

Urban America

1865–1896

- SECTION 1 Immigration
- SECTION 2 Urbanization
- SECTION 3 The Gilded Age
- SECTION 4 Populism
- SECTION 5 The Rise of Segregation

Immigrants look toward New York City while waiting on a dock at Ellis Island in the early 1900s.

1883

- Brooklyn Bridge completed
- Civil Service Act adopted

1870

- Fifteenth Amendment ratified
- Farmers' Alliance founded

Hayes
1877–1881



1881

- President Garfield assassinated

Garfield
1881



Arthur
1881–1885



Cleveland
1885–1889



U.S. PRESIDENTS

U.S. EVENTS

WORLD EVENTS

1870

1875

1880

1885

1872

- Ballot Act makes voting secret in Britain

1876

- Porfirio Diaz becomes dictator of Mexico

1881

- Anti-Jewish pogroms erupt in Russia

1884

- First subway in London opens



 Chapter Audio

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Why Do People Migrate?

European and Asian immigrants arrived in the United States in great numbers during the late 1800s. Providing cheap labor, they made rapid industrial growth possible. They also helped populate the growing cities.

- How do you think life in big cities was different from life on farms and in small towns?
- How do you think the immigrants of the late 1800s changed American society?

FOLDABLES™

Analyzing Information Make a Folded Table Foldable to clarify your understanding of how immigration and urbanization are related. As you read the chapter, list the causes and effects of immigration and urbanization. In each cell, list as many causes and effects as possible and include approximate dates where appropriate.

	Causes	Effects
Urbanization, Immigration		

1888

- First electric trolley line opens in Richmond, Virginia



Harrison
1889–1893



1890

- Sherman Antitrust Act passed

Cleveland
1893–1897



1896

- Plessy v. Ferguson establishes "separate but equal" doctrine

1895

- Booker T. Washington gives Atlanta Compromise speech

1890

1895

1888

- Brazil ends slavery

1889

- Eiffel Tower completed for Paris World Exhibit



1896

- Athens hosts first modern Olympic games

History ONLINE Visit glencoe.com and enter **QuickPass™** code TAVMT5147c6 for Chapter 6 resources.



Immigration

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

Trade, War, and Migration Many people from Europe came to the United States to escape war, famine, or persecution or to find better jobs.

Content Vocabulary

- steerage (p. 215)
- nativism (p. 218)

Academic Vocabulary

- immigrant (p. 214)
- ethnic (p. 216)

People and Events to Identify

- Ellis Island (p. 215)
- Jacob Riis (p. 216)
- Angel Island (p. 217)
- Chinese Exclusion Act (p. 219)

Reading Strategy

Categorizing Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by filling in the reasons people left their homelands to immigrate to the United States.

Reasons for Immigrating	
Push Factors	Pull Factors

In the late nineteenth century, a major wave of immigration began. Most immigrants settled in cities, where distinctive ethnic neighborhoods emerged. Some Americans, however, feared that the new immigrants would not adapt to American culture or might be harmful to American society.

Europeans Flood Into America

MAIN Idea Immigrants from Europe came to the United States for many reasons and entered the country through Ellis Island.

HISTORY AND YOU Have you ever been to an ethnic neighborhood where residents have re-created aspects of their homeland? Read on to learn how immigrants adjusted to life in the United States.

Between 1865—the year the Civil War ended—and 1914—the year World War I began—nearly 25 million Europeans immigrated to the United States. By the late 1890s, more than half of all **immigrants** in the United States were from eastern and southern Europe, including Italy, Greece, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Serbia. This period of immigration is known as “new” immigration. The “old” immigration, which occurred before 1890, had been primarily of people from northern and western Europe. More than 70 percent of these new immigrants were men; they were working either to be able to afford to purchase land in Europe or to bring family members to America.

Europeans immigrated to the United States for many reasons. Many came because American industries had plenty of jobs available. Europe’s industrial cities, however, also offered plenty of jobs, so economic factors do not entirely explain why people migrated. Many came in the hope of finding better jobs that would let them escape poverty and the restrictions of social class in Europe. Some moved to avoid forced military service, which in some nations lasted for many years. In some cases, as in Italy, high food prices encouraged people to leave. In Poland and Russia, population pressure led to emigration. Others, especially Jews living in Russia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, fled to escape religious persecution.

In addition, most European states had made moving to the United States easy. Immigrants were allowed to take their savings with them, and most countries had repealed old laws forcing peasants to stay in their villages and banning skilled workers from leaving the country. At the same time, moving to the United States offered a chance to break away from Europe’s class system and move to a democratic nation where people had the opportunity to move up the social ladder.



Why Did People Emigrate?

Push Factors

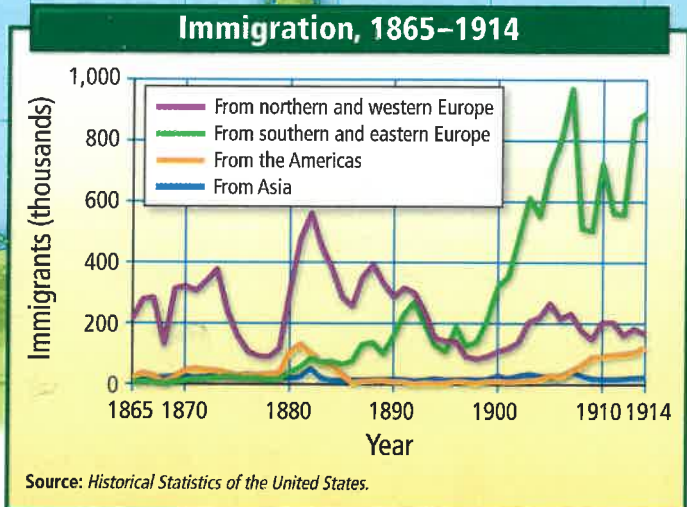
- Farm poverty and worker uncertainty
- Wars and compulsory military service
- Political tyranny
- Religious oppression
- Population pressure

Pull Factors

- Plenty of land and plenty of work
- Higher standard of living
- Democratic political system
- Opportunity for social advancement

Analyzing VISUALS

1. **Describing** When was the level of immigration from the different regions of Europe roughly equal? How did it later change?
2. **Analyzing** Did more immigrants come from Canada or Latin America?



The Atlantic Voyage

The voyage to the United States was often very difficult. Most immigrants booked passage in **steerage**, the cheapest accommodations on a steamship. Edward Steiner, an Iowa clergyman who posed as an immigrant in order to write a book on immigration, described the miserable quarters:

PRIMARY SOURCE

"Narrow, steep and slippery stairways lead to it. Crowds everywhere, ill smelling bunks, uninviting washrooms—this is steerage. The odors of scat-

tered orange peelings, tobacco, garlic and disinfectants meeting but not blending. No lounge or chairs for comfort, and a continual babble of tongues—this is steerage. The food, which is miserable, is dealt out of huge kettles into the dinner pails provided by the steamship company."

—quoted in *World of Our Fathers*

At the end of a 14-day journey, the passengers usually disembarked at **Ellis Island**, a tiny island in New York Harbor. There, a huge three-story building served as the processing center for many of the immigrants arriving from Europe after 1892.

Ellis Island

Most immigrants passed through Ellis Island in about a day. They would not soon forget their hectic introduction to the United States. A medical examiner who worked there later described how “hour after hour, ship load after ship load . . . the stream of human beings with its kaleidoscopic variations was . . . hurried through Ellis Island by the equivalent of ‘step lively’ in every language of the earth.” About 12 million immigrants passed through Ellis Island between 1892 and 1954.

In Ellis Island’s enormous hall, crowds of immigrants filed past the doctor 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. About one out of five newcomers was marked with an “H” for heart problems, “K” for hernias, “Sc” for scalp problems, or “X” for mental disability. Newcomers who failed the inspection might be separated from their families and returned to Europe.

Ethnic Cities

Many of those who passed these inspections settled in the nation’s cities. By the 1890s, immigrants made up a large percentage of the population of major cities, including New York, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Detroit. **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.”

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.

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.

Reading Check Explaining How did immigration affect demographics in the United States?

PRIMARY SOURCE

The “New” Immigrants Arrive in America

In the late 1800s, the number of immigrants coming from northwest Europe began to decline, while “new immigrants,” fleeing war, poverty, and persecution, began to arrive in large numbers from southern and eastern Europe, and from Asia.



▲ Many Italian immigrants took jobs as construction workers, bricklayers, and dockworkers in urban areas, but this group is building a railroad, c. 1900.



▲ Jewish people migrated to the United States from all across Europe seeking an opportunity to better their lives. Many Jews from Eastern Europe (such as those above) were also fleeing religious persecution.



◀ Many Chinese came to America to escape poverty and civil war. Many helped build railroads. Others set up small businesses. These children were photographed in San Francisco’s Chinatown, c. 1900.

Asian Immigration

MAIN Idea Asian immigrants arrived on the West Coast, where they settled mainly in cities.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you know someone who has moved to the United States from Asia? What motivated that person to come here? Read on to learn about the experiences of earlier generations of Asian immigrants.

In the mid-1800s, China's population reached about 430 million, and the country was suffering from severe unemployment, poverty, and famine. Then, in 1850, the Taiping Rebellion erupted in China. This insurrection caused such suffering that thousands of Chinese left for the United States. In the early 1860s, as construction began on the Central Pacific Railroad, the demand for railroad workers led to further Chinese immigration.

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

Japanese also began immigrating to the United States. Although some came earlier, the number of Japanese immigrants soared upward between 1900 and 1910. As Japan industrialized, economic problems caused many Japanese to leave their homeland for new economic opportunities.

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." In January 1910 California opened a barracks on **Angel Island** for Asian immigrants. Most were young men in their teens or twenties, who nervously awaited the results of their immigration hearings. The wait could last for months. On the walls of the barracks, several immigrants wrote anonymous poems in pencil or ink.

Reading Check Making Generalizations Why did Chinese immigrants come to the United States?

Why Did Immigrants Come to America?

Italians

- cholera epidemic in 1880s
- land shortage for peasants; landlords charge high rent
- food shortages
- poverty, unemployment

East Europeans

- Russians, Poles: land shortages for peasants, unemployment, high taxes; long military draft
- Jews: discrimination, poverty, and recurring pogroms

Chinese

- famine
- land shortage for peasants
- civil war (Taiping rebellion)

Typical Occupations in America

Italians

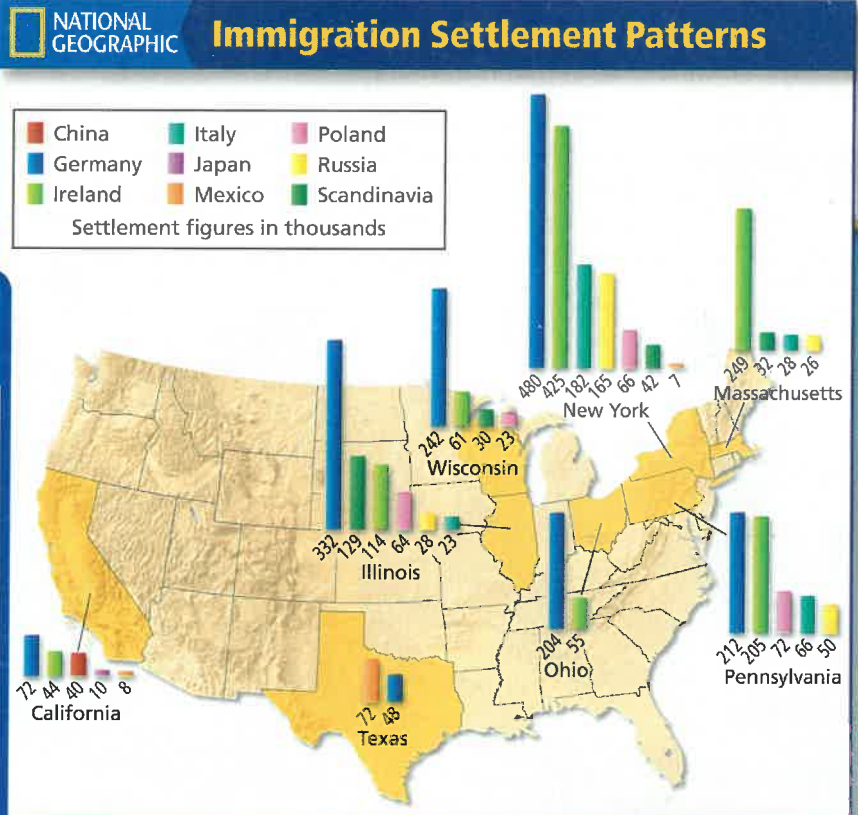
- unskilled labor—dock work, construction, railroads
- some skilled labor, such as bricklayers, stonemasons, and other trades

East Europeans

- Poles: farmers, coal miners, steel and textile millworkers; meatpacking
- Jews: laborers, garment workers, merchants

Chinese

- railroad and construction workers; some skilled labor
- merchants, small businesses



Analyzing VISUALS

1. **Analyzing Visuals** To which state did most Russian immigrants come to live?
2. **Contrasting** How would you contrast the immigration settlement patterns of Texas and Ohio?

Nativism Resurges

MAIN Idea Economic concerns and religious and ethnic prejudices led some Americans to push for laws restricting immigration.

HISTORY AND YOU In what ways does immigration affect the area in which you live? Read on to learn why nativists tried to stop immigration.

Eventually the wave of immigration led to increased feelings of nativism on the part of many Americans. **Nativism** is an extreme dislike of immigrants by native-born people. It had surfaced during the heavy wave of Irish immigration in the 1840s and 1850s. In the late 1800s, anti-immigrant feelings focused mainly on Asians, Jews, and eastern Europeans.

Nativists opposed immigration for many reasons. Some feared that the influx of Catholics from countries such as Ireland, Italy, and Poland would swamp the mostly Protestant United States. Many labor unions also opposed immigration, arguing that immigrants undermined

American workers because they would work for low wages and accept jobs as strikebreakers.

Prejudice Against Catholics

Increased feelings of nativism led to the founding of anti-immigrant organizations. The American Protective Association, founded by Henry Bowers in 1887, was an anti-Catholic organization. Its members vowed not to hire or vote for Catholics.

The Irish were among the immigrants who suffered most from the anti-Catholic feeling. Arriving to escape famine and other hardships, many were illiterate and found only the lowest-paying work as miners, dockhands, ditch-diggers, and factory workers. Irish women worked as cooks, servants, and mill-workers. The dominant Protestant, British culture in America, which considered Irish poverty to be the result of laziness, superstition, and ignorance, had no use for the Catholic Irish.

Although several presidents vetoed legislation that would have limited immigration, prejudice

POLITICAL CARTOONS PRIMARY SOURCE

Prejudice Against Catholic Immigrants

Anti-Catholic prejudice was strong in the United States for most of the 1800s. Many Americans tried to prevent Catholic immigration to the United States, fearing Catholic beliefs were incompatible with American values.

