

About The Western Frontier

The word *frontier*, in this context, refers to the edge of European or American settlement adjoining Native American territory. The frontier shifted as the United States' boundaries formed and then moved, often pushing Native Americans off their lands and westward. Following the American Revolution, the frontier line would move rapidly west, from the Appalachian Mountains to the Mississippi River to the Great Plains and eventually to the West Coast, as the federal government acquired more and more territory. This westward push had sweeping impacts on the country's social, economic, and political landscape.

THE CONTINUED ALLURE OF THE WEST

Topic 1 discusses the draw of the vast lands in the Midwest and West, including the plains that attracted so many to try their luck through the Homestead Act. Yet from the 1850s through the 1880s, the West was—in different places and at different times—lawless, brutal, and deadly. Many of the early settlers in the West were unmarried men, and some Western towns were hotbeds of drinking, gambling, brawling, and prostitution. Outlaws such as Billy the Kid and Jesse James became legendary. But as more homesteaders and others arrived, especially men with families, law and order soon followed. Rowdy mining camps became more orderly towns. As the open range disappeared, so did the long-haul cattle drive and the freewheeling life of the cowboy.

Homesteaders

Those pursuing land through the Homestead Act of 1862 came for the following promise:

That any person who is the head of a family, or who has arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and is a citizen of the United States, or who shall have filed his declaration of intention to become such, as required by the naturalization laws of the United States, and who has never borne arms against the United States Government or given aid and comfort to its enemies, shall . . . be entitled to enter one quarter section or a less quantity of unappropriated public lands, upon which said person may have filed a preemption claim, or which may, at the time the application is made, be subject to preemption at one dollar and twenty-five cents, or less, per acre; or eighty acres or less of such unappropriated lands, at two dollars and fifty cents per acre, to be located in a body, in conformity to the legal subdivisions of the public lands, and after the same shall have been surveyed: *Provided*, That any person owning and residing on land may, under the provisions of this act, enter other land lying contiguous to his or her said land, which shall not, with the land so already owned and occupied, exceed in the aggregate one hundred and sixty acres.

As the Student Volume discusses, this promise of 160 acres (0.6 sq km) was not without its many challenges, among them the uncertainty about what might grow—and grow well—on the Great Plains. Farmers grew crops such as corn and sorghum but soon discovered that wheat varieties successful east of the Mississippi were not hardy enough for the Great Plains. This changed in 1874, when immigrants introduced a winter wheat—a strain with hard, red kernels that was planted in the winter and harvested in the spring—to Kansas. Known as “Turkey red,” this strain of wheat was ideal for making bread and helped make wheat farming viable on the Plains.

Farming itself proved incredibly taxing. The top layer of soil on the Great Plains was very hard, earning the people who farmed in the region the nickname “sodbusters.” Adding to the difficulty, irrigation systems in the region were scarce until the late 1800s. Limited annual rainfall and hot summers made it difficult to maintain moisture in the soil, and farmers lacked the ability to bring much-needed water to grow their crops. This challenge was made worse by an extended period of drought during the 1860s. When crops did flourish, a dearth of laborers meant that farmers were limited in their ability to harvest and process what they grew. During the 1880s, traveling thresher teams met this need by contracting their labor to farmers for a few days at a time.

The Exodusters

After the Civil War ended, some former enslaved people became tenant farmers. It was difficult to make enough money to get by as a tenant farmer, and it was rare for an African American to own land in the South. Many formerly enslaved people escaped the poverty of sharecropping and tenant farming in the post-Civil War South by migrating to Kansas during the 1870s. They called themselves Exodusters, referring to the exodus of Moses and the Israelites from their bondage in Egypt during biblical times. Thousands of Exodusters went to Kansas, many on steamboats, and settled in the cities of Wyandotte, Atchison, and Kansas City. Some African American leaders opposed the exodus, saying that so many African Americans leaving the South would jeopardize the future of those who chose to stay behind. Some white Southerners opposed the exodus as well. They viewed it as a loss of cheap labor provided by formerly enslaved African American people.

Southern Homestead Act of 1866

Congress passed the Southern Homestead Act on June 21, 1866. This act opened forty-six million acres (186,155 sq km) of federal lands in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi to settlement. The Southern Homestead Act followed many of the same requirements as the Homestead Act of 1862, with one notable exception: During its first six months in effect, only African Americans and white people who had remained loyal to the Union during the Civil War were permitted to make land claims. Former Confederates were permitted to apply for homesteads starting in 1867.

The Southern Homestead Act was initially intended to increase landownership for formerly enslaved people; however, it largely failed in this endeavor. Many African Americans lacked the capital to buy seeds, equipment, and livestock (an issue encountered by many homesteaders under the Homestead Act of 1862), and much of the federal lands opened to settlement were unfarmable and/or isolated from transportation networks. At the same time, African American homesteaders experienced significant opposition and discrimination from white Southerners. Congress repealed the Southern Homestead Act in 1876. During its decade in effect, approximately 27,800 claims were awarded. Between 4,000 and 5,500 of the claims were awarded to African Americans.

Land-Grant Colleges

The 1862 Morrill Act allowed for states to establish public colleges, which were to be funded by the sale of land grants. Much of the land provided by the grants was taken from Native peoples through treaties. The schools built on these granted lands emphasized agriculture, science, and engineering. Thousands of farmers and other working people now had the opportunity to attain higher education. This was the first time that federal aid was used to provide higher education.

Louisiana State University was established through a series of grants that were secured in 1806, 1811, and 1827 for the creation of a seminary. The Louisiana State Seminary of Learning and Military Academy was established near Pineville in 1860. William Tecumseh Sherman was its first superintendent. The seminary was renamed Louisiana State University (LSU) in 1870, and in 1877, the Louisiana legislature merged Louisiana State University with Louisiana State Agricultural and Mechanical College at New Orleans. When the schools were merged, they became Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College. It was Louisiana's first land-grant institution.

The second Morrill Act of 1890 required states to establish universities for African American students in former Confederate states. The act resulted in the establishment of several Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), including Southern University in Baton Rouge, which is discussed in more detail in Topic 3.

OTHER INSPIRATION FOR WESTWARD SETTLEMENT

While the Homestead Acts encouraged many to move west to work the land, several other reasons drew Easterners to the far reaches of the still-young country. These included other forms of economic activity, such as ranching and mining, and the hope that one's faith could be introduced to new communities with little fear of religious persecution.

Ranching

Open-range cattle ranching had begun on the Texas plains in the 1840s and 1850s and, by the end of the Civil War, had moved up through the northern plains. By 1860, Texas longhorns—a type of cattle—numbered in the millions on the open range in Texas. *Open range* means that the land was unfenced. Much of the plains was owned by the federal government, and hardly anyone lived on or worked it. Most of the cattle were descended from cattle brought to Mexico by the Spanish. The longhorns on the plains were unbranded, which meant that no one owned them. (Ownership was indicated by branding a symbol onto the flank of a cow.) Seeing a potential business in the mavericks, as these cattle were called, Americans in Texas began to round them up and drive them to market. Mexican *vaqueros*, the Spanish word for cowboys, taught the Americans how to rope, brand, and drive cattle. Many words associated with ranching are Spanish in origin, such as *lariat* (a rope to tie a horse), *chaps* (leather leggings worn over pants to protect the legs), and *lasso* (a long rope with a sliding noose, used to catch horses or cattle).

Ranchers would hire eight or ten cowboys to herd from two thousand to three thousand head of cattle to market. The cowboys had specific jobs. Two would ride point, out in front of the herd. Two would ride drag, at the back, to round up lagging cattle and urge them to keep up with the herd. Two would ride swing, on the left side of the herd. Two would ride flank, on the right side of the herd. All of the cowboys worked together to move the herd along and keep it from veering off course.

Cowboys drove cattle along the Chisholm Trail from Texas to railroad hubs in Kansas, including Wichita and Dodge City. Business people invested heavily in these so-called cowtowns, building banks, hotels, saloons, and stockyards to support the local cattle industry. These towns also offered various services and recreation to attract cowboys, promising good pay—and a good time—before they headed back out on the trail. Up to forty thousand cowboys lived on the Great Plains between 1865 and 1885.

By 1890, open-range ranching had ended. The federal government had encouraged the opening of the plains to farmers with the passage of the Homestead Act. Farmers and shearers built fences using recently invented barbed wire and dammed streams and rivers, blocking the free access of cattle to grazing land and water. Under these new conditions, cattle could no longer survive in large numbers on the open range. In the future, cattle herders would raise cattle on fenced-in properties called ranches.

Cultural Phenomenon of the “Wild West”

American romantic ideals contributed to the cultural phenomenon of the “Wild West” and its cowboys. In 1883, Buffalo Bill (William F. Cody) launched his Wild West show, featuring Native Americans, trick riders, and sharpshooters such as Annie Oakley. Performances also included a stagecoach robbery and gunfights. The show toured the United States and Europe, drawing audiences of up to twenty thousand. For four months in 1885, the Lakota leader Sitting Bull joined the cast of the traveling show. This helped bring Sitting Bull international fame.

Annie Oakley (born Phoebe Ann Moses), known as “Little Sure Shot” for her height and her skill with a gun, was a star of Cody's show. She could hit a dime tossed in the air from ninety feet (27 m) away and shoot five or six bullets through a playing card tossed in the air before it hit the ground.

The Pony Express also makes a regular appearance in stories of the Wild West, though its place in Americana greatly outweighs its actual duration. At first, the U.S. postal system used runners on foot or riders on horses. It then adopted new technologies, such as stagecoaches and steamboats, to speed up delivery across longer distances. However, as the nation expanded westward, its vast territory made traditional delivery methods too slow and inefficient. In 1860, William Russell, Alexander Majors, and William Waddell came up with a solution: the Pony Express, a private company that used fast horses and skilled riders to carry mail quickly along great distances. A rider and horse would carry the mail from one station to another. At the second station, either they would hand off the mail to a new team, or the rider would get a fresh horse and keep going. The Pony Express only lasted about eighteen months, ultimately defeated by high operating costs and stiff competition from the telegraph. Stagecoaches, trains, and eventually automobiles carried letters and packages to their destinations.

Mining and the Gold Rush

In January 1848, John Sutter hired James Marshall to build a sawmill on the American River, which ran through Sutter's property near Sacramento, California. As he worked, Marshall noticed shiny flakes in the riverbed that looked golden in the light. When he examined them more closely, he saw they were gold. Though the two men tried to hide Marshall's discovery, word got out, and the rush to find gold was soon on.

