


## Chapter 25

### *America Moves to the City, 1865–1900*

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## I. The Urban Frontier

- Growth of American metropolises was spectacular--Size:
  - In 1860 no city in U.S.A. had a million inhabitants
  - New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia past million mark by 1890
  - 1900 New York, with 3.5 million, was second largest city in world outranked only by London
  - Between 1850 and 1900 world cities doubled or tripled London, Paris, Berlin, Tokyo, Moscow, Mexico City, Calcutta and Shanghai (see Map 25.1)

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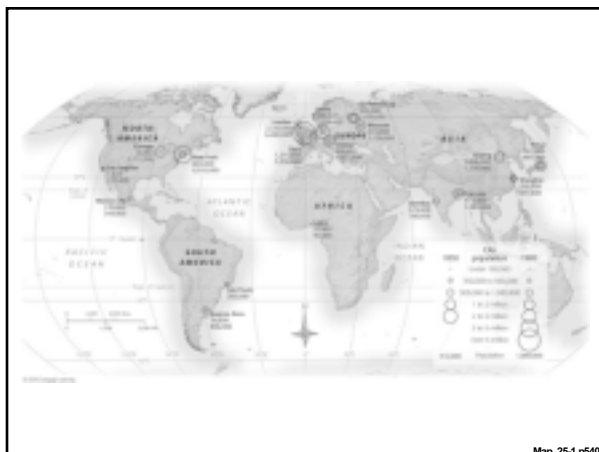
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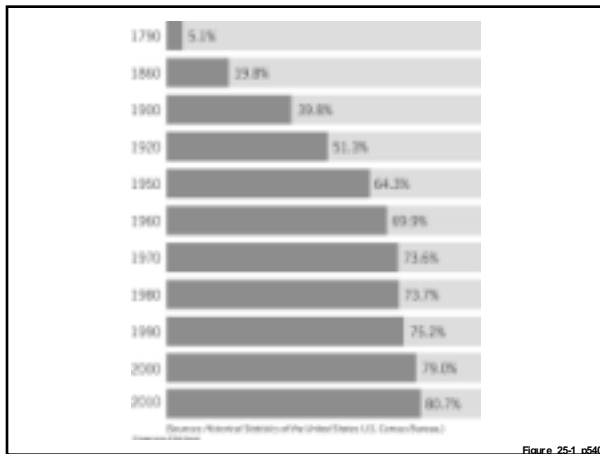
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## I. The Urban Frontier (cont.)

- American cities grew both up and out:
  - Skyscrapers allowed more people and workplaces to be packed onto a parcel of land
    - First as a ten-story building in Chicago in 1885, skyscraper made usable by perfecting electric elevator
    - Louis Sullivan (1856-1924) contributed to future of skyscraper with famous principle that “form follows function”
    - New steel-skeleton high-rises made urban Americans modern cliff dwellers

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## I. The Urban Frontier (cont.)

- Americans becoming commuters:
  - Carted daily between home and work on mass-transit lines running from central cities to surrounding suburbs
  - Electric trolleys propelled city limits outward
  - By end of century, nation's first subway opened in Boston
  - Compact and communal “walking city”—boundaries set by leg-power shifted to immense and impersonal megalopolis:
    - Carved into distinctly different districts for business, industry, and residential neighborhoods—segregated by race, ethnicity, class

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## I. The Urban Frontier (cont.)

- Rural life could not compete with siren song of city (see Figure 2.1)
- Industrial jobs drew people from farms as well as abroad, and into factory centers
- Urban life held powerful attractions:
  - Late-night glitter of city lights—alluring to young people yearning for independence
  - Electricity, indoor plumbing, and telephone made life in city enticing
  - Engineering marvels of skyscrapers and New York's Brooklyn Bridge added to seductive glamour of gleaming cities

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## I. The Urban Frontier (cont.)

- Cavemous department stores such as Macy's in New York and Marshall Field's in Chicago:
  - » Attracted urban middle-class shoppers
  - » Provided urban working-class jobs, many for women
- Bustling emporiums heralded dawning era of consumerism:
  - » Accentuated widening class divisions
  - » Theodore Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* (1900) told story of young woman moving to city life of Chicago
- Move to city introduced Americans to new way of living:
  - As opposed to rural life, goods in cities came in throw-away bottles, boxes, bags, and cans

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## I. The Urban Frontier (cont.)

- Cheap ready-to-wear clothing and swift-changing fashions pushed old suits and dresses out of closet and onto trash heap
- Waste disposal an issue new to American life
- Mountains of waste urbanites generated testified to cultural shift from virtues of thrift to conveniences of consumerism
- Criminals flourished in teeming asphalt jungles
- Sanitary facilities could not keep pace with mushrooming population explosion
- Impure water, uncollected garbage, unwashed bodies, and animal droppings enveloped cities in satanic stench
- Baltimore described as smelling like a billion polecats

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## I. The Urban Frontier (cont.)

- Cities were monuments of contradiction:
  - Represented “humanity compressed”
  - Harbored merchant princes and miserable paupers
    - stately banks and sooty factories
    - green-grassed suburbs and treeless ghettos
    - towering skyscrapers and stinking tenements
  - Worst of all were human pigsties known as slums:
    - Seemed to grow ever more crowded
    - More filthy and rat-infested
    - Especially after perfection in 1879 of “dumbbell” tenement (see Figure 25.2)

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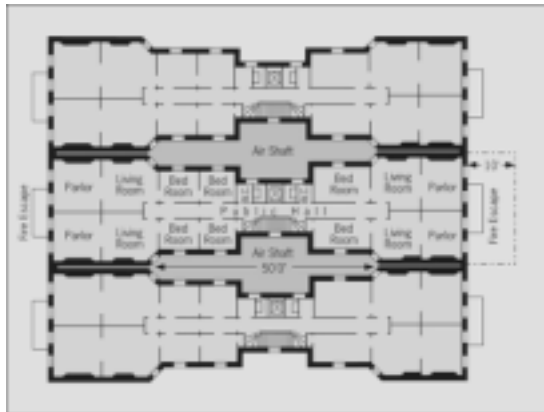


Figure 25.2 p542

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## I. The Urban Frontier (cont.)