PRIMARY SOURCE

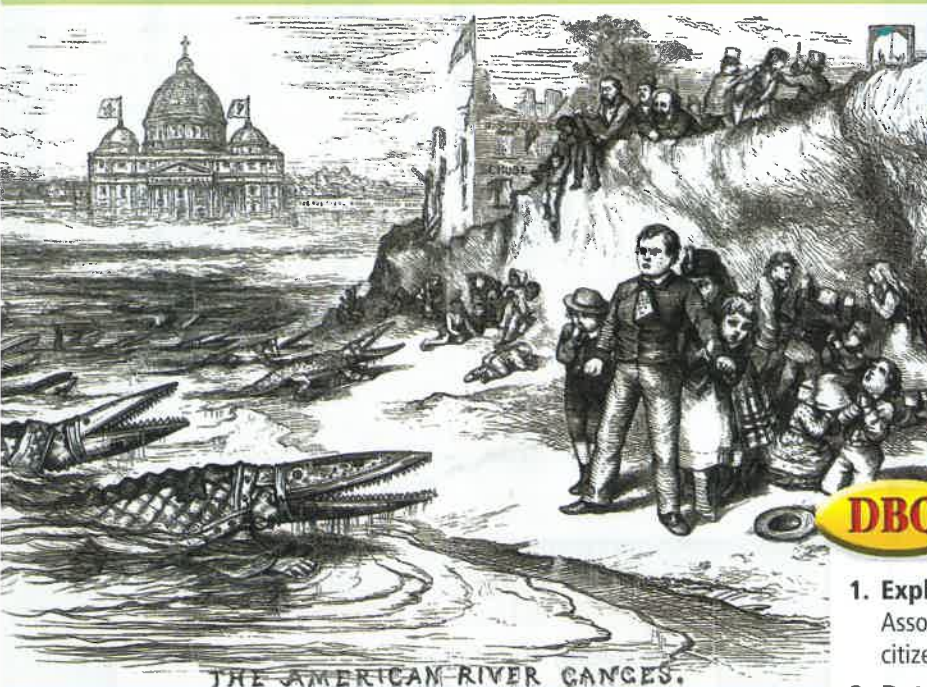
"We unite to protect our country and its free institutions against the secret, intolerant, and aggressive efforts . . . by a certain religious political organization to control the government of the United States. . . .

. . . We have men born in several countries remote from this that are as loyal as any native, but they are not Romanists [Catholics]. American loyalty consists in devotion to our Constitution, laws, institutions, flag, and, above all, our public schools, for without intelligence this representative republic will go to pieces. . . . We are opposed to priests and prelates as such 'taking part in elections' and voting their laity as a unit in the interests of a foreign corporation. . . ."

—from the platform of the American Protective Association, 1894

DBQ Document-Based Questions

- 1. Explaining** What does the American Protective Association believe is incompatible with American citizenship? To what power does the statement refer?
- 2. Detecting Bias** How does the cartoon express hostility toward Catholicism? Why might the cartoonist have depicted the public school on the hill in ruins?



▲ Catholic priests crawl ashore as children are tossed to them by New York politicians in this 1871 cartoon criticizing New York's decision to fund Catholic schools.

against immigrants 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 law also placed a 50¢ per head tax on each newcomer.

Restrictions on Asian Immigration

In the West, anti-Chinese sentiment sometimes led to racial violence. 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 pushed to cut off Chinese immigration.

In 1882 Congress passed the **Chinese Exclusion Act**. The law barred Chinese immigration for 10 years and prevented the Chinese already in the country from becoming citizens. The Chinese in the United States organized letter-writing campaigns, petitioned the president, and even filed suit in federal court, but their efforts failed. Congress renewed the law in 1892 and made it permanent in 1902. It was not repealed until 1943.

On October 11, 1906, in response to rising Japanese immigration, the San Francisco Board of Education ordered "all Chinese, Japanese and Korean children" to attend the racially segregated "Oriental School" in the city's Chinatown neighborhood. (Students of Chinese heritage had been forced to attend racially segregated schools since 1859.) The directive caused an international incident. Japan took great offense at the insulting treatment of its people.

In response, Theodore Roosevelt invited school board leaders to the White House. He proposed a deal. He would limit Japanese immigration, if the school board would rescind its segregation order. Roosevelt then carried out his end of the deal. He began talks with Japan, and negotiated an agreement whereby Japan agreed to curtail the emigration of Japanese to the continental United States. The San Francisco school board then revoked its segregation order. This deal became known as the "Gentleman's Agreement" because it was not a formal treaty and depended on the leaders of both countries to uphold the agreement.

The Literacy Debate

In 1905 Theodore Roosevelt commissioned a study on how immigrants were admitted to the nation. The commission recommended an English literacy test. Two years later, another commission suggested literacy tests—in any language—for immigration. These recommendations reflected the bias of people against the "new immigrants," who were thought to be less intelligent than the "old immigrants." Although Presidents Taft and Wilson both vetoed legislation to require literacy from immigrants, the legislation eventually passed in 1917 over Wilson's second veto. The purpose of the law was to reduce immigration from southeastern European nations.

Reading Check **Explaining** Why did the federal government pass the Chinese Exclusion Act?

Section 1 REVIEW

Vocabulary

1. **Explain** the significance of: steerage, Ellis Island, Jacob Riis, Angel Island, nativism, Chinese Exclusion Act.

Main Ideas

2. **Listing** Why did European immigrants come to the United States?
3. **Describing** What caused the increase in Chinese immigration in the 1860s?
4. **Organizing** Complete a graphic organizer by listing the reasons nativists opposed immigration to the United States.



Critical Thinking

5. **Big Ideas** Where did most immigrants settle in the late 1800s? How did this benefit ethnic groups?
6. **Interpreting** Why did some Americans blame immigrants for the nation's problems?
7. **Analyzing Visuals** Select one of the people featured in any photo in this section. Write a journal entry about his or her experience, based on what you see in the photo.

Writing About History

8. **Descriptive Writing** Imagine that you are an immigrant who arrived in the United States in the 1800s. Write a letter to a relative in your home country describing your feelings during processing at either Ellis Island or Angel Island.

History  ONLINE

Study Central™ To review this section, go to glencoe.com and click on Study Central.

ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

Immigration

The United States is a nation of immigrants. In the late nineteenth century, more immigrants arrived on American shores than ever before. Some came from places such as the British Isles and Germany, from which many earlier immigrants had arrived. Others came from southern and eastern Europe, Asia, and other parts of the Americas. As the United States welcomed this mixture of ethnicities, religions, and languages, immigration became a subject of heated political debate.

Study these primary sources and answer the questions that follow.

PRIMARY SOURCE 2

Photograph, 1905

▼ *Immigrants are checked for trachoma and other contagious eye diseases at Ellis Island. The inspector is using a buttonhook, normally used to fasten ladies' gloves, to lift this woman's eyelid. The instrument was "cleaned" between inspections by wiping it on the towel hanging nearby.*



PRIMARY SOURCE 1

Political Cartoon, 1880

▼ *"Welcome to All," by J. Keppler, Puck (1880)*



PRIMARY SOURCE 3

Memoir Reflecting on Arrival at Ellis Island

"A group of Slovenian immigrants, of which this writer was one, arrived in New York from . . . Austria. . . . It was a beautiful morning in May 1906. After leaving the French ship LA TOURAINE, we were transported to Ellis Island for landing and inspection. There we were 'sorted out' as to the country we came from and placed in a 'stall' with the letter 'A' above us. ('A' was for Austria.)

There were at least a hundred Slovenian immigrants. We separated ourselves, as was the custom at home—men on the right and women and children on the left. All of us were waiting to leave for all parts of the United States.

The day was warm and we were very thirsty. An English-speaking immigrant asked the near-by guard where we could get a drink of water. The guard withdrew and returned shortly with a pail of water, which he set before the group of women. Some men stepped forward quickly to have a drink, but the guard pushed them back saying: 'Ladies first!' When the women learned what the guard had said, they were dumbfounded, for in Slovenia . . . women always were second to men. . . . Happy at the sudden turn of events, one elderly lady stepped forward, holding a dipper of water, and proposed this toast:

'Živijo Amerika, kjer so ženske prve!
(Long live America, where women are first!)"

—Marie Priesland, recalling her arrival in the United States

PRIMARY SOURCE 4

Magazine Article, 1903

"When I went to work for that American family I could not speak a word of English, and I did not know anything about housework. The family consisted of husband, wife and two children. They were very good to me and paid me \$3.50 a week, of which I could save \$3.

"I did not understand what the lady said to me, but she showed me how to cook, wash, iron, sweep, dust, make beds, wash dishes, clean windows, paint and brass, polish the knives and forks, etc., by doing the things herself and then overseeing my efforts to imitate her. . . . In six months I had learned how to do the work of our house quite well, and . . . I had also learned English. . . . I worked for two years as a servant . . . and I was now ready to start in business."

—Chinese immigrant Lee Chew, reflecting on his first years in America

PRIMARY SOURCE 5

Questions Asked Immigrants, c. 1907

U.S. IMMIGRATION SERVICE	
1. Calling or Occupation?	farmer
2. Able to Read?	yes
3. Able to Write?	yes
4. Nationality?	Germany
5. Whether having a ticket to final destination?	yes
6. By whom was passage paid?	father
7. Whether in possession of \$50, and if less, how much?	\$20
8. Whether going to join a relative or friend?	friend
9. Ever in prison or almshouse or institution for care or treatment of the insane or supported by charity?	no
10. Whether a Polygamist?	no
11. Whether an Anarchist?	no
12. Whether coming by means of any offer, solicitation, promise, or agreement, express or implied, to labor in the United States? Condition of Health, Mental and Physical	no health problem
13. Deformed or Crippled. Nature, length of time and cause.	no

DBQ Document-Based Questions

- Analyzing Visuals** Compare the political cartoons in Sources 1 and 6. How do the two depictions differ on the reasons why immigrants left their homeland and why they came to the United States?
- Making Inferences** Why did immigrants have to undergo health inspections? What do you suppose happened when an immigrant was found to have a contagious illness?

PRIMARY SOURCE 6

Political Cartoon, 1896

"The Immigrant: The Stranger at Our Gate,"
 The Ram's Horn (April 25, 1896)
 Emigrant: "Can I come in?"
 Uncle Sam: "I 'spose you can; there's no law to keep you out."



- Interpreting** Why do you think the author of Source 3 remembered Ellis Island so clearly decades later?
- Evaluating** According to Lee Chew in Source 4, what were some factors that helped him adapt as an immigrant and become a small business owner?
- Making Inferences** Study the questions listed in Source 5. Why do you think immigrants were required to answer these questions?

Urbanization

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

Government and Society The growth of and problems in major cities led to political machines that controlled local politics.

Content Vocabulary

- skyscraper (p. 222)
- tenement (p. 225)
- political machine (p. 227)
- party boss (p. 227)
- graft (p. 227)

Academic Vocabulary

- incentive (p. 222)
- trigger (p. 227)

People and Events to Identify

- Louis Sullivan (p. 223)
- George Plunkitt (p. 227)
- William “Boss” Tweed (p. 227)

Reading Strategy

Organizing 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 the nation’s cities faced.



Native-born Americans and immigrants were drawn to cities by the jobs available in America’s growing industries. The new, modern cities had skyscrapers, public transportation systems, and neighborhoods divided by social class. In many cities, political machines controlled city government.

Americans Migrate to the Cities

MAIN Idea Rural Americans and immigrants moved to the cities where skyscrapers and mass transit were developed to deal with congestion.

HISTORY AND YOU Have you ever ridden the bus, subway, or railway system? How do you think your ride to school or the store would be different without mass transportation? Read on to learn why cities developed mass transportation systems.

After the Civil War, the urban population of the United States grew from around 10 million in 1870 to more than 30 million in 1900. New York City, which had more than 800,000 inhabitants in 1860, grew to almost 3.5 million by 1900. During the same period, Chicago swelled from 109,000 residents to more than 1.6 million. The United States had only 131 cities with populations of 2,500 or more residents in 1840; by 1900, there were more than 1,700 such urban areas.

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

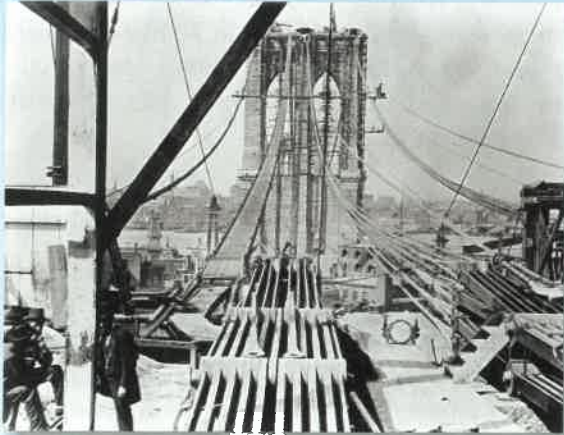
Rural Americans also began moving to the cities at this time. Farmers moved to cities because urban areas offered more and better-paying jobs than did rural areas. Cities had much to offer, too—bright lights, running water, and modern plumbing, plus attractions such as museums, libraries, and theaters.

The physical appearance of cities also changed dramatically. As city populations grew, demand raised the price of land, creating the **incentive** to build upward rather than outward. Soon, tall, steel frame buildings called **skyscrapers** began to appear. Chicago’s ten-story Home Insurance Building, built in 1885, was the first skyscraper, but other buildings quickly dwarfed it. New York City, with its business district on the narrow island of Manhattan, boasted more skyscrapers than any other city in the world. With limited space, New Yorkers had to build up, not out.

TECHNOLOGY & HISTORY

The Technology of Urbanization

Before the mid-1800s, few buildings exceeded four or five stories. To make wooden and stone buildings taller required enormously thick walls in the lower levels. This changed when steel companies began mass-producing cheap steel girders and steel cable.

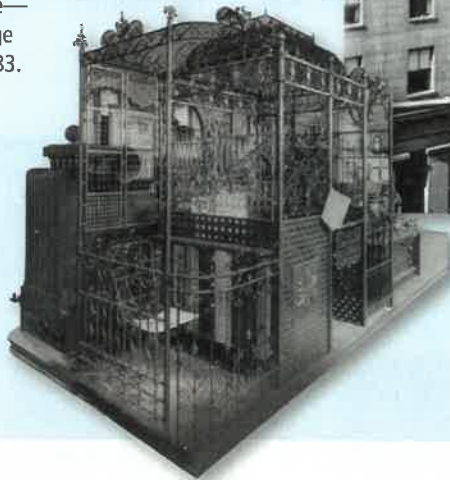


▲ Steel Cable

Steel also changed the way bridges were built. Engineers could now suspend bridges from steel towers using thick steel cables. Using this technique, engineer John Roebling designed New York's Brooklyn Bridge—the world's largest suspension bridge at the time. It was completed in 1883.

▶ Elevators

Elisha Otis invented the safety elevator in 1852. By the late 1880s, the first electric elevators had been installed, making tall buildings practical.



No one contributed more to the design of skyscrapers than Chicago's **Louis Sullivan**. "What people are within, the buildings express without," explained Sullivan, whose lofty structures featured simple lines and spacious windows using new, durable plate glass.

To move people around cities quickly, various kinds of mass transit developed. At first, almost all cities relied on the horsecar, a railroad car pulled by horses. In 1890 horsecars 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

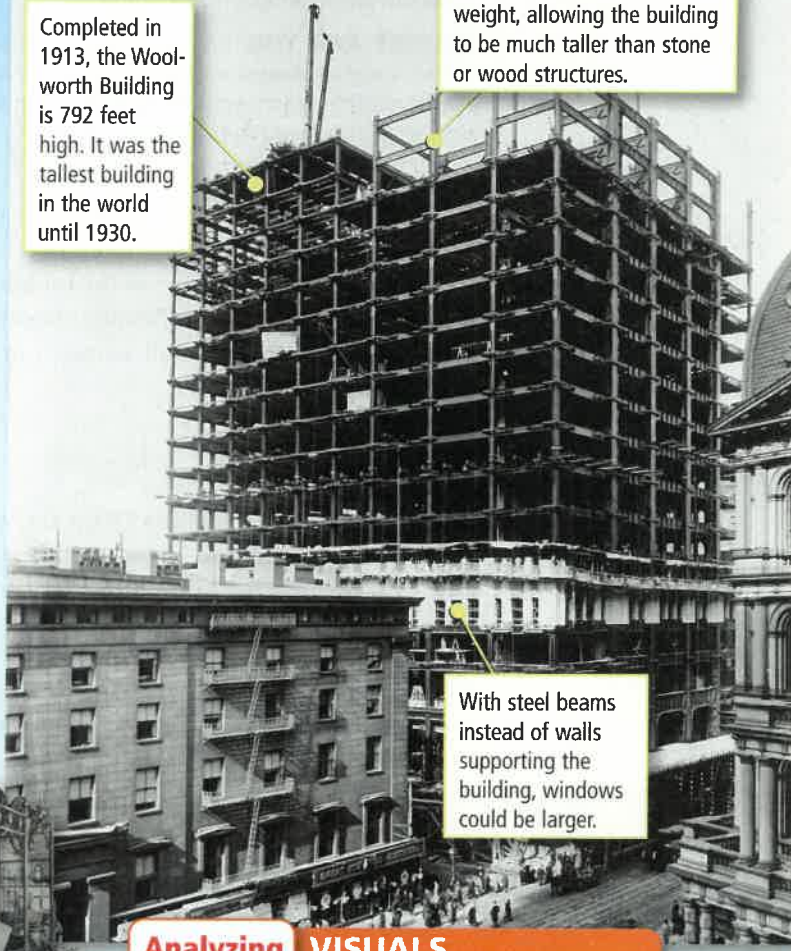
were pulled along tracks by underground cables. Then, in 1887, engineer Frank J. Sprague developed the electric trolley car. The country's first electric trolley line opened the following year in Richmond, Virginia.

