraska, party members endorsed a platform, or program, that spelled out the party’s positions in strong terms. The platform denounced the government’s refusal to coin silver and called for a return to unlimited coinage of silver, federal ownership of railroads, and a graduated income tax, one that taxed higher earnings more heavily.

Above all, the Populists wanted government to defend the public against what they saw as greedy and irresponsible private interests. The Omaha platform took positions popular with labor, including calling for an eight-hour workday, restricting immigration, and denouncing strikebreaking. Still, most urban workers preferred to remain within the Democratic Party.

Democratic candidate Grover Cleveland, who wanted to return to the White House after his close defeat in 1888, won with the support of Northern cities and the South. He had 277 votes in the Electoral College, compared to 145 for his Republican opponent Benjamin Harrison. The Populist candidate, James Weaver, did remarkably well, winning four states and splitting two others for a total of 22 electoral votes.

Not long after Cleveland’s inauguration in 1893, the nation plunged into the worst economic crisis it had ever experienced. The panic began in March when the Philadelphia and Reading Railroads declared bankruptcy. Many railroads had expanded too rapidly in the period before the panic and now found it hard to repay their loans. The stock market on Wall Street crashed, and banks closed their doors. By 1894 the economy was deep in a depression, with approximately 18 percent of the workforce unemployed.

The Panic of 1893 also created a crisis for the United States Treasury. Many American and European investors who owned U.S. government bonds began cashing in their bonds for gold, leaving the federal government’s gold reserves at a dangerously low level. Unlike many Democrats, President Cleveland believed the United States should use gold, not silver or paper money, as the basis for its currency. In an effort to protect the government’s reserves, in June 1893 he pushed through the repeal
of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, which had allowed the exchange of silver for gold. Cleveland’s actions split the Democratic Party into two factions: goldbugs, who believed American currency should be based only on gold, and silverites, who believed coining silver in unlimited quantities would solve the nation’s economic crisis.

The Election of 1896 As the election of 1896 approached, leaders of the People’s Party decided to make the silver issue the focus of their campaign. They also decided to hold their convention after the Republican and Democratic conventions. They believed the Republicans would endorse a gold standard, which they did. They also expected the Democrats to nominate Cleveland again and hoped that when the People’s Party strongly endorsed silver, pro-silver Democrats would abandon their party and vote for the Populists in large numbers.

Unfortunately for the Populists, their political strategy failed. The Democrats did not waver on the silver issue. Instead, they nominated William Jennings Bryan, a strong supporter of silver. When the Populists gathered in St. Louis for their own convention, they faced a difficult choice: endorse Bryan and risk undermining their identity as a separate party, or nominate their own candidate and risk splitting the silver vote. They eventually decided to support Bryan.

Bryan waged an unusually energetic campaign for the presidency, traveling thousands of miles and making 600 speeches in 14 weeks. In sharp contrast, Republican William McKinley, a former governor and member of Congress, conducted what the newspapers called his “Front-Porch Campaign” by meeting with various delegations that came to visit him at his Canton, Ohio, home. How did their campaign styles work out?

The Republicans campaigned against the Democrats by blaming Cleveland’s administration for the depression and promising workers that McKinley would provide a “full dinner pail.” This meant a lot more to most urban workers than the issue of silver money. At the same time, most business leaders supported the Republicans, convinced that unlimited silver coinage would ruin the country. Many employers warned their workers that if Bryan won, businesses would fail, unemployment would rise, and wages would be cut.

McKinley’s reputation for moderation on labor issues and tolerance toward different ethnic groups helped improve the Republican Party’s image with urban workers and immigrants. When the votes were counted, McKinley had won a decisive victory. He captured 51 percent of the popular vote and had a winning margin of 95 electoral votes—hefty numbers in an era of tight elections. By embracing populism and its rural base, Bryan and the Democrats lost the more populous Northern industrial areas where votes were concentrated.

Opposition to the gold-based currency dwindled during McKinley’s time in office. The depression was over, and prospectors found gold in Canada in 1896 and in Alaska in 1898. That wealth, combined with new gold strikes in South Africa and other parts of the world, increased the money supply without turning to silver. This meant that credit was easier to obtain and farmers were less distressed. In 1900 the United States officially adopted a gold-based currency.
When the silver crusade died out, the Populists lost their momentum. Their efforts to ease the economic hardships of farmers and to regulate big business had not worked. Some of the reforms they favored, however, including the graduated income tax and some governmental regulation of the economy, came about in the next century.