Californians took to the rivers and streams looking for gold. Much of it was easily found in streams and riverbeds by panning. Miners literally used pans with small holes poked through their bottoms. They let the water flow through the holes, and the heavy gold sank to the bottom of the pans.

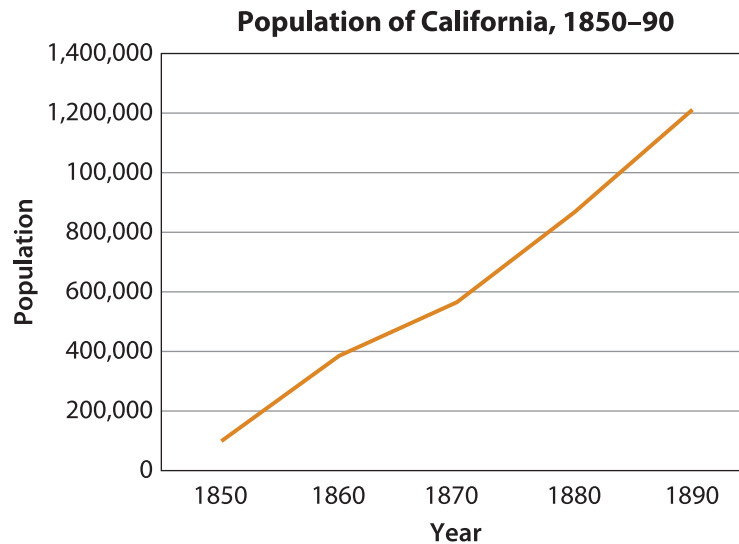
By the following summer, one hundred thousand people had arrived in California—not just from the East Coast of the United States but from Europe and much of the Pacific basin, especially China, as well. Most came overland by horse and wagon train, but many came by boat. Some sailed around Cape Horn at the tip of South America and up the coast; others sailed to Panama, trekked overland, and took a ship again from the west coast of Central America.

The forty-niners, as the miners who began descending on California in 1848 and then in greater numbers in 1849 were called, were an enterprising group of men and women. Most miners were young men who expected to make their fortune and then return home. Some family men brought their wives and children along, expecting to stay. Single women, hoping to find gold or to earn money cooking or doing laundry for the miners, traveled to California, too. Some free African Americans came, as well as some Southerners who brought enslaved people to mine for them. Even though few miners found a substantial amount of gold, many stayed for the climate and the rich farmland.

The Gold Rush ushered in a period of unprecedented population and economic growth for California. At the same time, the Gold Rush proved devastating to Indigenous populations in California; many prospectors attacked Native Americans and seized their land. In just three short decades, much of California's population of 150,000 Native Americans had died from disease or starvation or at the hands of the miners themselves. Small villages were transformed into boomtowns. Cities like San Francisco grew into bustling centers of activity, complete with new infrastructure and expanding economies to support the influx of prospectors and settlers as well as immigrants from China, Latin America, and Europe. The allure of the West, and California in particular, was further cemented when San Francisco was made the western terminus of the transcontinental railroad—a decision that would not have occurred without the Gold Rush.

While some boomtowns persisted as major cities, others did not fare so well. After the mines went dry, some towns and cities were partially or entirely abandoned, making them ghost towns.

While more and more people made their way to California to raise crops and livestock, mining operations continued, albeit for less glamorous metals such as silver, copper, and tin. As more easily accessible gold and metals were removed from the surface, mining became a much more costly venture. Building mine shafts that burrowed deep into the earth required more labor, more equipment, and more capital; this led to a shift away from small-scale mining operations to large-scale mines run by businesses.



The first U.S. Census was conducted in California in 1850. This graph shows subsequent census data collected through 1890. Note that the data does not include Native Americans living in the state.

Californios

Before the Gold Rush and California statehood, *Californios*, people of Spanish and Mexican descent, were the second-largest population in the region after Native Americans, totaling between 6,500 and 10,000. Many of these people lived on *ranchos*, large ranches that they had been given by the Mexican government prior to U.S. acquisition of the territory following the Mexican-American War. However, the influx of white settlers during the Gold Rush quickly reduced the political and economic influence of Hispanic residents in California. Between 1850 and 1870, Hispanic citizens went from making up 15 percent of the state's population to just 4 percent.

During the 1850s, *ranchos* largely benefited from the Gold Rush; they provided fresh meat to the thousands of settlers who flocked to the region. Hispanic miners, however, faced prejudice and violence from their white counterparts; many opted to leave California as a result. Eventually, the *ranchos* felt the negative effects of westward expansion, too. White settlers challenged the *ranchero* owners' land claims. Even if the U.S. courts ruled in a *ranchero* owner's favor, the legal battles were costly, and cases could go on for a decade or more, forcing many Hispanic landowners into financial ruin.

Despite this, Spanish and Mexican culture remained influential in California and other parts of the United States ceded by Mexico. Spanish and Mexican practices largely shaped American ranching and cowboy culture, and the influences of the region's Hispanic residents are still evident through place names, architecture, and the prominent Hispanic population today.

Faith

Some Americans traveled west to escape religious persecution. Chief among these groups were the Mormons, members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Joseph Smith founded the church in New York in 1830 after claiming to have received a divine revelation in the form of a sacred text, which he said had been delivered by an angel. That same year, Smith published the Book of Mormon, which led to members of the church being called Mormons. Smith relied on members to spread his

revelations and attract followers, who continued to join the religion as Smith and his community moved farther west. By 1838, about ten thousand Mormons resided in communities near Independence, Missouri.

Smith's teachings, especially his endorsement of polygamy in Mormon marriages, alarmed many Americans, who viewed them as a threat to prevailing social and religious norms. Non-Mormons also resented the economic competition and political influence of church members, who typically voted as a unified group. As a result, Mormons faced intimidation and were forced to seek a place where they could practice their faith as they wished—a new home in the West.

In 1846, Brigham Young, a senior church leader, led thousands of Mormons westward along what became known as the Mormon Trail. Their journey began in Illinois and ended when Young's group reached a mountain valley near the Great Salt Lake in modern-day northern Utah in July 1847. The surrounding area was very dry and, at first glance, a poor place for farming. Young, however, recognized that the soil was rich and that with hard work and irrigation, the Mormons could thrive in the area. The territory, called Deseret by the Mormons, offered another major benefit: It was then part of Mexico, not the United States. As a result, the Mormons would not be subject to U.S. legal restrictions and could instead form a remote community with its own laws—including those based on their religious beliefs—without fear of religious persecution and prejudice from outsiders.

Within a few months, more than five hundred wagons and 1,500 additional followers of Brigham Young arrived in Deseret and quickly set to work. Church leaders oversaw the construction of irrigation canals, allowing Mormon farmers to grow wheat, vegetables, and other foods to support the growing community. The Mormon community also became an important stop for pioneers needing to restock their supplies on the journey to California. The majority of Mormon settlers lived in what they called the "City of the Saints," today known as Salt Lake City. Others moved into the surrounding valleys in present-day Utah and Idaho.

In 1849, the people of Deseret petitioned the U.S. Congress for admission as a state. Congress, however, was in the midst of the controversy over whether to allow the spread of slavery into the territories and denied the petition. Congress also took issue with the Mormon practice of polygamy. The following year, after the Compromise of 1850, Deseret was recognized as the Utah Territory. However, Utah did not become a state until 1896, after the Mormons agreed to officially ban polygamy.

RAILROADS

Throughout the early to mid-1800s, small, local railroad lines cropped up across the country. In 1862, Congress passed the Pacific Railway Act, authorizing the construction of the first transcontinental railroad. It was completed in 1869 and was followed by four additional transcontinental railroads that connected the East and West Coasts by 1900. During this time, the number of miles of railroad tracks grew exponentially, from a mere forty-five thousand miles (72,420 km) in 1871 to nearly two hundred thousand miles (321,868 km) by 1900.

Construction of the railroad network was undertaken largely by migrant laborers. Many of these laborers were immigrants from China. It is estimated that between ten thousand and fifteen thousand Chinese laborers, primarily young men, worked on the transcontinental railroad and that almost 90 percent of the western half of the railroad was built by Chinese laborers. These laborers had few rights or protections, and they were subjected to hostile treatment. Their work was also deadly; it is believed that between 150 and 2,000 Chinese workers died while working on the railroad. (This wide range of deaths is due to the fact that the Central Pacific Railroad did not keep track of workers who died.)

On the Central Pacific line, laborers felled and shaped trees to use as railroad ties and to build railroad bridges. They used simple tools and explosives to bore fifteen tunnels through the Sierra Nevada; boring the Summit Tunnel alone took fifteen months of blasting through nearly 1,700 feet (518 m) of rock. This work was often very dangerous and led to frequent accidents and fatalities. On the Union Pacific line, workers primarily laid track across flat prairie land rather than through mountains. Even still, laborers faced significant obstacles to their work, including brutally cold winter temperatures and searing heat during the summer.

Railroads came to touch nearly every facet of American life, as consumers and producers alike depended on them for transportation. Railroads made travel faster and safer. At the same time, they opened new markets for businesses across the country, shipping goods from coast to coast and everywhere in between. Businesses that once dominated their small, local markets were forced to lower prices to remain competitive, a change that proved beneficial for consumers but made it difficult for smaller companies to compete. Meanwhile, larger companies with the resources to invest in equipment to mass-produce goods benefited from this shift.

The completion of the transcontinental railroad was not without its controversies; chief among these was the *Crédit Mobilier* scandal, revealed in the early 1870s as President Ulysses S. Grant was running for reelection. Years earlier, executives at the Union Pacific Railroad had created a sham construction corporation, through which they were skimming government funds and bribing members of Congress and others in the federal government—including Grant’s running mate, Schuyler Colfax—for preferential treatment and awards. The scandal was widely covered in the burgeoning U.S. newspaper industry and drew widespread national attention.