- “Dumbbell” tenement:
  - Named because of outline of floor plan
  - Usually seven or eight stories high, with shallow sunless, and ill-smelling air shafts providing minimal ventilation
  - Several families sardined onto each floor of barracks-like structures; they shared a malodorous toilet in hall
  - In New York’s “Lung Block” hundreds of unfortunate urbanites coughed away their lives
  - “Flophouses” abounded where half-starved and unemployed might sleep for a few cents on verminous mattresses
  - Small wonder slum dwellers strove mightily to escape their wretched surroundings—as many did

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## I. The Urban Frontier (cont.)

- Cities dangerous for everyone:
  - 1871: 2/3 of downtown Chicago burned in raging fire:
    - Left ninety thousand people homeless
    - Destroyed more than fifteen thousand buildings
  - Closely packed wooden structures fed insatiable flames
    - Prompted Chicago and other wary cities to require stone and iron building downtown
    - Wealthy began to leave risky cities for semirural suburbs
    - Leafy “bedroom communities” ringed brick-and-concrete cities with greenbelt of affluence

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## II. The New Immigration

- Powerful pull of America’s urban magnets felt in faraway Europe:
  - Seemingly endless stream of immigrants poured in from old “mother continent”:
    - 1850s-1870s: more than 2 million migrants stepped onto America’s shores
    - 1880s: more than 5 million cascaded in
    - New high for single year reached in 1882, when 788,992 arrived—or more than 2,100 a day (see Figure 25.3)

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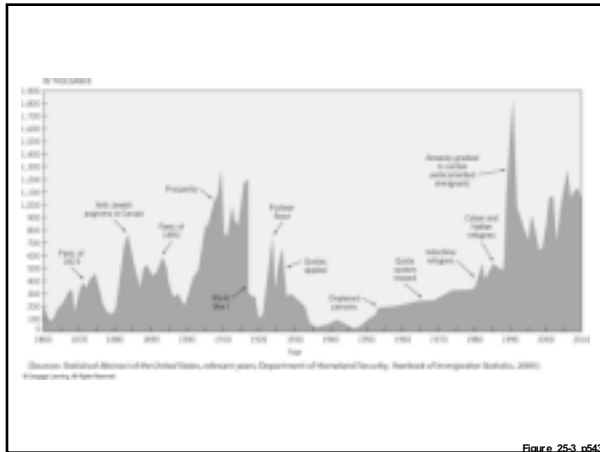


Figure 25.3. r543

## II. The New Immigration (cont.)

- Until 1880s most immigrants came from:
  - British Isles and western Europe, chiefly Germany and Ireland
  - Significant were more than 300,000 Chinese immigrants
  - Many Chinese and Irish immigrants faced nativism
  - Chinese legally excluded in 1882 (see Chap. 23)
  - By end of last decades of century, “old” immigrants adjusted well to American life:
    - Built supportive ethnic organizations
    - Melded into established farm communities/urban life

## II. The New Immigration (cont.)

- Many still lived, worked, and worshiped among their own
- Largely accepted as “American” by native-born
- In 1880s, character of immigrant stream changed drastically (see Figure 25.4)

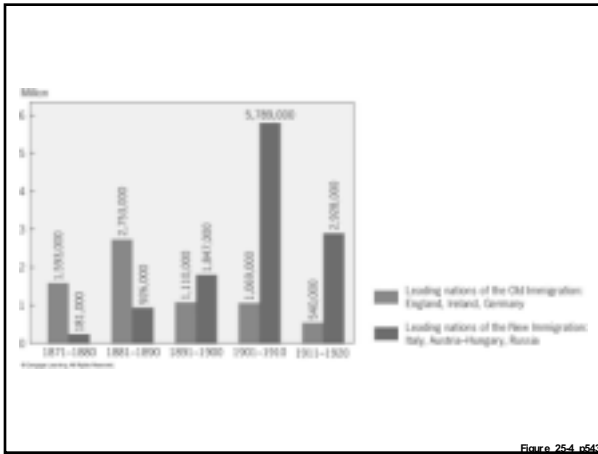


Figure 25.4 r543

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## II. The New Immigration (cont.)

### — So-called **New Immigrants**:

- Came from southern and eastern Europe
- Italians, Jews, Croats, Slovaks, Greeks, and Poles
- Came from countries with little history of democratic government
- These new people totaled only 19% of immigrants (1880s)
- By first decade of twentieth century, they constituted 66% of total inflow
- Hived together in cities like New York and Chicago in "Little Italys" and "Little Polands"

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## II. The New Immigration (cont.)

- Why did new immigrants come?
  - Left because Europe seemed to have no room for them:
    - Population of Old World growing vigorously
    - It doubled after 1800 due to abundant supplies of fish and grain from America
    - And widespread cultivation in Europe of American transplant, the potato
    - American food imports and pace of Europe industrialization created vast footloose army of unemployed

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## II. The New Immigration (cont.)

- Europeans by millions drained out of countryside and into European cities:
  - About sixty million Europeans abandoned Old Continent in 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries
    - European diaspora, dominated by immigration to U.S.A. simply a by-product of urbanization of Europe
    - “America fever” proved highly contagious in Europe
    - “American letters” sent by friends and relatives portrayed America as land of fabulous opportunity

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## II. The New Immigration (cont.)

- Profit-seeking Americans trumpeted throughout Europe the attractions of new promised land:
  - Industrialists wanted low-wage labor
  - Railroads wanted buyers for land grants
  - States wanted more population
  - Steamship lines wanted more human cargo
  - Ease and cheapness of steam-powered shipping accelerated transoceanic surge
- Savage persecutions of minorities in Europe drove many shattered souls to American shores

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## II. The New Immigration (cont.)

- In 1880s Russians turned violent against Jews, chiefly in Polish areas:
  - Many made way to cities of Atlantic Coast, notably New York
  - Their experience of city life in Europe made them unique among New Immigrants
  - Many brought their urban skills
  - Given frosty reception by German Jews who had immigrated earlier
- Many new immigrants never intended to become Americans:
  - Many were single men who immigrated with intention of returning with hard-earned dollars

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## II. The New Immigration (cont.)