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 the first subway systems.

✓ Reading Check **Summarizing** What new technologies helped people in the late 1800s get to and from work?

Completed in 1913, the Woolworth Building is 792 feet high. It was the tallest building in the world until 1930.

A steel frame carries the weight, allowing the building to be much taller than stone or wood structures.



With steel beams instead of walls supporting the building, windows could be larger.

Analyzing VISUALS

1. **Theorizing** What other technologies were necessary in order to build modern skyscrapers?
2. **Predicting** What long-term effects do you think the new building technologies had on cities?

Separation by Class

MAIN Idea In the cities, society was separated by classes, with the upper, middle, and working classes living in different neighborhoods.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you know the history of certain neighborhoods in your city or town? Can you see where the classes were divided? Read on to learn how each class lived in the cities.

In the growing cities, the wealthy people and the working class lived in different parts of town. So, too, did members of the middle class. The boundaries between neighborhoods were quite definite and can still be seen in many American cities today.

High Society

During the last half of the 1800s, the wealthiest families established fashionable districts in the heart of a city. Americans with enough money could choose to construct homes in the style of a feudal castle, an English manor house, a French chateau, a Tuscan villa, or a Persian pavilion. In Chicago, merchant and

real estate developer Potter Palmer chose a castle. In New York, Cornelius Vanderbilt's grandson commissioned a \$3 million French chateau with a two-story dining room, a gymnasium, and a marble bathroom.

As their homes grew larger, wealthy women managed an increasing number of servants, such as cooks, maids, butlers, coachmen, nannies, and chauffeurs, and spent a great deal of money on social activities. In an age in which many New Yorkers lived on \$500 a year, socialite hostess Cornelia Sherman Martin spent \$360,000 on a dance.

Middle-Class Gentility

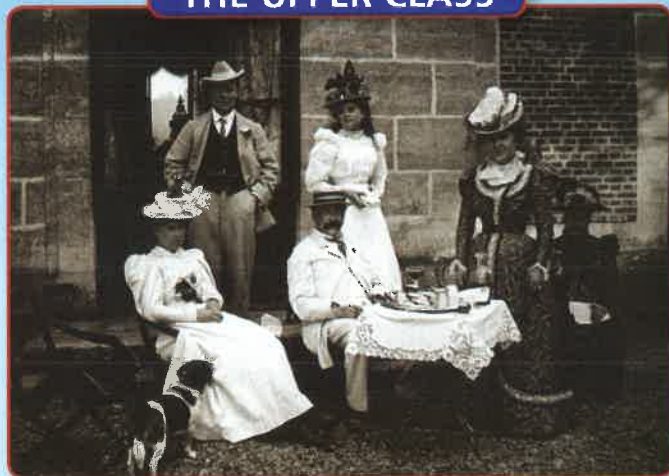
American industrialization also helped expand the middle class. The nation's rising middle class included doctors, lawyers, engineers, managers, social workers, architects, and teachers. Many people in the middle class moved away from the central city so as to escape the crime and pollution and be able to afford larger homes. Some took advantage of the new commuter rail lines to move to "street-car suburbs."

PRIMARY SOURCE

Urban Society

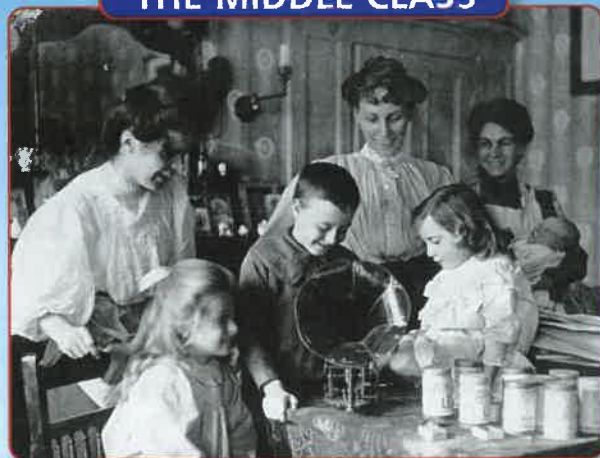
Urban industrial society in the late 1800s was divided into social classes. The upper class and middle class lived well, but conditions for the working class and poor were often abysmal.

THE UPPER CLASS



▲ The upper class could afford elaborate mansions and many servants. Men typically owned or managed large businesses. Women almost never worked. Clothing was elaborate and expensive. Events, such as afternoon tea in their garden (above), required formal dress and shows they had substantial leisure time.

THE MIDDLE CLASS



▲ Middle class families could generally afford their own homes and better quality clothing. Women rarely worked—and if they did it was usually because they wanted a career, not out of necessity. Many families had at least one servant (shown above in back holding the baby) and enough money left over to buy luxuries, such as the new gramophone shown above.

In the late nineteenth century, most middle class families had at least one live-in servant. This gave the woman of the house more time to pursue activities outside the home. "Women's clubs" became popular. At first, these clubs focused on social and educational activities. Over time, however, "club women" became very active in charitable and reform activities. In Chicago, for example, the Women's Club helped establish juvenile courts and exposed the terrible conditions at the Cook County Insane Asylum.

PRIMARY SOURCE

"With . . . one dollar a day [our mother] fed and clothed an ever-growing family. She took in boarders. Sometimes this helped; at other times it added to the burden of living. Boarders were often out of work and penniless; how could one turn a hungry man out? She made all our clothes. She walked blocks to reach a place where meat was a penny cheaper, where bread was a half cent less. She collected boxes and old wood to burn in the stove."

—quoted in *How We Lived*

History ONLINE
Student Web
Activity Visit glencoe.com and complete the activity on tenement life.

The Working Class

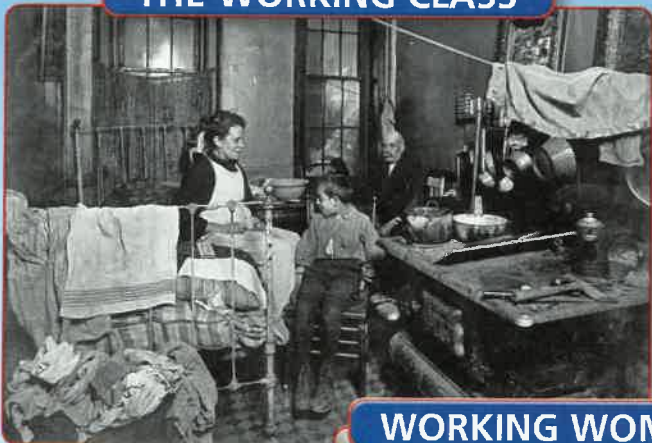
Few families in the urban working class could hope to own a home. Most spent their lives in crowded **tenements**, or apartment buildings. The first tenement in the United States was built in 1839. In New York, three out of four residents squeezed into tenements, dark and crowded multi-family apartments. To supplement the average industrial worker's annual income of \$445, many families rented precious space to a boarder. Zalmen Yoffeh, a journalist, lived in a New York tenement as a child. He recalled:

The Family Economy

Within the working class, some people were better off than others. White native-born men earned higher wages than African American men, immigrants, and women.

One economist estimated that 64 percent of working class families relied on more than one wage earner in 1900. In some cases, the whole family worked, including the children. The dangerous working conditions faced by child workers, and the fact that they were not in school, alarmed many reformers.

THE WORKING CLASS



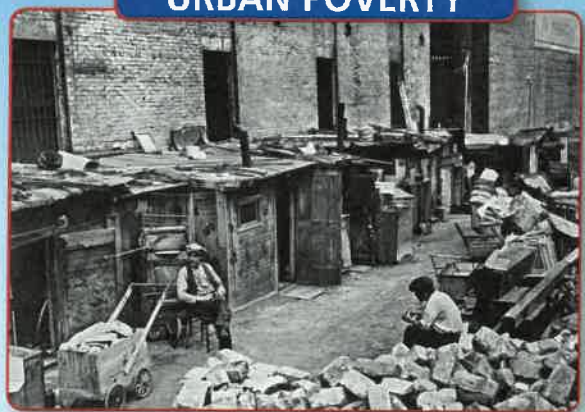
▲ Most working class families lived in apartments, often only a single room in size. They had no servants, and often husbands and wives both had to work.

▶ Many young women, such as this one making a straw hat in a factory, worked long hours for little pay.

WORKING WOMEN



URBAN POVERTY



▲ Unable to afford homes, the urban poor slept on the street or built shacks in back alleys like these in New York City in the early 1900s.

Analyzing VISUALS

- 1. Comparing and Contrasting** What do the upper class and middle class have in common compared to the working class and poor?
- 2. Drawing Conclusions** How effective was industrial society at meeting people's needs?

A growing number of women took jobs outside the home. Native-born white women typically had more years of education than other women. Thus, many used their literacy to work as teachers or do clerical work.

The largest source of employment for women, however, remained domestic service. Immigrant women often worked as domestic servants in the North; African American women usually worked as domestic servants in the South. Such work involved long hours, low wages, and social isolation.

When people were physically unable to work, they had to rely on family members or charity. When a worker was maimed or killed on the job, there was usually no compensation. Most older Americans lived with family members. Nearly 70 percent of those 65 or older lived with their grown children. A growing number, however, lived independently or in homes for the aged.

Reading Check Explaining Who was in the "middle class" in the late 1800s? Where did they live?

Urban Problems

MAIN Idea Major problems plagued the cities; political machines provided help for some residents but were frequently corrupt.

HISTORY AND YOU What kinds of programs are used in your area to deal with urban problems? Read about political machines and how they ran city government.

City living posed the risks of crime, violence, fire, disease, and pollution. The rapid growth of cities only made these problems worse and complicated the ability of urban governments to respond to these problems.

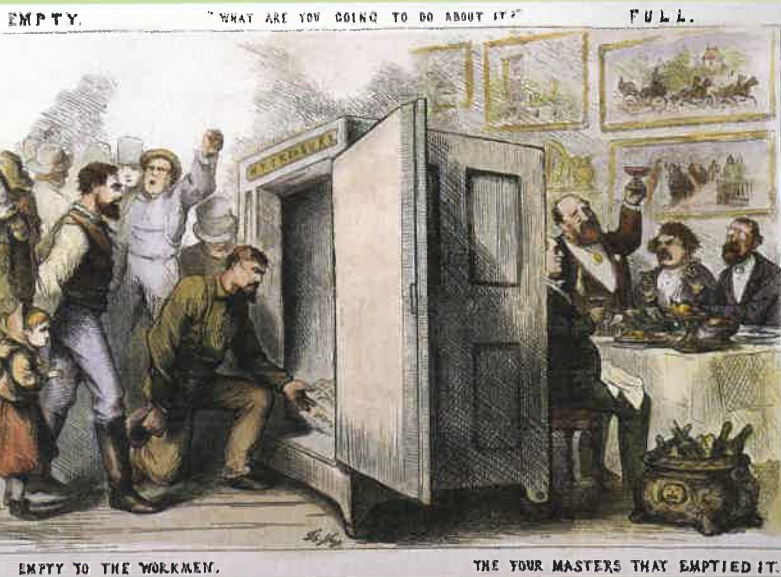
Crime and Pollution

Crime was a growing problem in American cities. Minor criminals, such as pickpockets, swindlers, and thieves, thrived in crowded urban living conditions. Major crimes multiplied as well. From 1880 to 1900, the murder rate jumped sharply from 25 per million people to more than 100 per million people.

POLITICAL CARTOONS PRIMARY SOURCE

Were Political Machines Bad for Cities?

Critics of political machines said that they took bribes and gave contracts to friends, robbing cities of resources. Defenders argued that they provided services and kept the city running.



▲ Workers in New York find the city treasury empty, while behind the scenes, Boss Tweed and other city politicians enjoy a sumptuous feast.

PRIMARY SOURCE

New York "Boss" George W. Plunkitt explains the benefits of the political machines:

"The poor are the most grateful people in the world, and, let me tell you, they have more friends in their neighborhoods than the rich have in theirs.

If there's a family in my district in want I know it before the charitable societies do, and me and my men are first on the ground.... The consequence is that the poor look up to George W. Plunkitt ... and don't forget him on election day.

Another thing, I can always get a job for a deservin' man.... I know every big employer in the district and in the whole city, for that matter, and they ain't in the habit of sayin' no to me when I ask them for a job."

—quoted in William L. Riordan,
Plunkitt of Tammany Hall

DBQ Document-Based Questions

- Analyzing Primary Sources** How does Plunkitt say he learns of people in need in his district?
- Determining Cause and Effect** What is the result of Plunkitt's care for the needy in his district?

Section 2 REVIEW

Alcohol contributed to violent crime, both inside and outside the home. 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.

Disease and pollution posed even bigger threats. 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 manure was left in the streets, smoke belched from chimneys, and soot and ash accumulated from coal and wood fires.

Machine Politics

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.

Graft and Fraud 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. **George Plunkitt**, one of New York City’s most powerful party bosses, defended what he called “honest graft.” For example, a politician might find out in advance where a new park was to be built and buy the land near the site. The politician would then sell the land to the city for a profit. As Plunkitt stated, “I see my opportunity, and I take it.”

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 Tammany Hall, the New York City Democratic political machine, was the most infamous such organization. **William “Boss” Tweed** was its leader during the 1860s and 1870s. Tweed’s corruptness led to a prison sentence in 1874.

City machines often controlled all the city services, including the police department. In St. Louis, the “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?”

Opponents of political machines, such as political cartoonist Thomas Nast, blasted bosses for their corruption. Defenders, though, argued that machines provided necessary services and helped to assimilate the masses of new city dwellers.

 **Reading Check** **Evaluating** Why did political machines help city dwellers in the late 1800s?

Vocabulary

1. **Explain** the significance of: skyscraper, Louis Sullivan, tenement, political machine, party boss, graft, George Plunkitt, William “Boss” Tweed.

Main Ideas

2. **Identifying** What technologies made the building of skyscrapers possible?
3. **Comparing** How did the living conditions of the upper, middle, and the working classes in the late 1800s compare?
4. **Organizing** Complete the graphic organizer below by listing the effects of many Americans moving from rural to urban areas in the late 1800s.



Critical Thinking

5. **Big Ideas** How did political machines respond to the needs of the people?
6. **Synthesizing** Why were pollution and sewage a problem in American cities in the late 1800s?
7. **Analyzing Visuals** Look at the photos on pages 224–225. How did industrialization affect the class structure in the United States?

Writing About History

8. **Persuasive Writing** Take on the role of an urban planner in a major city in the late 1800s. Write a letter to members of the city government listing specific reasons for the importance of setting aside city land for parks and recreational areas.

History  **ONLINE**

Study Central™ To review this section, go to glencoe.com and click on Study Central.