EFFECTS ON NATIVE AMERICANS

The main impediment to westward expansion was the fact that the land was already occupied. In 1871, the federal government passed the Indian Appropriations Act. Under the provisions of the law, the U.S. government withdrew recognition of separate Native American peoples as sovereign nations and stated that it would no longer enter into treaties with any Native American group. It said treaties that were in force would be honored. That, however, proved to be a hollow promise whenever gold or silver was found on Native American lands or when American settlers wanted more land. The Plains peoples were forced onto reservations. Although they were hunters, the federal government tried to turn them into farmers. They did not always want to learn how to be settled farmers, and furthermore, the reservations they were forced to live on were often not suited to farming.

Bureau of Indian Affairs

The Office of Indian Affairs (OIA, now the Bureau of Indian Affairs) was set up in 1824 by the U.S. government as part of the War Department. It was transferred to the newly created Department of the Interior in 1849. The OIA’s avowed purpose was to safeguard the welfare of Native Americans. However, in practice, the OIA implemented policies to remove Native Americans to reservations and to promote their assimilation into American culture, which often came at the cost of Native American cultures and values. The OIA was supposed to oversee reservations and provide food, clothing, and other necessities to Native Americans. However, greed and corruption often guided the actions of government agents in the OIA, and Native Americans saw little of the aid that was meant to sustain them in their new lives on reservations.

Assimilation and Indian Schools

The U.S. government used various strategies to try to make Native Americans assimilate. Assimilating, in this context, meant adopting practices such as owning land, settling in one place rather than moving around on a seasonal basis, farming or doing other kinds of modern labor, wearing European-style clothing, speaking English, learning to read and write, and accepting the Christian religion.

So-called Indian schools were set up to educate young Native Americans for successful assimilation into American society. The Carlisle Indian Industrial School was one of 106 day and boarding schools for young Native Americans run by the federal government. Carlisle was founded by Captain Richard Henry Pratt, who had fought in the Indian Wars. Pratt’s views were summarized in a phrase that became well-known and accepted by many Americans: “Kill the Indian in him, and save the man.” That is, he wanted to end “Indian” ways of thinking

and living to force Native Americans to assimilate to American society. At Carlisle, Native American children were taught to forget their traditional ways and embrace the values of mainstream American society. The school taught both academic subjects and vocational skills. Students learned reading, writing, and arithmetic. Boys studied carpentry and metalworking. Girls studied cooking, sewing, and baking.

The Indian Appropriations Acts and the Dawes Act

Passed by Congress in 1851, the first Indian Appropriations Act authorized funds to move Native American groups of the West onto reservations, ostensibly for their protection from encroaching white settlers. Though the government promised food and other supplies to Native peoples, these promises were typically broken. Feuding groups often found themselves living side by side, and people who had once been nomadic hunters were now forced into farming. Life on the reservations was difficult. Native peoples were encouraged (or forced) to wear “white” clothing and to give up their languages. Native cultures and traditions were lost. Starvation and disease were common. As the Student Volume explains, a second Indian Appropriations Act in 1871 marked the official end of the U.S. government’s practice of making treaties with Native peoples, only accelerating the push for assimilation and stripping Native Americans of the legal recognition of tribal sovereignty.

The 1887 Dawes Act further encouraged Native Americans to become farmers, abandon their traditional ways of life, and assimilate into white society. Under the act—and subsequent provisions—Native American children were taken from their families and sent to government-run boarding schools, such as the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. In addition, much of the land given to individuals and families under the act was dry and unsuitable for farming.

In 1924, Congress commissioned the Meriam survey to take stock of what life was like for Native Americans on reservations. Released in 1928, the Meriam survey report revealed the terrible consequences of allotment policies under the Dawes Act, among them poor living conditions and health outcomes, economic instability, and unemployment. The report also made reform recommendations, many of which were included in the Indian Reorganization Act passed in 1934. The Indian Reorganization Act increased Native American control over their own affairs, encouraged the adoption of tribal constitutions, and prevented additional allotment of tribal lands.

THE “CLOSING” OF THE AMERICAN FRONTIER

In 1890, the U.S. Census Bureau declared the western frontier “closed” because there was no longer a consistent stretch of territory with a population density of fewer than two people per square mile (2.6 sq km). The superintendent of the U.S. Census Bureau’s statement on the end of the frontier line, quoted at the end of Topic 1, was especially momentous given the value and sentimentality many Americans had by then placed on ever-extending settlement. During the 1890s, American historian Frederick Jackson Turner wrote what is now a well-known essay identifying the physical space that was “the frontier” of the United States and its significance as something more democratic, independent, and innovative; the frontier experience set Americans apart from Europeans. Turner described the frontier as a symbol of freedom, democracy, and new opportunity for Americans, many of whom would continue to move farther as American imperialism increased, something that students will read about in the first topic of Unit 3. The so-called Turner thesis states, “He would be a rash prophet who should assert that the expansive character of American life has now entirely ceased. Movement has been its dominant fact, and, unless this training has no effect upon a people, the American energy will continually demand a wider field for its exercise. But never again will such gifts of free land offer themselves.”

About Industrialization, Immigration, and Urbanization

The First Industrial Revolution started in Great Britain in the mid-1700s and spread quickly to other parts of the world. The steam engine, developed by the Scottish inventor James Watt in the 1760s, led to a period of innovation and rapid development of new technology and machines. The Second Industrial Revolution in the United States began after the Civil War ended in 1865 and lasted through the early 1900s. This period was characterized by rapid industrial growth spurred by mechanization, assembly lines, and mass production; technological innovation; and the expansion of railroads. Increased consumption of raw materials and natural resources—especially coal, iron, and timber—also occurred during this time, as did the urbanization that accompanied the increases in manufacturing jobs and the production of consumer goods.

INDUSTRIALIZATION

Industrialization fundamentally changed the way Americans worked. Factory and sweatshop workers, including children, worked as many as sixteen hours a day doing repetitive tasks. Wages were low, especially for women and children, and working conditions were poor, if not downright dangerous. Pollutants generated by the machinery created a variety of health concerns, and accidents were commonplace.

The Role of Railroads

The railroads that had grown and expanded across the country in earlier decades soon facilitated industry. The railroads enabled the swift transport of large quantities of raw materials used in industrial production, such as coal and iron ore. They were also one of the largest consumers of raw materials. The growth of railroads thus led to growth in other industries, such as timber and coal. By the early 1900s, more than half a million miners across the country were extracting upward of five hundred million tons of coal from the ground each year, large amounts of which were used to fuel the nation's trains or were delivered by trains directly to consumers. The railroad industry also proved to be a boon for the steel and oil industries.

Railroads did not always benefit consumers and businesses, however. Railroad owners monopolized local lines and charged travelers and businesses astronomical rates to use the railroads. In other instances, railroad owners colluded with one another to set high rates and split the profits.

The railroads, like other aspects of industrial development, imposed what economists call negative externalities. A negative externality is created when the actions of one party impose a cost on another party without the first party bearing the costs themselves. The lost lives and injuries suffered by railroad workers are one example of a negative externality; another is noise and air pollution caused by the railroad or by factories; yet another is the businesses that were forced to close because of the success of the railroad.

Technological Innovations

Many significant innovations changed the way people lived and worked during the Second Industrial Revolution.

The Bessemer process made steel cheaper and stronger, fueling the rise of skyscrapers, bridges, and railroads, and new mass production techniques allowed factories to produce goods faster and more affordably. Railroads, especially the transcontinental line, connected the country from coast to coast, encouraged westward settlement, and created a true national market, and streetcars and subways reshaped urban life. Communication also advanced rapidly with the telegraph and Alexander Graham Bell's telephone, which made long-distance communication nearly instant. Electricity, pioneered by inventors like Thomas Edison and Nikola Tesla, powered homes, factories, and streetlights, changing daily life and extending working hours.

Agriculture also benefited from innovations such as the steel plow, the reaper, and barbed wire, which boosted food production but also created challenges for small farmers. Meanwhile, inventions like elevators, skyscraper technology, the typewriter, and refrigeration changed cities, office work, and consumer culture. Together, these innovations made the United States the world's leading industrial power by 1900, shifting society from rural and agricultural to urban and industrial, improving daily life for many while also introducing new social and economic challenges.

Big Business

Free-market capitalism and a laissez-faire approach to economic regulation created the necessary preconditions for the Second Industrial Revolution in the United States, including a lack of federal regulation and oversight of the increasing number of U.S. corporations and the laborers they employed.

While laissez-faire capitalism allowed monopolies to form and left workers with few protections, it also fueled enormous economic growth, made products like steel and oil more affordable, and helped transform the United States into the world's leading industrial power. Today, the government intervenes in the economy in several ways: setting and enforcing laws and regulations, safeguarding and promoting competition between businesses, redistributing income through different programs funded by taxes, and taking action to stabilize the economy. This is very different from how the government interacted with the economy in the 1800s and early 1900s. Businesses and industries grew unfettered in the absence of federal regulation of wages, hours, and working conditions. At the same time, the corporate structure offered significant protections to entrepreneurs and industrialists. Big businesses grew even larger through mergers and takeovers.

Captains of industry such as John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie expanded their control through the use of trusts and monopolies. A trust was, in essence, a group of companies acting together as one. These companies, bound by a legal agreement, often worked to reduce—or threatened to reduce—competition in an industry. A monopoly exists when a person or business exercises complete control over a resource, industry, or market.

During the 1800s and 1900s, two distinct types of monopolies developed. In a vertical monopoly, the person or business controls the entire supply chain of an industry. This is sometimes called vertical integration. Andrew Carnegie used this business practice to dominate the steel industry. In a horizontal monopoly, or horizontal integration, the person or business controls one step of the supply chain or production process for an entire industry. This is what John D. Rockefeller did by acquiring and controlling American oil refineries. Today, both vertical and horizontal integration are illegal business practices.

Nineteenth-Century U.S. Businesswomen

As Topic 2 discusses, female entrepreneurs also made their mark on the American economy alongside the notable businessmen of the era. These included Madam C. J. Walker and Lydia Pinkham. Margaret Knight was also a trailblazer among female inventors and entrepreneurs. Born in 1838, Knight went to work in a cotton mill in New Hampshire at the age of twelve. After witnessing fellow workers sustaining injuries using the machinery, she was inspired to make her first invention—a device that improved the safety of the massive looms. Knight's invention was implemented on all the looms at the mill where she worked, as well as in other factories in the area.