- 25% of nearly twenty million who arrived between 1820 and 1900 were “birds of paradise” who eventually returned to country of origin
- Those who stayed struggled to preserve traditional culture:
  - » Catholics expanded parochial-school systems
  - » Jews established Hebrew schools
  - » Foreign-language newspapers abounded
  - » Yiddish theaters, kosher-food stores, etc. all attested to desire to keep old ways alive
  - » Children of immigrants grew up speaking fluent English
  - » They often rejected Old Country’s manners in desire to plunge into mainstream of American life

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### III. Parties and Social Reformers Reach Out

- Assimilation of immigrants into U.S. society:
  - United States government did virtually nothing
  - State governments, dominated by rural representatives, did even less
  - City governments, overwhelmed, proved inadequate to task
- By default, business of ministering to immigrants' needs fell to unofficial "governments" of urban political machines—led by "bosses" like New York's notorious Boss Tweed

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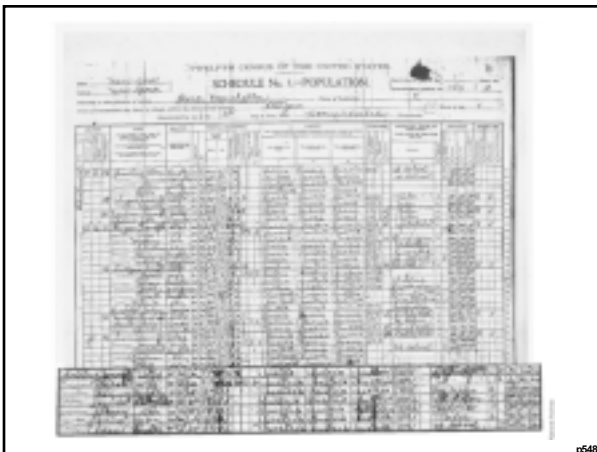
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### III. Parties and Social Reformers Reach Out (cont.)

- Taking care of immigrants was big business:
  - Trading jobs and services for votes, a powerful boss might claim loyalty of thousands of followers
  - In return for support at polls, the boss
    - Provided jobs on city's payroll
    - Found housing for new arrivals
    - Tided over needy with gifts of food and clothing
    - Patched up minor scrapes with law
    - Helped get schools, parks, and hospitals built for immigrants
  - Reformers gaged at exploitation of immigrant vote, but political boss gave valuable assistance forthcoming from no other source

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### III. Parties and Social Reformers Reach Out (cont.)

- Nation's conscience awakened to plight of cities and immigrants
  - Protestant clergymen applied lessons of Christianity to slums and factories:
    - Walter Rauschenbusch (German Baptist pastor, New York City) and Washington Gladden (Congregational Church, Columbus, Ohio)
    - Both preached "social gospel"—insisted that church tackle burning social issues
    - Helped prepare path for progressive reform movement

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### III. Parties and Social Reformers Reach Out (cont.)

- Jane Addams (1860-1935) dedicated to helping urban masses
  - Reformer who condemned poverty and war
  - Won Nobel Peace Prize in 1931
  - Her pacifism won enmity of some Americans, including Daughters of the American Revolution
  - Hull House (a settlement house, located in immigrant neighborhood of Chicago) founded in 1889, offered:
    - » Instruction in English
    - » Counseling to help newcomers cope with big-city life
    - » Child-care services for working mothers
    - » Cultural activities for neighborhood residents

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### III. Parties and Social Reformers Reach Out (cont.)

- Women founded **settlement houses** in other cities
  - Lillian Wald's Henry Street Settlement, New York, in 1893
- Became centers of women's activism and social reform
  - Hull House's women successfully lobbied for Illinois anti-sweatshop law that protected women workers and prohibited child labor—led by Florence Kelley
  - For female reformers and other women, city offered new kind of opportunity

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### IV. Narrowing the Welcome Mat

- “Nativists”:
  - Viewed eastern and southern Europeans as culturally and religiously exotic hordes
    - Gave them rude reception
    - Alarmed because new immigrants had high birthrate, and thus might outbreed or mongrelize Anglo-Saxon stock
    - Blamed newcomers for corruption of city government
    - Unionists assailed them because new immigrants willing to work for “starvation” wages

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#### IV. Narrowing the Welcome Mat (cont.)

- Nativists claimed immigrants imported dangerous ideas of socialism, communism, and anarchism
- Antiforeign organizations revived
  - Notorious was American Protective Association (APA):
    - Urged voting against Roman Catholics
    - Sponsored publication of lust fantasies about runaway nuns
  - Wage-depressed immigrants hard to unionize because of language barrier

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#### IV. Narrowing the Welcome Mat (cont.)

- Congress nailed up partial bars:
  - In 1882, restrictive law banged gate shut on paupers, criminals, convicts:
    - Had to be returned by shippers to country of origin
    - Banned an entire ethnic group – the Chinese
  - 1885, Congress banned import of foreign workers under contract—usually for substandard wages
  - Other federal laws lengthened list of undesirables:
    - Included insane, polygamists, prostitutes, alcoholics, anarchists, and people carrying contagious diseases

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#### IV. Narrowing the Welcome Mat (cont.)

- A proposed literacy test met vigorous opposition:
  - Not enacted until 1917 after three presidents vetoed it on grounds that literacy more a measure of opportunity than of intelligence
- 1886: Statue of Liberty arose in New York harbor, a gift from French
- New immigrants became American citizens the hard way
- Republic owed much to these latecomers—for brawn, brains, courage, and diversity brought to American society

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#### V. Churches Confront the Urban Challenge

- Challenges to American churches:
  - Protestant churches suffered from shift to city:
    - In city, traditional doctrines and pastoral approaches irrelevant
    - Some churches becoming merely sacred diversions or amusements
    - Many old-line churches distressingly slow to raise voices against social and economic vices
    - Some worried that in age-old struggle between God and Devil, the Wicked One registering gains

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## V. Churches Confront the Urban Challenge (cont.)

- Too many devotees worshiped at altar of avarice:
  - Money was measure of achievement
  - New gospel of wealth proclaimed God caused righteous to prosper
- Into vacuum, stepped new generation of **liberal Protestants**:
  - Rooted in Unitarian revolt against orthodox Calvinism
  - between 1875 and 1925 involved in bitter controversies with fundamentalists
  - Entrenched in leadership/seminaries, they adapted religious ideas to modern culture

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## V. Churches Confront the Urban Challenge (cont.)