**Reading Check**  Explaining What were the main goals of the Populist Party?

### The Rise of Segregation

**Main Idea** In the late 1800s, Southern states passed laws that denied African Americans the right to vote and imposed segregation.

**Reading Connection** What is a “loophole”? Think of a loophole from which you may have benefited or suffered. Then read on to learn how Southern racists used a loophole in the Fifteenth Amendment to prevent African Americans from voting.

After Reconstruction, many African Americans in the rural South lived in conditions that were little better than slavery. They were technically free, but few escaped from grinding poverty. Most were sharecroppers, landless farmers who had to hand over to the landlord a large portion of their crops to cover the cost of rent, seed, tools, and other supplies. They had barely enough income to survive, and they were always in debt.

**Resistance and Repression** Many African Americans eventually left farming and sought jobs in Southern towns or headed west to claim homesteads. In 1879, 70-year-old Benjamin “Pap” Singleton, himself formerly enslaved, organized a mass migration of thousands of African Americans from the rural South to Kansas. The newspapers called it “an Exodus,” like the Hebrews’ escape from Egyptian bondage. The migrants themselves came to be known as “Exodusters.”

While some African Americans fled the South, others joined with poor white farmers who had created the Farmers’ Alliance. In 1886 they created the Colored Farmers’ National Alliance. When the Populist Party formed in 1891, many African American farmers became members. They hoped that the new People’s Party would unite poor whites and poor blacks to challenge the Democratic Party’s power in the South. Populism posed a new challenge to the Democratic Party in the South. If enough poor whites left the party and joined with African American Populists, the new coalition might become unbeatable.

To win back the poor white vote, Democratic leaders began appealing to racism. They warned whites that support for Populists or joint Republican-Populist parties would return the South to “Black Republican” rule similar to Reconstruction. Election officials also began using various methods to make it harder and harder for African Americans to vote.

**Disfranchising African Americans** The Fifteenth Amendment prohibited states from denying citizens the right to vote on the basis of “race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” However, it did not bar the governments from requiring that citizens be literate or own property in order to vote. Using this loophole, Southern states began imposing restrictions that barred nearly all African Americans from voting.

Mississippi took this step first in 1890 by requiring that all citizens registering to vote pay a poll tax of $2, a sum beyond the means of most poor African Americans. Mississippi also instituted a literacy test, requiring that prospective voters be able to read or understand the state constitution. Few African Americans were able to read, and even those who
could often fail the literacy test because local officials deliberately picked complicated passages. Other Southern states adopted similar restrictions. The results were devastating, with the numbers of African Americans registered to vote dropping to a few thousand in several states.

The number of white voters also fell significantly. Local Democratic Party leaders were not sorry to exclude poor whites, because they had helped fuel the Populist revolt. Some states gave whites a special break with the so-called **grandfather clause**, by allowing any man to vote if he had an ancestor who appeared on voting rolls.

**Legalizing Segregation** In the late 1800s, discrimination was not confined to the South. African Americans in the North had often been barred from many public places used by whites. In the South, segregation, or separation of the races, was different because laws enforced and perpetuated the discrimination. The statutes enforcing segregation were known as **Jim Crow laws**.

In 1883 the Supreme Court set the stage for legalized segregation by overturning the Civil Rights Act of 1875. That law had prohibited keeping people out of public places on the basis of race, and it also prohibited racial discrimination in selecting jurors. The Supreme Court decision stated that since the Fourteenth Amendment only provided that “no state” could deny citizens equal protection under the law, only state actions were subject to challenge. Private organizations and businesses, such as hotels, theaters, and railroads, were free to practice segregation.

Encouraged by this ruling and by the decline of congressional support for civil rights, Southern states passed a series of laws that enforced segregation in virtually all public places. Southern whites and African Americans could no longer ride together in the same railroad cars, eat in the same dining halls, or even drink from the same water fountains.