During the late 1860s, Knight got a job at a paper bag factory in Massachusetts. At the time, paper bags for carrying groceries and other goods were cut and assembled by hand. Knight realized that this process could be made more efficient if done by machine. For two years, she worked on a prototype for her machine. At one point, a man named Charles Annan tried to steal her idea as his, claiming Knight could not have invented the machine because she was a woman. Knight won the ensuing court case after showing her detailed designs

for the machine; she was later awarded a patent for her invention. Knight went on to found her own paper bag company and licensed the use of her machine. More interested in the invention process, she sold her later designs to other companies and continued inventing. Knight boasted eighty-nine inventions and twenty patents by the time of her death in 1914.

The National Banking Acts

Another component of nineteenth-century economic development was access to money and loans. The start-up costs for new industries were nothing to scoff at and involved everything from the construction of factories to the purchase of large, expensive machines. The government helped make it easier for businesspeople to access the funds they needed. During the Civil War, Congress passed a series of reforms in 1863 and 1864 known as the National Banking Acts. The Union had run up massive debts to fight the war, and Congress sought to bolster the economy through a more stable currency and a shift of financial power from state banks back to a federally controlled banking system.

The National Currency Act, passed in 1863, established a federal agency that could charter and regulate privately owned and operated banks. In 1864, Congress provided for a national banking association, established minimum reserve levels for banks, and enabled banks to issue debt backed by U.S. Treasury bonds. By the end of 1865, the federal government had chartered nearly seven hundred new banks across the country. In addition to laying the groundwork for the modern banking system, the National Banking Acts had an immense impact on postwar industrialization by making capital more widely available to entrepreneurs and investors building and expanding their businesses.

The Gilded Age and Philanthropy

Dubbed the “Gilded Age” by American writer Mark Twain, the late 1800s marked a period of immense socioeconomic change. Industrialization and mass production meant that a growing number of Americans had access to unprecedented conveniences. Captains of industry, such as Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller, grew exceedingly rich due to their foresight, business acumen, and often unfettered approach to corporate expansion at almost any cost. However, beneath this gilded facade existed a far grimmer reality for the majority of people living in the United States. While people like Carnegie and Rockefeller brought in millions of dollars annually, many American families struggled to make ends meet after toiling for twelve hours a day, six days a week. In addition to the long workdays, workers faced innumerable challenges, including hazardous conditions and low wages, leading some to recast the “captains of industry” as “robber barons” who benefited at the expense of others.

In light of the immense socioeconomic gap, people like Carnegie and Rockefeller committed large percentages of their vast fortunes to help improve society. Carnegie believed that the accumulation of wealth should remain free from government interference, reflecting a laissez-faire approach to the economy. At the same time, he maintained that the wealthy had a moral obligation to use their fortunes to improve society, not by extending money to individuals, but by funding libraries, schools, and other institutions that would uplift communities in lasting ways. Carnegie described what he believed was his philanthropic calling in “The Gospel of Wealth,” writing in 1889:

The laws of accumulation will be left free; the laws of distribution free. Individualism will continue, but the millionaire will be but a trustee for the poor; intrusted for a season with a great part of the increased wealth of the community, but administering it for the community far better than it could or would have done for itself.

IMMIGRATION

The greatest period of immigration to America occurred between 1880 and 1920, when approximately twenty-three million immigrants arrived. By 1914, one-third of all Americans either were immigrants themselves or had at least one parent who was an immigrant.

In the late 1800s, immigrants to the United States were often divided into two groups: “old” and “new” immigrants. Old immigrants, who arrived mostly before 1880, generally came from northern and western Europe, including England, Ireland, Germany, and Scandinavia. They were often Protestant (with the exception of many Irish Catholics), spoke English or related languages, and tended to assimilate more easily. By contrast, new immigrants arrived in large numbers between the 1880s and early 1900s, mainly from countries in southern and eastern Europe, such as Italy, Poland, Greece, and Russia. Many of these immigrants were Catholic, Jewish, or Eastern Orthodox and spoke languages unfamiliar to most, which made assimilation more difficult. They typically settled in crowded urban neighborhoods and worked in low-paying factory or labor jobs. While old immigrants were somewhat more accepted, new immigrants frequently faced discrimination and nativism, even as their labor played a crucial role in fueling industrial growth during the Gilded Age.

European immigrants largely came into Ellis Island in New York Harbor. A very limited number of immigrants were allowed into the United States from Asia at this time; Asian immigrants came through Angel Island, located near San Francisco.

Some Americans were helpful and friendly to the newly arrived immigrants. But as the numbers of new immigrants grew, others whose families had lived in the United States for generations were not happy with the arrival of so many new foreigners. This resulted in the rise of nativism and the anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic “Know-Nothing” movement. The Know-Nothing party had its roots in a semisecret organization in New York that evolved into the American Party (the Know-Nothing movement and party’s formal name). The Know-Nothings were so called because members were told to give this answer to those who inquired about the party or their membership: “I know nothing.” The goal of the Know-Nothing party was to restrict immigration, but it also supported measures to limit the rights of foreign-born people in the United States. The party peaked in the 1850s, but its sentiments and influence lingered for years.

Scandinavian Americans

Much like their fellow nineteenth-century immigrants, settlers from the Scandinavian countries of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark brought a deep religious tradition, a distinctive cuisine, and a strong literary and linguistic tradition to America. Scandinavians were generally Lutherans. The Lutheran Church required that all children learn to read and write. Because of this focus on literacy and education, Scandinavian immigrants arrived in America literate in their native languages. In their new communities, they set up newspapers and publishing houses and established primary, secondary, and postsecondary schools. Cooperatively owned farms, dairies, and stores were commonplace in the Scandinavian settlements of the Upper Midwest.

German Americans

By 1790, up to one hundred thousand Germans had immigrated to America. The largest wave of German immigration occurred in the 1880s, when nearly 1.5 million people left Germany. Germans made a huge impact on the history of the United States. German settlers designed and built the Conestoga wagon, which was used to carry goods between rural areas and cities in the eighteenth century. German newspapers and publishing houses popped up in the colonies, and a German printer was the first to print a Bible in America. Germans also introduced the custom of decorating a tree at Christmas. America’s Santa Claus was popularized by German immigrants, along with the Easter Bunny and Easter eggs, and a German immigrant established the first kindergarten in America. German immigration increased in the mid-1800s after the Revolutions of 1848 failed to democratize Europe and contributed to social and political unrest.

German Americans in Louisiana

People of German descent were some of the first to settle in Louisiana, starting shortly after the founding of New Orleans in 1718, in an area referred to as the German Coast. (Students read about the German Coast Uprising in Unit 1.) Pulled by the promise of economic opportunity, German settlers often faced unexpectedly challenging conditions, from small plots of land to rodent infestations to hurricanes and flooding. Early German settlers later intermarried with the area's Acadian population. Louisiana's German community grew over time, with waves of immigration occurring throughout the 1820s to the 1850s and then from the 1860s to the 1890s. These groups of German immigrants differed from Louisiana's first German communities in several ways. Many were pushed to migrate by famine and war in Europe. Whereas early German Louisianans were farmers, this later group of immigrants was largely composed of skilled professionals, including doctors, engineers, and lawyers. As in other areas of the country, German immigrants introduced their culture to Louisiana, bringing with them distinctive architecture, churches, and music.

Irish Americans

Irish immigration during the mid-1800s was driven by a blight that destroyed Ireland's potato crop, a staple food in the Irish diet at this time. The famine caused a million deaths due to starvation and malnutrition. The Irish immigrants who came to America often came from rural areas. Because they were for the most part unskilled, Irish laborers entered the American workforce at the bottom of the job pool. They worked hard, and over time, the Irish organized themselves into a powerful political force. Irish political machines made the most impact in major American cities in the 1900s. There was corruption among the powerful people organizing these political forces, but the Irish influence also did a lot of good. Irish politicians made it possible for Irish workers to get and keep jobs, helped Irish immigrants become naturalized citizens, and created and promoted social services to take care of their supporters.

However, many Americans in the late 1800s disliked Irish immigrants partly because of their association with political machines in major cities. Political machines, such as New York City's Tammany Hall, often relied on the votes of Irish immigrants to maintain power. In exchange for jobs, housing, or food, political bosses expected loyalty at the ballot box, which gave immigrants significant influence in local politics. Native-born Americans, especially Protestants, viewed this as corrupt and undemocratic, and they feared that Irish Catholic immigrants were loyal to political bosses and the Catholic Church rather than to American institutions. This connection between Irish immigrants and political machines fueled nativist resentment and reinforced stereotypes that the Irish were corrupt, dependent, and unfit for true democratic participation.

The Statue of Liberty

The Statue of Liberty stands on Liberty Island in New York Harbor. It was conceived and constructed as a gift from France to the United States to symbolize the friendship between the two nations. The statue was completed in 1885, and it stands 151 feet (46 m) tall. The outside of the statue is formed from sheets of copper. Its characteristic green-blue color is caused by the formation of copper oxide, sometimes called verdigris. The statue, which stands on a specially constructed pedestal, was dedicated by President Grover Cleveland in 1886.

While the statue itself came from France, money for the pedestal on Liberty Island was raised by Americans. In 1883, a Jewish American poet named Emma Lazarus was asked to compose a sonnet in honor of the statue to raise funds for the pedestal. Lazarus was strongly moved by the suffering of immigrants from Europe to the United States, especially Jewish migrants fleeing persecution and poverty. She was involved with relief efforts and advocated for the rights of these migrants. Her poem "The New Colossus," which is inscribed on the pedestal of the statue, is phrased as if it were Liberty herself calling upon the poor and oppressed of the world to come to the United States, to be free and to thrive.

Naturalization and the Benefits of Citizenship

People who are not born citizens of the United States can become citizens through naturalization. The first rules were set by the Naturalization Act of 1790, which limited citizenship to “free white person[s]” who had lived in the United States for at least two years, sworn an oath of allegiance, and shown “good character.” In 1795, the residency requirement was extended to five years, and later laws clarified citizenship for children of naturalized parents and for children born abroad to American fathers. Throughout the 1800s, Congress also tied women’s citizenship to their marital status. A foreign-born woman automatically became a U.S. citizen if she married a citizen or if her husband was naturalized, but this provision applied only to white women, and court practices varied. Because women were often excluded from naturalization paperwork, many had to rely on their marriage records and their husbands’ documents to prove citizenship. Increasing immigration also prompted federal oversight of the process. In 1891, Congress created the Office of Immigration, and in 1906, it established the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, which standardized procedures, added inspectors at ports of entry, and produced more complete naturalization records.