- Attempted to reconcile Christianity with new scientific and economic doctrines
- Rejected biblical literalism; stressed ethical teachings of Bible
- Allied with reform-oriented “social gospel” movement and urban revivalists—Dwight Lyman Moody
- Had optimistic trust in community fellowship
- Focused on earthly salvation and personal growth
- Helped Protestants reconcile religious faith with modern, cosmopolitan ways of thinking
- Simultaneously Roman Catholic and Jewish faiths gained strength from New Immigration

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## V. Churches Confront the Urban Challenge (cont.)

- By 1900, Catholic Church, largest single denomination in U.S.A.:
  - Numbered nine million communicants
  - Cardinal James Gibbons (1834-1921):
    - » Popular with Catholics and Protestants alike
    - » Acquainted with every President from A. Johnson to Harding
    - » Used his liberal sympathies to assist labor movement
- By 1890, 150 denominations to choose from, two of them brand new:
  - Salvation Army—focused on poor, did much practical good, esp. with free soup

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## V. Churches Confront the Urban Challenge (cont.)

- Church of Christ, Scientist (Christian Science):
  - » Founded by Mary Baker Eddy in 1879, after suffering much ill health
  - » Preached that true practice of Christianity heals sickness in *Science and Health with Key to the Scripture* (1875)
  - » Offered hope of relief from discords and diseases through prayer as taught by Christian Science
- New religious-affiliated Christian organizations:
  - Young Men's and Women's Christian Associations
  - Combined physical and other kinds of education with religious instruction
  - “Y's” in virtually every major American city by end of 1800s

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## VI. Darwin Disrupts the Churches

- Old-time religion received many blows:
  - Charles Darwin:
    - His theory—that higher forms of life slowly evolved from lower forms, through random biological mutation and adaptation
  - New ground—“natural selection”:
    - Nature blindly selected organisms for survival or death based on random, inheritable variations they happened to possess
    - Some traits conferred advantages in struggle for life, and hence better odds of passing them along to offspring

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## VI. Darwin Disrupts the Churches (cont.)

- Darwin's theory rejected "dogma of special creations":
  - Which ascribed design of each fixed species to divine agency
- Harvard's Louis Agassiz held fast to old doctrine of "special creations"
- By 1875 most scientists embraced theory of organic evolution, though not all endorsed natural selection as agent
- Clergymen and theologians' responses:
  - Initially most joined scientists in rejecting Darwin's ideas outright

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## VI. Darwin Disrupts the Churches (cont.)

- After 1875, when scientists embraced evolution, religious community split into two camps:
- Conservative minority:
  - Stood firmly behind Scripture as infallible Word of God
  - Condemned what they thought was "bestial hypothesis" of Darwinians
  - Their rejection of scientific consensus spawned a muscular view of biblical authority that gave rise to fundamentalism in twentieth century

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## VI. Darwin Disrupts the Churches (cont.)

- Modern and liberal majority:
  - Refused to accept Bible in its entirety as either history or science
  - Feared hostility toward evolution would alienate educated believers
  - Over time liberal thinkers reconciled Darwinism with Christianity
  - Heralded the revolutionary theory as newer and grander revelation of ways of the Almighty

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## VI. Darwin Disrupts the Churches (cont.)

- Darwinism did much to loosen religious moorings and to promote skepticism
- Liberal efforts at compromises relegated religious teaching to matters of personal faith, private conduct, and family life
- Commentators of nature and society increasingly refrained from adding religious perspective to discussion

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## VII. The Lust for Learning

- Public education continued upward climb:
  - Ideal of tax-supported elementary schools gathered strength:
    - 1870 onward more states made grade-school education compulsory
      - Helped check frightful abuses of child labor
  - High schools expanded between 1880s and 1890s:
    - Before Civil War, tax-supported high schools rare
    - High-school education increasingly seen as birthright of every citizen

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## VII. The Lust for Learning (cont.)

- By 1900, six thousand high schools
- Textbooks also paid for by taxpayers
- Other trends:
  - Teacher-training schools, called “normal schools,” experienced striking increase
    - 1860 there were 12; 1910 over 300
  - Kindergartens, borrowed from Germany, gained support
  - New strength to private Catholic parochial schools
  - Chautauqua movement of public lectures and home study courses provided education to many adults

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## VII. The Lust for Learning (cont.)

- Cities provided better educational facilities than rural schools:
  - Illiteracy rate fell from 20% (1870) to 10.7% (1900)
- Americans developed profound faith in formal education as sovereign remedy for various ills

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## VIII. Booker T. Washington and Education for Black People

- 44% of nonwhite southerners illiterate in 1900:
  - Booker T. Washington championed black education
    - Classic autobiography: *Up from Slavery* (1900)
    - Headed black normal and industrial school at Tuskegee, Alabama:
      - Taught useful trades to gain self-respect and economic security
      - Self-help approach to solving nation's racial problems labeled "accommodationist"
        - » Because stopped short of directly challenging white supremacy
        - » Avoided issue of social equality

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## VIII. Booker T. Washington and Education for Black People (cont.)

- Acquiesced in segregation in return for right to develop economic and educational resources of black community
- Economic independence would be ticket to black political and civil rights
- Training young blacks in agriculture and trades guided curriculum at **Tuskegee Institute**:
  - Ideal place for George Washington Carver to teach and research
  - Became internationally famous agricultural chemist
  - Discovered hundreds of new uses for peanut, sweet potato, and soybean

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## VIII. Booker T. Washington and Education for Black People (cont.)

- Dr. W. E. B. DuBois:
  - Saw Washington as condemning blacks to manual labor and perpetual inferiority
  - Earned Ph.D. at Harvard, the first black to do so
  - Demanded complete equality, incl. social and economic
  - Helped found National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909
  - Rejected Washington's gradualism and separatism
  - Argued for “talented tenth” of black community to be given full and immediate access to mainstream of American life
- Washington and DuBois reflected different life experiences between blacks in South and in North

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## IX. The Hallowed Halls of Ivy

- Colleges and universities after Civil War:
  - College education seemed indispensable in scramble for success (see Table 25.1)
  - Women and African Americans found new opportunities in higher education:
    - Women's colleges (e.g., Vassar) gained ground
    - Universities opened to both genders, esp. in Midwest
    - By 1880 every third college graduate a woman
    - Black institutes and academies grew into southern black colleges