GEOGRAPHY & HISTORY

Italian Immigration to America

Italians from southern Italy were among the largest group of the “new immigrants”—the peoples who flooded American shores between 1880 and 1920. In Italy, most were poor peasants who worked for absentee landlords and lived in extreme poverty. They were often illiterate and had never traveled even as far as the next village. Leaving for America was daunting. “Make yourself courage”—those were the last words one boy heard his father say as they said goodbye in Naples.

How Did Geography Shape Urban Life?

In New York City, these peasant-immigrants congregated in Little Italy in lower Manhattan. They would find an apartment on the street where people from their village in Italy lived. In 1910, as many as 40,000 people were packed in a 17-block area of Little Italy. As they mingled with other Italians, they began thinking of themselves as Italians, not Neapolitans (from Naples) or Sicilians (from Sicily).

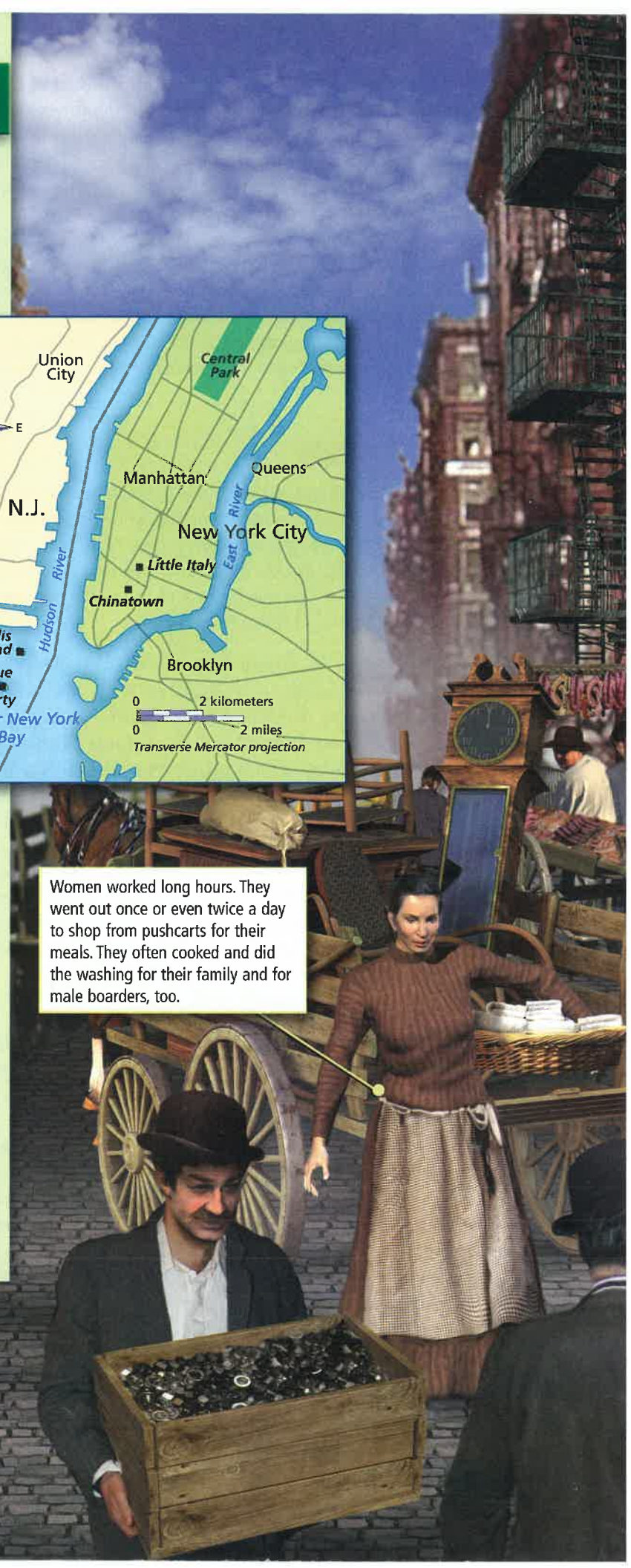
New York’s Little Italy bustled with peddlers, bakers, and laborers, but also with immigrants moving in or out of the area. Italian families were hardworking and thrifty. As soon as possible, they moved to cleaner, sunnier places, such as Brooklyn or Long Island. By 1914, one reformer said there were at least 1500 lawyers, 500 physicians, and a growing number of merchants, bankers, and businessmen in New York City who were of Italian heritage. It was a very American success story.




Women worked long hours. They went out once or even twice a day to shop from pushcarts for their meals. They often cooked and did the washing for their family and for male boarders, too.

Analyzing GEOGRAPHY

- Place** What drew Italian immigrants to specific areas of New York City?
- Movement** What years represented the peak period for the new immigrants to the United States?





Mulberry Street was the heart of Little Italy. Neapolitans (people from Naples) tended to settle on Mulberry Street, while Sicilians crowded the tenements on Elizabeth Street two blocks away.

Around 1900, roughly 4,300 tenement apartments were occupied with large families who lived in just a few rooms.

Street vendors often sold foods that were popular in Italy. They were very busy during holidays. In Little Italy, one of the biggest holidays was the feast of Saint Gennaro, patron saint of Naples—still celebrated in Little Italy in New York today.

Bread was often sold on the streets because tenement ovens could not produce the traditional Italian crust. Young children ran many errands, like buying food and gathering wood for fuel.



The Gilded Age

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

Past and Present Ideas about wealth during the last part of the 1800s continue to affect society today.

Content Vocabulary

- individualism (p. 230)
- Social Darwinism (p. 231)
- philanthropy (p. 232)
- settlement house (p. 239)
- Americanization (p. 239)

Academic Vocabulary

- evolution (p. 231)
- publish (p. 233)

People and Events to Identify

- Gilded Age (p. 230)
- Gospel of Wealth (p. 232)
- Mark Twain (p. 233)
- Social Gospel (p. 238)
- Jane Addams (p. 239)

Reading Strategy

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

Theory or Movement	Main Idea
Social Darwinism	
Laissez-Faire	
Gospel of Wealth	
Realism	

The industrialization of the United States led to new art and literature and new ideas about government's role in society. Social Darwinists believed society developed through "survival of the fittest." Other Americans thought steps needed to be taken to help the less fortunate.

Social Darwinism

MAIN Idea Individualism and Social Darwinism shaped Americans' attitudes toward industrial society.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you think each individual person should be left on his or her own to succeed, or should people help those who fall behind? Read to learn about people who applied the notion of "survival of the fittest" to human society.

In 1873 Mark Twain and Charles Warner wrote a novel entitled *The Gilded Age: A Tale of Today*. Historians later adopted the term and applied it to the era in American history that began about 1870 and ended around 1900. The era was 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, electric lights banished the darkness, and wealthy entrepreneurs built spectacular mansions.

By calling this era the **Gilded Age**, 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 critics pointed to 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 entertainment.

The Idea of Individualism

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, who wrote more than 100 "rags-to-riches" novels. In his books, a poor person goes to the big city and, through a combination of hard work and luck,

PRIMARY SOURCE

Social Darwinism and Society

PRIMARY SOURCE

The Gospel of Wealth

"In bestowing charity, the main consideration should be to help those who will help themselves; to provide part of the means by which those who desire to improve may do so; to give those who desire to rise the aids by which they may rise; to assist, but rarely or never to do all. Neither the individual nor the race is improved by almsgiving. Those worthy of assistance, except in rare cases, seldom require assistance. The really valuable men of the race never do, except in cases of accident or sudden change.... He is the only true reformer who is as careful and as anxious not to aid the unworthy as he is to aid the worthy, and, perhaps, even more so, for in almsgiving more injury is probably done by rewarding vice than by relieving virtue...."

—Andrew Carnegie, quoted in *The North American Review*, June 1889



PRIMARY SOURCE

"Robert was very different. He inherited from his father an unusual amount of courage and self-reliance, and if one avenue was closed to him, he at once set out to find another. It is of this class that successful men are made, and we have hopes that Robert will develop into a prosperous and successful man."

—from Horatio Alger, *Brave and Bold*



DBQ Document-Based Questions

- Analyzing Primary Sources** What does Carnegie believe is the way to dignify the lives of rich people?
- Describing** On what does Alger base Robert's chances of success? Do you agree with his criteria? Why or why not?

becomes successful. His popular books convinced many young people that no matter how many obstacles they faced, success was possible.

Social Darwinism

Another powerful idea of the era was **Social Darwinism**. This philosophy, loosely derived from Darwin's theories, strongly reinforced the idea of individualism.


Herbert Spencer British 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 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, such as American scholar William Graham Sumner, who shared his views, became known as Social Darwinists, and their ideas became known as Social Darwinism. "Survival of the fittest" became the catchphrase of their philosophy.

Social Darwinism also paralleled the economic doctrine of *laissez-faire* that opposed any government programs that interfered with business. Not surprisingly, industrial leaders heartily embraced the theory. John D. 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."

Darwinism and the Church For many devout Christians, however, Darwin's conclusions were upsetting and offensive. They rejected the theory of evolution because they believed it contradicted the Bible's account of creation. Some ministers, however, concluded that evolution may have been God's way of creating the world. One of the most famous ministers of the era, Henry Ward Beecher, called himself a "Christian evolutionist."

Carnegie's Gospel of Wealth Andrew Carnegie advocated a gentler version of Social Darwinism that he called the **Gospel of Wealth**. This philosophy held that wealthy Americans should engage in **philanthropy** and use their great fortunes to create the conditions that would help people help themselves. Building schools and hospitals, for example, was better than giving handouts to the poor. Carnegie himself helped fund the creation of public libraries in cities across the nation because libraries provided the information people needed to get ahead in life.

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

A Changing Culture

MAIN Idea Artists and writers began portraying life in America more realistically, and cities offered new forms of entertainment.

HISTORY AND YOU Have you read Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*? Read to learn about how Twain portrayed American life in a realistic way.

The late 1800s was a period of great cultural change for writers and artists, and for many urban Americans who sought new forms of entertainment.

Realism

A new movement in art and literature called realism began in the 1800s. Just as Darwin tried to explain the natural world scientifically, artists and writers tried to portray the world realistically. European realists included Edgar Degas and Edouard Manet. Perhaps the best known American realist painter was Thomas Eakins. In realistic detail, he painted young men rowing and athletes playing baseball, and he showed surgeons and scientists in action.

PRIMARY SOURCE

Realism in Art and Literature

Realist writers and artists did not want to portray people and the world idealistically. Instead they sought to present things as accurately as possible.

PRIMARY SOURCE

"Say, who is you? Whar is you? Dog my cats ef I didn' hear sumf'n. Well, I know what I's gwyne to do: I's gwyne to set down here and listen tell I hears it agin."

So he set down on the ground betwixt me and Tom. He leaned his back up against a tree, and stretched his legs out till one of them most touched one of mine. My nose begun to itch. It itched till the tears come into my eyes. But I dasn't scratch. Then it begun to itch on the inside. Next I got to itching underneath. I didn't know how I was going to set still. This miserableness went on as much as six or seven minutes; but it seemed a sight longer than that."

—from *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*
by Mark Twain



▲ Realist painters did not generally choose heroic or historical topics for their art. Instead they preferred to depict ordinary people doing ordinary things. Thomas Eakins, perhaps the best-known American realist, depicted various aspects of American life, including a carriage ride by the wealthy (above) or a professional baseball game (right).

Writers also attempted to capture the world as they saw it. In several novels, William Dean Howells presented realistic descriptions of American life. For example, his novel *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (1885) described the attempts of a self-made man to enter Boston society. Also an influential literary critic, Howells was the first to declare **Mark Twain** an incomparable American genius.

Twain, whose real name was Samuel Clemens, **published** his masterpiece, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, in 1884. In this novel, the title character and his friend Jim, an escaped slave, float down the Mississippi River on a raft. Twain wrote in local dialect with a lively sense of humor. He had written a true American novel, in which the setting, subject, characters, and style were clearly American.

Popular Culture

Popular culture changed considerably in the late 1800s. Industrialization improved the standard of living for many people, enabling them to spend money on entertainment and recreation. Increasingly, urban Americans divided their lives into separate units—that of

work and that of home. People began “going out” to public entertainment.

The Saloon In cities, saloons often outnumbered groceries and meat markets. As a place for social gathering, saloons played a major role in the lives of male workers. Saloons offered drinks, free toilets, water for horses, and free newspapers for customers. They even offered the first “free lunch”: salty food that made patrons thirsty and eager to drink more. Saloons also served as political centers and saloonkeepers were often key figures in political machines.

Amusement Parks and Sports Working-class families and single adults could find entertainment at new amusement parks such as New York’s Coney Island. Amusements such as water slides and railroad rides cost only a nickel or dime.

Watching professional sports also became popular during the late 1800s. Formed in 1869, the first professional baseball team was the Cincinnati Red Stockings. Other cities soon fielded their own teams. In 1903 the first official World Series was played between the Boston Red Sox and the Pittsburgh Pirates. Football also gained in popularity and by the late 1800s had spread to public colleges.

As work became less strenuous, many people looked for activities involving physical exercise. Tennis, golf, and croquet became popular. In 1891 James Naismith, athletic director for a college in Massachusetts, invented a new indoor game called basketball.

Vaudeville and Ragtime Adapted from French theater, vaudeville took on an American flavor in the early 1880s with its hodgepodge of animal acts, acrobats, and dancers. The fast-paced shows went on continuously all day and night.

Like vaudeville, ragtime music echoed the hectic pace of city life. Its syncopated rhythms grew out of the music of riverside honky-tonks, saloon pianists, and banjo players, using the patterns of African American music. Scott Joplin, one of the most important African American ragtime composers, became known as the “King of Ragtime.” He wrote his most famous piece, “The Maple Leaf Rag,” in 1899.

Reading Check **Describing** What was the importance of the saloon in city life?

 For examples of literature from the Gilded Age, read excerpts from the writings of Mark Twain and Carl Sandburg on pages R70–71 in **American Literature Library**.



Analyzing VISUALS

DBQ

- Analyzing** How does Twain’s writing reflect a realist approach to writing?
- Making Inferences** Why might Realist art have become popular in the late 1800s?

Politics in Washington

MAIN Idea The two major parties were closely competitive in the late 1800s; tariff rates and big business regulation were hotly debated political issues.

HISTORY AND YOU Have you ever considered getting a job working for the government once you graduate? Read to learn why you will have to take an examination if you want a government job.

After President James A. Garfield was elected in 1880, many of his supporters tried to claim the “spoils of office”—the government jobs that are handed out following an election victory. President Garfield did not believe in the spoils system. One of these job seekers made daily trips to the White House in the spring of 1881 asking for a job. He was repeatedly rejected. Reasoning that he would have a better chance for a job if Vice President Chester A. Arthur were president, this man shot President Garfield on July 2, 1881. Weeks later, Garfield died from his wounds.

Civil Service Reform

For many, Garfield’s assassination highlighted the need to reform the political system. Traditionally, under the spoils system, elected politicians extended patronage—the power to reward supporters by giving them government jobs. Many Americans believed the system made government inefficient and corrupt. In the late 1870s, reformers had begun pushing him for an end to patronage.

When Rutherford B. Hayes became president in 1877, he tried to end patronage by firing officials who had been given their jobs because of their support of the party and replacing them with reformers. His actions divided the Republican Party between “Stalwarts” (who supported patronage) and the “Halfbreeds” (who opposed it), and no reforms were passed. In 1880 the Republicans nominated James Garfield, a “Halfbreed,” for president and Chester A. Arthur, a “Stalwart,” for vice president. Despite the internal feud over patronage, the Republicans managed to win the election, only to have Garfield assassinated a few months later.

Garfield’s assassination turned public opinion against the spoils system. In 1883 Congress responded by passing the Pendleton Act. This

law required that some jobs be filled by competitive written examinations, rather than through patronage. This marked the beginning of professional civil service—a system where most government workers are given jobs based on their qualifications rather than on their political affiliation. Although only about 10 percent of federal jobs were made civil service positions in 1883, the percentage steadily increased over time.

