

Chapter 15 through Chapter 24 of Brinkley (422-673*)

Chapter 15, Reconstruction and the New South

The Abandonment of Reconstruction (pp. 442-427)

Party concerns between the Republican Grant administration and the Democratic southern militias and local leaders made the reconstruction process related to the politics and not protecting freed slaves. By the end of the Grant administration, democrats had taken over (“redeemed”) local governments. By 1876, all federal troops had left the South.

- I. The Southern States “Redeemed”
 - A. In the upper South (mostly white), men regained suffrage and needed to organize and vote
 - B. In the deep South (50% black or more), whites intimidated blacks with terrorism
 - 1. Ku Klux Klan
 - 2. Knights
 - 3. White Camellia
 - C. Red Shirts and White Leagues (parliamentary organizations) “policed elections,” forced blacks to be Democrats
 - D. The Ku Klux Klan was the most effective organization
 - 1. General Nathan Bedford Forrest (Confederate) founded it in 1866
 - 2. Absorbed other societies, created language, rituals, costumes
 - 3. “Midnight Rides”—intimidated black communities with white costumes
 - E. Societies worked as a military force to fight the North and establish:
 - 1. Planter Class
 - 2. White Supremacy
 - 3. Democratic dominance
 - F. The most powerful weapon against Republican blacks was withholding land, credit, etc. (economics)
- II. The Ku Klux Klan Acts
 - A. The Enforcement Act (KKK Acts), passed by rep. Congress, were very radical
 - 1. States couldn’t stop voting based on race
 - 2. Federal gov’t could prosecute violators of law (instead of state courts); federal attorneys prosecuted conspirators
 - 3. Denied habeas corpus (individuals are freed from jail unless they are formally charged with a crime), military could be used
 - 4. Oct. 1871, Grant sends federal troops to 9 counties in SC, arrests Klansmen
 - B. Decline of the Klan, effective although rarely severe, the KKK Acts brought KKK decline by 1872
- III. Warning Northern Commitment
 - A. When blacks were allowed to vote (1870), northerners thought blacks could now take care of themselves, Enforcement Acts were the peak of commitment
 - B. Old Radicals (Charles Sumner, Horace Greeley) now “Liberals,” very much like democrats; many Southern Republicans joined Liberals and then Democrats
 - C. Impact of Social Darwinism
 - 1. Panic of 1873, economic crises caused Northern industrialists to look for a scapegoat or at least an explanation for trouble
 - 2. Social Darwinism—those who fail in society are the weak; strong prevail, survival of the fittest
 - 3. Unemployed and poor Southern blacks were misfits
 - 4. Support for land redistribution and willingness to spend money to aid freedmen waned; South ended services to blacks because of lack of money
 - 5. 1874, Democrats take the House, after 1876 (following terrorism), Democrats took SC, LA, FL, only remaining Republican states
 - 6. Federal troops left (who had kept Republicans in power) and left Democrats in power
- IV. The Compromise of 1877
 - A. Hayes vs. Tilden
 - 1. Republicans decline Grant and select Rutherford B. Hayes (general, congressman, governor, champion of civil service reform)
 - 2. Democrats pick Samuel J. Tilden
 - 3. A bitter campaign between two conservative moderate reformers
 - 4. Tilden had victory but territories had votes and could sway the election
 - 5. Congress had to decide (Senate was Republican, House was Democratic)
 - B. Special Electoral Commission
 - 1. 5 senators, 5 reps, 5 judges compose commission to break deadlock (1/1877)
 - 2. 7 Republicans, 7 Democrats, 1 independent, sympathetic to Republicans
 - 3. Awarded disputed votes to Hayes, Hayes was inaugurated
 - 4. During Democratic filibuster, Republican senate met with Southern Democrats to allow Hayes
 - 5. Southerners would abandon filibuster (intended to mess up Commission Report), if Republicans removed federal troops from the South
 - C. Compromise of 1877
 - 1. Southerners actually required: appointment of a Southerner to the cabinet, and economic provisions (railroad, internal improvements) because troops were already withdrawing; wanted to industrialize South

* Newer edition, omitting Chapter 19 (532-571), Part of Chapter 23 (640-646)

- 2. Hayes was hated by Dems, said he wanted “wise, honest, and peaceful local self-government” in the South but was still attacked, called “his Fraudulency”
 - D. Republican Failure in the South: tried to made a “new Republican” organization from “Whiggish conservatives” but Reconstruction was hated and abandoned along with the efforts to control Southern politics, and help blacks
- V. The Legacies of Reconstruction
- A. Reconstruction largely failed and there would be no attempt to help the problem of race for about a century
 - B. Ideological Limits
 - 1. Errors of the directors of reform helped to cause racial issues to be fixed
 - 2. Also, the Constitution did not allow the federal government to encroach on state issues, private property, and free enterprise
 - 3. African Americans were believed inferior, it is a wonder that Reconstruction achieved anything
 - C. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments (citizenship, the right to vote) would lead to a “Second Reconstruction” later on although they were ignored now

The New South (pp. 427-439)

Although the Compromise of 1877 did not establish a Republican party in the South and even strengthened the white Southern allegiance to the Democratic party, the South changed in the following years in some ways that the framers of the Compromise had hoped.

The “Redeemers”

- A. Bourbon Rule
 - 1. By the end of 1877 the southern governments had been “redeemed” or restored in political power to the Democrats
 - 2. Some rejoiced in “home rule” but others felt pressured by the Bourbon (aristocratic) oligarchy that would control the southern governments
 - 3. In some places (Alabama) retained their planter elite as the ruling class
 - 4. In most areas, there was a new ruling class (merchants, lower classes moving up, planters, and northern immigrants) who supported conservatism and economic development.
 - 5. Most governments nationwide were corrupt, the Bourbons were no exception and were worse than the Reconstruction governments
 - 6. Bourbons lowered taxes, spending, and government services (public schools, Reconstruction accomplishments)
- B. The Readjuster Challenge
 - 1. By late 1870s, dissenting groups challenged Bourbons, protesting service cuts and supporting the paying off of prewar and Reconstruction debts at the original rates of interest; they were often either lower class whites or blacks
 - 2. In Virginia, “Readjusters” gained control of legislature in 1879, supporting the paying off of debts and public service improvement; got governorship and Senate seats; other states followed
 - 3. By mid-1880s, through racial prejudice, conservatives regained control

II. Industrialization and the “New South”

- A. Henry Grady
 - 1. Many, including the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, Henry Grady, supported industrialization because they believed that it was the North’s biggest advantage in the War.
 - 2. Supported thrift, industry, and progress
 - 3. Southerners were not totally willing to break ties with their past and often talked of the “Lost Cause,” especially in literature
 - 4. Joel Chandler Harris’s *Uncle Remus* idealized slavery; Thomas Nelson Page praised the old Virginia aristocracy
 - 5. New South leaders “faced their future with one foot still in the past” with the romanticism of the Old South
 - 6. New industry was established by processing good in the South (textiles, James B. Duke’s NC-based American Tobacco Company, Alabama’s steel industry)
- B. Railroad Development
 - 1. In an attempt to modernize, the South increased railroads and adjusted its track gauge to that of the North
 - 2. The South really only regained what it had lost during the war (10% of industry was in the South)

III. C. Industrialization

- 1. Average Southern income was 40% that of the North at 1900 (>60% in 1860)
- 2. Industrialization required a larger workforce (mostly women)
- 3. Wages were lower than the South, hours were long, families hired, unmarried women too because of war casualties
- 4. Company owners suppressed workers (owners went to South because they could pay less), they sold goods to workers at inflated prices
- 5. However, a strong sense of community established in mill towns
- 6. Racial harmony grew in mill towns although textiles excluded black
- C. “Convict-lease” System
 - 1. Companies leased convicts from states, paying the states fees
 - 2. Convicts were mistreated and killed, and labor was denied to the public because of the cheap system

III. D. Tenants and Sharecroppers

- A. The South remained largely agrarian but with problems such as a tenantry, lack of diversity in crops, and absentee ownership
- B. Farmers often rented land (crop-lien system), 70% was held by tenants in 1900
- C. Sometimes farmers had supplies but most (many blacks) were supplied with equipment and money in return for a large share of the crops: “Sharecropping”
- D. The Transformation of the Backcountry
 - 1. Backcountry, independent farmers, little slavery, rugged lives

2. Cash crops took over food crops to pay debts
 3. Before, the backcountry (and American West) had open ranges with fenced off crops, now fence laws required fencing off livestock
 4. Backcountry farmers lost independence and would comprise protest groups in the 1880s and 1890s
 5. African American felt the effects of the crop-lien system harshly
- IV. African Americans and the New South
- A. Black Middle Class
 1. Slave-heritage Blacks elevated themselves into a significant middle class beneath the white middle class by being doctors, lawyers, and businessmen for Blacks; Maggie Lena was president of the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank
 2. Blacks supported education and increased the institutions
 - B. Booker T. Washington
 1. Booker T. Washington, founder and president of the Tuskegee Institution (Alabama) was the chief advocate of Black and Black education
 2. He believed that blacks should adopt the habits of the White middle class through an industrial education (not classical)
 3. Blacks should focus on self-improvement and prepare for equality
 4. In 1895 GA, he delivered the Atlanta Compromise, outlining his philosophy that Blacks should not challenge racism but should improve themselves because then they will not be ostracized
- V. The Birth of Jim Crow
- A. After 1877 when federal troops withdrew, the South and the Supreme court did what it could to establish racism and white supremacy
 - B. They allowed institutions to segregate (14th only specified state governments)
 - C. Plessy v. Ferguson—as long as accommodations were equal, segregation was allowed
 - D. Cumming v. County Board of Education—schools did not even have to be equal accommodations
 - E. Working from subordination to segregation
 1. Black electorate was kept in some places to be manipulated
 2. Some states removed black voting immediately
 3. Conservatives were afraid that poor blacks and whites would unite against them, increased regulations for voting
 - F. Restricting the Franchise
 1. Had to get around 15th that said that you could not restrict the vote because of race
 2. Two devices, property restriction and understanding test for the Constitution
 3. Restrictions were applied unequally but affected poor whites as well as blacks
 4. Some states passed “grandfather laws” that allowed people to vote if their ancestors voted before Reconstruction (no blacks) but most elite liked to see blacks and poor whites (opposition) barred from the poles
 5. Grandfather laws banned, in Williams v. Mississippi, literacy test validated by Supreme Court
 - G. White Control Perpetuated
 1. Blacks were segregated in almost all aspects of life by 1900
 2. Jim Crow laws maintained in the urban South what had been maintained by custom in the rural South
 - H. Lynchings
 1. Lynchings were killings by mobs because a victim either committed a crime or violated his proper station
 2. Blacks composed 80% of 187 lynching victims a year in the 1890s
 3. Celebrated lynchings in cities, approved by authorities, of black prisoners in huge public displays
 4. More frequently, the families and friends of a supposed victim gathered secretly for a lynching
 5. In efforts to control blacks through terrorism, lynchings were used frequently for ridiculous “crimes”
 6. Victims of lynchings could not try to prove innocents or use laws
 7. Often accused to sexual advances toward white women, because white men feared blacks would attract women
 8. Anti-lynching efforts by Ida B. Wells, a white journalist (Memphis, TN)
 9. She wrote anti-lynching articles (black journalist), she wanted a federal nation anti-lynching law, supported by whites in the north and south, especially women so the federal government could punish those responsible for lynchings
 - I. White Unity
 1. Whites united between classes in support of white supremacy, strengthened Bourbons
 2. So, since the government was focused on white supremacy, it ignored economics
 3. White supremacy was a burden to blacks and poor whites alike

Chapter 16, The Conquest of the Far West

Pioneers such as farmers, ranchers, and miners settled west around 1845 and recreated the image of “The Great American Desert” to a legendary “Frontier.” Many Americans were in the west before the Civil War. Despite efforts to disperse established native populations, the Anglo-Americans found themselves among them with their influence in everything they did. Pioneers, the “rugged individualists” really relied on federal money and the capitalism of the East.

The Societies of the Far West

The [Far] West (“Great West”) was more than just one region beyond the Mississippi River; it was filled with many peoples and different environments

- I. The Western Tribes
 - A. Some were displaced Cherokees and Creeks
 - B. Decimation of Serrano, Chumash, Pomo, Maidu, Yurok, and Chinook
 1. 300,000 Indians had been decreased to 150,000 when Spanish diseases came to the Pacific coast

2. Lived within the Hispanic society
- C. Pueblos
 1. Farmers who had established irrigation systems, towns, and commerce
 2. Formed an alliance with Apaches, Navajos, and Comanches
- D. Elaborate Caste System, exemplary of the Spanish Empire's preoccupation with racial ancestry
 1. Spanish and Mexicans
 2. Pueblos
 3. Apaches, Navajos, *genizaros* or "Indians w/o tribes"
- E. Plains Indians
 1. Diverse group of Indians (alliances v. conflict / sedentary v. nomadic hunters)
 2. Tribes were subdivided into bands, interrelated groups
 3. Bands had their own governing councils and decision making processes
 4. Practiced a nature religion
 5. Typical male/female roles within each band
 6. Hunted buffaloes on small horses, moved from place to place constructing tepees, did not disturb land
- F. Economic Importance of the Buffalo
 1. Followed grazing buffalo, relied completely on them
 2. Principle food was buffalo flesh, clothes were skin
- G. Warfare
 1. A warring group, trained in small skirmishes
 2. Established reputations of being aggressive and fierce among themselves
 3. Sioux were the most powerful military force in the Plains
- H. Indian Weaknesses
 1. Did not unite against white aggression (Some alliances did form, however, like the Cheyenne-Sioux-Arapaho)
 2. Vulnerable to white diseases like smallpox
 3. Also, they were outmanned and outgunned by a more economically secure, industrially advanced people
- II. Hispanic New Mexico
 - A. American acquired Mexican lands with many Mexican people
 - B. Spanish-speakers in CA, NM, TX and AZ were transformed by capitalism
 - C. A diverse group of people, original and migrant, lived in NM communities since the 1600s
 - D. Taos Indian Rebellion
 1. General Stephen Kearney tried to establish a territorial government excluding the Mexican ruling class
 2. Hispanic-Indian fears caused the Taos Indians to rebel but the US organized a territorial government anyway
 - E. "Territorial Rings"
 1. Confiscated 2 million acres of land
 2. Put the old Hispanic elite out of power
 - F. Hispanic growth—Because the US Army had broken the Navajo-Apache power, Hispanics (long harassed by the alliance) were able to grow
 - G. Hispanic Resistance—Hispanics, mostly Mexican peasants, were so far from the Americans that many kept to themselves
 - H. Railroad increased expansion dramatically, along with Anglo-Americans, 100,000 Mexicans moved to West
- III. Hispanic California and Texas
 - A. Many Spanish missionaries took Indians to California, baptized them, and forced them to work like slaves
 - B. Decline of Mission Society
 1. The Mexican government forced power from the missionaries to a secular aristocracy
 2. Anglo-American influence was disastrous to the *californios* who were excluded from everything and lost their lands
 - C. Southern resistance
 1. In southern California, there were fewer whites and the *rancheros* who raised cattle found a market in the north
 2. Many ruinous factors in the 1860s caused a defeat of Hispanic society and aristocracy by 1880
 - D. Declining Status of Hispanics
 1. Texan Hispanics lost their land and power to the Anglo-Americans as well
 2. In Brownsville, Juan Cortina, a rancher, freed all Hispanics in a jail
 3. Despite his efforts to harass whites, the Mexican government imprisoned him
 4. Mexicans eventually became the working/lower class
 - E. Overall society
 1. Worse for the Indians than for the Hispanics
 2. Hispanics found work and new opportunities among Anglo-Americans
 3. Overall, however, the Hispanics became an "impoverished working class"
- IV. The Chinese Migration
 - A. Like Europeans, many Chinese moved to the New World for new opportunities from Australia to Hawaii to US
 - B. Racism
 1. About 200,000 Chinese were accepted for a while as "one of the most worthy classes of our newly adopted citizens"
 2. When they worked too hard, whites saw them as a threat and they had to deal with racism and discrimination
 - C. Although Chinese were successful gold-miners, the government made a "foreign miners tax"
 - D. New, better mines, financed by the East pushed Chinese out of mining
 - E. Building the Transcontinental Railroad
 1. Chinese worked hard with little wages and few demands, making 90% of the western railroad workforce
 2. Little protection from weather and conditions
 3. A failed rebellion by 5,000 Chinese ended in them being starved into submission
 4. After the railroad was done, they were out of work and found many different occupations
 - F. Establishment of "Chinatowns"