TABLE 25.1 Educational Levels, 1870-2011

Year	Number Graduating from High School	Number Graduating from College	Median Number of School Years Completed*	High School Graduates as a Percentage of 17-Year-Old Population
1870	16,000	9,571		3.0%
1880	23,034	13,096		3.5%
1890	43,731	15,338		3.5%
1900	94,683	25,430		6.4%
1910	196,429	37,196	8.17	8.8%
1920	311,396	46,623	8.27	14.8%
1930	666,304	123,484	8.47	29.3%
1940	1,221,473	186,300	8.6	36.8%
1950	1,789,398	433,368	9.0	49.0%
1960	1,890,023	703,440	10.5	69.5%
1970	2,880,039	703,254	12.2	76.8%
1980	3,042,214	639,417	12.5	71.4%
1990	2,574,563	505,184	12.7	73.4%
2000	2,653,844	1,257,875	NA	69.8%
2010	3,434,612	1,680,014	NA	79.7%
2011	3,402,039	1,710,313	NA	77.96%

\*Roughly twenty-five years and older.

Source: 2010 based on extrapolations of 1980 data; 1980 was the last year measured.

Source: Edgar and Tracy, *Education of the American Population*, 4th (2001) (New York: McGraw-Hill).

†Rounded figures.

Source: *Digest of Education Statistics*, 2012, a publication of the National Center for Education Statistics, Statistical Abstract of the United States, released 2012.

†Rounded figures.

Table 25.1, p.556

## IX. The Hallowed Halls of Ivy (cont.)

- Howard University, Hampton Institute, and Atlanta University were key black colleges until civil rights movement of 1960s made attendance at white institutions possible
- Morrill Act of 1862:
  - Granted public lands to states for support of education
  - **Land-grant colleges**—later state universities, provided certain services, such as military training
  - Hatch Act of 1887 extended Morrill Act
    - Provided funds for establishment of agricultural experiment stations at land-grant colleges

## IX. The Hallowed Halls of Ivy (cont.)

- Two acts spawned more than 100 colleges and universities:
  - University of California (1868); Ohio State University (1870); and Texas A & M (1876)
- Private philanthropy supplemented government grants to higher education:
  - Industrial millionaires donated \$150 million between 1878 and 1898
  - New private universities founded:
    - Cornell (1865), Leland Stanford Junior (1891)—latter in memory of deceased only child of a builder of Central Pacific Railroad

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## IX. The Hallowed Halls of Ivy (cont.)

- University of Chicago (1892) helped immensely by John D. Rockefeller's oil millions
- By his death, Rockefeller had given away \$500 million
- Sharp increase in professional and technical schools with modern laboratories:
  - Johns Hopkins University (1876) maintained nation's first quality graduate school
  - Dr. Woodrow Wilson earned Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins

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## IX. The Hallowed Halls of Ivy (cont.)

- Influences of modern American university:
  - Antebellum colleges stressed “unity of truth”—that knowledge and morality existed in single system
  - Religious instruction in moral philosophy and natural theology were pillars of classical curriculum
  - University reformers struggled to reconcile new scientific ideas with religion
  - University educators abandoned moral instruction and divorced “facts” from “values”
  - Other developments also doomed classical curriculum

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## IX. The Hallowed Halls of Ivy (cont.)

- New industrialization insisted on “practical” courses and specialized vocational training in sciences
- New emphasis on fields of concentration for a profession
- Specialization became primary goal of university education
- Elective system gained popularity
- Reformer Dr. Charles Eliot became president of Harvard—he changed Harvard's motto from *Christo et Ecclesiae* (For Christ and Church) to *Veritas* (Truth)

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## IX. The Hallowed Halls of Ivy (cont.)

– Medical schools and medical science:

- New scientific gains reflected in improved public health and health-promoting precautions
- William James (1842-1910); 35-year Harvard faculty
  - *Principles of Psychology* (1890) helped establish modern discipline of behavioral psychology
  - *The Will to Believe* (1897) and *Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902) explored philosophy and psychology of religion
  - His most famous work *Pragmatism* (1907) pronounced that the truth of an idea was to be tested by its practical consequences
  - He thereby made America's greatest contribution to the history of philosophy—concept of **pragmatism**

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## X. The Appeal of the Press

- Books a major source of edification and enjoyment:
  - Well-stocked public libraries—poor person's university—made encouraging progress
    - Especially Boston and New York Libraries
  - Library of Congress (1897)—13 acres of floor space—largest and costliest edifice of kind in world
  - Andrew Carnegie contributed \$60 million to build 1,700 public libraries across U.S.A.
  - 9,000 free circulating libraries in America, each with over 300 books, by 1900

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## X. The Appeal of the Press (cont.)

- Newspapers:
  - Spurred by invention of Linotype (1885)
  - However, because of growing fear of offending advertisers and subscribers:
    - Fewer bare-knuckled editorials
    - Supplanted by feature articles and non-controversial syndicated material
    - Day of slashing journalistic giants like Horace Greeley passing

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## X. The Appeal of the Press (cont.)

- Sensationalism captured public taste
- Journalistic tycoons:
  - Joseph Pulitzer:
    - Leader in techniques of sensationalism, owner of *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and *New York World*
    - Use of colored comic supplements featuring “Yellow Kid” gave name **yellow journalism** to his lurid sheets
  - William Randolph Hearst:
    - Drew on his father's mining millions
    - Built powerful chain of newspapers, beginning with *San Francisco Examiner* in 1887

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## X. The Appeal of the Press (cont.)

- Overall influence of Pulitzer and Hearst not altogether wholesome:
  - Although they championed worthy causes, both prostituted press in struggle for increased circulation
  - Both “stooped, snooped, and scooped to conquer”
  - Their flair for scandal and sensational rumor offset by
    - » Introduction of syndicated material
    - » Strengthening of news-gathering Associated Press (1840)

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## XI. Apostles of Reform

- Magazines partially satisfied public appetite for good reading:
  - East Coast standbys: *Harper's*, *Atlantic Monthly*, and *Scribner's Monthly*
  - New entrants, e.g., California-based *Overland Monthly*
  - Possibly most influential journal:
    - Liberal and highly intellectual *New York Nation*
    - Read largely by professors, preachers, and publicists
    - Launched in 1865 by Edwin L. Godkin, a merciless critic
    - Crusaded militantly for civil-service reform, honesty in government, and a moderate tariff

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## XI. Apostles of Reform (cont.)