The Election of 1884

In 1884 the Democratic Party nominated Grover Cleveland, the governor of New York, for president. Cleveland was a reformer with a reputation for honesty. The Republican Party nominated James G. Blaine, a former Speaker of the House rumored to have accepted bribes. Some Republican reformers were so unhappy with Blaine that they supported Cleveland. They became known as “Mugwumps,” from an Algonquian word meaning “great chief.” If Blaine was their party’s candidate, declared the Mugwumps, they would vote for Cleveland, “an honest Democrat.”

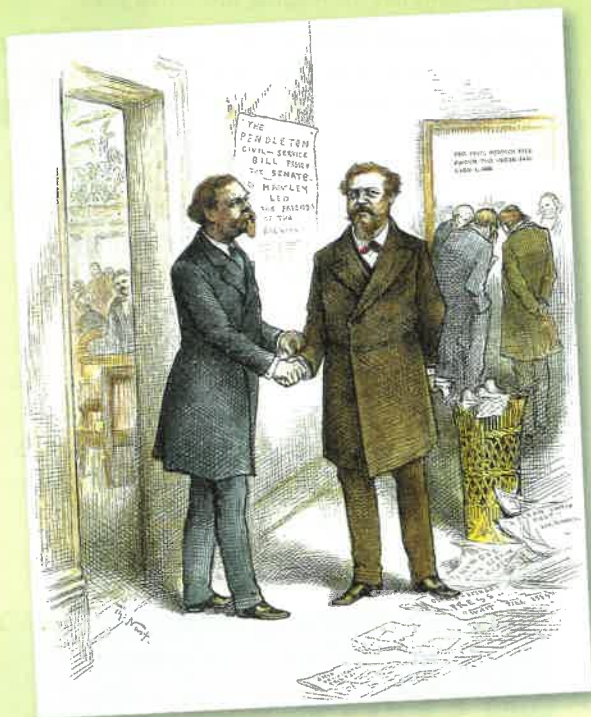
Blaine hoped to make up for the loss of the Mugwumps by courting Catholic voters. Shortly before the election, however, Blaine met with a Protestant minister who denounced the Democrats for having ties to Catholicism. When Blaine was slow to condemn the remark, he lost many Catholic votes. Cleveland narrowly won the election.

As the first elected Democratic president since 1856, Grover Cleveland faced a horde of supporters who expected him to reward them with jobs. Mugwumps, on the other hand, expected him to increase the number of jobs protected by the civil service system. Cleveland chose a middle course and angered both sides. Economic issues, however, soon replaced the debate about patronage reform.

The Interstate Commerce Commission

Many Americans were concerned by the power of large corporations. Small businesses and farmers had become particularly angry at the railroads. While large corporations such as Standard Oil were able to negotiate rebates 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

Political Debates of the Gilded Age



▲ Senator Pendleton is congratulated for his civil service bill; behind him a trash bin overflows with papers saying reform is impossible.



▲ John Bull, symbol of Britain, thanks Grover Cleveland for free trade because it keeps British workers employed even if everyone else starves.

Analyzing VISUALS

1. **Analyzing** Does the cartoon on the right say free trade is a good idea? How do you know?
2. **Explaining** Did the artist who drew the cartoon on the left favor civil service reform? How does he indicate his opinion?

of this problem, many Americans believed railroads were gouging customers.

Neither party moved quickly at the federal level to address these problems. Both believed that government should not interfere with corporations' property rights, which courts had held to be the same as those of individuals. Many states, however, passed laws regulating railroad rates; in 1886 the Supreme Court ruled in the case of *Wabash, St. Louis, and Pacific Railway v. Illinois* that states could not regulate railroad rates for traffic between states because only the federal government could regulate interstate commerce.

Public pressure forced Congress to respond to the *Wabash* ruling. In 1887 Cleveland signed the Interstate Commerce Act. This act, which created the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), was the first federal law to regulate interstate commerce. The legislation limited railroad rates to what was "reasonable and just," forbade rebates to high-volume users, and made it illegal to charge higher rates for shorter hauls. The commission was not very

effective in regulating the industry, however, because it had to rely on the courts to enforce its rulings.

Debating Tariffs Another major economic issue concerned tariffs. Many Democrats thought that Congress should cut tariffs because these taxes had the effect of raising the price of manufactured goods. Although it may have made sense to protect weak domestic manufacturing after the Civil War, many questioned the need to maintain high tariffs in the 1880s, when large American companies were fully capable of competing internationally. High tariffs also forced other nations to respond in kind, making it difficult for farmers to export their surpluses.

In December 1887 President Cleveland 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

The Republicans and their presidential candidate, Benjamin Harrison, received large campaign contributions in 1888 from industrialists who benefited from high tariffs. Cleveland and the Democrats campaigned against high tariff rates. In one of the closest races in American history, Harrison lost the popular vote but won the electoral vote.

The McKinley Tariff 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. In 1890 Representative William McKinley of Ohio pushed through 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 was intended to protect American industry from foreign competition and encourage consumers to buy American goods. Instead, it helped to trigger a steep rise in the price of all goods that angered many Americans and may have contributed to President Harrison's defeat in the 1892 election.

The Sherman Antitrust Act Congress also responded to popular pressure to do something about the power of the large business combinations known as trusts. In 1890 Congress passed the Sherman Antitrust Act, which prohibited any "combination . . . or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States." The law, however, was vaguely worded, poorly enforced, and weakened by judicial interpretation. Most significantly, the Supreme Court ruled the law did not apply to manufacturing, holding that manufacturing was not interstate commerce. Thus the law had little impact. In the 1890s businesses formed trusts and combinations at a great rate. Like the ICC, the Sherman Antitrust Act was more important for establishing a precedent than for its immediate impact.

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** What actions did Congress take to regulate big business?

The Rebirth of Reform

MAIN Idea Reformers developed new methods and philosophies for helping the urban poor.

HISTORY AND YOU Have you ever been to a YMCA? What activities can you do there? Read on to find out the origin of the YMCA and other community centers.

The tremendous changes that industrialism and urbanization brought triggered a debate over how best to address society's problems. While many Americans embraced the ideas of individualism and Social Darwinism, others disagreed, arguing 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.

Debates

IN HISTORY

Is Social Darwinism the Best Approach for Ensuring Progress and Economic Growth?

The social problems that came with industrialization led to a debate over government's role in the economy. Some believed that government should intervene to help the poor and solve problems while others argued that leaving things alone was the best solution.

Challenging Social Darwinism

In 1879 journalist Henry George published *Progress and Poverty*, a discussion of the American economy that quickly became a national bestseller. In his book George observed, “The present century has been marked by a prodigious increase in wealth-producing power.” This should, he asserted, have made poverty “a thing of the past.” Instead, he claimed, the “gulf between the employed and the employer is growing wider; social contrasts are becoming sharper.” In other words, laissez-faire economics was making society worse—the opposite of what Social Darwinists believed.

Most economists now argue that George’s analysis was flawed. Industrialism did make some Americans very wealthy, but it also improved the standard of living for most others as well. At the time, however, in the midst

of poverty, crime, and harsh working conditions, many Americans did not believe things were improving. George’s economic theories encouraged other reformers to challenge the assumptions of the era.

Lester Frank Ward In 1883 Lester Frank Ward published *Dynamic Sociology*, in which he argued that humans were different from animals because they had the ability to make plans to produce the future outcomes they desired.

Ward’s ideas came to be known as Reform Darwinism. People, he insisted, had succeeded in the world because of their ability to cooperate; competition was wasteful and time-consuming. Government, he argued, could regulate the economy, cure poverty, and promote education more efficiently than competition in the marketplace could.

YES

William Graham Sumner

Professor

PRIMARY SOURCE

“The moment that government provided work for one, it would have to provide work for all, and there would be no end whatever possible. Society does not owe any man a living. In all the cases that I have ever known of young men who claimed that society owed them a living, it has turned out that society paid them—in the State prison . . . The fact that a man is here is no demand upon other people that they shall keep him alive and sustain him. He has got to fight the battle with nature as every other man has; and if he fights it with the same energy and enterprise and skill and industry as any other man, I cannot imagine his failing—that is, misfortune apart.”

—testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives, 1879



NO

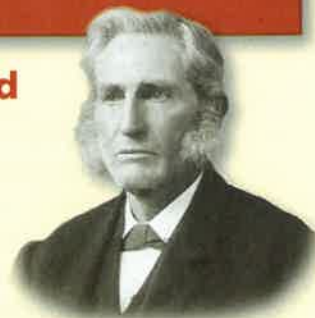
Lester Frank Ward

Sociologist

PRIMARY SOURCE

“The actions of men are a reflex of their mental characteristics. Where these differ so widely the acts of their possessors will correspondingly differ. Instead of all doing the same thing they will do a thousand different things. The natural and necessary effect of this is to give breadth to human activity. Every subject will be looked at from all conceivable points of view, and no aspect will be overlooked or neglected. It is due to this multiplicity of viewpoints, growing out of natural inequalities in the minds of men, that civilization and culture have moved forward along so many lines and swept the whole field of possible achievement.”

—from “Social Classes in the Light of Modern Sociological Theory,” 1908



DBQ Document-Based Questions

- 1. Summarizing** What argument does Professor Sumner make against government assisting people?
- 2. Paraphrasing** How does Professor Ward believe that different abilities aid society?
- 3. Contrasting** How can you contrast the ideas of the two men?
- 4. Evaluating** Which opinion do you agree with? Write a brief essay explaining your ideas.

People IN HISTORY

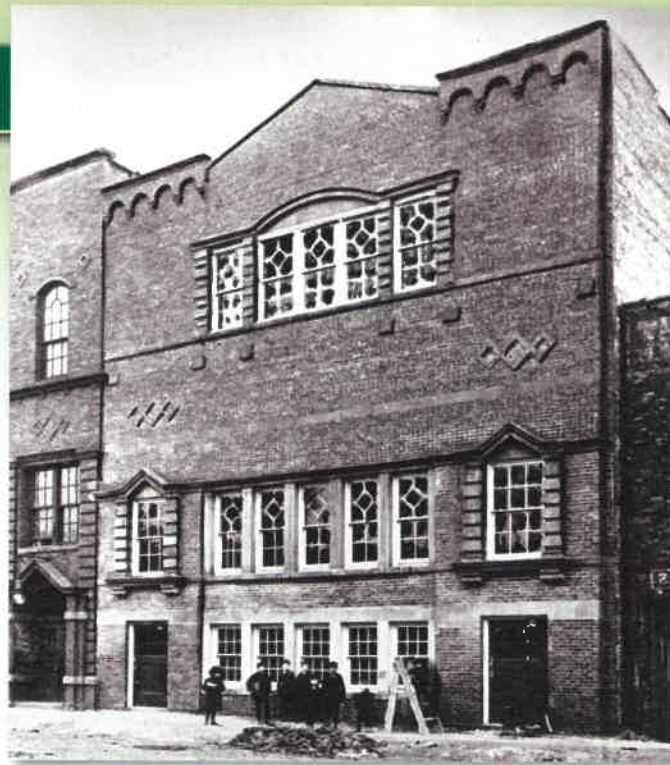
Jane Addams 1860–1935

After visiting a settlement house in London, England, Jane Addams decided to open Hull House in 1889 to assist poor immigrants in Chicago.

That assistance took on many forms: day care, kindergartens, libraries, an art gallery, an employment agency, and a meeting place for trade unions. The women who worked at Hull House, many of them college-educated in social work, pushed for protective legislation for children and women, which was enacted first in Illinois and then nationally.

Addams wrote books about her experiences at Hull House, giving an example to many others throughout the nation who also founded settlement houses. She favored woman suffrage and supported the founding of the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. She was active in the peace movement, serving as first president of the organization that became the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. For her efforts, she was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931.

What kind of assistance did Hull House provide immigrants?



▲ Children stand in front of Hull House in 1905.

Looking Backward Writer Edward Bellamy promoted another alternative to Social Darwinism and laissez-faire economics. In 1888 he published *Looking Backward*, a novel about a man who falls asleep in 1887 and awakens in the year 2000 to find that the nation has become a perfect society with no crime, poverty, or politics. In this fictional society, the government owns all industry and shares the wealth equally with all Americans. Bellamy's ideas were essentially a form of socialism. His book became a bestseller and helped to shape the thinking of some American reformers.

Naturalism in Literature Criticism of industrial society also appeared in literature in a new style of writing known as naturalism. Social Darwinists argued that people could make choices to improve their situation. Naturalists challenged this idea by suggesting that some people failed in life simply because they were caught up in circumstances they could not control. Sometimes people's lives were destroyed through no fault of their own.

Among the most prominent naturalist writers were Stephen Crane, Jack London, and Theodore Dreiser. Stephen Crane's novel

Maggie, A Girl of the Streets (1893), told the story of a girl's descent into prostitution and death. Jack London's tales of the Alaskan wilderness demonstrated the power of nature over civilization. Theodore Dreiser's novels, such as *Sister Carrie* (1900), painted a world where people sinned without punishment and where the pursuit of wealth and power often destroyed their character.

Helping the Urban Poor

The plight of the urban poor prompted some reformers to find new ways to help. Their efforts gave rise to the Social Gospel movement, the Salvation Army, the YMCA, and settlement houses.

The Social Gospel The **Social Gospel** movement worked to better conditions in cities according to the biblical ideals of charity and justice. Washington Gladden, a minister, was an early advocate who popularized the movement in writings such as *Applied Christianity* (1887). Walter Rauschenbusch, a Baptist minister from New York, became the leading voice in the Social Gospel movement.

Section 3 REVIEW

The Church, he argued, must “demand protection for the moral safety of the people.” The Social Gospel movement inspired many churches to take on new community functions. Some churches built gyms and provided social programs and child care. Others focused exclusively on helping the poor.

The Salvation Army and the YMCA The Salvation Army and the YMCA also combined faith and an interest in reform. The Salvation Army offered practical aid and religious counseling to the urban poor. The Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) tried to help industrial workers and the urban poor by organizing Bible studies, citizenship training, and group activities. YMCAs, or “Ys,” offered libraries, gymnasiums, auditoriums, and low-cost hotel rooms available on a temporary basis to those in need.

The head of the Chicago YMCA, Dwight L. Moody, was a gifted preacher who founded his own church, today known as Moody Memorial Church. By 1867, Moody had begun to organize revival meetings in other American cities, which drew thousands of people. Moody rejected both the Social Gospel and Social Darwinism. He believed the way to help the poor was not by providing them with services but by redeeming their souls and reforming their character.

The Settlement House Movement The **settlement house** movement began as an offshoot of the Social Gospel movement. In the late 1800s idealistic reformers—including many college-educated women—established settlement houses in poor, often heavily immigrant neighborhoods. A settlement house was a community center where reformers resided and offered everything from medical care and English classes to kindergartens and recreational programs. **Jane Addams** opened the famous Hull House in Chicago in 1889. Her work inspired others, including Lillian Wald, who founded the Henry Street Settlement in New York City.

Public Education As the United States became increasingly industrialized and urbanized, it needed more workers who were trained and educated. The number of public schools increased dramatically after the Civil War. The number of children attending school rose from 6,500,000 in 1870 to 17,300,000 in 1900. Public schools were often crucial to the success of immigrant children. At public schools, immigrant children were taught English and learned about American history and culture, a process known as **Americanization**.

Schools also tried to instill discipline and a strong work ethic. Grammar schools divided students into grades and drilled them in punctuality, neatness, and efficiency—necessary habits for the workplace. At the same time, vocational education in high schools taught skills required in specific trades.

Not everyone had access to school. Cities were far ahead of rural areas. Many African Americans also did not have equal educational opportunities. Some African Americans started their own schools, following the example of Booker T. Washington, who founded the Tuskegee Institute in 1881.