1. Many Chinese lived in urban towns/San Francisco
 2. In Chinatowns in cities throughout California, Chinese merchants made a community that served as a small city, almost functioning as a family
 3. Some Chinese organizations, “tongs,” organizing opium trade, prostitution, and street fights
 4. Many Chinese worked in laundries because it was easy to establish
- G. Only a few women compared to men, about half became prostitutes
- H. Government worked to stamp out prostitution and balance the sexes
- V. Anti-Chinese Sentiments
- A. Anti-Coolie Clubs—Clubs organized to violently harass Chinese for accepting low wages, undercutting whites in unions
 - B. Democrats, members of the Workingmen’s Party of California, and capitalists attack the Chinese
 - C. Chinese Exclusion Act—no Chinese immigration for 10 years, no naturalization of Chinese, renewed and permanent
 - D. Chinese Resistance
 1. Six Companies (Chinese merchants or Chinatowns) petitioned the government with little avail
 2. Annoyed that Italians, Irish, and Jews were allowed to come to America but Chinese were not
- VI. Migration from the East
- A. There was already a substantial Anglo- and African-American population in West
 - B. California, Texas, and Oregon were already states
 - C. Along with Anglo-Americans, new European immigrants flocked to the West in millions
 - D. After the Transcontinental Railroad was completed, even more immigrants came
 - E. Homestead Act
 1. People could buy 160 acres of land as long as they improved it over 5 years
 2. A progressive measure to form new outposts for commercial agriculture
 3. 400,000 homesteaders gained title while many abandoned it because 160 acres could not sustain a grazing farm
 - F. Government Assistance
 1. Timber Culture Act—160 more acres if 40 acres of trees were planted
 2. Dessert Land Act—640 acres if you irrigate it in 3 years
 3. Timber and Stone Act—\$2.50 an acre in nonarable land
 4. Although this helped, fraud caused millions of acres to be taken unlawfully
 - G. After Kansas was made a state, many states petitioned for admission to the Union
 - H. At 1900 only Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma were still territories because of late settlement and low populations

The Changing Western Economy

A major effect of Anglo-American settlement in the west was eastern corporation involvement in the economy. Eastern corporations tied themselves to the west and the rest of the world, offering a venue for the great industry that was to erupt.

- I. Labor in the West
 - A. Although pay in the west was high because it was difficult to find workers when away from large towns and unwilling to hire Indians, the working conditions, lack of job security, and eventually competition from Chinese quickly made the pay worth it.
 - B. Many unemployed mobile men in the west (10% of population single), unmarried women worked as prostitutes, etc.
 - C. Limited social mobility—those without money often stayed poor, the rich got richer, mimicking the East
 - D. Racially stratified working class—although the upper tiers of society were mostly white, unskilled workers worked alongside Europeans, African Americans, Chinese, Filipinos, Mexicans, and Indians
 - E. Stereotypes
 1. White employers and workers alike believed that Chinese, Mexicans, and Filipinos were small enough to work in mines, accustomed to the heat for fields, and unambitious enough to work for low wages without the hope of mobility
 2. These stereotypes were perpetuated by white workers because it gave them hope for social mobility
- II. The Arrival of Miners
 - A. The mining boom served as the first western economy from 1860-1890 when migrants hope to make quick money
 - B. Life Cycle of a Mining Boom—a stampede starts with the news of gold or silver, followed by mining the surface gold or silver, digging deeper for quartz etc., and then limited mining with permanent local farming establishments
 - C. Pike’s Peak, Colorado—50,000 prospectors create boom towns in 1858 for a short time to mine gold; afterwards the Guggenheim interests (a corporation) established itself and found silver near Leadville
 - D. Comstock Lode—Henry Comstock found gold and silver in the Washoe district of Nevada, in the middle of the desert; yielding from 1860-1880 \$306 million
 - E. Black Hills of Dakota—1874 gold was discovered, after the placer (surface) deposits ran out, the Homestake (a company) took over mining and the Dakotas became an agricultural economy
 - F. The great Anaconda copper mine (William Clark, 1881) and successive mining in tin, lead, quartz, and zinc became an industry instead of the short-lived gold and silver rushes
 - G. Boomtown life—an optimistic spirit prevailed and although most did not become rich, “bonanza kings” who did usually came from impoverished backgrounds
 - H. Gender imbalance—usually boom towns were “bad men” and outlaws who used their own laws in “vigilante” communities; women in the west usually came with their husbands working as cooks, laundresses, and tavern keepers but some were single prostitutes
 - I. Prospectors who did not strike it rich worked as miners for corporate mines, very dangerous work (1/30 was disabled, 1/80 killed). Heat stroke (>100°) or pneumonia (upon leaving the mine), cave ins, silicosis, carbon dioxide-related problems, etc., added to the danger of mines
- III. The Cattle Kingdom
 - A. The open range (unfenced) of the West was perfect for the cattle industry, invented by Mexicans and transported via Texans through the West

- B. Usually herds were moved by the Missouri Pacific Railroad but getting their was very difficult: transporting 260,000 head herds, over rough country, with outlaws everywhere
- C. Chisholm Trail—this trail to Abilene, Kansas and the Kansas Pacific Railroad was the most important until many other cities further west sprang up after the mid-1870s
- D. The romanticized sight of a the “long drive” consisted of rounding up huge herds, distinguishing with brands, and moving out; usually confederate veterans and African Americans were cowboys
- E. Ranch—employer’s dwelling, quarters for employees, grazing land; open ranges turned into fenced ones with development. The industry was a risky one with thieves and disease to decimate herds
- F. Competition with Farmers—“Range Wars” between farmers who fenced land and broke up the open range, sheepmen, and cattlemen sometimes resulted in property damage and loss of life
- G. Because of claims that money would increase ninefold in four years, the ranching business became corporate but could not be sustained with overstocked fields, a broken open range, and bad climate from 1885-1887, decimating herds substantially
- H. Although the open-range industry never recovered, established ranches thrived
- I. West provided opportunity for women including suffrage (WY), political office, and sedentary ranching (250,000 women owned ranches and farms by 1890)
- J. Political Gains for Women—women were allowed suffrage for many reasons
 1. Utah—to stave off criticism of polygamy
 2. Many states women were used to have a large enough electorate for statehood
 3. Women (the more “generous and virtuous” sex) were supposed to bring stability to politics

The Romance of the West

Since the first settlers came, the interior of America had a romantic appeal to white Anglo-Americans.

- I. The Western Landscape
 - A. “Rocky Mountain School”—painters (esp. Albert Bierstadt and Thomas Moran) painted grandiose canvases of landscapes emphasizing the ruggedness and dramatic variety of the region, reflecting the awe of the east that earlier painters saw
 - B. In the 1880s and 1890s, whites began to travel by railroads to resorts to experience the wonders of the wilderness
- II. The Cowboy Culture
 - A. Myth of the Cowboy—the cowboy was romanticized as a man with a free-spirited rugged lifestyle instead of the structured eastern culture. He was really a low-paid worker
 - B. Novels like Owen Wister’s *The Virginian* emphasized the cowboy’s affinity for nature and violence, along with his freedom, rather than his loneliness, tedium, and lack of advancement. Wild West Shows, pulp fiction, serious literature, and magazines also often focused on cowboys
 - C. The cowboy free-spirit and the open range is a celebrated idea today (Disney’s 2004 *Home on the Range*)
- III. The Idea of the Frontier
 - A. Romantic Image of the West—the last frontier idea caused a strong pull westward
 - B. In *Roughing It*, Mark Twain wrote about the romantic Nevada during the mine boom; he also wrote about the closer frontier of the Mississippi Valley in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* with the theme of escape from tradition
 - C. Frederic Remington—one of the most beloved painters of the late 19th century, he romanticized the free spirit of the cowboy
 - D. Theodore Roosevelt—trying to recover from the death of his young wife, he explored the Dakota Badlands in the mid-1880s after dreaming about it his whole life; he wrote *The Winning of the West* (4 volumes), a romanticized account of the westward migration
- IV. Frederick Jackson Turner
 - A. Frederick Jackson Turner was a historian at the University of Wisconsin
 - B. At 33, he delivered the paper “The Significance of the Frontier in American History”
 - C. He argued that since there was so much settlement now, there was no longer a frontier line, marking a huge step in American development, the end of an era (the frontier thesis)
 - D. Although largely inaccurate because the land was previously occupied and much was to be discovered, he was generally right that grazing and farming land was established
- V. The Loss of Utopia
 - A. Psychological Loss—with the “passing of the frontier,” Americans had a sense of opportunities foreclosed; Henry Nash Smith (historian) in *Virgin Land* called “the myth of garden” that the west was a Garden of Eden for the American to start anew
 - B. Helen Hunt Jackson’s *Romona* (1884) is about a agrarian California before settlement full of rugged Hispanics and saintly missionaries
 - C. “The setting of utopia, once the New World as a whole, had shrunk to the West of the United States. And now even that West seemed to be vanishing” (461)

The Dispersal of the Tribes (461–467)

Picturing a “virgin land,” whites tried to expel Indians to fit their imagination of the west.

- I. White Tribal Policies
 - A. Although formal treaties were sometimes drawn up with independent tribes considered nations, white settlers’ pressure to government often resulted in broken promises and stolen land
 - B. “Concentration Policy”—In 1851, tribes were assigned reservations in treaties negotiated by white-chosen “treaty chiefs;” reservations were scattered and easy to control, leaving desirable lands for white settlement but the theory did not stay long
 - C. Indian Peace Commission—in 1867, after bloody conflicts, a commission of soldiers and civilians bribed representatives of the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Sioux, and others to agree to moving to large reservations (Oklahoma, Dakota)

- D. Poorly Administered Reservations—The Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior was very corrupt
- E. Buffalo hunting acted as attrition to Indian economy
 - 1. Buffalo were killed for food for Gold Rushers
 - 2. Easterners wanted buffalo hide coats from the romantic west
 - 3. Railroad companies hired hunters like Buffalo Bill Cody to kill buffalo who were obstacles to railroads
 - 4. Some Indian tribes (Blackfeet) hunted them for money
 - 5. Ecology—whites took up land from buffalo
 - 6. 15 million buffalo are decimated to a thousand in a decade
 - 7. Bureau of Indian Affairs supported killing buffalo to cause attrition of Indian economy
 - 8. Encouraged war
- II. The Indian Wars
 - A. Indian Resistance—attacks from 1850-1880 went from small raids on ranches, etc. to attacks on the US Army
 - B. Eastern Sioux (MN) killed 700 whites, 38 Indians hanged, exiled to Dakotas
 - C. Sand Creek Massacre
 - 1. Fighting between miners and Arapaho and Cheyenne (CO)
 - 2. Whites prepared to massacre attacking Indians and allowed friendly Indians to go to a camp to avoid the raid (1864)
 - 3. Led by Black Kettle, an Arapaho and Cheyenne band was attacked by Colonel J. M. Chivington and many drunks
 - 4. 133 people (105 women/children) killed
 - 5. Black Kettle escaped only to be killed by troops led by Colonel George A. Custer four years later (1868)
 - D. After the Civil War conflict was stepped up, especially in Montana when Red Cloud led Indians in a war of attrition against workers building a road that broke up the buffalo range
 - E. “Indian Hunting”—whites killed Indians as sport; bounty hunters brought skulls for money to those who financed the elimination
 - F. Government refused to negotiate any more treaties and wanted Indians to assimilate to a genuine “civilization”
 - G. New resistance, some led by Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull
 - H. Little Bighorn—2500 warriors massacred and killed 264 whites including George A. Custer
 - I. Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull’s tribes were attacked, Sioux weakened, they were later killed by reservation police
 - J. Nez Percé killed 4 whites when they were drunk
 - K. Chief Joseph—led a band of Nez Percé in flight over 1000 miles in 75 days and then gave up to be shipped all over the US
 - L. Chiricahua Apaches, last to resist whites
 - M. “Ghost Dance”—Sioux in trouble turn to religious prophet, Wovoka, recommended mass “Ghost Dance” to bring about the coming of a Messiah, a white retreat, and help buffalo
 - N. Wounded Knee—7th Cavalry (Custer’s regiment) massacred 200 starving Indian (mostly women and children), losing about 40
- III. The Dawes Act
 - A. New policy without reservations for “vanishing race” of Indians to force them to assimilate to white society
 - B. Assimilation—the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 gave land to Indians that they couldn’t sell for 25 years to keep them from losing it; forced assimilation, took children to white Christian boarding schools
 - C. Indians were not ready, resisted, Burke Act of 1906 also tried to force assimilation
 - D. There was no answer, Indian interests conflicted with that of the expanding whites

The Rise and Decline of the Western Farmer (467–470)

Farmers poured into the West, assuming Indian lands and challenging ranchers in the 1870s; after flourishing for about ten years, agriculture in the West and the rest of America began a decline because there was no market for all of the goods.