– Henry George—journalist-author:

- Classic treatise *Progress and Poverty*:
  - Undertook to solve “great enigma of our times,” the “association of progress with poverty”
  - A single 100% tax on windfall profits from property would eliminate unfair inequities and stimulate economic growth
  - His single-tax horrified propertied classes
  - Book became best-seller

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## XI. Apostles of Reform (cont.)

– Edward Bellamy—journalist-reformer:

- Classic socialistic novel, *Looking Backward* (1888):
  - Hero awakes in 2000; “looks backward” to find social and economic injustices of 1887 melted away under idyllic government
  - Idyllic government nationalized big business to serve public interest
  - Appealed to those who feared trusts
  - Bellamy Clubs sprang up to discuss mild utopian socialism
  - Heavily influenced reform movements near end of century

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## XII. The New Morality

– Victoria Woodhull, tireless feminist propagandist:

- Shook pillars of conventional morality when she publicly proclaimed belief in free love (1871)
- Published periodical, *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*
  - Charged famous preacher Henry Ward Beecher of carrying on adulterous affair for years

– Pure-minded Americans resisted these affronts to moral principles:

- Anthony Comstock, champion of lifelong war on the “immoral”—self-appointed defender of sexual purity

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## XII. The New Morality (cont.)

- Armed with “Comstock Law”—he boasted that he had confiscated numerous impure things
- Proudly claimed he had driven fifteen people to suicide
- Woodhull sisters and Comstock exposed debate over sexual attitudes and place of women in late 1800s
- Young working women headed to dance halls and nightclubs when work day done—
  - Enjoyed new freedom in cities
- “New morality” reflected in soaring divorce rates, spreading practice of birth control, and increasingly frank discussion of sexual topics

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### XIII. Families and Women in the City

- New urban environment hard on families:
  - Crowded cities emotionally isolating places
  - Urban families had to go it alone, separated from clan
  - “Divorce revolution” transformed social landscape in 20<sup>th</sup> century (see Table 25.2)
  - Urban life changed work habits and family size:
    - Fathers and now mothers worked, and even children
    - Birth rate dropped; family size shrunk
    - Marriages delayed; more couples used birth control
    - Women became more independent in cities
    - Heard voice of feminist Charlotte Perkins Gilman

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TABLE 25.2 Marriages and Divorces, 1890–2011

Year	Marriages	Divorces	Ratio of Divorces to Marriages
1890	579,898	22,968	1:27
1900	709,898	35,751	1:20
1910	848,106	63,045	1:13
1920	1,214,476	178,989	1:7
1930	1,728,856	285,801	1:6
1940	1,888,676	264,898	1:6
1950	1,887,221	285,144	1:6.5
1960	1,523,381	263,898	1:5.8
1970	1,718,088	268,898	1:6
1980	2,388,088	1,188,898	1:2
1990	2,441,088	1,182,898	1:2
2000	2,378,088	N/A	N/A
2010	2,098,088	N/A	N/A
2011	2,118,088	N/A	N/A

<sup>a</sup>Divorce data have not been collected by the federal government since 1998. Beginning with Marriages and Divorces in 1998, national marriages in the states where legal cases included in the national data for marriages.

Source: Historical Abstract of the United States, various years; National Center for Health Statistics, National Vital Statistics Report, various years.

Table 25.2 p562

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### XIII. Families and Women in the City (cont.)

- Gilman published *Woman and Economics* (1898): a classic of feminist literature
- She shunned traditional feminine frills and devoted herself physical exercise and philosophical meditation
- In 1898 she called on women to abandon dependent status and contribute economically
- Rejected all claims that biology gave women fundamentally different character from men
- Women and work force:
  - more than one million joined work force in 1890s
  - Social codes prescribed which women might work and what jobs they might hold
  - Work for wives and mothers considered taboo

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### XIII. Families and Women in the City (cont.)

- Vast majority of working women single
- Jobs available shaped by race, ethnicity, and class
- Black women had few opportunities beyond domestic service
- Native-born white women could work as social workers, secretaries, department store clerks, telephone operators
- Immigrant women clustered in particular industries
- Jobs brought economic and social independence
- Women contributed large percentage of wages to their family but might have some left for themselves
- Fiery feminists continued to insist on ballot:
  - Some temporarily shelved cause of female suffrage to work for black voting rights

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### XIII. Families and Women in the City (cont.)

- Militant suffragists formed **National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA)** in 1890:
  - Founders included aging pioneers like:
    - Elizabeth Cady Stanton—organized first women's rights convention in 1848
    - Susan B. Anthony—courted jail by trying to cast a ballot in 1872 presidential election
- By 1900 a new generation of women had taken command of suffrage battle:
  - Carrie Chapman Catt, pragmatic reformer
  - Deemphasized argument that women deserved vote as a matter of right because they were equals of men

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### XIII. Families and Women in the City (cont.)

- Catt stressed desirability of giving women the vote to continue their traditional duties
- By linking ballot to traditional definition of women's role, suffragists registered gains
- Women increasingly permitted to vote in local elections, particularly on school issues
- Wyoming Territory—"the Equality State"—granted first unrestricted suffrage to women in 1869
- Many western states followed (see Map 25.2)
- By 1890 states passed laws to permit wives to own or control property after marriage
- City life fostered growth of women's organizations

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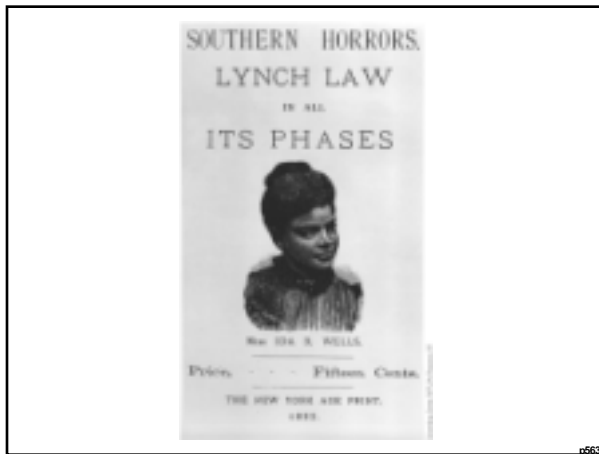
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### XIII. Families and Women in the City (cont.)