LIFE IN CITIES

The widespread development of factories led to a shift in the ways that people lived and worked. Great waves of people migrated from rural areas to cities, where factory jobs were available. Millions of immigrants also settled in urban centers. With the increase in urban populations came a corresponding increase in urban social problems, such as poverty, homelessness, child labor, and crime.

Tenements

Urbanization increased the demand for housing. Tenements helped answer the question of where recent immigrants to the country’s growing cities would live. Initially, tenement buildings were existing structures. The single-family homes that wealthier urbanites left behind as they built homes in more desirable neighborhoods were retrofitted and subdivided so that multiple families could live there. Some buildings were also expanded by adding new floors and additions to accommodate as many residents as possible.

Many immigrants landed in New York City’s Lower East Side, where former single-family homes were subdivided into multifamily properties. New tenements were designed to maximize space. Built close together, these buildings had five to seven stories and were twenty-five feet (7.62 m) wide and one hundred feet (30.48 m) deep. The buildings had limited air circulation, and most of the rooms received little to no natural light. Close quarters, insufficient plumbing, and a lack of fire escapes enabled the rapid spread of diseases like cholera and increased the risk of disastrous fires. Regulated waste collection and sewers were not yet in widespread use, leading people to throw garbage and human waste directly into the streets from their windows. Pedestrians often carried umbrellas or parasols, not just to block the rain or sun, but also to protect themselves from falling waste.

Many Americans were well aware that tenements were dangerous and unsanitary. Early efforts to regulate tenement buildings began in the 1860s. One New York law, the Tenement House Act of 1867, required buildings to have a toilet for every twenty occupants. Many of these early laws went unenforced. Meanwhile, the Great Chicago Fire led that city to pass building codes requiring the use of fireproof materials in construction and more thorough building inspections. These requirements had drawbacks; poorer Chicagoans could not afford to rebuild, and people and businesses were forced out of the city. Others chose to ignore the building codes and resumed wood-frame construction.

It was not until Jacob Riis, a Danish American author and photographer, published his book *How the Other Half Lives* in 1890 that true reform began to take place. In 1873, Riis started working at the *New York Tribune* as a police reporter; he covered crime stories in New York's Lower East Side, an impoverished, predominantly immigrant neighborhood. Riis began to document what he saw during the 1880s and in 1890 published *How the Other Half Lives*. Riis's book depicted the ghastly conditions of America's inner-city poor, calling attention to the cramped and unsanitary living conditions and the shockingly high infant mortality (and child abandonment) rate; he discovered that in some tenements, one in ten infants died. His book provided gripping photos that had been produced with the new technology of the flashbulb. It was a major success and led to new laws regulating and improving tenements. Theodore Roosevelt responded to Riis's book by saying, "I have read your book, and I have come to help." The Tenement House Law of 1901 worked to rectify many abominations and prevent them from happening in the future. New building codes were issued, and tenement buildings were modified to meet the new codes.

Political Machines

Cities were ill prepared for the massive number of immigrants that arrived in the United States during the 1800s and early 1900s. The problems of limited housing and poor infrastructure were compounded by a lack of formal government support to effectively assist immigrant populations as they entered the country and sought opportunities to make a living for themselves and their families. Through the mid- to late 1800s, political machines in cities such as New York evolved to meet this demand.

Tammany Hall is perhaps the most notorious political machine in U.S. history. Established in New York City in 1789, Tammany Hall dedicated its efforts to electing Democrats to office and helping the urban poor and immigrants. Local ward leaders also provided assistance to individuals facing legal troubles and gave gifts of food around the holidays. These actions won political support from the city's downtrodden.

The influence of Tammany Hall waxed and waned throughout the 1800s and 1900s as various reform groups worked to undercut the organization's corruption and influence in New York politics. It was fatally weakened by the efforts of New York City mayor Fiorello La Guardia and President Franklin D. Roosevelt through the 1930s and 1940s. Tammany Hall's influence completely came to an end in the 1960s.

Inner-City Transportation

In the early 1800s, cities were relatively limited in size. With few modes of transportation, city dwellers were forced to live within walking distance of their places of work, meaning that cities were unlikely to grow outward. This began to change, however, toward the end of the 1800s.

As cities became increasingly crowded, the transportation industry was faced with a unique problem. City streets were filled with people, animals, and streetcars, making it difficult to construct a more efficient transportation system on the ground. However, building below and high above the ground were viable options. The first subway line was finished in London in 1863. Less than four miles (6.4 km) long, the line carried nearly ten million people in its first year. London expanded its underground transportation system rapidly through the early 1900s, and other major cities around the world followed suit. Boston opened its first stretch of subway in 1897. Only one and a half miles (2.4 km) long, the line initially relied on streetcars to carry passengers. New York City opened its first subway in 1904, followed by Philadelphia in 1907 and eventually Chicago in 1943.

Cities like New York and Chicago also looked up when planning their transportation systems. Elevated railroads, known commonly as "els," were built hovering over city streets at about the height of the second and third stories of surrounding buildings. Chicago opened its first elevated railroad line, the "Alley L," in 1892. Today, Chicago has more than two hundred miles (322 km) of elevated rail and subway track.

ORGANIZED LABOR AND UNIONS

Industrialization and the working conditions that accompanied it inspired a new perspective on organized labor. Beginning in the Middle Ages, craft guilds played an important role in the lives of European craftspeople and artisans. Craft guilds were associations for individuals involved in the same industry—for example, bakers, cobblers, masons, or weavers—and represented a form of early organized labor. Guilds taught members their specialized skills and helped mentor members as they progressed through their careers. They also helped members protect their craft—or skill—and the interests of their members by setting prices and quality standards. Historically, the guilds also provided economic support to their members and worked to influence local governments. Craft guilds existed in the United States prior to heavy industrialization. However, labor was still largely an individual affair.

Labor organizing in North America dates back to the mid-1700s. The first recorded strike occurred in 1768 in the New York colony. The first trade union in the United States, the Federal Society of Journeymen Cordwainers, was established in 1794 in Philadelphia.

Generally, such organizations were exclusive to skilled workers. However, two major unions of the mid-1800s—the National Labor Union and the Knights of Labor—attracted unskilled laborers. At the same time, these organizations lobbied for radical social reforms. The Knights of Labor, however, suffered from poor leadership, failed strikes, and state repression of labor activism after a bomb went off during a workers' protest in Haymarket Square in Chicago, Illinois, on May 4, 1886.

In December 1886, cigar maker Samuel Gompers and the leaders of other craft unions led a small-scale rebellion against the Knights of Labor and formed their own trade union, the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Gompers advocated for a more moderate approach to change. Instead of demanding radical reforms, Gompers promoted *voluntarism*, or effecting change by putting the economic squeeze on companies through boycotts and strikes. Gompers's focus was on bread-and-butter issues: shorter workdays and workweeks, higher wages, and safer working conditions. Under Gompers's leadership, the AFL became immensely powerful. Between 1880 and 1900, workers led some twenty thousand strikes, more than half of which were considered successful. The AFL, however, was not a union for every worker. Instead, it was almost exclusively for skilled laborers. The AFL was also divided along racial and gender lines, as were most professions and trades at the time.

Economic conditions impacted both the growth and the decline of organized labor. Thousands of businesses failed during the Panic of 1873; this economic downturn lasted until the end of the decade and would be referred to repeatedly during the resurgence of interest in bimetallism in the 1890s. Membership in early labor organizations waned as members took any job they could find. Organized labor experienced an uptick during the 1880s, but depressed wages and high rates of unemployment during banking panics in the 1890s once again negatively affected membership.

About Reform in the Late 1800s and Early 1900s

Industrialization, urbanization, and immigration introduced significant change to the United States—not all of it good. As the nineteenth century progressed, reform-minded people identified and worked to address a range of social, political, and economic issues facing Americans around the country. Some of the earliest political reform began in U.S. farming communities.

POPULISM AND THE PEOPLE'S PARTY

As in other parts of the U.S. economy and society, industrialization had a significant impact on America's farmers. The first half of the nineteenth century was characterized by agricultural innovation and increased mechanization. The invention and adoption of such tools as the steel plow, mechanical reaper, and mechanical thresher simultaneously increased crop outputs and reduced the need for human labor. As more farmers produced surplus crops, market prices for wheat, corn, and other agricultural goods dropped. Growing competition and increased output to offset the declining crop prices further exacerbated the issue. Farmers borrowed money at high interest rates to cover the cost of supplies, machinery, and more land, resulting in a cycle of debt that was nearly impossible to break. Discriminatory practices and exorbitant shipping and grain storage rates presented another hurdle for farmers, who relied on railroads to bring their crops to markets around the country.

The Granger Movement

The Patrons of Husbandry became an important resource for farmers beginning in the late 1860s. The organization was founded in 1867 by Oliver Kelley, a former U.S. Department of Agriculture employee. Kelley's goal for the Patrons of Husbandry was to advance the collective interests of farmers through education and social opportunities, an idea that came to be known as the Granger movement (so named for the local Patrons of Husbandry chapters that were known as Granges). The Granger movement first took off in Kelley's home state of Minnesota but quickly spread to eight more states by 1870 and eventually to all states by the mid-1870s, at which point Grange membership surpassed seven hundred thousand.

The Granger movement quickly evolved from an educational and social organization to a political one. Grangers in Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin successfully pressured state legislatures to pass laws regulating railroads and grain storage facilities. Businesses challenged these laws and appealed their cases to the Supreme Court. The court issued mixed rulings in the "Granger cases." In *Munn v. Illinois*, Munn and Scott, a Chicago-based company that owned grain warehouses, was found guilty of violating an Illinois law that set maximum grain storage prices. The company's owners claimed that Illinois's law was unconstitutional because it illegally deprived them of their property and violated their right to due process under the Fourteenth Amendment. The Supreme Court determined that Illinois's law was constitutional—the company's grain warehouses were used by the public, and the states had the right to pass laws to protect public interests. *Wabash v. Illinois* had a much different outcome. The Supreme Court effectively ruled that the states could not regulate interstate railroad lines. This ruling resulted in the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act in 1887.

The Grangers in Louisiana

Grangers in Southern states like Louisiana found themselves in opposition to a powerful political group known as Bourbon Democrats, so named because they, like the Bourbon kings who ruled France from the end of Napoleon Bonaparte's reign until 1848, resisted change. The Bourbon Democrats attempted to return the South to the pre-Civil War way of life during and after Reconstruction. They referred to themselves as Redeemers. Their goal was to "redeem" the South by bringing white people back into power.