- I. Farming of the Plains
 - A. Railroads including the Transcontinental Railroad were great achievements that contributed very much to westward expansion
 - A. Of greater importance were subsidiary lines promoted by states with financial aid
 - B. Key Role of the Railroad—railroad companies set low rates, promoted settlement for mercenary reasons, and sold their land at low prices
 - C. Climate—rainfall increased, dispelling idea of a desert
 - D. Barbed Wire—fencing was a problem, wood was too expensive, two Illinois farmers developed barbed wire, the new standard of fencing
 - E. Water was an issue: the west relied on irrigation, controlling water, and who controlled water were questions
 - F. Drought—after a wet climate, farmers faced drought and resisted with dust-blanket tillage (dryland farming), wells, and drought-resistant crops but no large-scale irrigation projects could be facilitated
 - G. Hard Times for Farmers—excessive agriculture in the nation coupled with expensive production in the west caused farmers to go in ruinous debt; a reverse migration occurred after farmers sold farms
- II. Commercial Agriculture
 - A. The romantic independent farmer was replaced by commercial farmers who specialized in cash crops to raise their living standards but were dependent on interest rates
 - B. Agriculture increased worldwide in the Americas, Russia, and the South Pacific; since domestic markets could not use all the goods, they relied on an international market
 - Consequences of Overproduction—prices dropped and farm families were forced out of their trade
- III. The Farmers’ Grievances
 - A. Farmers criticized railroads freight rates for agriculture because they were more than for other goods
 - B. They resented banks and the lack of currency...demanded increase in currency volume
 - C. Controlled by economic forces beyond their control, farmers would plant huge crops when prices were high and then harvest when prices were low as a result of luck

- D. Middlemen benefited themselves at the farmers' expense
 - E. Farmers believed the East was conspiring against them
- IV. The Agrarian Malaise
- A. Isolation—farms were huge, spread out over vast areas so most farmers saw human life only once in a while; they had no recreation and were made fun of by the urban population as “hayseeds;” their own children left for cities
 - B. Caused a discontent, spurring a political movement
 - C. Although romanticized, they felt differently
 - D. The agrarian “backbone of American life” was falling to the urban-industrial society of the East

Chapter 17, Industrial Supremacy

Sources of Industrial Growth (474-483)

An abundance of raw materials, a large labor supply, a surge in technology, ambitious business leaders, and an expanding domestic market were all factors in the growth of American industry.

- I. Industrial Technologies
 - A. Iron and steel industries grew in the 1870s and 1880s because iron was used for railroads and steel was the most used metal of the days.
 - B. New Steel Production Techniques—Henry Bessemer and William Kelly developed a new process for steel production from iron; Robert Mushet added new ingredients to steel; Abram S. Hewitt continued to improve the Bessemer process
 - C. The new steel production methods made it a more available alloy, especially for railroads
 - D. Pittsburgh—steel industry boomed in Ohio and western PA because they already had iron and fuel like coal; Pittsburgh became the capital; UP, Michigan, Birmingham AL and other areas were also large steel producers
 - E. Made new massive furnaces 75 feet tall
 - F. New oil-carrying vessels and bigger ships were built
 - G. Intimate contracts between steel and railroad companies; PA Railroad spawns PA Steel Company
 - H. Rise of the Petroleum Industry—1850s, George Bissell showed that the oil reserves in PA had commercial value in lamps, paraffin, and naphtha. Advanced to 4th most important export
- II. The Airplane and the Automobile
 - A. Creation of gasoline caused European engineers like Nicolaus August Otto to develop the internal combustion engine; Gottfried Daimler improved on it
 - B. Henry Ford—improving on Charles and Frank Duryeas' design, Ford created cars and mass produced them: 5 million by 1917; caused a change in the American landscape
 - C. As long as humans were on earth, they had been futilely trying to fly; engineers in around the turn of the century began to have success
 - D. The Wright Brothers—Wilbur and Orville Wright developed a glider powered with an internal combustion engine in their bicycle shop in OH, flew it in Kitty Hawk, NC 120 feet and improved it to over 23 miles with passengers
 - E. With a slow foothold in America, French engineers helped develop airplanes; American jets became important in WWI and Charles Lindbergh's solo flight from NY to Paris made it an obsession
- III. Research and Development
 - A. Government cut funding for their research projects, private corporations began to hire engineers who were scientists working for a practical cause
 - B. Private scientists continued to work on basic research without and immediate monetary value
 - C. Universities expanded and began to research for private investing companies
 - D. Historians believe that the university partnership for research was a result of the market's success
- IV. The Science of Production
 - A. Frederick Winslow Taylor developed “Taylorism,” stating scientific management was a way to manage human labor and make it compatible with the demands of the machine age; also a way to limit workers' independence and increase the owners' control
 - B. Taylorism—subdivide tasks to hire less skilled workers for more efficiency, no reliance on just one
 - C. Inspired by Thomas Edison, corporations funded laboratories
 - D. 1914—Henry Ford developed the assembly line, application of Taylorism, created mass production; raised pay, reduced hours; lowered price of products
- V. Railroad Expansion
 - A. Because they added so much to industry (transporting goods and distant raw materials), railroads were the cornerstone of American Industry; investors put a lot into them
 - B. Rapid expansion of railroads, from 30,000 miles to 193,000 in 40 years
 - C. Railroad tycoons—Cornelius Vanderbilt, James J. Hill, Collis P. Huntington
- VI. The Corporation
 - A. After the civil war, stock investment became popular because of the “limited liability” of the investment, that is, you are only liable for what you invest
 - B. Andrew Carnegie—after working his way up from modest beginnings, he invested in steel, striking deals with railroads, cutting prices, and buying out competition; finally he sold his empire to J. Pierpont Morgan who consolidated it, The United States Steel Corporation
 - C. Gustavus Swift developed a national meat packing company; Isaac Singer had a manufacturing company
 - D. New managerial techniques—beginning with the rail corporations, companies developed “middle management” and the subdivision of tasks with a hierarchy of business (CEO, CIO, CFO, etc.)
- VII. Consolidating Corporate America
 - A. Horizontal Integration—taking control of all firms in the same enterprise (own all railroads)
 - B. Vertical Integration—control all businesses the company relies on

- C. Rockefeller's Standard Oil—John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil combined both tactics; after buying out mid-Atlantic railroads, Rockefeller bought railroads, freights, etc. Owned 90% of petroleum in the US
 - D. Afraid of "cutthroat competition," capitalists believed real success was buying out competitors
 - E. Pool Arrangements—agreements to stabilize rates, failed
- VIII. The Trust and the Holding Company
- A. The Trust Agreement—by Rockefeller and Morgan, stockholders invested in trusts, getting a small share of profits of a trustee; basically, 10 people bought "substocks" (trust certificates) to pay for one share of a trustee; they got the profits, the trustee got business control
 - B. New Jersey allowed mergers so a company can buy another company; Rockefeller moved to NJ, other states followed; he created a "holding company" to buy up stocks of other companies
 - C. Rapid Corporate Consolidation—economic organization allowed huge power to be vested in few men
 - D. Economic giants of the time were creating controversy but also huge economic expansion by cutting costs, developing infrastructure, and stimulating new markets

Capitalism and its Critics (483-488)

Farmers and workers of the low class as well as the middle-class wanted a justification for the deeds and wealth of the extreme upper class; the giants of big business tried to convince the public that they the American ideal of individualism and equal opportunity.

- I. The "Self-Made Man"
 - A. Defenders of the industrial economy said that it provided everyone with social mobility
 - B. Myth of the self-made man—even though the number of millionaires increased at the turn of the century, most were results of positions of privilege and nepotism
 - C. Usually power and prominence were results of cunning corruption rather than hard work; wealthy businessmen heavily endowed politicians and parties in exchange for support
 - D. The "Erie War"—Vanderbilt, Gould, and Fisk battled for control of the Erie railroad in NY legislature, the senators demanded bribes and accepted \$15,000 to \$175,000 each
 - E. Mostly businessmen were more modest entrepreneurs who invested huge amounts of money in high-risk accounts; many failed...stories of rags to riches and riches to rags
- II. Survival of the Fittest
 - A. WASP beliefs were that those who succeeded deserved their money, those who failed were "made poor by [their] own shortcomings"
 - B. Social Darwinism—survival of the fittest (from Charles Darwin's evolutionary theory of natural selection)
 - C. Herbert Spenser and later William Graham Sumner said that society benefited from retaining rich and losing poor
 - D. Justifying the Status Quo—the law of competition controlled success so social Darwinism supported the tactics of entrepreneurs; Adam Smith's theory (economist): all economics were operated by forces, law of competition—market was regulated by competition and law of supply and demand—determined prices, wages, rates, etc.
 - E. Hypocritical businessmen were supporting competition while trying to buy out all competition; competition was feared
- III. The Gospel of Wealth
 - A. A less harsh version of social Darwinism, the gospel of wealth said that power had responsibility
 - B. Carnegie advocated philanthropy
 - C. Russell Conwell—a Baptist minister, Conwell argued that great well was available to all ("Acres of Diamonds," sermon delivered 6,000 times), he argued (inaccurately) that most millionaires started poor
 - D. Horatio Alger—after retiring from preaching in MA because of a sex scandal, he wrote novels in NYC about a poor small-town boy becoming rich in the city through hard work and luck
 - E. A folk hero of America, he was gay but kept it secret
- IV. Alternative Visions
 - A. Lester Frank Ward—a sociologist, wrote *Dynamic Sociology* arguing that civilization could shape itself as it liked, believed government could regulate society
 - B. Daniel De Leon's Socialist Labor Party was another (unsuccessful) rebellion to social Darwinism
 - C. Henry George—CA radical who wrote *Progress and Poverty* about the haves and have-nots of industrial America
 - D. He proposed a "single tax" to regulate classes
 - E. *Looking Backward*—Edward Bellamy's utopian novel described year 2000 America as an economy with a single great trust controlled by the gov't, cooperation replaced competition, "nationalism" ideal
- V. The Problems of Monopoly
 - A. Many people joined the attack on monopoly
 - B. Monopolies could charge inflated prices without competition because customers had no choice but to pay, recessions sprang up cyclically and in 1893 the system was near total collapse
 - C. 1% of America controlled 88% of American assets; extreme upper class was hated
 - D. Although Carnegie donated large sums of money others squandered them
 - E. Vanderbilt had dozens of mansions (NYC, Asheville, RI)
 - F. Increasing inequality—deprivation became worse than poverty; everyone was getting wealthier but the rich/poor gap was getting bigger as well

Industrial Workers in the New Economy (483-488)

The working class experienced a rise in living conditions at the expense of very hard and dangerous labor, losing their independent control of their own work

- I. The Immigrant Work Force
 - A. Immigration to cities from rural areas and Europe provided a work force for factories
 - B. New sources of immigration from non Anglo Europe in the East and Mexico and Asia in the West

- C. Immigrants came to escape poverty and were lured by misleading advertisements
 - D. Labor Contract Law—pay for workers to come over and deduct it from wages
 - E. Heightened ethnic tensions—low paid first generations were displacing higher paid late generation Anglo-Americans and blacks
- II. Wages and Working Conditions
- A. Standard of living rose but wages were still low, low job security
 - B. Hard hours of monotony in unsafe working conditions
 - C. No control over working class, leads to militancy
- III. Women and Children at Work
- A. Women worked for low wages (supplement husband’s income), men didn’t like seeing women work
 - B. Women were paid far less than men working the same job; some turned to prostitution, no wage laws
 - C. Ineffective child-labor laws—most states made child labor laws setting minimum workday and age (12 yrs), usually ignored; high rate of accidents
 - D. Poisoning and common accidents for men, women, and children
- IV. The Struggle to Union
- A. Little success in attempts for unions
 - B. National Labor Union—a short lived union created by William H. Sylvis, first large one
 - C. Men argued women shouldn’t work, they were lowering their wages; women said they needed to
 - D. Molly Maguires
 - 1. Depression and middle class hostility to unions made conditions worse
 - 2. In PA coal mines, middle-class workers, the Molly Maguires ironically rebelled, making the perception of labor movements even worse
 - 3. Many were hired by the bosses, however, to make union suppression more realistic
- V. The Great Railroad Strike
- A. A 10% wage cut spawned violence and rebellion, stopping railroads from Baltimore to St. Louis
 - B. 100 people died as a result of the nation-wide strike
 - C. National troops and militias were sent to suppress violence and mow down strikers
 - D. As the economy became national, disputes between workers and employers became national
 - E. The labor movement was clearly still frail
- VI. The Knights of Labor
- A. 1869—founding of the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor under Uriah S. Stephens
 - B. All who “toiled” invited (not lawyers, bankers, liquor dealers, professional gamblers)
 - C. 50,000 women allowed in the Women’s Bureau of the Knights, first such group
 - D. Met locally and in a national “general assembly,” favored an 8-hour workday and a “cooperative system” that gave workers a lot of control over the workplace
 - E. Dissolution of the Knights of Labor
 - 1. After becoming publicly known under Terence V. Powderly, the union expanded to 700,000 members
 - 2. A successful strike on the Gould railroads proved temporary after another one was suppressed
 - 3. The failure discredited the organization and it disintegrated altogether
- VII. The AFL
- A. American Federation of Labor (1881), one of the longest enduring labor groups
 - B. Supported different craft unions
 - C. Opposition to Female Employment—believed that women shouldn’t work but if they do, they deserve equal pay
 - D. Called for an 8 hour work day, strikes on assigned day to get this
 - E. Haymarket Square—during an agitated strike, someone threw a bomb, random 8 sentenced to death
 - F. “Anarchism” was the word for labor movement; Haymarket Square added to the idea of violence and anarchy that scared America for years
- VIII. The Homestead Strike
- A. The Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers were very powerful
 - B. The Homestead plant near Pittsburgh, run by Carnegie and Henry Clay Frick, decided to eliminate the union there
 - C. During a strike, hired the Pinkerton Detective Agency, strikebreakers, incited violence, Pinkertons fled, temporary victory but after an attempt to assassinate Frick, the union lost many members
 - D. Another failed labor movement
- IX. The Pullman Strike
- A. Pullman Palace Car Company of Chicago was a train company; cut wages 25%
 - B. Workers called Eugene Debs and the American Railway Union; they told workers to walk off jobs that involved Pullman cars
 - C. Much transportation was paralyzed
 - D. Illinois governor, John Peter Altgeld, was sympathetic to workers and asked the federal government to respond instead (they were withholding mail)
 - E. Federal troops arrested Debs and others and imprisoned them for ignoring order by a federal judge to stop the strike: it collapsed and failed
- X. Sources of Labor Weakness
- A. There were few real improvements except for days were shortened for public works and federal employees
 - B. Only a few workers were in unions (4%) so they were ineffectual
 - C. Immigrants did not organize because many planned to come and leave
 - D. Many workers went from one job to another
 - E. There was some social mobility, however—unskilled, to semiskilled, to skilled jobs
 - F. Corporate strength limited organization and gains because it was overwhelming and determined to crush challenges
 - G. Government authorities also resisted strikes

- H. Capital was power at this time period

Chapter 18, The Age of the City

The Urbanization of America

- I. The Lure of the City—Rapid urban growth
 - A. Not as a result of natural increase; low reproduction rates in cities
 - B. Really a result of the allure of entertainment, etc.
 - C. High paying jobs
 - D. Accessible because of new transportation
- II. Migrations
 - A. Farms grew more commercial so young unmarried girls moved to cities from farm areas
 - B. Blacks left the rural South for cities, with jobs as janitors and cooks instead of factory work; large black populations in many cities, especially after WWI
 - C. New immigration from many sources was the main contribution to American cities
- III. The Ethnic City
 - A. Most people in cities were 1st and 2nd generations
 - B. Very diverse, many different groups
 - C. Immigrants had a hard time adjusting from rural to urban life
 - D. Benefits of Ethnic Communities
 - 1. Similar churches, synagogues, same-language newspapers in common communities
 - 2. Helped ease the pain of separation
 - 3. Jewish and German immigrants were the most successful (valued education)
 - 4. Some were hated by natives (blacks, Asians, Mexicans)
 - 5. Some had money already, huge advantage
 - 6. Some got political power
- IV. Assimilation
 - A. Immigrants were usually young and lived in cities, had to compete against native desire for assimilation
 - B. Americanization—disillusioned romanticism with the “New World,” many first generations, and most second generations tried to break with the old culture
 - C. Changing Gender Roles—many immigrants had stricter gender roles, women worked in America, however
 - D. Forced assimilation from natives: public schools taught English, must speak English at work; American norms for clothes, diets, etc were at stores
 - E. Reformed religion (Reformed Judaism, etc) were efforts to make Protestants more accepting
- V. Exclusion
 - A. Nativism—racism against many immigrants; “scum of Europe,” (newspaper), “They crowd the ocean, conveyed by a crew / Of master pirates who have work in hand / Old Europe’s nation wreckers lay in view / And lo, to aid them on our margin stand / Our citizens, the Jesuit and the Jew” (KKK poem)
 - B. Immigration Restriction League—Henry Bowers, lawyer who hated Catholics, founded American Protective Association; Harvard alums found Immigration Restriction League
 - C. Anti-Asian sentiments in California
 - D. Congress made “undesirable” (convicts, etc) pay extra taxes
 - E. President Grover Cleveland vetoed literacy requirement for immigrants
 - F. Advancement of Cheap Labor—many business leaders encouraged cheap labor from immigrants

The Urban Landscape

Great contrasts in cities included the mansion of Carnegie compared with the slums of immigrants and the connivances from technology compared with the filth and epidemics that were common.