- Reborn suffrage movement and women's organizations largely excluded black women:
  - Feared an integrated campaign would compromise effort to get vote
  - National American Suffrage Association limited membership to whites
  - Black women created their own associations
  - Ida B. Wells inspired black women to mount a nationwide anti-lynching crusade
    - Helped launch black women's club movement; culminated in National Association of Colored Women (1896)

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## XIV. Prohibiting Alcohol and Promoting Reform

- Alarming gains by Demon Rum:
  - Spurred temperance reformers to redoubled zeal
  - Especially obnoxious were shutter-doored corner saloons called “the poor man's club”
  - Barroom kept both the man and his family poor
  - Liquor use increased during Civil War
  - Immigrant groups hostile to restraint
  - National Prohibition party (1869) polled a sprinkling of votes in presidential elections

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## XIV. Prohibiting Alcohol and Promoting Reform (cont.)

### – Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU):

- White ribbon its symbol of purity
- Saintly Frances E. Willard—its leading spirit
- Less saintly was “Kansas Cyclone” Carrie A. Nation:
  - First husband died of alcoholism
  - With her hatchet smashed saloon bottles and bars
  - Her “hatchetations” brought disrepute to prohibition movement because of violence of her one-woman crusade
- Potent Anti-Saloon League formed (1893):
  - Swept various states into “dry” column

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#### XIV. Prohibiting Alcohol and Promoting Reform (cont.)

- Great triumph—but only a temporary one—came in 1919:
  - When national prohibition amendment (Eighteenth) attached to Constitution.
- Other social crusaders:
  - 1866: American Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA) whose founder had witnessed brutality to horses in Russia
  - American Red Cross (1881) by Clara Barton, the “angel” of Civil War battlefields

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#### XV. Postwar Fiction, Lowbrow and High

- Post-Civil War Americans devoured millions of “dime novels:”
  - Depicted wilds of woolly West
  - King of dime novelists was Harlan P. Halsey
  - General Lew Wallace tried to combat Darwinian skepticism with *Ben-Hur: A Tale of the Christ* (1880)
    - The *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of anti-Darwinists
  - Horatio Alger, a Puritan-reared New Englander:
    - In 1866 forsook pulpit for pen
    - “Holy Horatio” wrote survival of the purest stories

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## XV. Postwar Fiction, Lowbrow and High (cont.)

- Literature and arts not immune to era's sweeping changes:
  - Writers forsook romantic sentimentality and generated three interrelated currents:
    - Realism
    - Naturalism
    - Regionalism
  - Three movements responded to Gilded Age's urban industrial transformation

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## XV. Postwar Fiction, Lowbrow and High (cont.)

- **Realism:** writers found subjects in world around them:
  - William Dean Howells (1837-1920)
    - Celebrated “father of American realism”
    - Emerged as era's preeminent advocate of unsentimental literature
    - Wrote about contemporary and sometimes controversial social themes
    - Most famous novel: *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (1885)
    - Dealt with taboo subjects: divorce, reformers, strikers, and socialists of Gilded Age New York

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## XV. Postwar Fiction, Lowbrow and High (cont.)

- Mark Twain (1835-1910):
  - Typified new breed of American writers in revolt against elegant refinements of old New England school of writing
  - Christened Samuel Langhorne Clemens, but took pen name Mark Twain
  - *Roughing It* (1872) described his trip west to Nevada and California—with mixture of truth and tall tales
  - In 1873 teamed with Charles Dudley Warner to write *The Gilded Age*—satire on post-Civil War political corruption and speculative greed
  - Made most enduring contribution in capturing frontier realism and colloquial humor in authentic American dialect

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## XV. Postwar Fiction, Lowbrow and High (cont.)

- Henry James (1843-1916):
  - Dominant theme—confrontation of innocent Americans with subtle Europeans
  - His *The Bostonians* (1881) one of first novels about rising feminist movement
  - He experimented with point of view and interior monologue
  - Frequently made women his central characters:
    - » Explored their inner actions to complex situations with a deftness that marked him as master of “psychological realism”

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## XV. Postwar Fiction, Lowbrow and High (cont.)

- Edith Wharton (1862-1937):
  - Took magnifying glass to inner psychological turmoil and moral shortcomings of post-Civil War high society
  - *The House of Mirth* (1905) and *The Age of Innocence* (1920) exposed futile struggles and interior costs of striving characters stuck on social ladder
  - Her portrayal of upper-crust social strife verged on **naturalism**
- **Naturalism:**
  - More intense literary response than mainstream realism to social dislocations and scientific tumult of late-19<sup>th</sup> century America

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## XV. Postwar Fiction, Lowbrow and High (cont.)

- Naturalist writers applied scientific objectivity to study of human beings—or “human beasts”:
  - Placed lower-class, marginal characters in extreme or sordid environments, including urban jungle
  - Subjected them to cruel operations of brute instinct, degenerate heredity, and pessimistic determinism
  - Stephen Crane (1871-1900):
    - *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* (1893) exposed seamy underside of life in urban, industrial America
    - Rose to prominence with *The Red Badge of Courage* (1895), stirring story of a bloodied young Civil War recruit

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## XV. Postwar Fiction, Lowbrow and High (cont.)

- Candid, naturalistic portrayals of contemporary life and social problems:
  - Jack London (1876-1916):
    - *The Call of the Wild* (1903)
    - *The Iron Heel* (1907) depicted a future fascistic revolution
      - » Showed his socialist leanings
  - Frank Norris (1870-1902):
    - *The Octopus* (1902) an earthy tale of stranglehold by railroads and corrupt politicians on California's wheat ranchers
    - *The Pit* (1903) dealt with making and breaking of speculators on Chicago's wheat exchange

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## XV. Postwar Fiction, Lowbrow and High (cont.)

- Theodore Dreiser (1871-1945):
  - *Sister Carrie* graphic narrative of poor working girl adapting to urban life in Chicago and New York
  - Carrie's disregard for moral standards offended Dreiser's publisher; but work reemerged as American classic
- **Regionalism:**
  - Chronicle peculiarities of local ways of life before coming wave of industrial standardization
  - At first blush, regionalist writers:
    - Accentuated difference among still-distant American locales
    - Indulged in provincial nostalgia

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## XV. Postwar Fiction, Lowbrow and High (cont.)