In 1892 an African American named Homer Plessy challenged a Louisiana law that forced him to ride in a separate railroad car from whites. He was brought to trial before criminal court judge John H. Ferguson, who rejected Plessy’s argument that the law was unconstitutional. In 1896 the Supreme Court, in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, upheld the Louisiana law and expressed a new legal doctrine endorsing “separate but equal” facilities for African Americans. (See page 964 for more information on *Plessy v. Ferguson*.) The ruling established the legal basis for discrimination in the South for more than 50 years to come. While public facilities for African Americans in the South were always separate, they were far from equal. In many cases, they were inferior.

**African American Response** African Americans faced more than legal segregation. In the late 1800s, mob violence increased. Between 1890 and 1899, mobs carried out an average of 187 lynchings—executions without proper court proceedings—each year. Over 80 percent of the lynchings occurred in the South, and nearly 70 percent of the victims were African Americans. **Ida B. Wells**, a fiery young African American woman from Tennessee, launched a fearless crusade against lynching in 1892. She pointed out that greed, not just racial prejudice, was often behind these brutal acts. Although Congress rejected an anti-lynching bill, the number of lynchings decreased significantly in the 1900s due in great part to the efforts of activists such as Wells.

Booker T. Washington, an influential educator, proposed that African Americans concentrate on achieving economic goals rather than legal or political ones. He summed up his views in an 1895 speech known as
the Atlanta Compromise. In this address, Washington urged African Americans to postpone the fight for civil rights and instead concentrate on preparing themselves educationally and vocationally for full equality:

“The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing... It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercise of these privileges.”

—adapted from Up From Slavery

The Atlanta Compromise speech provoked a strong challenge from W.E.B. Du Bois, the leader of a new generation of African American activists born after the Civil War. Du Bois pointed out in his 1903 book The Souls of Black Folk that white Southerners continued to strip African Americans of their civil rights. African Americans could regain lost ground and achieve full equality only by demanding their rights—especially the right to vote. “[V]oting is necessary to proper manhood,” Du Bois wrote, adding that “color discrimination is barbarism.” In the years that followed, many African Americans worked to win the vote and end discrimination. The struggle would prove to be a long one.

Reading Check

Identifying How did Southern states restrict African American voting rights in the 1890s?

Checking for Understanding

1. **Vocabulary Define:** volume, populism, inflation, deflation, graduated income tax, poll tax, prospective, grandfather clause, segregation, Jim Crow laws.
3. **Describe** the events leading to the Pendleton Act.
4. **Explaining** Why were the Republicans and Democrats not effective, and why did the Populists gain support in the late 1800s?
5. **Examining** After Reconstruction, why did many African Americans in the South live in conditions that were little better than slavery?
6. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to identify the organizations that formed to help farmers and their goals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Goals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Critical Thinking

7. **Analyzing Photographs** Examine the photograph of an “Exoduster” family on page 279. Pose questions about the photograph to your classmates in a quiz and then have them answer the questions.

8. **Persuasive Writing** Imagine you support the Populist Party and that you have been asked to write copy to be used in a campaign poster for your party’s candidates. Include a slogan that provides reasons for people to support the Populists.
Eyewitness

In his exposé of urban poverty, How the Other Half Lives (1890), JACOB RIIS documented the living conditions in New York City tenements:

“The statement once made a sensation that between seventy and eighty children had been found in one tenement. It no longer excites even passing attention, when the sanitary police report counting 101 adults and 91 children in a Crosby Street house, one of twins, built together. The children in the others, if I am not mistaken, numbered 89, a total of 180 for two tenements! Or when midnight inspection in Mulberry Street unearths a hundred and fifty “lodgers” sleeping on filthy floors in two buildings. In spite of brown-stone fittings, plate-glass and mosaic vestibule floors, the water does not rise in summer to the second story, while the beer flows unchecked to the all-night picnics on the roof. The saloon with the side-door and the landlord divide the prosperity of the place between them, and the tenant, in sullen submission, foots the bill.”

INDICATORS:
Livin’ in the City

Moving off the farm for a factory job? Sharpen your pencil. You’ll need to budget carefully to buy all you will need.