- I. The Creation of Public Space
 - A. Until the nineteenth century, cities grew haphazardly until reformers and architects pushed for central planning
 - B. Frederick Law Olmstead and Calvert Vaux—planned Central Park, parks were important ways to get away from urban life within the city itself; Central Park is very natural in appearance
 - C. Architecture—Metropolitan Museum of Art, operas, other museums, theaters, libraries; results of philanthropy from wealthy citizens who wanted more amenities
 - D. “City Beautiful Movement”—inspired by Europe, American wanted to make cities better looking and more opulent; the 1893 Columbian Exposition (for 400th anniversary of Columbus) featured neoclassical buildings around a former lagoon; Daniel Burnham led the “City Beautiful Movement”; politics were too difficult and too much land was privately owned: never as great as European cities
 - E. “Back Bay” in Boston was filled in bay area and developed, recreated in many other cities
- II. Housing the Well-to-DO
 - A. Housing for the rich was not a worry like it was for the poor (cheap labor helped)
 - B. Extremely rich lived in the center of affluent areas of cities in mansions
 - C. Growth of Suburbs—the moderately rich and later the extremely rich began to settle in the nostalgic country-like suburbs outside of cities with cheaper real estate, appealing landscapes, peacefulness, and cleaner air
- III. Housing Workers and the Poor
 - A. Workers and the poor could not afford to buy so they rented; they had little bargaining power and were packed in like sardines, 700 persons per square acre in the lower East side of Manhattan
 - B. Despite any conditions, landlords believed they could rent anything; “triple deckers” in Boston, rowhomes in Philly, slave quarters in the South

- C. Tenements—the word went from meaning multi-family rented houses to slum dwellings; although an improvement on previous living arrangements, tenements became “miserable abodes” without windows and plumbing; NY law required windows later but they were built small
- D. Jacob Riis—photographic essay *How the Other Half Lives* outlined the terrible conditions of tenements; however, reformers like him just suggested leveling tenements (without replacement)
- E. Boarders—about half of New York home owners took boarders by 1900, sometimes relatives, sometimes just random people
- IV. Urban Transportation
 - A. Streets were crowded and usually unpaved
 - B. Paving increased near the turn of the century
 - C. Too much volume of people on streets; horse cars were not sufficient; new mass transportation had to be invented
 - D. Mass transit—new “filthy” elevated railways in NYC; trolleys in Richmond, cable cars, subways in Boston; new roads and bridges, especially in NYC like John A. Roebling’s Brooklyn Bridge
- V. The “Skyscraper”
 - A. Until around 1860, buildings were about 4 stories because of the number of stairs and the building materials; new cast iron and steel beams combined with elevators, made building taller buildings possible
 - B. Building rose from 4 stories to 7 to 12 and eventually came to be described as skyscrapers
 - C. Steel-girder construction made very tall buildings possible
 - D. Louis Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright were the pioneers of skyscrapers

Strains of Urban Life

Increased congestion led to crime, fire, disease, and other hazards in cities; governments had few resources to handle these conditions.

- I. Fire and Disease
 - A. Great fires in Boston, Chicago and elsewhere were the result of wooden buildings, earthquakes in San Francisco called for more services as well; new fireproof and sturdier buildings were constructed and fire departments were established
 - B. Inadequate Sanitation—human waste was basically everywhere, even when flush toilets became popular in the 1870s
- II. Environmental Degradation
 - A. Industrialization caused environmental problems: overcrowding, plague, etc.
 - B. Bad removal of waste: pollution in rivers
 - C. Presence of farm animals contributed to environmental problems
 - D. Air Pollution—respiratory infection, problems were greater in London which burned soft coal
 - E. Reformers pushed for cleaner water; major projects
 - F. Public Health Service—Alice Hamilton (MD) worked for US Bureau of Labor, catalytic in identification of pollution; government creates Public Health Service; Occupational Health and Safety Administration helped protect workers in unsafe health workplaces
- III. Urban Poverty
 - A. Organizations created to help the poor, some where “undeserving” by the fault of their own, others were “deserving” and usually had restricted help to avoid dependency
 - B. Salvation Army—founded in London, focused more on religion than anything
 - C. Orphans and runaways, etc. attracted attention “street arabs”
- IV. Crime and Violence
 - A. High Crime Rates—overcrowding and poverty led to crime; usually minor but sometimes violent, violence exploded everywhere: the South (lynching), the West’s lawless boom towns, immigrant gangs, and native born American city dwellers
 - B. Police forces were established, helpful but sometimes had corruption themselves
 - C. Middle class established urban national guard groups to prevent insurrections that never occurred
- V. Fear of the City—some were scare of cities, realistic fear for single women; prostitution etc.
- VI. The Machine and the Boss
 - A. The political machine was the major source of assistance for inner city groups
 - B. Boss Rule—bosses (often Irishmen) tried to mobilize the voting power of immigrants, gave gifts like groceries and coal as well as patronage (political positions)
 - C. Graft and Corruption—you buy land that you know the city need and then sell it to the city for higher prices or make contractors pay you for letting them build something (paid with tax money)
 - D. William M. Tweed, boss of NYC’s Tammany Hall was the most corrupt; ended up in jail
 - E. Often times, bosses helped improved city infrastructure although they were usually corrupt
 - F. Reasons for Boss Rule—1) immigrant voting power, 2) wealthy benefiting from them gave money, 3) structural weakness of city governments
 - G. “Invisible governments (political machines) made up for real government’s shortcomings
 - H. Machines faded in power quickly and had about a .500 record for elections; critics argued for basic reforms like “structural changes in the nature of city government”

The Rise of Mass Consumption

Middle class begins to effect all of America

- I. Patterns of Income and Consumption
 - A. American industry grew because of a larger market (middle class)
 - B. Raised salaries and new techniques in production made products available to more people (larger market)
 - C. What was happening with income?
 - 1. Income was rising for everyone, although unevenly

2. Vast fortunes sprouted (Vanderbilt, Carnegie)
 3. Middle class “white collar” professions saw rise in income
 4. Women and children worked (family income increases)
 5. Lower class jobs also see slow rise
- D. New Merchandising Techniques—mass market grew; ready-made clothing
- E. More (women especially) became interested in clothing, bigger wardrobes, closets in homes
- F. Food canning industry arises, with invention of cans; food preservation techniques
- G. Life expectancy rises 6 years
- II. Chain Stores and Mail-Orders Houses
- A. National networks of stores increase competition (Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company) was the first chain (grocery store)
- B. Variety and lower prices at chain stores, put out local merchants
- C. Social Consequences of Mail-order Catalogues—chain stores were slower than catalogues in reaching remote rural areas; Montgomery Ward and Richard Sears were the first; changed the lives of rural people by explaining fashion and luxuries to them in bulky catalogues
- III. Department Stores
- A. Impact of the Department Store—department stores help transform buying habits
- B. Variety in one huge store
- C. Suggested wonder, excitement, and luxury, vibrant decorations
- D. Lower prices
- IV. Women as Consumers
- A. Women were the primary consumers in families
- B. Women usually prepared food, interested in food products
- C. Clothing changed faster for women than men so they bought it more often
- D. Women had new opportunities as sales clerks, etc.
- E. National Consumers League—mobilize women as consumers, transforming policies for working women

Leisure in the Consumer Society

Working time declined, leisure time increased

- I. Redefining Leisure
- A. New conceptions of Leisure—earlier, rest was for God, time for oneself was laziness; leisure was becoming a normal part of life
- B. Simon Patten—wrote *The Theory of Prosperity* and *The New Basis of Civilization* saying that new economies could make desires real (beyond just meeting needs)
- C. Public Leisure—new demands for entertainment; instead of staying at home, people “went out” to Coney Island and other amusement parks, dance halls, concerts, movies became popular
- D. Central Park—for affluent to seen and be seen by other affluent people
- E. Usually not widely diverse (saloons for men, luncheonettes for women, clubs based on race)
- F. Sometimes there was conflict, the rich tried to protect Central Park
- G. “A vigorous public culture” prevailed
- II. Spectator Sports
- A. Baseball, the “national pastime” became popular around 1900
- B. Football was the second most popular, originally an elite college sport (first game was Princeton vs. Rutgers)
- C. Major League Baseball—as baseball grew in popularity, cities formed teams (Cincinnati Red Stockings was first) and first world series in 1903
- D. Established conferences in football, “Big Ten” to eliminate using non-students; football became dominated by the mid western schools
- E. After serious deaths and injuries, Roosevelt’s National College Athletic Association (NCAA) monitored matches
- F. Other sports became popular—basketball, boxing (John Sullivan), horse racing (Kentucky Derby)
- G. Gambling and Sports—gambling was closely associated with sports, the “throwing” of World Series in 1919 helped prompt leaders to clean up the game; horse racing was founded for betting
- H. Men dominated most sports; women participated in the more unpopular sports of golf and tennis
- I. Later they began to participate in cycling and croquet, then track, crew, and swimming in girl’s colleges, and finally basketball; challenging the idea that exercise was bad for women
- III. Music and Theater
- A. Ethnic Theater—ethnic communities became popular places for theater (Yiddish theater, etc.)
- B. Musical Comedy evolves
- C. Vaudeville—inexpensive productions at saloons, bars etc.
- IV. The Movies
- A. After Edison invented movie technology, short “peep shows” became popular
- B. Before *Birth of a Nation* and other movies by D. W. Griffith, movies were meant to show off technology; Griffith’s movies had real plots (although twisted KKK propaganda)
- V. Working-class Leisure
- A. Working classes spent time on the streets making friends and chatting; leisure was more important to them because it was new and a bigger contrast to work
- B. The neighborhood saloon was the major place of leisure for the working class; political centers, urban machines were involved in them; sometimes places of crime and prostitution as well
- C. Anti-Saloon League were established
- D. Boxing was popular among the working class
- VI. The Fourth of July

- A. The Fourth was one of the only days off, most days off (Christmas, Sundays) were for religion
 - B. Ethnic organizations sponsored picnics, games, parades, etc. in cities; the upper middle class preferred resorts for the Fourth
 - C. In the South it was more a remembrance of the reestablishment of southern white supremacy
 - D. Whites in the South restricted blacks from celebrating and made themselves feel more powerful with Independence Day
- VII. Private Pursuits
- A. Novels and poetry became popular for private leisure time
 - B. Novels for “moral uplift” (Horatio Alger), detective stories, and “dime novels” about the Wild West were popular
 - C. Music too, was popular; many middle-class families placed a high value on learning to play an instrument
- VIII. Mass Communications
- A. Daily newspapers increased; journalism became professional
 - B. The telegraph was used to transport news and became standard throughout America
 - C. Emergence of Newspaper Chains—individuals began to buy many papers, William Randolph Hearst owned 9
 - D. “Yellow Journalism” was for the masses with large pictures and fiery style
 - E. New magazines for the masses like Edward W. Bok’s *Ladies’ Home Journal*

High Culture in the Age of the City

A new distinction between highbrow and lowbrow culture was invented so that elites and intellectuals could have their own distinct culture.

- I. The Literature of Urban America
 - A. Foreign critics looked at American life as corrupt, lacking deep culture
 - B. Some writers tried to revive an older natural world in America, others dealt with what they had
 - C. Social Realism—Steven Crane (*The Red Badge of Courage*) tried to emphasize urban social realism in America about the plight of the working class
 - D. Writers
 - 1. Theodore Dreiser wanted to “abandon the genteel traditions of earlier times” to discuss modern problems
 - 2. Frank Norris wrote *The Octopus* about the struggle between oppressed wheat farmers and railroads
 - 3. Upton Sinclair wrote *The Jungle* about capitalist corruption
 - 4. Kate Chopin wrote *The Awakening* about breaking the bonds of marriage
 - 5. William Dean Howells wrote *The Rise of Silas Lapham* about the corruption of the American lifestyle
 - 6. Other wrote about withdrawing from society (Henry Adams, Henry James)
- II. Art in the Age of the City
 - A. American art refused to be regarded less highly than European art around 1900 and produced new styles
 - B. Ashcan School—naturalist social realism in art; abstraction and expressionism
 - C. Modernism—art that rejected glorified high society; this glorified the ordinary
- III. The Impact of Darwinism
 - A. “Natural Selection”—Darwin’s theory of evolution, the strong survive to reproduce; challenged Bible, applied to history
 - B. After resistance from schools, etc., Protestant churches began to accept it, changed theology
 - C. Schism between liberal Protestantism in the city, following science, and Protestant fundamentalism in rural areas
 - D. Pragmatism—William James of Harvard (brother of Henry James) outlined Pragmatism (so did Charles S. Peirce)
 - 1. Society should rely on scientific inquiry, not moral ideals
 - 2. Beliefs and faiths had to work
 - E. Sociologists and economists applied scientific method to their fields
 - F. New ideas in schooling to help students acquire more knowledge
 - G. Growth of Anthropology—studying other cultures, finally Native American culture began to be understood
- IV. Toward Universal Schooling
 - A. American schools and universities underwent a transformation in the late 19th century because of the demand for skills
 - B. Spread of public education—numbers of schools increased exponentially (100 in 1860 to 12,000 in 1914) with required attendance, however, rural areas lagged behind
 - C. Black colleges and Indian Colleges were established
 - D. “Land-grant Institutions”—Morril Land Grant Act from Civil War times allowed the federal government to donate land to states for public schools (UC System, Illinois, Wisconsin)
 - E. Philanthropy—Ivy League, Northwestern, Syracuse, and other were endowed with large amounts of money
 - F. New universities—Vanderbilt, Johns Hopkins, Cornell, Duke, Tulane, Stanford
- V. Education for Women
 - A. Before the Civil War, few women ever got an education, it became more accessible after it
 - B. Women’s Colleges—after the Civil War, there were increases in coeducational institutions as well as women’s schools (7 Sister Schools [to the Ivy League], etc.)
 - C. A distinct women’s community was evolving in America, promoted by women’s colleges
 - D. Women pursued careers other than (or beyond) marriage and/or motherhood, many educated ones did not marry; education was a great liberator for women

Chapter 20, The Imperial Republic

With a heritage of expansionism, the United States looked for new outlets of imperialism after the possibilities in North America were fulfilled. With the so-called new Manifest Destiny, the US joined European nations in expanding westward.