- Their works demystified regional differences, esp. among national audiences bent on postwar reunification
- Twain, London, and Bret Harte:
  - Popularized (and often debunked) lusty legends of Old West
- Bret Harte (1836-1902):
  - Struck it rich in California with gold-rush stories
  - “The Luck of Roaring Camp” (1868)
  - “The Outcast of Poker Flat” (1869)
  - After these two stories, he never again matched their excellence or their popularity

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## XV. Postwar Fiction, Lowbrow and High (cont.)

- Local-color writing about South:
  - Paul Laurence Dunbar (1872-1906):
    - Brought distinctive voice to late-19<sup>th</sup> century literature
    - His poetry—particularly his *Lyrics of Lowly Life* (1896)
  - Charles W. Chesnutt (1858-1932):
    - His fiction and short stories in Howell's *Atlantic Monthly*
    - *The Conjure Woman* (1899) embraced use of black dialect and folklore to capture spontaneity and richness of southern black culture

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## XV. Postwar Fiction, Lowbrow and High (cont.)

- Pioneering women contributed to post-Civil War southern literary scene:
  - Kate Chopin (1851-1904):
    - Wrote candidly about adultery, suicide, and women's ambitions in *The Awakening* (1899)
    - Largely ignored after her death, Chopin rediscovered by later readers
      - » Cited her work as suggestive of feminist yearnings that stirred beneath surface “respectability” in Gilded Age

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## XV. Postwar Fiction, Lowbrow and High (cont.)

– Some important authors defied categorization:

- Henry Adams (1838-1918):
  - turned unrivaled family connections into prolific career as historian, novelist, and critic
  - His nine volume *History of the United States During the Administration of Jefferson and Madison* (1889-1891):
    - » Defended his patrician heritage from posthumous attack
  - *The Education of Henry Adams* (1907):
    - » Best-known work an autobiographical account of his failure to come to grips with chaotic forces of turn-of-the-century life

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## XVI. Artistic Triumphs

– Realism and regionalism (more than naturalism) energized American art:

- Thomas Elkins (1844-1916):
  - Created veritable artistic catalogue of his hometown's social, scientific, and sporting life at end of 19<sup>th</sup> century
- Winslow Homer (1836-1910):
  - Brought a mastery to pastoral farms and swelling seas of Northeast
  - Reveled in rugged realism and boldness of conception
  - Striking oil canvases of sea and its fisherfolk
  - Probably no American artist has excelled him in portraying awesome power of ocean

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## XVI. Artistic Triumphs (cont.)

- James Whistler (1834-1903):
  - Did much of his work, including celebrated portrait of his mother, in England
- John Singer Sargent (1856-1925):
  - Gifted portrait painter; self-exiled in England
  - His flattering superficial likeness of British nobility and America's nouveau riche were highly prized
- Augustus Saint-Gaudens (1848-1907):
  - Most gifted sculptor produced by America
  - National urge to commemorate Civil War brought him a number of commissions
  - Robert Gould Shaw Memorial, erected on Boston Common in 1897, depicted Colonel Shaw leading his black troops

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## XVI. Artistic Triumphs (cont.)

- Music gained popularity:
  - America produced high quality symphony orchestras, notably in Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia
  - Famed Metropolitan Opera House of New York erected in 1883
  - New strains of homegrown American music sprouted in South, another outgrowth of regionalist trend
  - Black folk traditions like spirituals and “ragged music” evolved into blues, ragtime, and jazz, which transformed popular music in 20<sup>th</sup> century

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## XVI. Artistic Triumphs (cont.)

- Marvelous invention was reproduction of music by mechanical means:
  - Phonograph, invented by deaf Edison, reached over 150,000 homes by 1900
  - Americans rapidly dosed with “canned music” as “sitting room” piano increasingly gathered dust
- Architects and planners tried to reshape American cities with **City Beautiful movement**:
  - Proponents wanted city to not only look beautiful but to convey sense of harmony, order, monumentality

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## XVI. Artistic Triumphs (cont.)

- Copied European styles and planning ideas from master builder of Paris, Baron Georges-Eugene Haussmann:
  - Recast City of Light with grand boulevards, parks, and public buildings
- They constructed grandiose urban landmarks such as New York's Grand Central Terminal (1913)
- City planners like Daniel Burnham redesigned Chicago and Washington, D.C.
- Architect Frederick Law Olmstead:
  - Sought to foster virtue and egalitarian values
    - » New York's Central Park (1873)
    - » Boston's "Emerald Necklace" (1896)

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## XVI. Artistic Triumphs (cont.)

- Burnham's first major project to symbolize City Beautiful movement was **World's Columbian Exposition** held in Chicago, 1893
  - » Imposing landscape of pavilions and fountains honored 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Columbus's first voyage
  - » 27 million visited the so-called dream of loveliness
  - » Chicago exposition did much to raise American artistic standards and promote city planning

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## XVII. The Business of Amusement

– Varied diversions of entertainment beckoned:

- Legitimate stage still flourished:
  - Vaudeville continued to be immensely popular 1880s-1890s
  - Shows in South had performances by black singers and dancers
- The circus:
  - High-tented and multiringed; emerged full-blown
  - Phineas T. Barnum, master showman, joined with James A. Bailey (1881) to stage the "Greatest Show on Earth"
- Colorful "Wild West" shows (1883)
  - William F. ("Buffalo Bill") Cody
  - Annie Oakley

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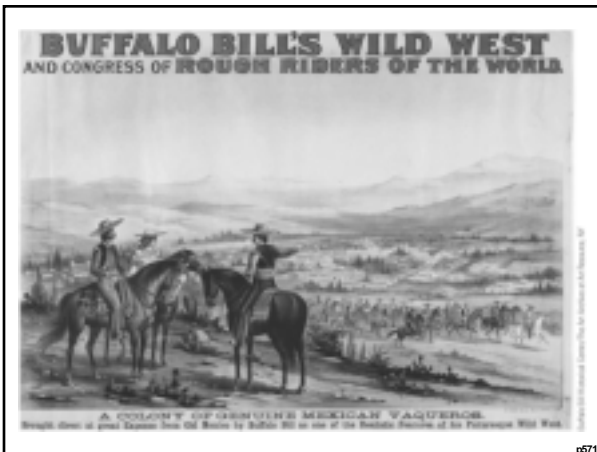
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