Reading Check **Explaining** What was the purpose of a settlement house?

Vocabulary

1. **Explain** the significance of Gilded Age, individualism, Social Darwinism, Gospel of Wealth, philanthropy, Mark Twain, Social Gospel, settlement house, Jane Addams, Americanization.

Main Ideas

2. **Defining** What were the defining characteristics of the Gilded Age?
3. **Describing** How did changes in art and literature reflect the issues and characteristics of the late 1800s?
4. **Explaining** Why was the Sherman Antitrust Act ineffective?
5. **Categorizing** Complete a chart like the one below by listing the names and goals of reform movements that arose in the late 1800s to help the urban poor.

Reform Movement	Goals

Critical Thinking

6. **Big Ideas** Do you think the idea of the Gospel of Wealth is still alive today? Why or why not?
7. **Analyzing Visuals** Look at the cartoon on the right on page 235. What do the figures in the background suggest?

Writing About History

8. **Descriptive Writing** Imagine that you are a newspaper editor in the late 1800s. Write an editorial in which you support or oppose the philosophy of Social Darwinism.

History ONLINE

Study Central™ To review this section, go to glencoe.com and click on Study Central.



Eyewitness

BROWN BROTHERS

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.”

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

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.

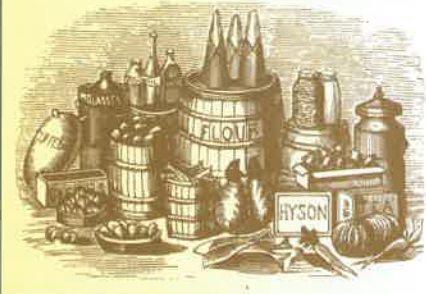
Here are the numbers for a Georgia family of four in 1890. The husband is a textile worker, and the wife works at home. There is one child, age 4, and a boarder. They share a two-room, wood-heated, oil-lighted apartment.

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



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!”



Jesse James

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.

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



Susan B. Anthony

NUMBERS

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



A crowded New York City street

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

25¢ Admission to “Barnum’s American Museum” (featuring the smallest pair of human beings ever seen!), 1896

CRITICAL THINKING

1. Analyzing Visuals Look at the Jacob Riis photo of an urban family and the photo of a New York City street. What do the pictures tell you about urban life in the 1890s?

2. Comparing What character traits do you think Ida B. Wells and Susan B. Anthony may have shared?

Populism

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

Economics and Society The Populist movement and its presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan strongly supported silver as the basis for currency.

Content Vocabulary

- populism (p. 242)
- greenbacks (p. 242)
- inflation (p. 242)
- deflation (p. 242)
- cooperatives (p. 243)
- graduated income tax (p. 245)

Academic Vocabulary

- bond (p. 242)
- currency (p. 243)
- strategy (p. 244)

People and Events to Identify

- Farmers' Alliance (p. 244)
- People's Party (p. 245)
- William Jennings Bryan (p. 246)
- William McKinley (p. 247)

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes As you read about the emergence of populism in the 1890s, use the major headings of the section to create an outline similar to the one below.

- | |
|----------------------------|
| Populism |
| I. Unrest in Rural America |
| A. |
| B. |
| C. |
| II. |
| A. |
| B. |

After the Civil War, falling crop prices and deflation made it hard for farmers to make a living. Farmers tried to overcome these problems by forming organizations such as the Grange and the Farmers' Alliance. In the 1890s, many farmers joined the Populist Party.

Unrest in Rural America

MAIN Idea Deflation, low crop prices, and tariffs hurt farmers economically.

HISTORY AND YOU What can you buy for a dollar today? Read on to learn how the value of a dollar has changed over time.

Populism was a movement to increase farmers' political power and to work for legislation in their interest. Farmers joined the Populist movement because they were in the midst of an economic crisis. New technology enabled farmers to produce more crops, but the greater supply had caused prices to fall. High tariffs also made it hard for farmers to sell their goods overseas. Farmers also felt they were victimized by large and faraway entities: the banks from which they obtained loans and the railroads that set their shipping rates.

The Money Supply

Some farmers thought adjusting the money supply would solve their economic problems. During the Civil War, the federal government had expanded the money supply by issuing millions of dollars in **greenbacks**—paper currency that could not be exchanged for gold or silver coins. This increase in the money supply without an 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 ended, the United States had three types of currency in circulation—greenbacks, gold and silver coins, and national bank notes backed by government **bonds**. To get 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 money supply was not large enough for the country's growing economy. In 1865, for example, there was about \$30 in circulation for each person. By 1895, there was only about \$23. As the economy expanded, **deflation**—or an increase in the value of money and a decrease in prices—began. As money increased in value, prices fell.

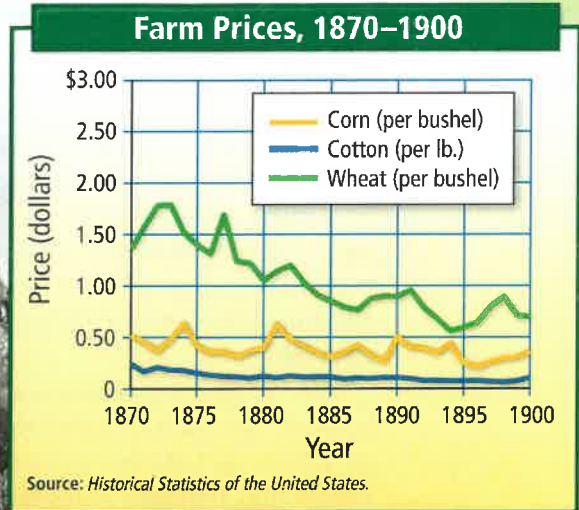
Deflation hit farmers especially hard. Most farmers had to borrow money for seed and other supplies to plant their crops. Because

PRIMARY SOURCE

Why Were Farmers Having Problems?

New technology, such as this McCormick grain binder, allowed more land to be farmed, but more food on the market drove down prices and profits.

Farmers had to buy seed and supplies and pay railroads to ship their harvest. They also had to pay their mortgage. As food prices fell and interest rates stayed high, farmers were caught in the middle.



Analyzing VISUALS

- Analyzing** Which crop declined in price the most by 1900? Which region would be most affected by this decline?
- Explaining** How did technology contribute to the decline in farm prices?

money was in short supply, interest rates began to rise, which increased the amount farmers owed. Rising interest rates also made mortgages more expensive, but falling prices meant the farmers sold their crops for less, and they still had to make the same mortgage payments to the banks.

Realizing that their problems were partly caused by a shortage of **currency**, many farmers concluded that Eastern bankers had pressured Congress into reducing the money supply. Some farmers called for the printing of more greenbacks. Others, particularly those in the West where new silver mines had been found, wanted the government to mint silver coins. They referred to the decision to stop minting silver as “The Crime of ‘73.”

The Grange Takes Action

In 1866 the Department of Agriculture sent Oliver H. Kelley to tour the rural South and report on the condition of the region’s farmers. Realizing how isolated farmers were from each other, Kelley founded the first national farm

organization, the Patrons of Husbandry, better known as the Grange, in 1867.

At first Grangers met largely for social and educational purposes. Then, in 1873, the nation plunged into a severe recession, and farm income fell sharply. Farmers looking for help joined the Grange in large numbers. By 1874, the Grange had between 800,000 and 1.5 million members.

Grangers responded to the crisis by pressuring state legislatures to regulate railroad and warehouse rates. They also tried to create **cooperatives**—marketing organizations that try to increase prices and lower costs for their members.

One of the reasons farmers could not charge higher prices for their crops was that there were so many farmers in competition. If a farmer raised prices, a buyer could always go elsewhere and pay less. Cooperatives pooled farmers’ crops and held them off the market in order to force up prices. Because a cooperative controlled a large quantity of farm products, it could also negotiate better shipping rates with the railroads.

None of the **strategies** the Grangers employed improved farmers' economic conditions. Several Western states passed "Granger laws" that set maximum rates and prohibited railroads from charging more for short hauls than for long ones. The railroads fought back by cutting services and refusing to lay new track. Then, in 1886, the Supreme Court ruled in *Wabash v. Illinois* that states could not regulate railroads or any commerce that crossed state lines.

The Grange's cooperatives also 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 that restricted trade—so they refused to do business with them. By the late 1870s, farmers began to leave the Grange for organizations they hoped would address their problems.

The Farmers' Alliance

As the Grange began to fall apart, a new organization, known as the **Farmers' Alliance**, began to form. By 1890, the Alliance had

between 1.5 and 3 million members, with strong support in the South and on the Great Plains, particularly in Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota.

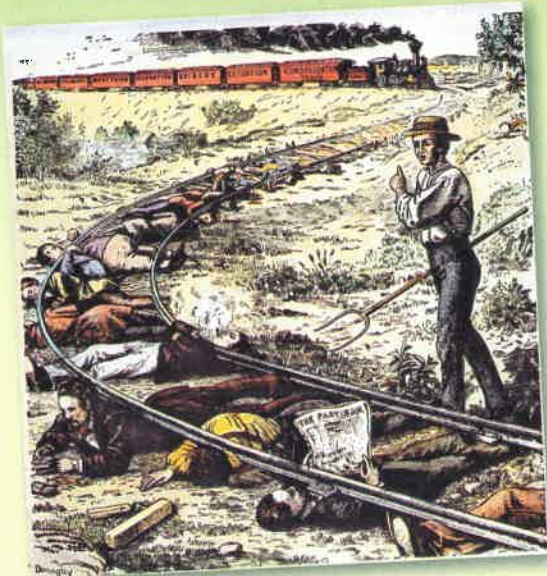
When Charles W. Macune became the leader of the Alliance, he announced a plan to organize very large cooperatives, which he called exchanges. Macune hoped these exchanges would be big enough to force farm prices up and to make loans to farmers at low interest rates. The exchanges had some success. The Texas Exchange successfully marketed cotton at prices slightly higher than those paid to individual farmers, while the Illinois Exchange negotiated slightly better railroad rates for wheat farmers.

Ultimately, the large cooperatives failed. Many overextended themselves by lending too much money at low interest rates that was never repaid. In many cases, wholesalers, railroads, and bankers discriminated against them, making it difficult for them to stay in business. They also failed because they were still too small to affect world prices for farm products.

Reading Check Explaining How did the Farmers' Alliance try to help farmers?

POLITICAL CARTOONS PRIMARY SOURCE

Who Is to Blame for Farmers' Problems?



▲ A farmer wearing a Granger hat tries to warn people about the railroad.



▲ A thin farmer is an unwelcome guest at the Congressional kitchen, where businessmen are enjoying their meals.

Analyzing VISUALS

- Analyzing** What is the cartoon on the left implying about the railroad's relationship to farmers?
- Explaining** Who does the cartoon on the right blame for the problems facing farmers?

The Rise of Populism

MAIN Idea Farmers started the People's Party to fight for their interests and attracted many supporters when a depression hit in the 1890s.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you remember reading about the creation of the Republican Party in the 1850s? Read how another new party, the Populists, shook up politics in the 1890s.

By 1890 the Alliance's lack of success had started a debate in 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. Alliances in Nebraska, South Dakota, and Minnesota quickly followed Kansas's example.

Most Southern leaders of the Alliance opposed the idea of a third party. They did not want to undermine the Democrats' control of the South. Instead, they suggested that the Alliance produce a list of demands and promise to vote for candidates who supported those demands. They hoped this would force Democrats to adopt the Alliance program.

The Subtreasury Plan

To get Southern Democrats to support the Alliance, Charles Macune introduced the subtreasury plan, which called for the government to set up warehouses called subtreasuries. Farmers would store their crops in the warehouses, and the government would provide low-interest loans to the farmers.

Macune believed the plan would enable farmers to hold their crops off the market in large enough quantities to force prices up. The Alliance also 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.

Macune's strategy seemed to work at first. In 1890 the South elected four governors, all Democrats, who had pledged to support the Alliance program. Several Southern legislatures now had pro-Alliance majorities, and more than 40 Democrats who supported the Alliance program were elected to Congress.

A Populist Runs for President


Meanwhile, the new People's Party did equally well in the West. Populists took control of the Kansas and Nebraska legislatures. Populists also held the balance of power in Minnesota and South Dakota. Eight Populist representatives and two Populist senators were elected to the United States Congress.

At first, Southern members of the Alliance were excited over their success in electing so many pro-Alliance Democrats to Congress and to Southern state legislatures, but over the next two years, their excitement turned into frustration. Despite their promises, few Democrats followed through in their support of the Alliance program.

In May 1891 Western populists met with some labor and reform groups in Cincinnati. There, they endorsed the creation of a new national People's Party to run candidates for president. The following year, many Southern farmers had reached the point where they were willing to break with the Democratic Party and join the People's Party.

In July 1892 the People's Party held its first national convention in Omaha, Nebraska. James B. Weaver was nominated to run for president. The Omaha convention endorsed a platform that denounced the government's refusal to coin silver as a "vast conspiracy against mankind" and called for a return to unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio that gave 16 ounces of silver the same value as one ounce of gold. It also called for federal ownership of railroads and a **graduated income tax**, one that taxed higher earnings more heavily.

Populists also adopted proposals designed to appeal to organized labor. The Omaha platform also called for an eight-hour workday and immigration restrictions, but workers found it hard to identify with a party focused on rural problems and the coinage of silver. The Populists had close ties to the Knights of Labor, but that organization was in decline, and the fast-growing American Federation of Labor had steered clear of an alliance with them. As a result, most urban workers continued to vote for the Democrats, whose candidate, Grover Cleveland, won the election.

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** What was the main outcome of the Populist campaign in the elections of 1892?

The Election of 1896

MAIN Idea Although William Jennings Bryan had the support of the Populists and the Democrats, Republican William McKinley defeated him.

HISTORY AND YOU What was the best speech you have ever heard? How did the speaker draw you in? Read on to learn how a powerful speech won the presidential nomination for William Jennings Bryan.

As the election of 1896 approached, leaders of the People's Party decided to make the free coinage of silver 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, and they did. They also expected the Democrats to nominate Grover Cleveland, even though Cleveland also strongly favored a gold standard. The People's Party hoped that when they endorsed silver, pro-silver Democrats would abandon their party and vote for the Populists.

Unfortunately for the Populists, their strategy failed. The Democrats did not waiver 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 as well.

Bryan's Campaign

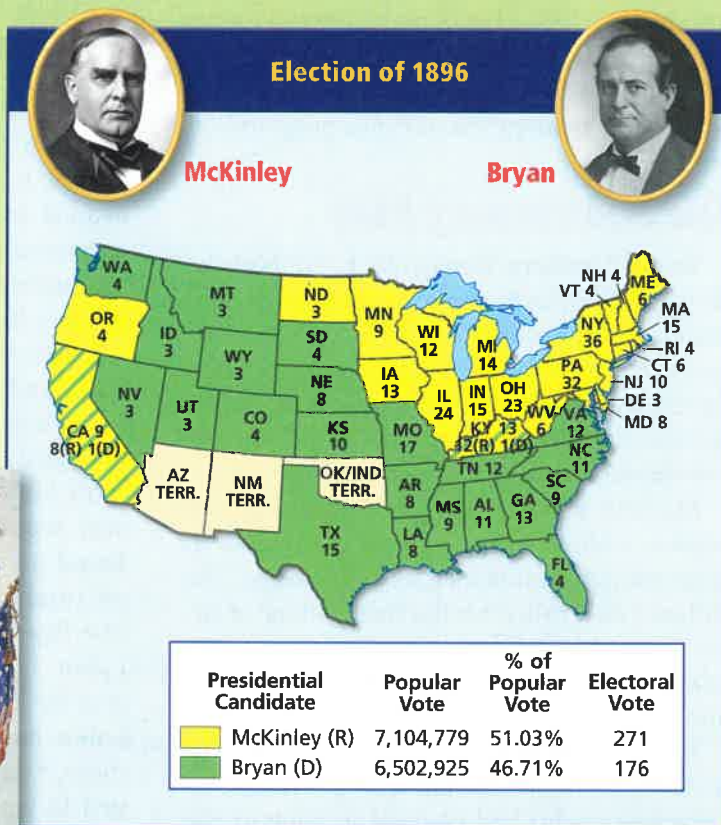
William Jennings Bryan, a former member of Congress from Nebraska, was only 36 years old when the Democrats and the Populists nominated him for president. Bryan had served in Congress as a representative from Nebraska. He was a powerful speaker and he won the Democratic nomination by delivering an electrifying address in defense of silver—one of the most famous in American political history.