Stirrings of Imperialism

For 20 years after the Civil War, there was little expansionism, but by 1890, the United States was again interested in expanding its horizons.

- I. The New Manifest Destiny
 - A. Kindling Expansion
 - 1. Belief that whites should “help” other races “beneath” them like Indians
 - 2. “Closing of the frontier” scare for resources
 - 3. The depression and social movements argued for more aggressive foreign policy
 - B. Increasing Importance of Trade—as trade increased, we looked for even more markets
 - C. Europeans were already dividing up Africa, US wanted to get involved; applying social Darwinism yet again to world affairs
 - D. John Fiske, *Harper’s Magazine*—argued for Anglo-speaking supremacy; Josiah Strong in *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis* also tried to justify Anglo-supremacy
 - E. John W. Burgess (Founder of Columbia’s School of PoliSci) said that Anglo-Teutonic nations were the best politically
 - F. Alfred Thayer Mahan—Navy Admiral, in *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* set out the theories that:
 - 1. Sea power governed what makes nations successful
 - 2. The US had two oceans to determine its greatness
 - 3. Sea power depends on domestic economy, foreign commerce, navy, trade routes, and colonies
 - 4. The US should build Panama Canal and get defensive bases on each side (Hawaii, Caribbean)
 - 5. Government finally launched a ship-building program
- II. Hemispheric Hegemony
 - A. James G. Blaine—secretary of state for two administrations, organized Pan-American Congress to annex parts of Latin America; little was accomplished but it was the early seeds of expansion
 - B. Venezuela Dispute—Cleveland, interested in Latin America, supported Venezuela in Venezuela/British Guiana border dispute and when Britain ignored them, they began to talk of war and Britain agreed to arbitration
- III. Hawaii and Samoa
 - A. Americans looked for more presence in Hawaii, base at Pearl Harbor
 - B. Self-Sufficient Societies—Hawaii was long established; American-Hawaiian battles were frequent; King Kamehameha I helped US get trade with China in 1810 but US wanted annexation and settlement (sugar plantations, missionaries)
 - C. Americans brought diseases, liquor, and firearms to Hawaiians; devastating society
 - D. G. P. Judd (American) became prime minister under King Kamehameha III, they established constitutional monarchy
 - E. 1887—Naval Base
 - F. Growing sugar was the basis for Hawaiian economy, entered US duty-free
 - G. Americans tried to dominate laborers
 - H. Queen Liliuokalani was a nationalist who set out to challenge the growing American control of the islands; the US eliminated duty-free imports, destroying economy, US planter pushed to become part of US, Liliuokalani yielded to a warship that was helping the American planters’ rebellion
 - I. President Harrison signed treaty for annexation quickly before leaving office; Senate did not ratify it, Cleveland (Democrat) did not support it, 1898 Republicans finally annexed it
 - J. Hayes administration got treaty in Samoan Islands 3000 miles south of Hawaii to arbitrate affairs there
 - K. Acquisition of Samoa—US, Great Britain and Germany formed protectorate but the three-way ruling failed, US and Germany broke it in two and Britain got other territories

War with Spain

US turned ambitions to overt expansion during war with Spain in 1898.

- I. Controversy over Cuba
 - A. Spain once controlled much of America, now only had Cuba and Puerto Rico, Cuba was resisting Spanish control, Americans sympathized with Cuba but did not intervene
 - B. Cuban Revolt
 - 1. Cuba wanted end to Spanish misrule and had problems with Wilson-Gorman Tariff that devastated their economy
 - 2. Cubans destroyed island to get Spanish to leave
 - 3. Spanish General Baleriano “Butcher” Weyler made concentration camps, killing Cubans by thousands
 - 4. American press misrepresented what was happening, there were atrocities on both sides
 - C. Yellow Journalism
 - 1. Joseph Pulitzer and *New York World* competed with William Randolph Hearst and his *New York Journal*; catered to lower classes (tabloid-like sensational news)
 - 2. In a war of circulation (“anything to sell a paper”), they sensationalized the crisis in Cuba and made many Americans sensitive to Cuban revolutionists
 - D. Cleveland proclaimed neutrality anyway; McKinley took a firmer stance
 - E. Possibility of peaceful settlement fell through in February 1898
 - 1. Spanish minister in Washington, Dupuy de Lôme’s personal letter about McKinley being a weakling was seized and published by newspapers
 - 2. The battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor blew up, killing 260 people
 - 3. Americans blamed Spanish (probably was accident in engine room)
 - 4. War hysteria, \$50 million’s for military preparation voted unanimously
 - F. McKinley tried diplomacy and Spain agreed to getting rid of concentration camps but when they refused to negotiate with Cubans, Senate and McKinley proclaimed war
- II. “A Splendid Little War”
 - A. Secretary of State John Hay expressed national opinion calling the short, low-casualty conflict a “splendid little war”
 - B. Supply and Mobilization—bad supplies, inefficient technology, not enough regular soldiers, National Guard was main fighters

- C. Blacks unused to segregation who were at training camps in the South (many soldiers were black) had some racial battles at home
- D. African Americans saw Spanish blacks fighting alongside Spanish Whites and realized the injustices at home
- III. Seizing the Philippines
 - A. “No agency in the American military had clear authority over strategic planning”
 - B. Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt was an imperialist and advocate of war; instructed commander George Dewey in Philippines to attack in the event of war
 - C. Dewey’s Victory—“steamed into Manila Bay” and destroyed the fleet there, Dewey was promoted to Admiral
 - D. War was becoming one to strip Spain of its colonies
- IV. The Battle for Cuba (*section probably won’t be on any tests*)
 - A. Basically (neglecting numbers), US changed strategy from skilled forced to blitzkrieg after they lost an easy battle; there was a great deal of incompetence
 - B. General William R. Shafter was commander, moving toward Santiago
 - C. The Rough Riders (*probably important for test*)—nominally commander: General Leonard Wood, real commander was (Col.) Theodore Roosevelt; at the center of fighting Kettle Hill (part of San Juan Hill) was his “great day” when he missed being killed while about 100 of his soldiers were killed
 - D. Shafter was afraid he would have to abandon position near Santiago because his forces were so weakened; Spanish ordered Admiral Pascual Cervera to evacuate; was destroyed, surrender at Santiago
 - E. US meets no resistance in taking Puerto Rico
 - F. Armistice ends war; Spain recognized independence of Cuba and cedes Puerto Rico and Pacific island Guam; accepts US occupation of Manila
- V. Puerto Rico and the United States
 - A. Annexation of Puerto Rico—the island would eventually be the most important spoils of the war
 - B. Puerto Rico was discovered by Ponce de León, taken for the Spanish; they wiped out almost the whole native population with disease
 - C. Early rebellions were semi-successful: quickly stopped but abolished slavery and got representation
 - D. After US annexed it, military rule was established followed by a colonial government: US governor and a two-house parliament that could be vetoed by US
 - E. Finally they became American citizens with Jones Act in 1917 (became territory)
 - F. Sugar Economy—planters (many outside the US) turned farmers into paid laborers; sugar was the main cash crop making Puerto Rico dependent on the world sugar prices; instability caused worries, other visionaries looked for statehood
- VI. The Debate over the Philippines
 - A. Debate raged over the Philippines which was thousands of miles away
 - B. The Philippines question—claiming divine guidance through prayer, the ambiguous McKinley decided to take control of the Philippines, basically because there was no other option
 - C. The Treaty of Paris formally ended the war, granted terms
 - D. Anti-Imperialist League—resistance against taking the Philippines was “fierce” from anti-imperialists, especially the rich elite who opposed imperialism for many reasons
 - E. The arguments for imperialism included trade and national invigoration
 - F. William Jennings Bryan, a fervent anti-imperialist flip-flopped, trying to make himself president but failed and just caused the treaty to be signed
 - G. The Election of 1900—Bryan vs. McKinley w/ Theodore Roosevelt in a decisive victory (referendum on Philippines)

The Republic As Empire

The US was now involved in European and Asian politics and engaged in a war with the Philippines.

- I. Governing the Colonies
 - A. Most colonies presented no problems, become territories quickly with citizens
 - B. Cuba was a little different: after the grounds were laid for independence by soldiers, the economy was also largely controlled by Americans
 - C. Platt Amendment—Cuba made no mention of US in its constitution, Platt Amendment reformed it to making the US the arbitrator of Cuban foreign policy (they could make no treaties) and other controlling demands, limiting their independence
 - D. American Economic Dominance—Americans controlled the Cuban economy with absentee ownership; there were some revolts because of the “boom and bust” sugar economy
- II. The Philippine War
 - A. Americans chose not to think of themselves as European imperialists but realized that they needed to use some strength and brutality in subjugating peoples
 - B. The Philippine War is the least remembered conflict; it lasted from 1898 to 1902 involving 200,000 Americans (losing 4,300) and about 50,000 native casualties; the US was subject to guerrilla warfare and ended up using the same tactics of “Butcher Weyler” a few years before
 - C. Emilio Aguinaldo—led the Filipinos against US (and Spain before) and General Arthur MacArthur, commander in Philippines
 - D. A savage spirit permeated the American soldiers as they executed guerrillas and destroyed villages; very high death : wounded ratio among Filipinos
 - E. Growing Economic Dependence—Aguinaldo was captured, claimed allegiance to US, and lived quietly; William Howard Taft became governor and Americans provided roads, schools, bridges, sewers, etc.; economy (fishing, etc.) became linked to US
 - F. Governors decreased control, independent country on July 4, 1946
- III. The Open Door

- A. Europeans were cutting up China, US was linked to it already; now US was more involved in Asian affairs with Philippines
 - B. Secretary of State under McKinley, John Hay issued “Open Door Notes” asking for access to China but no special privileges
 - C. These asked for the following principles
 - 1. Each nation involved in China respected other nations involved in China
 - 2. Chinese officials collected tariffs for everyone
 - 3. The nations did not discriminate against each other in taxes, dues, etc.
 - D. Many countries rejected the Open Door Notes but the US could do little to enforce it
 - E. Boxer Rebellion—a martial arts group called the Boxers launched revolt against foreigners in China; they captured diplomats in Peking; countries sent in people to rescue them
 - F. US had helped rescue those captured, England and Germany accepted Open Door Notes and US gained access to lucrative trade
- IV. A Modern Military System
- A. Because the US military was in shabby condition, McKinley hired Elihu Root, attorney of NY, to recreate the military, he did it in 1900-1903
 - B. Root’s Military Reforms
 - 1. Quadrupled regular army size
 - 2. Federal army standards for National Guard
 - 3. More military schools
 - 4. Joint Chiefs, centralized planning agency based on European models—Supervised and coordinate army establishment; plan for possible wars; Army and Navy Board for cooperation
 - 5. US entered 20th Century with a modern military

Chapter 21, The Rise of Progressivism

For a long time in America, the stirrings of progressivism (as it was later called) were brewing with all the urbanization and industrialization. Progressivism was a broad and colored phenomenon with many views but there was a central dogma to it.

The Progressive Impulse

Belief in Progress—progressives believed in progress as an optimistic vision for the improvement and advancement of society; however, they also believe that certain natural laws (Darwinism, etc.) that governed progress so humans needed to try to contribute order to progress

- I. Varieties of Progressivism; progressives believed in most of these idea
 - A. One impulse of progressivism was “antimonopoly” or the fear of concentrated power and the urge to limit authority; this echoed populism
 - B. Social Cohesion—individuals work in a web of society; this would cause the impulse to help women, blacks, immigrants, etc.
 - C. Faith in Knowledge—knowledge helped organization and create a more humane world
 - D. Government Roles—the government must play an active role in stabilizing society
- II. The Muckrakers
 - A. Coined by Theodore Roosevelt, the first progressives were “muckraking” journalists who exposed scandals, etc.
 - B. The first muckrakers attempted to bring down railroad giants because they looked at them as the pillars of corruption in corporate America
 - C. Ida Tarbell exposed the Standard Oil trust
 - D. Lincoln Steffens, reporter for *McClure’s Magazine*, advocated urban political reform (removal of bosses, etc.); journalists were more upset about the apathetic public than the bosses themselves
 - E. Muckrakers worked especially from 1900-1910 to expose problems in society in a fervent way which caused people to react and push for change
- III. The Social Gospel
 - A. A general outrage for social and economic injustice pervaded muckrakers exposés
 - B. The Salvation Army was a military-structured Christian social welfare group from England
 - C. Walter Rauschenbusch was a Protestant theologian who believed that individuals should work for the vast improvement of the web of society rather than struggle for survival of the fittest
 - D. American Catholics favored Pope Leo XIII’s *Rerum Novarum* (Of New Things) which pushed for social equality
 - E. Father John A. Ryan was a Catholic liberal who worked to expand the scope of Catholic social welfare organizations
 - F. Some dismissed the Social Gospel as irrelevant and it was never a major element of progressivism
- IV. The Settlement House Movement
 - A. Progressives argued against Social Darwinists that poverty, etc. were the results of bad environments rather than genetic and moral failings so conditions needed improvement
 - B. Jane Addams and Hull House
 - 1. Progressives such as Jane Addams sought to improve the conditions of crowded immigrants in cities by establishing settlement houses, the first of which being Hull House in Chicago
 - 2. They were run by the middle class and immigrants found ways to establish middle class lives
 - 3. Note that immigrants did not live in the houses, only some of the middle class reformers
 - 4. They helped spawn the idea of social work
 - C. Female leaders, especially college women, were great catalysts for the progressive movement; women were the major workers in settlement houses
- V. The Allure of Expertise

- A. As seen in the settlement house movement, progressives believed that bureaucracy and scientific investigation could solve any problem
 - B. They put an emphasis on expertise
 - C. A new breed of social scientists arose to rebel against the Social Darwinists such as Thorstein Veblen who proposed a new economic system where highly trained engineers controlled power who understood the “machine process” of society
 - D. Earlier “Taylorism” gave rise to social science, a new area of inquiry, which produced a generation of bureaucratic reformers who looked for ways to manage modern society
 - E. Social scientists also pushed for the organization of middle class professionals
- VI. The Professions
- A. Modern society saw an increase in administrative and professional tasks; this was considered the “new middle class”
 - B. The new middle class placed a high value on education, individual accomplishment, and worked to secure their position in society
 - C. Pressures for reform were laid on charlatan professionals
 - D. American Medical Association—trained professional doctors formed local associations until in 1901, they formed the American Medical Association (AMA) which called for strict standards in the practice of medicine; most doctors took part in it; licenses became required by government
 - E. Rigorous new standards were set for medical education, especially by Johns Hopkins
 - F. Lawyers established boards to regulate admission to their profession
 - G. National Association of Manufacturers and United States Chamber of Commerce were business administration organizations
 - H. National Farm Bureau Federation was the umbrella of agricultural organizations
 - I. These organizations both guarded the untrained from the professions as well as, sometimes, “undesirables” like blacks
- VII. Women and the Professions
- A. Although many women were barred from professions, many middle-class college educated women joined professions
 - B. Although some women joined “male professions” (medicine, law, etc) many just joined professions that were “appropriate” for women, the most important being teaching
 - C. Since the Civil War, many women had become nurses which adopted professional standards
 - D. Male-dominated colleges began admitting women
 - E. “Women’s professions” placed values on “helping” as well as traditional professional values and were reminiscent of the “domestic” image

Women and Reform

Women lived in a culture that believed women were not suitable for traditionally male professions but many were prominent figures in the Progressive Movement.