Here are the numbers for a Georgia family of four in 1890. The husband is a textile worker, and the wife works at home. There is one child, age 4, and a boarder. They share a two-room, wood-heated, oil-lighted apartment.

**INCOME: (annual)**
- husband’s income .......... $312.00
- boarder’s rent .......... $10.00
**TOTAL INCOME .......... $322.00**

**EXPENSES: (annual)**
- medical ................... $65.00
- furniture .................... 46.90
- clothing ...................... 46.00
- rent ......................... 21.00
- flour/meal ..................... 25.00
- hog products ................. 17.00
- other meat .................... 13.00
- vegetables .................... 13.00
- lard ......................... 6.50
- potatoes ...................... 6.40
- butter ....................... 5.00
- sugar ....................... 4.00
- charitable donations ........ 6.10
- vacation ..................... 3.25
- alcohol ..................... 3.25
- tobacco ..................... 3.00
- molasses ..................... 2.00
- other food ................... 27.80
- miscellaneous ............... 68.20
**TOTAL EXPENSES .......... $382.40**

VERBATIM

“Tell ’em quick, and tell ’em often.”

WILLIAM WRIGLEY, soap salesman and promoter of chewing gum, on his marketing philosophy

“A pushing, energetic, ingenious person, always awake and trying to get ahead of his neighbors.”

HENRY ADAMS, historian, describing the average New Yorker or Chicagoan

“We cannot all live in cities, yet nearly all seem determined to do so.”

HORACE GREELEY, newspaper editor
Milestones

ON THE RUN, 1881. THE JESSE JAMES GANG, after robbing a Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific train near Winston, Missouri, and killing the conductor and a passenger.

OVERTURNED, 1878. By the Supreme Court, a Louisiana court decision that awarded damages to an African American woman who had been refused admission to a steamship stateroom reserved for whites.

PLAGUED BY GRASSHOPPERS, 1874. THE AMERICAN GREAT PLAINS. Insect swarms a mile wide blot out the midday sun. Two inches deep on the ground, they leave “nothing but the mortgage,” as one farmer put it.

CELEBRATED IN EUROPE, 1887. ANNIE OAKLEY, star of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show. Oakley shot a cigarette from the lips of Crown Prince Wilhelm of Germany. Years later, when the U.S. goes to war against Kaiser Wilhelm, Oakley will quip: “I wish I’d missed that day!”

REMOVED, 1884. IDA B. WELLS, journalist and former slave, from a ladies coach on a train. Wells refused to move to the smoking car where African Americans were to be seated.

ESTABLISHED, 1883. STANDARD TIME. To accommodate the railroad system, noon will no longer be the moment in a given locality when the sun stands highest in the sky but, instead will be standard across four time zones. Set your watches!

ARRESTED, 1872. SUSAN B. ANTHONY, for casting a ballot in Rochester, New York. Anthony argued that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments applied to women.

Numbers

1 in 12 Americans living in cities of 100,000 or more in 1865

1 in 5 Americans living in cities in 1896

522 Inhabitants in a one-acre area in the Bowery, New York City

$2 Daily wage for a farm laborer, New York, 1869

$4 Daily wage for a plumber, New York City, 1869

50¢ Price of a pair of boy’s knee pants, a parasol, button boots, or a necktie (1870s)

$8 Price of a “Fine All-Wool Suit,” 1875

$3 Box seat for four at Gilmore’s Concert Garden in New York City

4¢ Price for one pound of fancy white rice, 1896

25¢ Admission to “Barnum’s American Museum” (featuring the smallest pair of human beings ever seen!), 1896
Americans struggled to respond to the rapid industrialization of the United States in the years after the Civil War. As business profits grew, many workers were faced with losing their jobs to machines or working in factories under stressful, monotonous, or dangerous conditions.

**SOURCE 1**

*Henry George worked as a journalist in San Francisco. He was puzzled by the existence of extreme wealth and extreme poverty side by side in the United States. George wrote *Progress and Poverty* in 1879 to argue for economic and social reform.*

At the beginning of this marvelous era it was natural to expect, and it was expected, that labor-saving inventions would lighten the *toil*¹ and improve the condition of the laborer; that the enormous increase in the power of producing wealth would make real poverty a thing of the past. Could a man of the last century . . . have seen, in a vision of the future, the steamship taking the place of the sailing vessel, the railroad train of the wagon, the reaping machine of the *scythe*², the threshing machine of the *flail*³; . . . could he have conceived of the hundred thousand improvements which these only suggest, what would he have inferred as to the social condition of mankind? . . .