Turning Point

The Election of 1896

Before the Civil War, farmers of the West and the South determined the outcome of elections. As industrialization caused Eastern cities to grow, the balance of political power shifted. From the 1870s to the 1890s, elections became very close, and power swung back and forth between the parties. The election of 1896 marked a turning point. Political power shifted from voters in the rural parts of the country to those in urban areas in the Northeast and industrial Midwest. Never again would farm votes determine the winner of a presidential election. The South and West did not regain their political importance until their urban areas grew to match those in the Northeast and Midwest.

MAKING CONNECTIONS Does the pattern of 1896's election resemble recent elections? Write an essay comparing a recent election to the 1896 election.



◀ For many, the campaign to elect William Jennings Bryan was viewed as both a crusade and a revolution, as the symbols and slogans on this 1896 poster show.

With a few well-chosen words, Bryan transformed the campaign for silver into a crusade:

PRIMARY SOURCE

“Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns; you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.”

—quoted in *America in the Gilded Age*

Bryan waged an energetic campaign, traveling thousands of miles and delivering 600 speeches in 14 weeks. Some found his relentless campaigning undignified, and Catholic immigrants and other city dwellers cared little for the silver issue. They did not like Bryan’s speaking style either. It reminded them of rural Protestant preachers, who were sometimes anti-Catholic. Republicans knew that Democrats and Populists would be hard to beat in the South and the West. To regain the White House, they had to sweep the Northeast and the Midwest. They decided on **William McKinley**, the governor of Ohio, as their candidate.

The Front Porch Campaign

Unlike Bryan, McKinley launched a “Front Porch Campaign,” greeting delegates who came to his home in Canton, Ohio. The Republicans campaigned against the Democrats by promising workers that McKinley would provide a “full dinner pail.” This meant more to urban workers than the issue of silver money because the economy was in a severe recession following the Panic of 1893. At the same time, most business leaders supported the Republicans, convinced that unlimited silver coinage would ruin the country. Many employers warned workers that if Bryan won, businesses would fail and unemployment would rise further.

McKinley’s reputation as a moderate on labor issues and as tolerant toward ethnic groups helped improve the Republican Party’s image with urban workers and immigrants. When the votes were counted, McKinley had won with 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. As expected, Bryan won the South and most of the West, but few of the states he carried had large populations or delivered many electoral votes. By embracing populism and its rural base, Bryan and the Democrats lost the northeastern industrial areas, where votes were concentrated.

The Populist Party declined after 1896. Their efforts to ease the economic hardships of farmers and to regulate big business had not worked. Some of the reforms they favored, including the graduated income tax and some governmental regulation of the economy—however, came about in the subsequent decades.

Reading Check **Evaluating** What were the results of the 1896 presidential election?

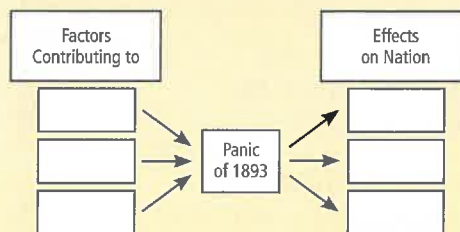
Section 4 REVIEW

Vocabulary

1. **Explain** the significance of: populism, greenbacks, inflation, deflation, cooperatives, Farmers’ Alliance, People’s Party, graduated income tax, William Jennings Bryan, William McKinley.

Main Ideas

2. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer that lists the factors that contributed to and the results of farmers’ unrest in the 1890s.



3. **Describing** What economic factors caused farmers to support populism?

4. **Listing** What issues did the Democrats endorse in the 1896 presidential election?

Critical Thinking

5. **Big Ideas** Why did the Populists support William Jennings Bryan?

6. **Synthesizing** How did the Farmers’ Alliance contribute to the rise of a new political party?

7. **Analyzing Visuals** Look at the campaign poster on page 246. Choose one of the symbols or slogans and explain its meaning to Bryan’s campaign.

Writing About History

8. **Persuasive Writing** Imagine you support the Populist Party and that you have been asked to write copy for a campaign poster. Include a slogan that provides reasons for people to support the Populists.

History ONLINE

Study Central™ To review this section, go to glencoe.com and click on Study Central.



The Rise of Segregation

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

Individual Action Several prominent African Americans led the fight against racial discrimination.

Content Vocabulary

- poll tax (p. 250)
- segregation (p. 250)
- Jim Crow laws (p. 250)
- lynching (p. 252)

Academic Vocabulary

- discrimination (p. 250)

People and Events to Identify

- Ida B. Wells (p. 252)
- Booker T. Washington (p. 253)
- W. E. B. Du Bois (p. 253)

Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read, complete a web diagram listing ways that states disenfranchised African Americans and legalized discrimination.



After Reconstruction ended, Southern states began passing laws that eroded the rights of African Americans by introducing segregation and denying voting rights. African American leaders struggled to protect civil rights and improve quality of life but could not always agree on the most effective strategy.

Resistance and Repression

MAIN Idea Many African Americans fled the South, but some stayed and joined the Populist Party.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you remember reading about the rise of sharecropping after the Civil War? Read how African American farmers tried to work together in the late 1800s.

After Reconstruction, many African Americans in the rural South lived in conditions of grinding poverty. Most were sharecroppers, landless farmers who gave their landlords a large portion of their crops as rent, rather than paying cash. Sharecropping usually left farmers in chronic debt. Many eventually left farming and sought jobs in Southern towns or headed west to claim homesteads.

The Exodusters Head to Kansas

In the mid-1870s, Benjamin “Pap” Singleton, a former slave, became convinced that African Americans would never be given a chance to get ahead in the South. He began urging African Americans to move west, specifically to Kansas, and form their own independent communities where they could help each other get ahead. His ideas soon set in motion a mass migration. In the spring of 1879, African American communities in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas were swept with a religious enthusiasm for moving to Kansas—seeing it as a new promised land. In less than two months, approximately 6,000 African Americans left their homes in the rural South and headed to Kansas. The newspapers called it “an Exodus,” like the Hebrews’ escape from Egyptian bondage. The migrants themselves came to be known as “Exodusters.”

One of the migrants to Kansas later explained why they went: “The whole South—every State in the South—had got into the hands of the very men that held us as slaves.” The first Exodusters, many possessing little more than hope and the clothes on their backs, arrived in Kansas in the spring of 1879. A journalist named Henry King described the scene:

PRIMARY SOURCE

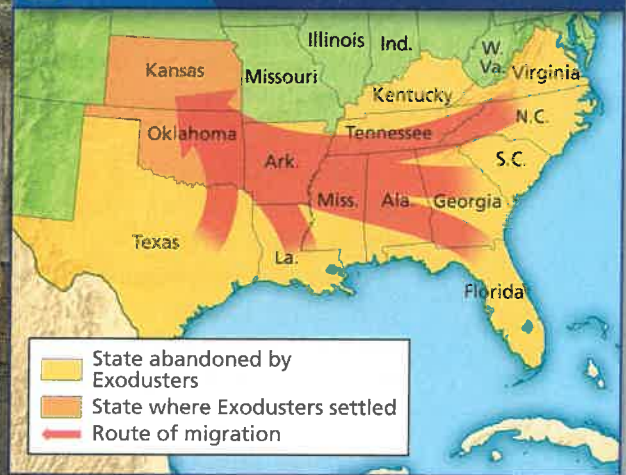
The Exodusters



▲ In 1879, soon after Reconstruction ended, an estimated 6,000–15,000 African Americans left the rural South and headed to Kansas where they hoped to build a better life for themselves.

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

The Exodus to Kansas



Analyzing VISUALS

- Analyzing** According to the map, which states were departure points for the Exodusters?
- Making Connections** What earlier events in American history would have made the Exodusters think Kansas was a good place to settle?

PRIMARY SOURCE

“One morning in April, 1879, a Missouri steamboat arrived at Wyandotte, Kansas, and discharged a load of negro men, women and children, with . . . barrels, boxes, and bundles of household effects. . . . [T]heir garments were incredibly patched and tattered . . . and there was not probably a dollar in money in the pockets of the entire party. . . . They looked like persons coming out of a dream. And, indeed, such they were . . . for this was the advance guard of the Exodus.”

—quoted in *Eyewitness: The Negro in History*

Forming a Separate Alliance

While some African Americans fled the South, others joined with poor white farmers who had created the Farmers' Alliance. Alliance leaders urged African Americans to form a similar organization. In 1886 African American farmers established the Colored Farmers' National Alliance. By 1890, the organization had about 1.2 million members.

When the Populist Party formed in 1891, many African American farmers joined the new organization. This posed a major challenge to the Democratic Party in the South. If poor whites left the party and joined with African Americans in voting for the Populists, the coalition might be unbeatable.

To win back the poor white vote, Democratic leaders began appealing to racism, warning whites that support for Populism would return the South to “Black Republican” rule, similar to Reconstruction. In addition, election officials began using various methods to make it harder and harder for African Americans to vote. As one Democratic leader in the South told a reporter, “Some of our people, some editors especially, deny that [African Americans] are hindered from voting; but what is the good of lying? They are interfered with, and we are obliged to do it, and we may as well tell the truth.”

Reading Check **Examining** Who were the Exodusters, and why did they migrate to Kansas?

Imposing Segregation

MAIN Idea Southern states passed laws that imposed segregation and denied African American men their voting rights.

HISTORY AND YOU Can you think of a rule that is unfairly or unevenly enforced? Read about the tactics used to disfranchise African Americans.

After Reconstruction ended in 1877, the rights of African Americans were gradually undermined. Attempts to unify whites and African Americans politically and economically failed. Instead, a movement to diminish the civil rights of African Americans gained momentum as the century ended.

Taking Away the Vote

The Fifteenth Amendment prohibits states from denying citizens the right to vote on the basis of “race, color, or previous condition of servitude,” but it does not bar states from denying the right to vote on other grounds. In the late 1800s, Southern states began imposing restrictions that, while not mentioning race, were designed to make it difficult or impossible for African Americans to vote.

In 1890 Mississippi began requiring all citizens registering to vote to pay a **poll tax** of \$2, a sum beyond the means of most poor African Americans. Mississippi also instituted a literacy test, requiring voters to read and understand the state constitution. Few African Americans born after the Civil War had been able to attend school and those who had grown up under slavery were largely illiterate. Even those who knew how to read often failed the test because officials deliberately picked passages that few people could understand.

Other Southern states adopted similar restrictions. In Louisiana the number of African Americans registered to vote fell from about 130,000 in 1890 to around 5,300 in 1900. In Alabama the number fell from about 181,000 to about 3,700.

Election officials were far less strict in applying the poll tax and literacy requirements to whites, but the number of white voters also fell significantly. To let more whites vote, Louisiana introduced the “grandfather clause,” which allowed any man to vote if he had an ancestor who could vote in 1867. This provision, which

was adopted in several Southern states, exempted most whites from voting restrictions such as literacy tests.


Legalizing Segregation

African Americans in the North were often barred from public places, but **segregation**, or the separation of the races, was different in the South. Southern states passed laws that enforced **discrimination**. These laws became known as **Jim Crow laws**. The term probably refers to the song “Jump Jim Crow,” which was popular in minstrel shows of the day.

Civil Rights Cases In 1883 the Supreme Court set the stage for legalized segregation when it overturned the Civil Rights Act of 1875. That law had prohibited keeping people out of public places on the basis of race and barred racial **discrimination** in selecting jurors. The 1883 Supreme Court decision, however, said that the Fourteenth Amendment provided only that “no state” could deny citizens equal protection under the law. Private organizations—such as hotels, theaters, and railroads—were free to practice segregation.

Encouraged by the Supreme Court’s ruling and by the decline of congressional support for civil rights, Southern states passed a series of laws that established racial 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 fountains.

Plessy v. Ferguson 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 arrested for riding in a “whites-only” car. In 1896 the Supreme Court, in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, upheld the Louisiana law and set out a new doctrine of “separate but equal” facilities for African Americans. The ruling established the legal basis for discrimination in the South for more than 50 years. While public facilities for African Americans in the South were always separate, they were far from equal. In many cases, they were inferior.

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** How did the Supreme Court help to legalize segregation?



ANALYZING SUPREME COURT CASES

Do states have the right to segregate citizens by race?

★ *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896

Background to the Case

When Homer Adolph Plessy, a light-skinned man who was one-eighth African American, took a seat in the whites-only section of an East Louisiana Railway train and refused to move, he was arrested. Convicted of breaking a Louisiana law enacted in 1890, Plessy appealed his case to the Louisiana Supreme Court, then to federal Supreme Court. The incident was planned in advance to test the statute, using Plessy, who appeared to be white, to show the folly of the law. Although the words “separate but equal” do not appear in the court responses, the term came to describe a condition that persisted until 1954.

How the Court Ruled

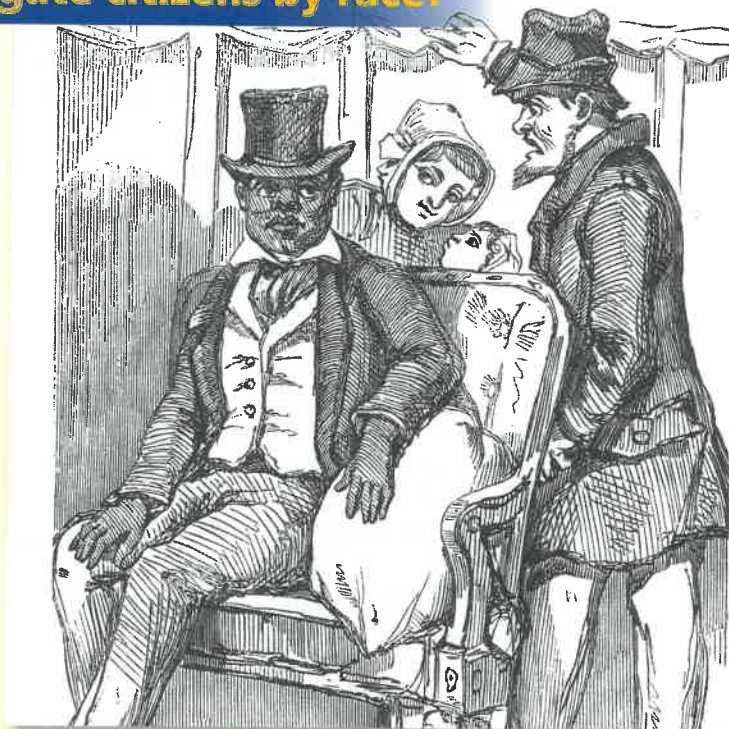
The Court upheld the right of states to make laws that sustained segregation. The majority of justices wanted to distinguish between political rights guaranteed by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and social rights.

PRIMARY SOURCE

The Court’s Opinion

“The object of the [Fourteenth] amendment was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but . . . it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either. Laws permitting, and even requiring, their separation in places where they are liable to be brought into contact do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other . . . We cannot say that a law which authorizes or even requires the separation of the two races in public conveyances is unreasonable.”

—Justice Henry Billings Brown writing for the Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson*



▲ A conductor orders Homer Plessy to leave the white section of the railroad car.