- I. The “New Woman”
 - A. As new conveniences made home maintenance easier, coupled with longer schooling for children and income-producing activity moving from the home to the workplace, women looked for activities outside of the home
 - B. Similarly, women spent more time caring for children because they lived longer and they had less
 - C. Many times, women would not even marry (10% of women from 1880-1900) and most prominent reformers were single
 - D. “Boston Marriages”—either female roommates or romantic relationships between women
 - E. Women began to initiate more divorces, 1 in 21 marriages in 1880 to 1 in 9 in 1916
 - F. More women were graduating high school and college
- II. The Clubwomen
 - A. Large network of women’s associations sprouted at the end of the 19th Century
 - B. Clubs began as cultural organizations for the middle and upper class
 - C. GFWC—1892, General Federation of Women’s Clubs coordinates activities, rapid exponential growth
 - D. Clubs shifted from cultural issues to social betterment, women could not vote so they were nonpartisan and clubs were usually wealthy so they could make their presence felt
 - E. Many clubs excluded blacks, National Association of Colored Women was the black female federation; though modeled after white counterparts, some crusaded for civil rights
 - F. Clubs rarely raised overt challenges to women’s place in home but they were efforts to *extend* women out of the home; they did not challenge male society but got to experience the social world
 - G. Charlotte Perkins Gilman—*Women and Economics* (1898) argued that “gender roles” were obsolete
 - H. Much work by women was uncontroversial (planting trees, helping schools, etc.)
 - I. Some was controversial: workplace reform, food and drug reform, Indian reform
 - J. Women were responsible for outlawing alcohol and “mother’s pensions,” a precursor to Social Security which gave single mothers money
 - K. Responsible for Children’s Bureau of the Labor Department
 - L. Women’s Trade Union League—1903, upper-class reformers support strikes, unions, etc.
 - M. “Maternal” character appealed to men (and women) who were necessary for political reform (voting); they emphasized “nurturing” and “protecting” as buzzwords
- III. Woman Suffrage
 - A. One of the most influential, important events in American history
 - B. Women were leaders, both sexes supported it
 - C. Radical Challenge of Women’s Suffrage
 - 1. The arguments were usually rooted in divine causes early on: “Natural Rights,” women deserved equal rights as men
 - 2. Elizabeth Cady Stanton—1892: if women are citizens, they have equal rights to other citizens, argued against traditional view of “women’s sphere”
 - 3. Antisuffrage groups argued for “natural order,” women were men’s servants

- D. Suffragists Organize
 1. Better organization caused victories over antisuffragists
 2. NAWSA—National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1893 by Anna Howard Shaw and Carrie Chapman Catt; Jane Addams was major follower
 3. Success was a result of less powerful talk, acquiescing to old values but arguing that women could bring their own virtues to politics
 4. Temperance Movement—women would calm wars
 5. Conservative Arguments for Suffrage—Florence Kelly (NAACP, 1906) expressed that suffrage speeches usually were based on how blacks, etc. could vote so why couldn't "well-born" women
- E. Triumphs
 1. Washington (1910) and then California (1912) allow women to vote, followed by other western states
 2. Ethnic battles in the East fueled Catholic resentment of female suffrage
 3. After many states gave suffrage NINETEENTH AMENDMENT allowed women to vote
 4. Alice Paul argued for constitutional Equal Rights Amendment to protect women completely
 5. Caused division between feminists
 6. Women were just as divided as men when they could vote and they did not actually enact a huge maternal force on the vote that they had promised

The Assault on the Parties

Progressives knew government was the ultimate source of reform but believed it was ineffective in its current state; they resolved to reform it.

- I. Early Attack
 - A. Third parties (Independent Republicans, etc.) tried to challenge the standstill that politics was at with two parties
 - B. New voting systems were more private to protect from bosses
 - C. Two ways to attack party politics
 1. Increase the power of the people
 2. Secret ballots
- II. Municipal Reform
 - A. Party rule was worst in cities, muckraking journalists helped to expose it
 - B. Middle-class citizens had avoided politics because it was "dirty" but joined it around the 1890s
 - C. Reformers grew in strength against bosses and their businessmen who benefited from party rule
- III. New Forms of Government
 - A. Commission Plan—nonpartisan commission replaced city governments
 - B. City-Manager Plan—"corrupting influence of politics" did not influence business leaders so they would take over a city as the "manager"
 - C. Many large cities chose to disallow party nomination of mayor candidates
 - D. Reformers strengthened power of mayors
 - E. Progressives came to control existing political systems
 - F. Tom Johnson—Cleveland's mayor, ultimately came to control utilities
 - G. Cleveland had reputation as "best-governed city in America"
- IV. Statehouse Progressivism
 - A. State-level progressives believed ill-paid state legislatures were controlled by party bosses
 - B. Initiative and Referendum—from Populists, initiative allowed voters to vote directly on bills during elections, referendum allowed for legislation to ask approval from voters
 - C. Direct Primary—took selection of candidates from bosses
 - D. Recall—voters could remove politicians (remember California?)
 - E. States banned campaign contribution by corporations and corporate lobbying
 - F. Raised politicians like Woodrow Wilson (pres of Princeton) to governor and president
 - G. Robert La Follette—governor of Wisconsin, made his state the "laboratory of progressivism," he was one of the greatest reformers of his time, before national reformers arose; changed many things from the workplace to taxes on inherited fortunes
- V. Parties and Interest Groups
 - A. A decline of voter turnout represented the decrease in party influence
 - B. "Interest groups" replaced parties; they were basically groups that had one agenda (farmer's, women, settlement houses, etc.)

Sources of Progressive Reform

Many groups other than the typical middle class white Eastern progressive were responsible for reform, among them African Americans and Westerners.

- I. Labor, the Machine, and Reform
 - A. AFL (American Federation of Labor) avoided political reform, but some parties were important
 - B. Union Labor Party in San Francisco elected two mayors and was able to push for pro-labor legislation as well as a child labor law in California
 - C. Bosses also helped to reform, including Charles Francis Murphy of Tammany Hall who used his influence to help working conditions, "protect child laborers, and eliminate the worst abuses of the industrial economy"
 - D. Triangle Shirtwaist Fire—after a serious fire in a workplace that killed 146, mostly women, workers, a commission under pressure from Tammany and Women's Clubs researched the fire and issued many reforms

- E. Tammany Hall produced the most effective politicians in NY congress for workplace reform
- II. Western Progressives
 - A. Western states realized federal government had major political power and should be their target
 - B. Federal government decided land and water claims as well as land grants, money, etc.
 - C. Political parties were weak so government reforms passed quickly
- III. African Americans and Reform
 - A. Blacks were faced with rigid social norms and followed Booker T. Washington's "put down your bucket where you are" philosophy to push for immediate reform
 - B. W.E.B. Dubois was chief spokesman for blacks, never experience slavery, university educated
 - C. Wrote *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), encouraged blacks to strive for the best, go to college, etc.
 - D. Niagara Movement, launched at Niagara Falls, incorporated into National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
 - E. NAACP used lawsuits, fought against disenfranchisement, etc.
 - F. NAACP was not radical or egalitarian and found respect because of it; relied on high class blacks who ended up creating a black elite, to pull the race up on the whole

Crusade for Social Order and Reform

Moral issues were also the focus of reformers (prostitution, alcohol, divorce, immigration).

- I. The Temperance Crusade
 - A. Many recognized that alcohol caused violence, squandering of money, industrial inefficiency, etc.
 - B. Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was founded in 1873 and expanded quickly, publicized evils of alcohol
 - C. Eventually leagues united and called for Eighteenth Amendment; the Prohibition Laws which took effect in 1920
- II. Immigration Restriction
 - A. Immigration had created new moral evils with an influx of culture so reformers wanted to either assimilate immigrants or limit immigration
 - B. Eugenics—the study of creating new hybrids and breeds, was applied to humans and arguments against immigrant pollution of WASP stock were published
 - C. Human eugenicists ranked humans based on racial stock
 - D. Echoing Hitlerian ideals, the sterilization of retarded people, criminals, etc. was called for, for the betterment of humanity
 - E. Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916) called for Anglo-Saxon, Nordic Americans and the elimination of other races
 - F. Senator William P. Dillingham (VT) chaired a commission of "experts" that issued The Dillingham Report to lower certain types of immigration for a better America
 - G. Many reformers ended up following these anti-immigration principles

Challenging the Capitalist Order

Many progressives traced issues back to corporate America and its corruption.

- I. The Dream of Socialism
 - A. Socialist Party, headed by Eugene V. Debs, their presidential candidate, gained power in the early 20th Century; the only time the US ever questioned capitalism
 - B. Won many positions
 - C. Some socialists were radical (Marxist), others were more militant, (Industrial Workers of the World, IWW, "Wobblies"); championed unskilled workers, strikes, etc.; wanted unions
 - D. After a strike in the northwest in lumber, the US shut down IWW
 - E. Socialism declined quickly
- II. Decentralization and Regulation
 - A. Many progressives believed that centralization and amalgamation of corporate firms created problems in the US but most did not turn to socialism for the answer
 - B. Called for smaller businesses and the breaking up of monopolies
 - C. Louis D. Brandeis, lawyer and Supreme Court Justice called for the breakdown of "bigness"
 - D. The Problems of Corporate America—government must regulate combinations and promote competition
 - E. "Good Trusts" and "Bad Trusts"—government should distinguish between those who abuse power and those who don't because trusts aren't always bad
 - F. Theodore Roosevelt ultimately called for national reform on all levels

Chapter 22, The Battle for National Reform

Theodore Roosevelt and the Modern Presidency

- I. The Accidental President
 - A. When William McKinley died of assassination, vice president, Roosevelt, a young (42 year old) cowboy became president
 - B. "Wild man" reputation; rancher in Dakota badlands, captured outlaws, NYC police commissioner, San Juan Hill hero, fiery politician; champion of moderate change
- II. Government, Capital, and Labor
 - A. Roosevelt's Vision—government mediated public good, president was core, allied with regulation, not destruction of trusts

- B. Roosevelt wanted to allow government to investigate corporations; Department of Commerce and Labor (part of Bureau of Corporations) was at the heart of these investigations
 - C. Northern Securities Company—Sherman Antitrust Act (1902) was made to break up railroad monopoly in the northwest; JP Morgan was not very happy; Roosevelt was not notorious for breaking up trusts, but did it occasionally when they got out of control
 - D. Roosevelt intervened on strikes for both employers and employees depending on the case; usually he did not allow all demands but regulated and mediated disputes
- III. “The Square Deal”
- A. Roosevelt was able to neutralize opposition from all Republicans during his first term and after winning a landslide victory, he could focus on his main goal: Reform
 - B. Boasted about his coal strike “Square Deal” to give everyone a fair deal
 - C. Hepburn Act—a conservative reform bill for railroad regulation
 - D. Pure Food and Drug Act—After Upton Sinclair’s book *The Jungle* came out, workplace reforms and food industry reforms sprouted from Roosevelt
- IV. Roosevelt and Conservation
- A. Roosevelt had a romantic feeling toward wilderness
 - B. Added to national forest system
 - C. Took active interest toward conservation
 - D. Public land was actually for carefully monitored development back then, not ecological reasons like today
 - E. Aesthetic reasons were considered throughout
 - F. Federal Aid to the West—GOP supported public reclamation and irrigation projects; Newlands Act was for dams, reservoirs, etc.
- V. Roosevelt and Preservation
- A. Shared concerns of naturalists, wanted aesthetic value of wilderness
 - B. National Park system (forests were for lumber, parks were for pleasure) was developed; Yellowstone was the first
- VI. The Hetch Hetchy Controversy
- A. Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park was beautiful to naturalists, a good place for a dam to industrialists
 - B. Gifford Pinchot, chief forester, decided to build a dam to help San Francisco after a terrible earthquake
 - C. John Muir advocated aesthetic value, dam consumed his life
 - D. Pinchot wanted practical use of nature
 - E. It was a setback for naturalists but many new pro-preservation followers were mobilized
- VII. The Panic of 1907
- A. After American production overflowed without a market, economy crashed to recession
 - B. Tennessee Coal and Iron Company—conservatives blamed Roosevelt for recession; Roosevelt allowed business leaders to work for recovery on their own, JP Morgan used US Steel to buy the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company from a NY bank; Roosevelt would not break it up, panic soon subsided
 - C. Roosevelt was loved by most but after the Panic of 1907, he did not run in 1908; “retired” (briefly)

The Troubled Succession

William Howard Taft assumed the White House in 1909 on a “wave of good feeling;” he was accepted by GOP and progressives. He left, however, with a broken GOP and a Democratic administration. He was unable to please both groups and thus failed.