Much like many Northern Republicans, Bourbon Democrats supported business interests through their laissez-faire approach to government and the economy. They also supported the Jim Crow laws that treated African Americans as second-class citizens. In the eyes of the Grangers, the Bourbon Democrats were more concerned with lining their own pockets than helping struggling farmers, which helped strengthen populist sentiment in rural areas.

The People's Party

The Granger movement inspired the formation of other agricultural organizations. Groups of farmers in the Midwest and the South formed local chapters of what would become the Farmers' Alliance, hoping that political action would help solve the challenges they faced from crop failures, low prices, and other financial troubles. These local groups were active regionally but did not have much national influence. To gain greater power, farmers joined with workers' unions to form the People's Party—also called the Populist Party—in 1892.

Free Silver

Populists first set their sights on monetary policy in the early 1870s, after Congress passed an act that stopped the production of silver coins and shifted the country to the gold standard in 1873. Suspecting that banks and other powers were contributing to their troubles by limiting the country's money supply, farmers and others worried about how paper money was valued and guaranteed. Farmers were frequently in debt to banks, having taken out mortgages to buy land or machinery. Bankers looked to make as much as they could from these loans. A debate arose about whether paper money should be backed by gold (as bankers wanted) or silver (as farmers wanted). The farmers, suffering from lower prices for their goods during a period of deflation (when the volume of available money and credit contracts, resulting in a decline in prices), believed that "free silver" and bimetallism (a monetary standard based on two metals, such as gold and silver) would lead to an increase in the money supply, thereby causing inflation (when the volume of available money and credit increases, resulting in a rise in prices) and increasing prices for their crops.

The federal government passed the Bland–Allison Act in 1878, which reintroduced the silver dollar and stipulated that the U.S. Treasury purchase a certain amount of silver each month to be minted into coins. However, it did not adopt the unlimited coining of silver. After a temporary lull during the 1880s, the issue of free silver came to a head in the 1890s. William Jennings Bryan, a gifted orator and a populist, ran for president as a Democrat in 1896 on a platform featuring support for free silver. His fiery "Cross of Gold" speech, with its passionate defense of common people, farmers, and free silver, was well received.

Elections of 1892 and 1896

The People's Party nominated James B. Weaver as its presidential candidate in 1892. The party's platform championed a variety of social, political, and economic reforms, including free silver and public ownership of railroads and communication lines. Populists also focused on measures to expand democracy, including the direct election of U.S. senators (eventually enshrined in the Seventeenth Amendment) and a nationwide requirement for secret ballots. Incumbent Benjamin Harrison won the renomination of the Republican Party, and Grover Cleveland ran as the Democratic nominee.

Cleveland ultimately won the election. His success was due in large part to backlash against Harrison's tariff policies and Democratic opposition to a bill that would increase federal protections for African American voting rights. While Weaver only won twenty-two electoral votes, the People's Party secured hundreds of victories at the local and state levels in the Midwest and won several seats in Congress. Populist candidates had less success in the South. Despite opposition to the Bourbon Democrats, Southern farmers were influenced by racial prejudice and voted for candidates committed to maintaining Jim Crow laws. The People's Party was absorbed

into the Democratic Party in 1896. William Jennings Bryan won the Democratic Party nomination but lost the election to Republican William McKinley. Although the People's Party ceased to exist, its agenda of reform helped shape the progressive movement.

THE PROGRESSIVE ERA

The Progressive Era was a time of social and political activism in the United States during the late 1800s and early 1900s, characterized by changes and reforms aimed at improving people's lives. Progressive reformers carried the torch passed by the earlier populist movement and worked to address the growing wealth disparity and corruption that characterized the Gilded Age

The Muckrakers

Muckrakers were journalists who produced a new kind of investigative reporting in America in the early 1900s. They provided detailed accounts of situations caused by social conditions and worked to expose and raise awareness of corruption, abuses of power, and social issues.

Muckraking grew out of the trend of "yellow journalism" that developed in the 1880s and 1890s. Yellow journalism sensationalized news accounts to attract readers and boost circulation. Huge and shocking headlines, melodramatic descriptions, and hyperbole characterized this style of journalism. It was a successful marketing strategy.

One man who seized on the potential of sensational reporting was Samuel McClure. McClure immigrated to the United States from Ireland in 1866, at the age of nine. He lived in poverty in his early years and worked his way through school. He eventually established a successful publishing syndicate—a new type of business venture at the time—and founded *McClure's Magazine* in 1893. McClure and most of his first writers were graduates of Knox College in Illinois. Knox had been founded by a Presbyterian minister, George Washington Gale, who was active in social reform work prior to founding the school. The town that grew up around Knox College, Galesburg, became a key location of the Underground Railroad. Many prominent abolitionists gave lectures at Knox. The teachers at Knox during McClure's time there included many who had worked for abolition, and it continued to be a place where ideas about social and political reform flourished.

McClure's started off with a purpose: to publish new fiction as well as articles that were well researched and written. The price was set at fifteen cents an issue, about half the price of other magazines. In addition to its famous muckraking articles, *McClure's* also published work by Mark Twain, O. Henry, and Sarah Orne Jewett. It introduced British authors, including Rudyard Kipling and Arthur Conan Doyle, to Americans. Willa Cather was hired as a reporter in 1906 and later became managing editor. Cather did not really share her colleagues' zeal for reform, but she played a key role in ensuring the quality of the writing.

Widespread circulation of *McClure's* and other magazines was largely enabled by the Mail Classification Act of 1879, also called the Postal Act of 1879. This law created different classifications and postage rates for items sent through the mail. Through this new system, certain types of publications, including magazines, could ship at the same rate, regardless of their weight, size, or destination.

Upton Sinclair

Upton Sinclair was born in Baltimore in 1878 and spent part of his childhood in New York. His father was an alcoholic, which made the family's financial situation fragile. Sinclair's mother's family was wealthy, but he grew up observing poverty in the New York neighborhoods where his family could afford to live. He was troubled by the wealth gap he witnessed; this issue became one of his lifelong interests.

Sinclair studied at the City University of New York and at Columbia University. He felt that American education failed to face up to the existence of poverty and the problems it caused in society. He came to regard socialism as a kind of “secular religion.” Sinclair’s own conversion to socialism occurred in 1903. His beliefs were strengthened when, as a reporter, he was sent by his socialist associates to conduct an undercover investigation of the Chicago stockyards in 1904. His experience led him to write his most famous work, *The Jungle*.

Published as a serial in 1905 and then as a novel in 1906, *The Jungle* told the story of immigrants employed in Chicago’s meatpacking plants. Sinclair hoped to draw attention to the plight of immigrants and how they were exploited in the nation’s factories, but it was the book’s vivid descriptions of spoiled and contaminated meat that riveted the public. In 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt signed the Meat Inspection Act, which not only sought to remedy the unsanitary methods described in Sinclair’s book but also opened the door for Congress to regulate other food and drugs.

After the success of his novel, Sinclair lent his name and money to various reform efforts, including several communal-living projects. He eventually moved to California, where he ran for governor in 1934 as a Democrat with an economic reform platform. He lost to a conservative candidate. However, his campaign had national influence: It helped push the Democratic Party to the left and influenced the New Deal programs developed under Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Sinclair continued to write both fiction and nonfiction. His novel *Boston* centers on the Sacco and Vanzetti case (discussed in a sidebar in Unit 4, Topic 1) and criticizes the American justice system. His novel *Oil!* is a story about the oil industry in California. It was inspired by the Teapot Dome scandal (also discussed in Unit 4, Topic 1) and incorporates elements of the controversy involving bribes for drilling rights on federal land. Its main character espouses socialism and dedicates his life to social justice. Sinclair also wrote a children’s story, *The Gnomobile*, with an environmentalist message inspired by California’s giant redwoods. In 1943, he won the Pulitzer Prize for his novel *Dragon’s Teeth*, which is about the rise of the Nazi Party in Germany. He died in 1968.

Ida Tarbell

Ida Tarbell attended Allegheny College and worked briefly as a teacher. She then spent eight years as editor of a local magazine. Irritated that the owner’s nineteen-year-old son was put in charge of the magazine, she quit and went to Paris. She studied at the Sorbonne, supporting herself by writing for American magazines while doing scholarship on French women writers. She was hired at *McClure’s Magazine* in 1894. Her biographical articles on Abraham Lincoln helped double the magazine’s readership. She also authored a series on Napoleon Bonaparte. However, she is best known for her series on the Standard Oil Company, in which she exposed the company’s unethical business practices. After leaving *McClure’s* in 1906, she became co-owner and co-editor of *The American Magazine* and authored several books.

Tarbell later served as a member of several government boards, including President Wilson’s 1919 Industrial Conference and President Harding’s Unemployment Conference. She gave public lectures, made speeches in support of women’s rights (although later she opposed the women’s suffrage movement), and lent support to workers’ strikes. She was at first a supporter of Prohibition but changed her mind and came to see it as an unconstitutional policy. She viewed socialism and communism with disdain, stating that they “treat human beings like mere cogs in a machine.” But she wrote of her vision for a new framework for business that would entail mutual cooperation “between those who control the funds and those who manage the machines.”

The Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire

Few tragedies of the industrial age are more shocking than the fire that engulfed the Triangle Shirtwaist Company factory in New York City on March 25, 1911. The Triangle Shirtwaist Company factory was a quintessential sweatshop. Its owners, Max Blanck and Isaac Harris, employed hundreds of women, most of

whom were teenage immigrants. The women worked twelve-hour days, seven days a week, for a grand total of fifteen dollars a week. In the early 1900s, unions representing garment workers, especially in New York, became more vocal. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) organized strikes demanding fire drills, unlocked exit doors, and better sanitation. The most famous was the Uprising of the 20,000 (1909–10), a massive strike of mostly immigrant women garment workers in New York City. They won some improvements in wages and hours at various factories, but many owners—including Blanck and Harris—refused to sign agreements guaranteeing safer conditions.