Plainly, in the sight of the imagination, he would have beheld these new forces elevating society from its very foundations, lifting the very poorest above the possibility of want, exempting the very lowest from anxiety for the material needs of life. . . .

Now, however, we are coming into collision with facts which there can be no mistaking. From all parts of the civilized world come complaints of industrial depression; of labor condemned to involuntary idleness. . . . All the dull, deadening pain, all the keen, maddening anguish, that to great masses of men are involved in the words “hard times,” afflict the world to-day. . . .

---

¹ *toil*: work  
² *scythe*: farm tool with a cutting blade  
³ *flail*: farm tool that pounds

**SOURCE 2**

*David A. Wells was a scientist and economist. He was one of the first Americans to notice that machines were taking the jobs of workers. In his 1889 book *Recent Economic Changes*, Wells discussed how advances in technology had begun to change society.*

. . . Where the conditions to which material progress everywhere tends are most fully realized—that is to say, where population is densest, wealth greatest, and the machinery of production and exchange most highly developed—we find the deepest poverty, the sharpest struggle for existence, and the most of enforced idleness.
As a result of this change in the methods of production . . . the individual no longer works as independently as formerly, but as a private in the ranks, obeying orders, keeping step, as it were, to the tap of the drum, and having nothing to say as to the plan of his work, of its final completion, or of its ultimate use and distribution. In short, the people who work in the modern factory are, as a rule, taught to do one thing—to perform one, and generally a simple, operation; and when there is no more of that kind of work to do, they are in a measure helpless. The result has been that the individualism or independence of the producer in manufacturing has been in a great degree destroyed, and with it has also in a great degree been destroyed the pride which the workman formerly took in his work—that fertility of resource which formerly was a special characteristic of American workmen, and that element of skill that comes from long and varied practice and reflection and responsibility. . . .

SOURCE 3:
Andrew Carnegie, the Scottish-born “King of Steel,” was the nation’s biggest industrialist in the late 1800s. He was also industry’s most famous spokesperson, typically celebrating competition and the benefits of life in the United States. Carnegie wrote Triumphant Democracy, a best-seller, in 1886.

A community of toilers with an undeveloped continent before them, and destitute of the refinements and elegancies of life—such was the picture presented by the Republic sixty years ago. Contrasted with that of today, we might almost conclude that we were upon another planet and subject to different primary conditions. The development of an unequaled transportation system brings the products of one section to the doors of another, the tropical fruits of Florida and California to Maine, and the ice of New England to the Gulf States. Altogether life has become vastly better worth living than it was a century ago.

Among the rural communities, the change in the conditions is mainly seen in the presence of labor-saving devices, lessening the work in house and field. Mowing and reaping machines, horse rakes, steam plows and threshers, render man’s part easy and increase his productive power. Railroads and highways connect him with the rest of the world, and he is no longer isolated or dependent upon his petty village. Markets for his produce are easy of access and transportation swift and cheap. If the roads throughout the country are yet poor compared with those of Europe, the need of good roads has been rendered less imperative by the omnipresent railroad. . . .

 baru

Comparing and Contrasting Sources
Do George, Wells, and Carnegie agree or disagree about the life of the industrial worker? Explain.

4fertility: ability to produce great amounts
Reviewing Content Vocabulary

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence.

1. homestead
2. gross national product
3. laissez-faire
4. corporation
5. monopoly
6. Marxism
7. industrial union
8. closed shop
9. tenement
10. political machine
11. Social Darwinism
12. populism
13. inflation
14. deflation
15. graduated income tax
16. poll tax
17. grandfather clause
18. Jim Crow laws

Reviewing Academic Vocabulary

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence that reflects the term’s meaning in the chapter.

19. extract
20. adapt
21. distribution
22. concept
23. commission
24. evolve
25. volume
26. prospective

Reviewing the Main Ideas

Section 1
27. What government act provided an incentive for people to farm the Great Plains?