- I. Taft and Progressives
 - A. Payne-Aldrich Tariff—lowered protective tariffs to please progressives; feeble plan, angered progressives because of passivity
 - B. Ballinger-Pinchot Dispute—basically ruined Taft, an administration ruled in favor of an anti-progressive and angered progressives permanently
- II. The Return of Roosevelt
 - A. Roosevelt had been hunting in Africa during this but when he came back in 1910, he realized he was the only one left to reunite Republicans
 - B. “New Nationalism”—acted very liberal in a speaking tour, supported graduated income and inheritance taxes, workers’ compensation for accidents, regulation of labor, etc.
- III. Spreading Insurgency
 - A. Progressive incumbents were reelected continuously
 - B. Progressive Republicans and Democrats controlled the government but Roosevelt refused to run for president again; he just wanted to pressure Taft to return to progressivism
 - C. After Taft sued US Steel for the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company issue, Roosevelt started to change his mind
 - D. Robert La Follette gave up candidacy, Roosevelt decided to run
- IV. Roosevelt versus Taft
 - A. Roosevelt won primaries, La Follette won very little, Taft was the party leaders’ choice
 - B. Convention ended up nominating Taft, Roosevelt dramatically said “We stand at Armageddon”
 - C. The Progressive Party—Roosevelt’s supporters called themselves the Progressive Party, he nominated himself as the candidate, battle was hopeless however against Democratic candidate

Woodrow Wilson and the New Freedom

- I. Woodrow Wilson
 - A. From NJ!!
 - B. Wilson’s “New Freedom”—passed progressive legislation as governor of NJ, was also the president of Princeton

- C. He accepted conglomeration and supported regulation of business
 - D. However, he was more on the side of Brandeis and was against bigness
 - E. Republicans split votes, anticlimactically, Wilson won in an electoral college landslide
- II. The Scholar as President
- A. Wilson was bold and forceful
 - B. Colonel Edward M. House was his Texas friend and advisor
 - C. Lowering the Tariff—Democratic and Progressive goal; cuts were so large that they made real competition and threatened American trusts
 - D. Sixteenth Amendment approved graduated income tax
 - E. Federal Reserve Act—major reform in American banking: funds were spread out, federal reserve notes (dollar bills) were issued and backed by US, money could be shifted quickly to troubled areas; national Federal Reserve Board regulated it
 - F. Federal Trade Commission Act—monitored businesses, allowed them to determine if their actions were acceptable; increased regulatory measures
 - G. Clayton Antitrust Bill—Wilson lost interest in this vigorous pursuit of monopoly
- III. Retreat and Advance
- A. Did not support women’s suffrage or many civil rights
 - B. Needed to do a lot of reform to win reelection
 - C. Appointed Brandeis to Supreme Court as a major reform (Jewish and Progressive, two firsts)
 - D. Child Labor Laws—Keating-Owen Act (1916) was the first federal law to regulate child labor
 - E. After Keating-Owen Act was struck down by the court as unconstitutional, Wilson proposed a huge tax on child-made products

The “Big Stick”: American and the World, 1901-1917

Foreign affairs were not interesting to the public and even the senate before WWI so the president exercised of power as the leader of a major country.

- I. Roosevelt and “Civilization”
 - C. Roosevelt believed in using American power in the world actively
 - D. “Speak softly and carry a big stick”
 - E. Civilized/uncivilized distinction: white Anglo-Saxons and Teutonics were civilized as well as those country with economies (Japan)
 - F. Civilized: industrial goods, uncivilized: raw goods
 - G. Civilized could interfere with uncivilized to preserve stability of both
 - H. Sea power helped this, Roosevelt’s navy was almost as big as Great Britain’s by 1906
- II. Protecting the “Open Door” in Asia
 - A. 1904—Japan attacks Russian fort
 - B. Roosevelt wanted to mediate conflict so neither nation became powerful in Manchuria (part of China that Japan and Russia wanted)
 - C. In NH, Roosevelt administered Nobel Peace Prize-winning treaties that ended the Russo-Japanese War including provisions such as less expansion from Japan but recognition of newly required territories
 - D. Great White Fleet—Japan became dominant power in Pacific so Roosevelt sent 16 battleships painted white to remind Japan of US power (Big Stick)
- III. The Iron-Fisted Neighbor
 - A. Latin America was an interest of Roosevelt and many Americans
 - B. 1902—Venezuela was in financial trouble so they went back on debts to Europe; Germany bombarded Venezuelan ports so Roosevelt used Navy as a threat
 - C. Roosevelt added “Roosevelt Corollary” to Monroe Doctrine saying that the US could intervene in neighbors if they were having trouble because it was their fault that Germany came in the first place
 - D. 1903—Dominican Republic has new regime that picked up \$22 million in debt to Europe from the old one: for three decades Roosevelt set up a customs system to help pay for debts
 - E. Platt Amendment—named after PA senator Thomas Platt, an amendment to Cuban constitution so the US would recognize them as a country: US had the right to keep out intruders in Cuba
- IV. The Panama Canal
 - A. Roosevelt turned sights from Nicaragua with its sea level possibilities to the Isthmus of Panama in Colombia where attempts had already occurred
 - B. John Hay, Roosevelt’s secretary of state met with Tomas Herrén of Colombia in Washington who agreed under pressure to the US having rights to a 6-mile wide canal zone for \$10 million plus rent
 - C. Colombian senate called for \$20 million
 - D. Philippe Bunau-Varilla was the chief engineer in the earlier failed French canal project, he organized and financed a revolution in Panama, U.S.S. *Nashville* went to “maintain order,” Panama became its own nation and agreed to terms
 - E. Ingenious use of foreign policy
- V. Taft and “Dollar Diplomacy”
 - A. Philander C. Knox, secretary of state, invested US money in other underdeveloped regions
 - B. Taft was not interested in stability
 - C. 1909 Intervention in Nicaragua—US sided with insurgents, invested money in new government and protected them from revolutions
- VI. Diplomacy and Morality
 - A. Wilson would face the most trying foreign tasks of any previous (or subsequent?) president
 - B. Dominican Republic—US set up military state there after they refused to become a virtual American protectorate
 - C. Haiti—US stayed there after Wilson sent troops to quell a revolution

- D. Bought Danish West Indies from Denmark to keep it from Germany and called it the Virgin Islands
- E. Wilson signed a treaty with Nicaragua to assure that they wouldn't make treaties for canals with other countries
- F. His foreign policy in the above cases was generally like that of Roosevelt and Taft
- G. Moral Diplomacy became evident in dealings with Mexico
 - 1. American businessmen had been becoming powerful in Mexico during the Porfirio Díaz regime but when Francisco Madero took over as leader, Taft hired general Victoriano Huerta to start an insurrection
 - 2. However, Woodrow Wilson went back on this saying "he would never recognized Huerta's 'government of butchers.'"
 - 3. Wilson used a minor incident when Mexico mistakenly arrested US sailors and refused to salute US flag for penance as a reason for seizing Veracruz, a Mexican port
 - 4. US had a bloody fight and was on the brink of war, Wilson wanted out
 - 5. Huerta was forced to flee after Carranza seized Mexico City
 - 6. US recognized Carranza but not a former lieutenant (turned bandit) named Pancho Villa
 - 7. He killed multiple Americans, including some in NM
 - 8. General JOHN J. PERSHING led American troops to get Villa with the permission of Mexico, after a few skirmishes and never finding him, the US pulled away
- H. Sights were turning to Europe and brewing conflict there

Chapter 23, America and the Great War

The Road to War

- I. The Collapse of the European Peace
 - A. Alliances were a major issue before WWI—"Triple Entente" was between Britain, France, and Russia; "Triple Alliance" was Germany, Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Italy
 - B. Major Anglo-German rivalry was an underlying cause of WWI
 - C. Nationalist movement in Austro-Hungarian Empire: Archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated by a Serbian nationalist because the Austrians wanted to move into Serbian territories
 - D. Germany and Austria attack Serbia
 - E. Russia defends Serbia
 - F. Germany declares war on Russia and France as well, invading Belgium to get to France
 - G. Great Britain declares war on Germany because it allied with France
 - H. Italy entered war with GB and France
 - I. Europe ended up all in war
- II. Wilson's Neutrality
 - A. Wilson called for Americans to remain "impartial in thought as well as deed"
 - B. Many Americans took sides with Germany (German- and Irish-Americans)
 - C. Others took sides with England (including Wilson who was a *anglophile*) and American support of England increased with British propaganda about German atrocities
 - D. Economic ties with Britain—a neutral nation would not trade with Germany or Britain during a blockade by Britain of Germany; the US needed trade with England (war produced huge boom for US), US slowly sided with Allies
 - E. Submarine Warfare—new German tactic; Britain had surface
 - F. *Lusitania*—Germany sunk the British "enemy vessel" *Lusitania* causing the deaths of over 100 Americans; although the ship had munitions from US to Britain, Roosevelt said it was "an act of piracy"
 - G. Wilson demanded Germany stop sinking random ships and respect US as a neutral nation
 - H. They agreed and sunk the *Sussex* of France, killing Americans
 - I. This didn't bring the US into war, however
- III. Preparedness versus Pacifism
 - A. Wilson faced reelection but really did not have a major issue with the war because he was good at balancing issues
 - B. Wilson changed his mind from the idea that building the military was provocative to the idea that it was vital as hostilities increased and by 1916 the army was ready for war
 - C. 1916 Election—Wilson won the election against Charles Evans Hughes on the platform that he kept the US out of war on one of the smallest victories ever
- IV. A War for Democracy
 - A. Wilson planned that the war was a catalyst for a new world order
 - B. "Peace without victory"
 - C. Germany launched greater assaults to clinch the war before the US intervened
 - D. Zimmerman Telegram—German Arthur Zimmerman's proposal to Mexico that if the US enter the war, Mexico attack and regain Texas, etc.; British publicized it
 - E. Russian czars were toppled by republicans so the US could ally with a democratic power
 - F. Declaration of War was declared

"War Without Stint"

Stalemate—Wilson knew that with the war at the current situation, the US was the only one who could break the tie between axis and allies.

- I. Entering the War
 - A. US had biggest effect on naval war

- B. Russian Revolution—after Russia changed from czarist to V.I. Lenin, they left the war and Germany fought mostly on western front
- II. The American Expeditionary Force
 - A. Small army, little experience
 - B. Selective Service Act—Roosevelt favored voluntary army, Wilson favored draft, passed draft that called for soldiers in the American Expeditionary Force
 - C. Soldiers were in terrible trenches, many got STDs, in fact, the Department of War declined a French offer (Georges Clemenceau) to have hired prostitutes who are checked for disease
 - D. Women were recruited into the army for auxiliary roles
 - E. Segregated black troops, sometimes caused conflict
 - F. American Psychological Association formed IQ tests to study soldiers, majority scored as “morons” but really just had never had education
- III. The Military Struggle
 - A. General John Pershing of America
 - B. Heavy shelling of trenches, ventures across “no-man’s land” between trenches, muddy, wet, cold, etc, disease...
 - C. When US entered war, allies went on the offensive
 - D. Fighting.....
 - E. Germany surrenders on November 11, 1918
- IV. The New Technology of Warfare
 - F. Tanks, flamethrowers, etc.
 - G. Chemical weapons, gases, etc
 - H. New vehicles etc, required a lot of maintenance, parts
 - I. New ships were very important
 - J. High casualty rates were a major result of new technology

The War and American Society

- I. Organizing the Economy for War
 - A. Financing the war—Americans sold “Liberty Bonds,” etc. to the public to raise money for war; levied excess profit tax on corporations, etc.
 - B. Wilson set up Council of National Defense and Civilian Advisory Commission to have defense councils in every community
 - C. Later they created war boards that divided economy into planning bodies on every issue (agriculture, insurance, etc.)
 - D. War Industries Board—Bernard Baruch controlled this organization that divided factories up into war material plants; really an irrelevant organization
 - E. Economists recommended enhancing economy by mutualistic agreements between the public and private sectors
- II. Labor and the War
 - A. National War Labor Board resolved labor disputes and granted provisions to laborers
 - 1. Eight-hour day
 - 2. Maintenance of living standards
 - 3. Equal pay for both sexes
 - 4. Unions
 - B. However—NO STRIKES during war
 - C. There was one strike in coal mines of Ludlow, Colorado
 - D. Ludlow Massacre—fighting broke out, 39 die
- III. Economic and Social Results of the War
 - A. Economic boom in the US from industrial needs of war
 - B. Growth in income for everyone; new opportunities for minorities
 - C. “Great Migration”—hundreds of thousands of blacks moved from rural areas into cities
 - D. Push and Pull—push was poverty, racism, pull was factory jobs in the North: double positive
 - E. Results
 - 1. Old black citizens feared that country ways of new blacks would increase racism
 - 2. Inadequate housing situations
 - 3. Race riots went out to hurt blacks
 - F. Women took on roles of men when men were away fighting: steel, trucking, etc.
 - G. However, this was ephemeral and women quickly quit or were fired after the war, even those who had worked before the war.

The Search for Social Unity

- I. The Peace Movement
 - A. Composed of German and Irish Americans, Quakers, Mennonites, and socialists, the advocates of peace considered war a meaningless battle for commercial supremacy (a little cynical?)
 - B. Women’s Peace Party—although the largest women’s groups supported the war, the biggest opposition to the war came from women
 - C. Maternal Opposition to the War—women believed they represented the “mother half of humanity”
- II. Selling the War and Suppressing Dissent
 - A. Many Americans supported the war and the troops once war began
 - B. Patriotism, etc. flowed through the country, even more so in WWII

- C. Government was worried about opposition because they believed that a united public opinion made the difference in victory
- D. CPJ—Committee on Public Information, pro-war literature, etc., films, propaganda
- E. Espionage Act—government got right to deal with spying, in any form, including harmless things like political parties (socialism), etc.
- F. Sedition Act and Sabotage Act—could not publicly oppose the war, very oppressive
- G. Socialist Party and IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) were the biggest targets
- H. Repressing Dissent—outrages ended up occurring, whipping ministers, etc.
- I. American Protective League was started to protect from dissent, a citizens group; pried into mail, affairs of neighbors, etc.
- J. Socialists, labor activists, and female pacifists were the major targets as always
- K. 100% Americanism—first, second generation immigrant families were the biggest opposition other than women and anti-immigration sentiment arose calling for 100% Americanism
- L. German-Americans faced the worst prejudice, radically Germans were fired for no reason, generally, although many supported war, Americans looked askance on them
- M. Hamburgers=“Liberty Sausage” and Sauerkraut=“Liberty Cabbage” (remember Freedom Fries?)