The hot and stuffy factory occupied the top floors of a building in Manhattan. Of the four elevators that reached the factory floors, only one was in working order, and it was only accessible by passing through an extremely narrow hallway. Two staircases connected the factory floors with the street, but one of the doors was locked from the outside to prevent workers from smuggling items outside from the factory. To make conditions even more precarious, the factory was not equipped with a sprinkler system, most likely due to the fact that Blanck and Harris had a history of intentionally burning their own factories to collect on insurance payouts.

Six hundred women were working in the factory when a fire ignited on the eighth floor. (Investigators later reported that the fire most likely began when a worker accidentally dropped a match or cigarette into a bin filled with fabric scraps and tissue-paper patterns, which were extremely flammable. Smoking inside the factory was common, even though it was technically forbidden.) Attempts to put out the blaze proved futile because the fire hose was rotten and its nozzle was sealed with rust. As conditions deteriorated, some women made for the elevator. However, it could only carry twelve people at a time and gave out completely after only four trips. The workers then jumped down the elevator shaft in an attempt to avoid the flames. Other workers rushed to the two staircases that exited to the street, only to find that they were trapped. Workers above the eighth floor were able to climb to the building's roof and to surrounding rooftops, where they watched as coworkers jumped from the windows below to escape the fire. In total, 146 people died, mostly young women, from either burning to death, jumping down an elevator shaft, or jumping from windows to the street.

As the Student Volume discusses, the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire sparked an immediate response in New York City, and eighty thousand marchers took to the street in April 1911 to protest unsafe working conditions. Though the owners of the factory faced no penalties for putting their workers' lives in such tremendous danger, New York City took steps to implement workplace safety reform.

Ida B. Wells

Racial tensions grew throughout the country after the Civil War. Lynching—the execution by a mob, often by hanging, for an alleged crime, with or without a trial—was used to terrorize African Americans and other people of color.

Ida B. Wells became one of the most prominent leaders in the fight against racial violence. Wells's anti-lynching crusade began in 1892 after a white mob lynched her friend Thomas Moss and two others. The three victims were lynched after protecting Moss's grocery store from attacks by white people who disliked the idea of successful African Americans and saw Moss's successful business as a threat to their own prosperity. After Moss was lynched, Wells started investigating the number of and circumstances surrounding lynchings in the South, publishing her findings in articles for the *Memphis Free Speech* and a pamphlet called *Southern Horrors*. Wells also gave lectures on the subject and published a detailed study, *A Red Record*, in 1895. In response to her work, a mob destroyed the *Memphis Free Speech* office and threatened to kill Wells, forcing her to leave Memphis, Tennessee. Undeterred, Wells continued writing and lecturing about lynching. She also fought segregation in the South and discrimination in the North and was one of the founding members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Mary Church Terrell

Like Ida B. Wells, Mary Church Terrell knew Thomas Moss, and his killing inspired her to become an anti-lynching activist. Later, she focused on how African Americans could help end discrimination by advancing themselves through education and activism. She helped form the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), for which she created the motto “Lifting as we climb.” She also worked toward women’s suffrage. Once the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified in 1920, granting women the right to vote, Terrell turned all her attention to civil rights. It is important to note that despite the Nineteenth Amendment, many African American women were unable to exercise their right to vote because of Jim Crow laws and other discriminatory practices.

SOCIAL REFORMERS

Social reformers tackled a range of issues during the Progressive Era. Individuals such as Jane Addams worked to improve the lives of immigrants, pass new legislation improving urban sanitation, and end child labor.

Jane Addams and Settlement Houses

Jane Addams was born in 1860, less than a year before the outbreak of the Civil War. She became known as the “Mother of Social Work” for her pioneering efforts to address the problems people suffered because of poverty and lack of opportunity. After graduating from Rockford Female Seminary in Illinois, she went on to study at the Woman’s Medical College of Pennsylvania but left due to depression over the death of her father, her own ill health, and her growing disinterest in medicine.

Addams first traveled to Europe from 1883 to 1885 and again from 1887 to 1888. It was on the second trip that she learned of the Toynbee Hall settlement house in London. It had been founded in 1884 with the goals of bridging the gap between social classes and improving conditions for the poor. Addams used Toynbee Hall as a model for Hull House.

In 1889, Addams founded Hull House in Chicago with her fellow reformer Ellen Gates Starr. The house was named after its builder, Charles Hull. Addams and Starr renovated the original building. Eventually, Hull House added twelve more buildings. It also opened a nearby playground and a camp in Wisconsin. Addams and Starr were joined in their efforts by a number of other women, including Florence Kelley and Alice Hamilton.

Addams and her colleagues also worked to change child labor laws. Addams worked with the NAACP, campaigned for women’s suffrage, and was a pacifist leader. She was a member of the Anti-Imperialist League, the Women’s Peace Party, and the International Congress of Women. Addams was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931. She died in 1935.

Child Labor

Child labor was another area that progressive reformers worked to address. In 1900, approximately 18 percent of children between the ages of ten and fifteen worked. That same year, only fifteen states had child labor laws, most of which went unenforced. The National Child Labor Committee (NCLC), organized in 1904, worked to bring greater awareness to the issue through the publication of photographs and firsthand accounts from child laborers. Public demand for federal intervention grew, resulting in the passage of the Keating–Owen Act of 1916. The act included a number of provisions designed to end child labor. Canneries, factories, and shops were prohibited from selling products manufactured by children under the age of fourteen. Mines were prohibited from selling products if they employed children under the age of sixteen. The Supreme Court ultimately overturned the Keating–Owen Act in 1918 in the case *Hammer v. Dagenhart*. The suit was brought by Roland Dagenhart, who wanted to allow his underage son to continue working in a mill. The court ruled that regulating

production exceeded the federal government's powers. A second labor act, passed in 1918, was also invalidated by the Supreme Court, and efforts to pass a child labor amendment to the Constitution also failed. Children did not receive federal protections until 1938, when Congress passed the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Education Reform

As the Student Volume discusses, education of children slowly became compulsory across the United States throughout the late 1800s, though enforcement and exemptions varied across states. Typically, compulsory education laws required that children go to elementary school so that all Americans would attain a basic level of education. However, access to public education, as well as its quality, was uneven. Many Native American children were taken from their families and sent to schools that forced them to assimilate into mainstream American culture. Meanwhile, in the South, African American children were required to attend segregated schools, which typically received far fewer resources than schools for white children. In the North, African American students generally had better access to public education, though many schools remained segregated in practice due to housing patterns and local policies.

Sarah Garnet was a prominent education, civil rights, and women's suffrage activist of the Progressive Era. Born in an African American community in Brooklyn, New York, thirty years before the Civil War, she became a teacher's aide at the age of fourteen and a teacher in her own right in 1854, when New York's schools were still segregated. In 1863, she was appointed principal of an integrated school in Manhattan, making her the first African American woman to become head of a New York City public school. Garnet was a devoted activist who fought discrimination against African American teachers and promoted better pay for female educators. She was also active in the women's suffrage movement; in the late 1800s, she cofounded the Equal Suffrage League of Brooklyn, which pushed for voting rights for women and equal rights for all Americans. Garnet retired from education in 1900, the same year that New York repealed a law that permitted segregated schooling in the state.

CIVIL RIGHTS DURING THE PROGRESSIVE ERA

The late 1800s and early 1900s proved exceedingly difficult for African Americans. As Reconstruction came to an end, Southern states systematically disenfranchised African Americans and restricted their freedoms. These developments contributed to a growing civil rights movement in the United States.

Plessy v. Ferguson

The case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) began as a challenge to Louisiana's Separate Car Act of 1890, which required that Louisiana railroads offer separate but equal accommodations for African American and white passengers. About a year after the act was passed, a group of Creole professionals in New Orleans decided to test the constitutionality of the law. They hired a lawyer and asked a person of mixed race to help them. Homer Plessy said he was seven-eighths white and one-eighth African American. He was a light-skinned man of mixed race who could often pass as white. In 1892, he purchased a railroad ticket in Louisiana, sat in a "whites only" train car, then informed the conductor that he was Black. He was arrested and charged with violating the Separate Car Act. At Plessy's trial, Judge John H. Ferguson dismissed the idea that the Separate Car Act was unconstitutional. Plessy appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Justice Henry Billings Brown's opinion in *Plessy* put forth the racist perspective by which segregation was justified: "The object of the [Fourteenth] amendment was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but, in the nature of things, it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color, or to enforce social . . . equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either." The case was the first major test of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, which forbids states from denying the equal protection of the laws to any person. The decision established the precedent of "separate but equal," which prevailed until it was overturned in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954).

Jim Crow

The “separate but equal” doctrine affirmed by *Plessy* allowed the system of legalized racial segregation known as Jim Crow to continue. As noted in the Unit 1 Teacher Guide, the term *Jim Crow* is thought to have originated from a character of that name played by Thomas Dartmouth Rice. Rice was a white actor and musician who performed in blackface, and his character was a racist caricature of African Americans.

Jim Crow laws marginalized African Americans by keeping them out of certain public spaces and denying them the right to vote. More than segregation laws, Jim Crow was a way of life. African Americans were treated as second-class citizens. Nonetheless, in his ruling in *Plessy*, Justice Brown had called it a “fallacy” to assume that “the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority,” adding, “If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it.”

Booker T. Washington

Booker T. Washington was born into slavery in 1856 in Virginia. After emancipation, he and his family moved to West Virginia, where nine-year-old Washington worked in a coal mine and salt furnace. In 1872, he enrolled in the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. Washington worked as a janitor to pay for his education and graduated from Hampton in 1875.

Washington was selected to head a new vocational school for African Americans, the Tuskegee Normal School for Colored Teachers—later renamed the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, then the Tuskegee Institute, now Tuskegee University—in 1881. He gained national prominence as the head of Tuskegee. Washington campaigned vigorously for funds for the school, which added to his nationwide influence.

In his 1895 speech at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia, Washington put forth his vision of racial progress through economic advancement. He stressed the importance of economic independence and his belief that African Americans could become economically independent through craft and industrial training. He also advocated for a tactic of accommodation, whereby African Americans would temporarily drop efforts to win civil rights and fight segregation in order to focus on education and advancement in trades and agriculture. Eventually, Washington believed, African Americans’ economic success and rise to a respectable middle-class position would gain respect from other Americans, leading to a breakdown of race divisions and eventual civil rights.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Born in 1868 in Massachusetts, W. E. B. Du Bois was a sociologist, historian, author, editor, and activist. He was one of the founders of the NAACP and worked as editor of the official NAACP magazine, *The Crisis*.