Section 2
28. Why did workers try to organize labor unions in the United States in the late 1800s?

Section 3
29. What attempts did nativist groups make to decrease immigration to the United States in the late 1800s?

Section 4
30. What movements in the late 1800s addressed urban problems?

Section 5
31. What was the significance of the Supreme Court’s ruling in Plessy v. Ferguson?

Critical Thinking

32. Comparing and Contrasting Reread Section 4 of this chapter. Identify the signal words and text that compare information in the text. Then do the same for the signal words and text that contrast information.

33. Civics What methods did political machines use to build support in the late 1800s?

34. Explaining Why was the type of currency used in the United States an important issue to farmers in the late 1800s?

35. Organizing Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the factors that led to making the United States an industrial nation.

Factors Leading to Industrialization

- Homestead Act
- First transcontinental railroad completed
- Alexander Graham Bell invents telephone
- Interstate Commerce Act adopted
- Florida initiates Jim Crow laws
- Chinese Exclusion Act
- American Federation of Labor founded
- Jane Addams founds Hull House
- Wounded Knee Massacre
- Sherman Antitrust Act adopted
- Ellis Island immigration center opens
- National People’s Party formed
- Plessy v. Ferguson creates “separate but equal” doctrine

Standards 11.4, 11.2.1, 11.2.2, 11.2.3, 11.2.4, 11.2.5, 11.2.6, 11.2.7, 11.2.8, 11.3.1, 11.3.2, 11.3.3, 11.6.5, 11.10.2
CHAPTER 3 The Birth of Modern America

Self-Check Quiz
Visit the American Vision: Modern Times Web site at tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 3 to assess your knowledge of chapter content.

Writing About History

36. Interpreting Maps Review the map titled “Major Industries” on page 245. Who made this map? What is the purpose of the map? How does the map support the section? CA.CS.3

37. Big Idea The United States had an advantage in industrializing due to its resources and large workforce. What resources did the nation have? Why was its workforce large?

38. Descriptive Writing Imagine that you are a newspaper editor in the late 1800s. Write an editorial in which you support the philosophy of Social Darwinism or Social Gospel. Identify similarities and differences in the ideologies. Include reasons to support your position. CA.11.WS.1.1

39. Interpreting Primary Sources Americans like Ida Tarbell criticized large corporations such as the Standard Oil Company. In the following excerpt from History of the Standard Oil Company, she warns of the results of Rockefeller’s business practices on the nation’s morality. Read the excerpt and answer the questions that follow:

“Very often people who admit the facts, who are willing to see that Mr. Rockefeller has employed force and fraud to secure his ends, justify him by declaring, ‘It’s business.’ That is, ‘It’s business’ has come to be a legitimate excuse for hard dealing, sly tricks, special privileges.

As for the ethical side, there is no cure but in an increasing scorn of unfair play. . . . When the businessman who fights to secure special privileges, to crowd his competitor off the track by other than fair competitive methods, receives the same summary disdainful ostracism by his fellows that the doctor or lawyer who is ‘unprofessional,’ the athlete who abuses the rules, receives, we shall have gone a long way toward making commerce a fit pursuit for our young men.”

—quoted in Readings in American History

a. According to Tarbell, what practices had Rockefeller used to establish the Standard Oil Company?

b. In what way did Tarbell believe the attitudes of the American people contributed to Rockefeller’s business practices?

Immigration’s Contribution to Population Growth, 1860–1900


Geography and History

40. The graph above shows how much immigration contributed to population growth in the United States between 1860 and 1900. Study the graph and answer the questions below.

a. Interpreting Graphs By about how much did the population of the United States increase between 1861 and 1900?

b. Understanding Cause and Effect What is the relationship between immigration and population increase?

Standards Practice

Directions: Choose the best answer to the following question.

41. Labor unions were formed in order to

A protect factory owners and improve workers’ wages.

B improve workers’ wages and make factories safer.

C make factories safer and prevent lockouts.

D prevent lockouts and fight deflation.

Standard 11.6.5: Trace the advances and retreats of organized labor, from the creation of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations to current issues of a post-industrial multinational economy, including the United Farm Workers in California.