The War and American Society

- I. The Fourteen Points
 - A. Wilson presented 14 goals of the war to Congress; generally:
 - 1. New boundaries
 - 2. Freedom of the seas, open covenants instead of secret treaties, reductions in armaments, free trade, and impartial mediation of colonial claims
 - 3. LEAGUE OF NATIONS (fourteenth point)
 - B. Very idealistic
 - C. Lenin had very similar points in one of his proposals
 - D. Wilson asked world to look at US instead of Russia
- II. Early Obstacles
 - A. British prime minister David Lloyd George and French president Georges Clemenceau worked together to tear up Fourteen Points
 - B. Republicans won many elections and became in charge of both houses, since no Republicans drafted the Fourteen Points, they did not pass Congress
 - C. Wilson did not care
 - D. He said in Paris that he was very idealistic on the issue “I have utter as the objects of this great war ideals and nothing but ideals”
- III. The Paris Peace Conference
 - A. Wilson was a savoir to the “war-weary” Europeans
 - B. The Big Four—George, Clemenceau, Italian prime minister Vittorio Orlando (who did not speak English), and Wilson were the delegates in Paris
 - C. Issues with Soviet Union were important
 - D. “Tense and vindictive atmosphere” overshadowed idealism
 - E. Wilson retreated from many of his points
 - F. Reparations were laid on Germany, \$56 billion
 - G. Wilson would not back down on League of Nations and designed Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia
 - H. League of Nations—although Wilson lost a lot of his points, he believed that the League of Nations would end up correcting the mistakes, like the UN it had 5 permanent members (US, Britain, France, Italy, and Japan); how the covenant would enforce decisions etc. was left up to it
- IV. The Ratification Battle
 - A. Revisions in US made League not challenge Monroe Doctrine, etc.
 - B. Wilson stood firm after a few changes
 - C. He was rather stubborn because of illness, etc.
 - D. Henry Cabot Lodge (Republican-Massachusetts), arrogant senator, did everything to obstruct the treaty
 - E. He basically filibustered the treaty by reading 300 pages aloud in Senate slowly, etc.
 - F. Wilson appealed to the public when the Senate would not budge
- V. Wilson’s Ordeal
 - A. Wilson went out through the country to gain support
 - B. He had a stroke after speaking in Colorado
 - C. After being out of the public because of shelter from his wife and doctor, he temporarily went back to official work
 - D. Wilson had trouble with his mental and emotional state as well as having his left side paralyzed
 - E. Very ill, Wilson said to not change treaty at all, the revised one did not pass but neither did the original
 - F. Other social turmoil also led to the public demise of interest in war treaties

Chapter 24, The New Era

The New Economy

- I. Technology and Economic Growth
 - A. The 1920s economy was at an all time high for years
 - B. United States became a key industrial producer for Europe after WWI
 - C. Demand for automobiles required a lot of raw materials, workers, oil, and roads

- D. Radios were in demand creating new jobs
- E. Aviation and associated industries prospered including plastics and synthetic fibers
- F. Inventions like early computers and discoveries like Gregor Mendel's research in genetics
- II. Economic Organization
 - A. Many large industries were consolidating; however non-technological industries like textiles had a harder time doing so
 - B. Modern Administrative Systems—After William Durant of General Motors retired, Alfred P. Sloan applied Taylorism and created an easily manageable company ranking among the top 5 by size in the world
 - C. Trade Associations centralized while other industries cooperated
- III. Labor in the New Era
 - A. Although the economy was increasing, there was still an extensive lower class, 2/3 of society in some figures who lived in a minimum or less than minimum level
 - B. Instead of encouraging unions, executives encouraged “welfare capitalism” which promoted a shorter work week, better pay, vacations, etc., instead of allowing unions which gave real power
 - C. Although the 20s as a whole had relatively low unemployment, about 5-8 % of people were unemployed at a given time
 - D. Because the American Federation of Labor was interested only in craft unions it excluded many groups and was relatively peaceful and without any strikes in the 1920s
- IV. Women and Minorities in the Work Force
 - A. Pink-Collar Jobs—low paying service occupations held by women like telephone operator, secretary, etc.
 - B. Excluded by AFL
 - C. African Americans migrate to cities in Great Migration; many worked in unskilled jobs like garbage collectors, janitors, and most popular: car porters
 - D. A. Philip Randolph led the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and became an important figure in the civil rights movement later on
 - E. After Chinese immigration subsided in California, Japanese immigrants began to populate the state and took over the menial tasks once held by the Chinese
 - F. Filipino immigration caused so many riots that California excluded all immigration from the Philippines
 - G. Mexicans populated the southwest and although they experienced discrimination, they were rarely excluded
- V. The “American Plan”
 - A. The “American Plan” was endorsed by the National Association of Manufacturers as an anti-union idea that maintained the “open shop” or the idea that employees should not have to join a union
 - B. Supreme Court upheld a lower court decision to make picketing illegal and intervened in a few strikes
 - C. Anti-union sentiment flowed especially in Pennsylvania where coal mines and other industries were proliferating
- VI. Agricultural Technology and the Plight of the Farmer
 - A. New agricultural technology and mechanical farming caused 35 million acres of new farmland to open for cultivation
 - B. Technology included genetically engineered food and pesticides
 - C. A huge surplus of food created a panic for farmers in the 1920s and lands became owned by corporations; tenancy became popular
 - D. Parity—the assurance that farmers would at least be reimbursed for their expenses by raising tariffs and requiring government to buy surplus goods at parity and sell them for profit for farmers
 - E. McNary-Hangen Bill—vetoed twice by Coolidge, called for parity on crops like tobacco, cotton, grain, and rice

The New Culture

- I. Consumerism
 - A. Growing Mass Consumption—Middle-class families were able to afford more than they just needed but what they wanted; the precursor to the American “Affluent Society” of the 1950s
 - B. America had survived up till now without the automobile but in the 1920s 30 million cars were on American roads which required much development but expanded the geographical accessibility of anyone who owned it
 - C. Country dwellers were able to travel to cities while vacation became a popular pastime for the middle class as well as the extreme upper class; paid vacations became popular for corporations
 - D. The younger generation found a possibility of escape with the automobile, even more so than with railroads of the past; many created their own social lives far from their origin when they were old enough to drive
 - E. Youth culture proliferated for the first time in history
- II. Advertising
 - A. Advertising went hand in hand with consumerism and products were no longer just described in ads, but associated with a particular lifestyle
 - B. *The Man Nobody Knows*—by advertising executive Bruce Barton, the book identifies Jesus as the ideal advertiser who was able to market a religion that conquered the world through the simple tactics of making friends, pleasing others, and becoming popular
 - C. Newspapers and later radios became major methods of advertising
 - D. Mass-Circulation Magazines—*The Reader's Digest* and *Time* became popular realist magazines that presented stories and news nationwide; making it disposable and accessible
- III. The Movies and Broadcasting
 - A. The number of movie watchers more than doubled from 1922 to 1930 and after a few scandals, producers banded into the Motion Picture Association to clean up Hollywood
 - B. Movies were reviews and censored or banded by the retired postmaster general who made films clean and family oriented
 - C. Radio—KDKA Pittsburg was considered the first broadcasting association and eventually the National Broadcasting Company was formed was the first network; controversial material was also banded but radio as decentralized so it remained diverse
- IV. Modernist Religion
 - A. With a society emphasizing modernism, theologians modernized evangelical Christianity to liberal Protestantism

- B. Harry Emerson Fosdick—Riverside Church NYC pastor who published *Abundant Religion* that argued for a more spiritual social religion
- C. Most Americans were not interested in religion as a vehicle to advance “abundant life” but religion was slowly taking a back seat compared to its once all-powerful self
- D. American religion was finally transforming from its Old World identity to a pastime rather than a doctrine for living
- V. Professional Women
 - A. 25% of married women worked in the 1920s; women were frequently accepted to colleges and some were among the third generation of legacy at certain schools already
 - B. Beyond a few occasions where women excelled as executives, lawyers, etc., they usually were in “feminine” roles like fashion and nursing
 - C. Regardless, the “new professional woman” was a popular image of the 1920s
- VI. Changing Ideas of Motherhood
 - A. Behavioral psychologists suggested that child rearing combine maternal love with care from doctors and educators
 - B. Women also sought the “companionate marriage,” separating children from the marriage more and involving women more in the husband’s social life
 - C. New Sex—Psychology of the time also encouraged sex as more than an act of procreation but as the culmination of romantic love, resulting in pleasure
 - D. Birth Control—By the influence of Emma Goldman, an earlier proponent, Margaret Sanger promoted birth control for women so that sex could be enjoyed without the association of childbirth; some products remained illegal and abortion was thoroughly illegal nationwide
- VII. The “Flapper”: Image and Reality
 - A. Women believed that since they were in a “New Era” they were allowed to leave Victorian respectability and smoke, drink, and wear seductive clothes
 - B. “Flapper” was the modern liberated woman
 - C. The working class was the most common “flappers” and the upper class “Bohemian” women mimicked it
 - D. Women would go to clubs together
 - E. Most women, however, remained dependent on men
- VIII. Pressing for Women’s Rights
 - A. National Women’s Party—led by Alice Paul, pressed for Equal Rights Amendment
 - B. League of Women Voters
 - C. Sheppard-Towner Act—Provided funds for prenatal and child healthcare programs; fought down by women who were against it for many reasons, showed the power of females
- IX. Education and Youth
 - A. As expertise became important for the workplace, education became an emphasis for the lives of young children
 - B. High school attendance doubled in the 1920s
 - C. Colleges began to teach modern fields like econ and engineering
 - D. Schools allowed young people of the day to develop a society of their own including their own hobbies, interests, and trends
 - E. Schools allowed for clubs, fraternities, and accessible team sports as well as academics to define themselves in peer groups rather than families
- X. The Decline of the “Self-Made Man”
 - A. As society advanced, the myth that hard work could make a person renown fell apart
 - B. Masculinity was questioned as an idea of independence disintegrated and men turned to sports , fraternities, and the army for reassurance
 - C. Charles Lindbergh and Henry Ford became idolized for different reasons but were considered masculine at the time
- XI. The Disenchanted
 - A. Intellectuals of the time refused to try to change society and isolated themselves from it because they hated the way America was at the time
 - B. WWI Generation was considered the “Lost Generation”
 - C. After WWI, America went back to “business as usual” and dropped Wilsonian ideals only to look toward consumerism and started to shape itself as what many modern liberals consider the American selfish psyche
 - D. Ernest Hemingway supported the intellectuals and hailed the ideas in *A Farewell to Arms*
 - E. H.L. Mencken, a journalist, was known as a “debunker,” who criticized America in the 20s
 - F. Sinclair Lewis criticized the urban part of modern society
 - G. F. Scott Fitzgerald wrote *The Great Gatsby* where the materialistic title character Jay Gatsby’s wealthy brings his demise
 - H. Some left society for Paris, others for the southwest, and many intellectuals adopted hedonism with wild drunken parties and rampant sex—most, however, believed that it was more fun to do art (?? lol)
 - I. Charles and Mary Beard—well known historians who emphasized conservative views that looked at the clash of economic interests in American History
- XII. The Harlem Renaissance
 - A. Harlem went from being an affluent white suburb to a completely black community after WWI
 - B. Black artists, songwriters, and poets flourished in post-war Harlem including Duke Ellington, Jelly Roll Morton, and Fletcher Henderson
 - C. Black artists fought for the fact that their culture had a rich racial heritage, African-American pride
 - D. Most of Harlem writing was not racial politics like Claude McKay but was simply creativity
 - E. Jazz became popular as well
 - F. The Harlem renaissance had lasting effects on African-Americans
- XIII. The Southern Agrarians
 - A. Fugitives—White Southern intellectuals who discussed their ancient rural traditions in Vanderbilt University (TN) (and eventually elsewhere) through poetry and eventually essays, etc.

- B. Argued that the South was able to maintain an agrarian way of life, away from the hustle and bustle of the Northern suburbia and cityscapes (replaced “Fugitives” with “Agrarians”)
- C. *I’ll Take My Stand*—a series of southern essays; although the white supremacy ones were dismissed, the attacks on industrialization were often read
- D. Some Agrarians still referred to the prehistoric Lost Cause as an ideal but it took on the new idea that the “backwardness” of the South was an anecdote to the excessive modernization of the North

A Conflict of Cultures

- I. Prohibition
 - A. Although prohibition was based in noble causes and decreased drinking dramatically; it increased crime and led to organized crime
 - B. Al Capone build a criminal empire in Chicago
 - C. Many old progressives began to protest prohibition but many rural Protestants defended it
 - D. Prohibition fell during the Great Depression in 1933 with repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment when the “wets” effectively challenged the “dries”
- II. Nativism and the Klan
 - A. Many old-stock Americans sought to repress immigrants with prohibition and other methods
 - B. Quota System of 1921—Congress passed emergency legislation to limit immigration
 - C. National Origins Act of 1924—Congress bans East Asia immigration
 - D. Nativism gave way to extremism in the form of the revived Ku Klux Klan
 - E. The New Klan—reestablished on Stone Mountain in Atlanta
 - F. As their first act, they lynched a Jewish factory manager
 - G. They were greeted with the premiere of *Birth of a Nation*, D.W. Griffith’s movie that glorified the first Klan
 - H. The Klan became a WASP society that spread throughout the North and West
 - I. Some terrorized non-WASPs, others were interested just in snobbery
 - J. Defending “Traditional Values”—fought for old morals against modernity such as punishment for divorce and Bible reading at school
 - K. The Klan gained support with rituals, costumes, and a feel of excitement and cohesion
 - L. David Stephenson, head of the Indiana segment, brought the fall of the Klan’s popularity forever after he raped a young woman and let her die of swallowing poison rather than calling a doctor
- III. Religious Fundamentalism
 - A. Protestantism divided between two groups
 - 1. Modernists, urban middle-class people who adapted religion to society
 - 2. Fundamentalists, defenders of old religion; especially that the Bible should be taught rather than Darwinism in public schools
 - B. Tennessee made teaching any creation story other than the Bible in public school illegal in 1925
 - C. ACLU protested law and gave the free counsel of Clarence Darrow to Dayton teacher John T. Scopes against the prosecution of William Jennings Bryan
 - D. Scopes lost but Darrow got Bryan to admit that some religious dogma may be flawed
 - E. Scopes trial seemed too radical to most Protestants so Fundamentalists had to assemble together and were excluded by most mainstream religion
- IV. The Democrats’ Ordeal
 - A. Democrats were made up of interest groups like KKK members, Catholics, urban workers, and immigrants who were very diverse in views
 - B. Tensions between them brought devastation
 - C. Al Smith, the 1928 candidate managed to alienate many groups his anti-Catholic sentiment and lost miserably to Herbert Hoover in a Mondale-esque defeat; Democrats were already getting good at that way back in the 20s!

Republican Government

- I. Harding and Coolidge
 - A. In his *America the Book*, Jon Stewart introduces some supplementary material with “President Harding — The Worst President Ever”
 - B. Harding was from Ohio and the intellectually limited president is quoted, “I am a man of limited talents from a small town; I don’t seem to grasp that I am President”
 - C. The corrupt secretary of the interior under Harding, Albert B. Fall transferred oil reserves from the Navy to the Department of the Interior so he could sell them to rich businessmen; he went to prison; the Attorney General Harry Daugherty barely avoided prison for similar crimes
 - D. Harding escaped from the White House for a speaking tour after senate started investigating him and died of heart attacks
 - E. Coolidge came after Harding and was a silent stern man who took laissez-faire to a new level; he is known for his quietness and once went into a conference room, gave someone a paper that said “I do not choose to run for president in 1928” and left
- II. Government and Business
 - A. Government did have some major triumphs including Andrew Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, and his “trickle-down” taxes which benefit the upper class with tax cuts who can invest their money to help the economy
 - B. Herbert Hoover was a Commerce Secretary who invented the cooperation method for entrepreneurs known as associationalism that he believed could stabilize industries for greater efficiency with cooperation
 - C. Progressives favored Herbert Hoover for president and he was elected over Al Smith
 - D. He was never able to prove himself because the nation’s economy plunged into the Great Depression; optimism of the 20s led to reform for the 30s

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