PRIMARY SOURCE

Other Views

“Our constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. . . . We boast of the freedom enjoyed by our people above all other peoples. But it is difficult to reconcile that boast with a state of law which, practically, puts the brand of servitude and degradation upon a large class of our fellow citizens—our equals before the law. The thin disguise of ‘equal’ accommodations for passengers in railroad coaches will not mislead any one, nor atone for the wrong this day done.”

—Justice John Marshall Harlan writing the lone dissent in *Plessy v. Ferguson*

DBQ Document-Based Questions

- Analyzing Primary Sources** What distinction does Justice Brown make about the rights of citizens?
- Identifying Points of View** How does Justice Harlan regard the Court’s decision?
- Evaluating** What rights do you think all states should extend to their citizens? Why do you think so?

The African American Response

MAIN Idea Some African American leaders focused on practical vocational education, while others pushed for full civil rights and educational opportunities.

HISTORY AND YOU How would your life be different without an education? Read on to learn why some early civil rights leaders focused on access to education.

The African American community responded to violence and discrimination in several ways. Ida B. Wells used the press to end violence, while Mary Church Terrell worked in education. Booker T. Washington proposed that African Americans focus on achieving economic goals, rather than political goals. W. E. B. Du Bois argued African Americans should demand equal rights immediately.

Ida B. Wells

In the late 1800s, mob violence increased in the United States, particularly in the South. Between 1890 and 1899, there was an average

of 187 **lynchings**—hangings without proper court proceedings—each year.

In 1892 **Ida B. Wells**, a fiery young African American woman from Tennessee, launched a fearless crusade against lynching. After a mob drove Wells out of town, she settled in Chicago and continued her campaign. In 1895 she published a book denouncing mob violence and demanding “a fair trial by law for those accused of crime, and punishment by law after honest conviction.” 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.

Mary Church Terrell

One lynching victim had been a close friend of Mary Church Terrell, a college-educated woman who’d been born during the Civil War. This death, and President Harrison’s refusal to publicly condemn lynching, started Terrell on her lifelong battle against lynching, racism, and sexism.

Terrell also worked with woman suffrage workers such as Jane Addams and Susan B. Anthony. In addition to helping found the

People IN HISTORY

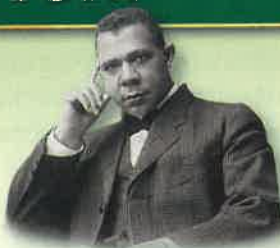
Booker T. Washington 1856–1915

Born into slavery on a plantation in Virginia, Booker T. Washington spent his childhood working in the coal mines of West Virginia. At age 16, he heard about the Hampton Institute in Virginia, where African Americans could learn farming or a trade. With little money in his pockets, Washington left home and walked nearly 500 miles to the school, where he was able to work as a janitor to pay for his education.

When the Alabama legislature decided in 1881 to begin a school to train black leaders, Washington was recommended for the job. He borrowed money to buy an abandoned plantation; the students built classrooms, a chapel, and dormitories. The Tuskegee Institute became well-known, attracting prominent scholars such as George Washington Carver to the faculty.

Washington used his influence with white businessmen to raise money for the school. He encouraged the development of black-owned businesses, and he organized the National Negro Business League in 1900. He was a nationally known spokesperson for the African American community and advised presidents William Howard Taft and Theodore Roosevelt on political appointments.

What were Booker T. Washington’s most important achievements?



W. E. B. Du Bois 1868–1963

W. E. B. Du Bois was born in Massachusetts a few years after the end of the Civil War. After graduating from Fisk University, Du Bois earned a Ph.D. from Harvard. As a professor at Atlanta University, Du Bois focused his research on race relations in the United States.

The Souls of Black Folk, Du Bois’s 1903 collection of essays, had a major impact on its readers. In them, Du Bois directly criticized Booker T. Washington for being too cautious and conservative on civil rights issues. Du Bois believed African Americans needed to insist upon equal treatment and voting rights. He also helped to found the Niagara Movement, the forerunner of the NAACP. In 1910 he began publishing *The Crisis*, the official magazine of the NAACP.

In his later years, Du Bois turned to socialism and became active in the peace movement. This led to political censure and the State Department’s refusal to allow Du Bois to travel outside the country. When he was permitted to leave, he went to Ghana, where he became a citizen the year he died.

How did W. E. B. Du Bois’s approach to civil rights differ from Washington’s approach?



Section 5 REVIEW

National Association of Colored Women and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Terrell formed the Women Wage-Earners Association, which assisted African American nurses, waitresses, and domestic workers.

Terrell led a boycott against department stores in Washington, D.C., that refused to serve African Americans. In an address to the National American Women's Suffrage Association Terrell said, "With courage, born of success achieved in the past, with a keen sense of the responsibility which we shall continue to assume, we look forward to a future large with promise and hope. Seeking no favors because of our color, nor patronage because of our needs, we knock at the bar of justice, asking an equal chance."

Calls for Compromise

The most famous African American of the late nineteenth century was the influential educator **Booker T. Washington**. He proposed that African Americans concentrate on achieving economic goals rather than political ones. In 1895 Washington summed up his views in a speech before a mostly white audience in Atlanta. Known as the Atlanta Compromise, the speech urged African Americans to postpone the fight for civil rights and instead concentrate on preparing themselves educationally and vocationally for full equality:


PRIMARY SOURCE

"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. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera-house."

—adapted from *Up From Slavery*

Du Bois Rejects Compromise

The Atlanta Compromise speech provoked a strong challenge from **W. E. B. Du Bois**, the leader of a new generation of African American activists. In his 1903 book *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois explained why he saw no advantage in giving up civil rights, even temporarily. He was particularly concerned with protecting and exercising voting rights. "Negroes must insist continually, in season and out of season," he wrote, "that voting is necessary to proper manhood, that color discrimination is barbarism." In the years that followed, many African Americans worked to win the vote and end discrimination. The struggle, however, would prove to be a long one.

 **Reading Check** **Describing** How did Ida B. Wells try to stop the practice of lynching?

Vocabulary

1. Explain the significance of: poll tax, segregation, Jim Crow laws, lynching, Ida B. Wells, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois.

Main Ideas

- 2. Describing** Under what kind of conditions did many African Americans in the South live in after Reconstruction?
- 3. Identifying** How did Southern states restrict African American voting in the 1890s?
- 4. Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the responses of some prominent African Americans to racial discrimination.

African American	Response to Discrimination
Ida B. Wells	
Booker T. Washington	
W.E.B. Du Bois	

Critical Thinking

- 5. Big Ideas** How did Booker T. Washington's answer to racial discrimination differ from that of W. E. B. Du Bois?
- 6. Analyzing Visuals** Look at the cartoon on page 251. How does the cartoonist play into white fears?

Writing About History

- 7. Expository Writing** Imagine that you are living in the 1890s. Write a letter to the editor of the local newspaper explaining your view of the Supreme Court ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

History  **ONLINE**

Study Central™ To review this section, go to glencoe.com and click on Study Central.



You can study anywhere, anytime by downloading quizzes and flashcards to your PDA from glencoe.com.

Effects of Industrialization:

1. Immigration and Urbanization

- Rise of large factories greatly increases the demand for labor in the United States, encouraging immigrants to move to America in large numbers.
- The increase in industrial jobs encourages large numbers of Americans and immigrants to settle in cities.
- As cities grow large, pollution, crime, disease, and fire become serious problems.
- New industrial technology allows cities to grow even larger with the development of the skyscraper, the elevator, and the trolley car.
- Large urban areas change the nature of politics creating corrupt urban political "machines" such as Tammany Hall in New York.



▲ A crowded immigrant community in New York in the early 1900s

Effects of Industrialization:

2. Farm Problems

- Industrialization and new technology increases farm production and creates the ability to ship farm products across the country.
- Farmers produce huge surpluses, driving down food prices, while a money shortage leads to high interest rates; farmers grow deeper in debt while income falls.
- High railroad rates in the West combine with high rents for tenant farmers in the South to create a crisis for farmers.
- Farmers form the Grange, the Alliance, and the Populist Party to help address their concerns.



▲ Sharecroppers in the South were often trapped in poverty and debt.

Effects of Industrialization:

3. Changes in Culture

- Industrial society initially leads to a strong belief in individualism; Social Darwinism emerges as the idea that government should not interfere in society.
- Ongoing social problems caused by industrialization lead to Reform Darwinism and the emergence of reformers who want to use government to help solve society's problems and regulate the economy.
- New forms of realist and naturalist art and literature depict industrial life in serious and realistic ways.



▲ Settlement houses, such as Hull House (above), helped poor immigrants educate their children and adapt to life in the United States.

Reviewing Vocabulary

Directions: Choose the word or words that best completes the sentence.

- _____ was a philosophy that believed wealthy Americans bore the responsibility of using their fortunes to further social progress.
 - Social Darwinism
 - Realism
 - Gospel of Wealth
 - Individualism
- Immigrant children became knowledgeable about American culture at public schools—a process known as
 - Americanization.
 - nativism.
 - Social Darwinism.
 - individualism.
- The rapid increase in the money supply without an increase in the amount of goods for sale caused _____, or the decline in the value of money.
 - goldbugs
 - silverites
 - deflation
 - inflation
- The _____ was an informal political group that provided city services in return for votes and political power.
 - party bosses
 - political machine
 - Populists
 - Grange
- The _____ was one method of segregation used in the South after the Civil War.
 - cooperative
 - poll tax
 - tenement
 - graft

Reviewing Main Ideas

Directions: Choose the best answers to the following questions.

Section 1 (pp. 214–219)

- In the late nineteenth century, many labor unions opposed immigration, arguing that immigrants
 - would work for higher wages.
 - eased financial drains on social services.
 - assimilated into American culture.
 - would accept jobs as strikebreakers.
- What was the major reason for Chinese immigration to the United States in the early nineteenth century?
 - Many Chinese were escaping severe unemployment and famine.
 - Many Chinese were escaping religious persecution.
 - Many Chinese left to avoid required military service.
 - Many Chinese left to escape the class system and move up the social ladder.

Section 2 (pp. 222–227)

- Working class individuals residing in cities usually lived
 - in the streetcar suburbs.
 - in tenements.
 - in fashionable downtown districts.
 - away from the central city.
- Who was the leader of Tammany Hall during the 1860s and 1870s?
 - Thomas Nast
 - James Pendergast
 - William Tweed
 - Thomas Pendergast

TEST-TAKING TIP

Read the questions carefully. From the wording of each question, you can see that some have two or three concepts in common. Find the one choice that best answers each question.

Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Go to Page . . .	231–232	239	242–243	227	250	218	217	225	227

GO ON 

Chapter 6 ASSESSMENT

Section 3 (pp. 230–239)

10. The nineteenth-century philosophy of Social Darwinism maintained that
- A the government should have control over the means of production and the marketplace.
 - B all social class distinctions in American society should be eliminated.
 - C economic success comes to those who are the hardest working and most competent.
 - D wealth and income should be more equally distributed.
11. The Interstate Commerce Act (1887) was designed to regulate interstate commerce by requiring
- A railroads to increase rebates to high-volume users.
 - B railroads to charge higher rates for short hauls.
 - C states to regulate interstate railroad traffic.
 - D the federal government to regulate railroad rates.

Section 4 (pp. 242–247)

12. Populists supported federal ownership of railroads because they thought the government would
- A increase access to railroads in rural areas.
 - B make the trains run on time.
 - C manage the railroads in the public interest.
 - D collect enough revenue to allow it to eliminate the graduated income tax.

Section 5 (pp. 248–253)

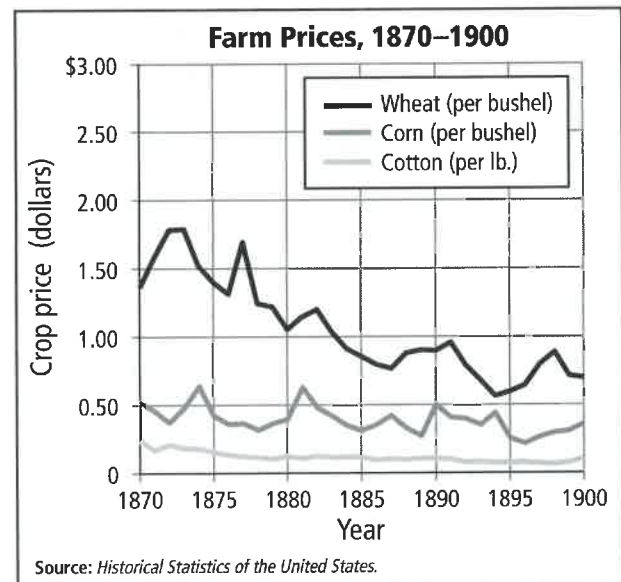
13. The ruling from *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) was based on the Supreme Court's interpretation of the
- A necessary and proper clause from Article I, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution.
 - B free speech provision of the First Amendment.
 - C equal protection clause in the Fourteenth Amendment.
 - D voting rights provision in the Fifteenth Amendment.

Critical Thinking

Directions: Choose the best answers to the following questions.

14. In 1890 the Populists formed the People's Party and supported
- A the subtreasury plan where farmers could store crops in warehouses to force prices up.
 - B limited governmental regulations for the railroad companies.
 - C the election of senators by state legislatures.
 - D the free coinage of gold.

Base your answer to question 15 on the chart below and your knowledge of Chapter 6.



15. What happened to crop prices between 1870 and 1880?
- A The price of cotton increased as the price of wheat and corn decreased.
 - B The price of wheat, corn, and cotton increased.
 - C The price of cotton, wheat, and corn stayed the same following an initial increase.
 - D The price of wheat significantly decreased as the price of cotton decreased steadily.

Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	10	11	12	13	14	15
Go to Page . . .	230–231	234–235	245	250	245	243

GO ON

16. Which of the following concepts is associated with the Gospel of Wealth?
- A survival of the fittest
 - B laissez-faire
 - C unregulated competition
 - D philanthropy

Analyze the cartoon and answer the question that follows. Base your answer on the cartoon and on your knowledge of Chapter 6.



17. What does the cartoon express about immigrants coming to the United States?
- A Immigrants were welcome to the United States.
 - B Immigrants had to pass by dogs to gain entry.
 - C Anarchists, Socialists, and Communists were welcome.
 - D Anarchists, Socialists, and Communists were not welcome.
18. The "new immigrants" to the United States between 1890 and 1915 came primarily from
- A southern and eastern Europe.
 - B northern and western Europe.
 - C East Asia.
 - D Latin America.

Document-Based Questions

Directions: Analyze the document and answer the short-answer questions that follow the document.

Reaction in the United States to "old" immigration was generally more favorable than reaction to "new" immigration. The following excerpt from an 1882 editorial in the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* addresses the effects of immigration on the nation:

"In the very act of coming and traveling to reach his destination, he [the immigrant] adds ... to the immediate prosperity and success of certain lines of business. Not only do the ocean steamers ... get very large returns in carrying passengers of this description, but in forwarding them to the places chosen by the immigrants as their future homes the railroad companies also derive great benefit and their passenger traffic is greatly swelled. ...

... These immigrants not only produce largely, ... but, having wants which they cannot supply themselves, create a demand for outside supplies. ... Thus it is that the Eastern manufacturer finds the call upon him for his wares and goods growing more urgent all the time, thus the consumption of coal keeps on expanding notwithstanding the check to new railroad enterprises, and thus there is a more active and larger interchange of all commodities."

—from *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*

19. According to the editorial, what effect did immigration have on the nation's economy?
20. How is the editorial's view of the effects of immigration different from that of the nativists?

Extended Response

21. Identify how events during the late 1800s and early 1900s, such as urbanization and immigration, influenced social change, and evaluate the extent to which reform movements were successful in bringing about change. Write an expository essay that supports your answer with relevant facts, examples, and details.

STOP

History  ONLINE

For additional test practice, use Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 6 at glencoe.com.

Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions ...	16	17	18	19	20	21
Go to Page ...	231–232	230–233	214–215	257	218–219	236–239