Du Bois published his groundbreaking book *The Souls of Black Folk* in 1903. In the book, Du Bois explores the experience of being African American in early 1900s America. He explains African Americans’ experiences of dual identity, invisibility, and injustice. Additionally, he criticizes Booker T. Washington’s philosophy of accommodation. Du Bois contends that white Americans would never willingly grant African Americans rights. African Americans would have to fight for their rights as they always had, and accommodation would only solidify discrimination.

In 1905, Du Bois reached out to other prominent African American leaders of the time who also opposed Washington’s accommodationist views. Soon after, twenty-nine men from across the country gathered near Niagara Falls in July. The group became the Niagara Movement. At the first meeting, the men adopted a constitution and wrote a Declaration of Principles. This document states that the goal of the group would be to fight for political and social equality for African Americans. The next year, women were also made members of the organization, although this would become a matter of contention among some leaders.

Like Washington, Du Bois valued education, but he favored a classical liberal arts education rather than the vocational training advocated by Washington. The two men had at least one idea in common, though. Du Bois, like Washington, advocated for African American economic independence as a means to battle African American poverty and alleviate some of the problems of segregation, as long as it went hand in hand with political and legal enfranchisement.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

The second Morrill Act of 1890 required the establishment of universities for African American students in formerly Confederate states, such as Louisiana, and the border states, such as Delaware, Missouri, and West Virginia. The schools gave African Americans the opportunity to pursue careers as teachers as well as tradespeople. The Institute for Colored Youth opened outside Philadelphia in 1837 on a farm. Today, it is Cheyney University of Pennsylvania and is part of the Pennsylvania State System of Higher Education. In 1856, the oldest private Historically Black College or University (HBCU), Wilberforce University, opened in Tawawa Springs (now Wilberforce), Ohio, for African American people who had escaped slavery through the Underground Railroad.

Southern University, on its original campus in New Orleans, was established by the Louisiana state legislature in 1880 as a land-grant college for African Americans. In 1974, the Southern University System was created when several universities merged through a Louisiana constitutional mandate. This mandate made the Southern University System the country's only HBCU system of higher education derived from land grants. Today, it comprises five institutions offering undergraduate, graduate, and professional degrees.

Graduates of HBCUs include Thurgood Marshall, Langston Hughes, Martin Luther King Jr., Kamala Harris, Samuel L. Jackson, Oprah Winfrey, Wilma Rudolph, Erykah Badu, Debbie Allen, Marlon Wayans, Toni Morrison, Spike Lee, David Dinkins, Rev. Jesse Jackson, Lionel Richie, and a number of generals in the U.S. Army.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

The suffrage movement developed out of the abolitionist movement, as many women involved in the movement found their roles as activists limited because of their gender. Additionally, many men in the abolitionist movement supported women's suffrage, including Frederick Douglass. After the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments passed without the inclusion of women, women's suffrage activists turned their full attention to securing the right to vote.

Lucretia Mott and her husband, James, were active reformers during the mid-1800s, especially in the abolition movement. While Mott remained deeply committed to abolition, her experiences with gender inequality led her to view women's rights as an equally pressing issue. Like Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton was acutely aware of how women were treated unequally in American society. Stanton, who hoped to follow her father into law, was denied admission to college because most institutions at the time did not admit women. After completing her studies at a women's school, she became involved with the antislavery movement. She later married Henry Stanton, a fellow abolitionist. The couple traveled to London for the 1840 World Anti-Slavery Convention, where Stanton met Mott. In 1848, Mott and Stanton, along with Jane Hunt, Mary Ann M'Clintock, and Martha Wright, organized the Woman's Rights Convention. It is now known as the Seneca Falls Convention, named for its location in Stanton's hometown of Seneca Falls, New York. It was here that Stanton delivered the speech known today as the Declaration of Sentiments, a major inspiration for the movement in the second half of the nineteenth century.

In the late 1800s, the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA)—an organization founded by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton—and the more conservative American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) spearheaded national- and state-level efforts to win the vote. In 1890, the groups merged to create

the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), which focused on garnering enough support for women's suffrage in state legislatures to influence the ratification of an amendment to the Constitution. To achieve this end, NAWSA campaigned for the support of upper-class, educated, and influential members of society, a move that alienated not only African American and poor women but also more radical members of the suffrage movement.

When NAWSA's strategy had failed to make any legal headway by 1910, an associated organization called the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage fought for a federal strategy versus a state strategy. Led by Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, this group eventually left NAWSA to form the National Woman's Party (NWP) and focus on more militant means of direct action. After the split, NAWSA leader Carrie Chapman Catt changed course to follow a strategy of direct action by members to create support for a federal amendment. This strategy included pressuring President Woodrow Wilson to push for a women's suffrage amendment, as he had already voiced support for women's suffrage.

The NWP employed even more militant strategies, including marches, protests, and civil disobedience. In an attempt to pressure President Wilson to follow through on his endorsement of women's suffrage, the NWP staged multiple protests in front of the White House in 1916. The organization continued the protests in 1917. However, the United States' entrance into World War I led to a crackdown on radical activities of any sort, including women's suffrage and labor demonstrations. Police arrested hundreds of women's suffrage picketers throughout the summer of 1917 and threatened monthslong jail sentences. Undeterred, Alice Paul continued to lead protests outside the White House and consequently suffered several arrests for her activism.

Susan B. Anthony

Susan B. Anthony was born in Massachusetts in 1820. Raised in a Quaker family, Anthony became interested in reform, specifically abolition, women's suffrage, and temperance. After attending school at a Quaker seminary, she took a teaching position and settled in New York, where she met prominent abolitionists. She also met women's suffrage activist Elizabeth Cady Stanton during this time. Prior to the Civil War, she and Stanton formed the Women's New York State Temperance Society, and Anthony held a leadership position in the New York chapter of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

During the war, she helped create the Women's National Loyal League, which argued for the immediate end to slavery. After the war, she and other suffragists fought to have women included in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which granted full citizenship and suffrage to African American men. After the amendments passed without the inclusion of women, Anthony devoted her energies to women's rights. In 1868, she began publishing *The Revolution*, a paper devoted to women's rights, including suffrage and property rights. She also organized a convention for women's suffrage and founded the NWSA with Stanton in 1869. A more conservative group of women broke off from the NWSA to form the AWSA, but Anthony's group continued to be a powerful force in the suffrage movement. Anthony died in New York in 1906.

The Anti-Suffrage Movement

Not all women supported women's suffrage. Anti-suffragists, also called *remonstrants*, were often successful at thwarting the efforts of their pro-suffrage rivals. One notable example took place in 1894, when New York held a convention to update its state constitution; one possible change was removing the word *male* from the document. Susan B. Anthony and other suffragists came to the state to give lectures in support of this change. To them, it represented a step toward political equality that could inspire other states to take similar action. Suffragists collected signatures on a petition in favor of removing *male* from the state's constitution. Meanwhile, anti-suffragists—many of whom were women—assembled their own petition. The groups were allowed to plead their cases before the constitutional convention, and delegates were ultimately persuaded to leave the word *male* where it was.

The Nineteenth Amendment

Women gained the right to vote in Wyoming Territory in 1869. Utah, Colorado, and Idaho granted full or partial suffrage to women in the 1890s. For some legislators in parts of the West, the franchise was considered a way to attract more white female settlers and guard against African American political empowerment. In Utah, this second concern, as well as a desire to strengthen voter support for polygamy, led to more open-mindedness about women's suffrage. Additionally, life in the West was difficult and required everyone, men and women, to contribute to survival. Women's work was seen as essential, so their role was valued more equally than in the older, more traditional East. A constitutional amendment to grant suffrage to women was first introduced in Congress in 1878. The issue remained important in elections from that time forward. Theodore Roosevelt was the first presidential candidate to support women's suffrage, doing so in his unsuccessful 1912 run as the Progressive Party candidate.

By 1918, the tide was turning in favor of a constitutional amendment for women's suffrage. An amendment narrowly passed the House of Representatives but failed in the Senate. In 1919, the amendment passed both houses and was sent to the states for ratification. In 1920, Tennessee voted narrowly to ratify the amendment. It was the thirty-sixth state to do so, giving the amendment the necessary two-thirds majority to become part of the Constitution.

POLITICIANS AND THE PROGRESSIVE ERA

Politicians played a key role during the Progressive Era. They championed a range of issues and helped usher in new legislation that expanded government oversight to improve working, living, and economic conditions for many Americans. Key among these government officials was President Theodore Roosevelt.

Theodore Roosevelt

Theodore Roosevelt was born on October 27, 1858, to a wealthy New York family. Despite struggling with asthma and chronic illness as a child, he worked hard to build up his body through weight training and other vigorous activities, turning himself into a robust figure. He was educated by private tutors as a child and entered Harvard University in 1876.

Roosevelt briefly attended Columbia Law School before winning election to the New York state legislature in 1881. He and his first wife, Alice Hathaway Lee, had their first child in February 1884, but Alice died two days later. In a terrible coincidence, Roosevelt's mother died of unrelated causes that same day. Bereft, Roosevelt moved to the Dakota Territory to become a rancher. The blizzards of 1885–86 wiped out most of his cattle, and he sold his ranch and moved back to New York, where he resumed his interest in politics. In 1886, Roosevelt married Edith Kermit Carow, with whom he had five more children.

Roosevelt was appointed to the U.S. Civil Service Commission in 1889, where he served until becoming president of the New York Police Board in 1895. By this time, he was known for his honesty and intolerance for corruption, inspiring President William McKinley to appoint him assistant secretary of the navy in 1897. However, Roosevelt resigned at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in favor of military service. He led a regiment of volunteer cavalry called the Rough Riders during battles in Cuba and returned to the United States a war hero.

Roosevelt ran on a Republican ticket for governor of New York and won, though his tenure in the position was short-lived. Republican party bosses, frustrated by Roosevelt's strict adherence to the law and distaste for the patronage system, sent him to the national stage as William McKinley's running mate. McKinley was reelected president in 1900, and Roosevelt became vice president. When McKinley was assassinated in September 1901, Theodore Roosevelt became the twenty-sixth president of the United States.

Roosevelt never lost his love for the beauty of the West. He was a naturalist and an environmentalist long before these terms were commonly used. During his time in public office, he championed conservation of the nation's natural resources. One way he did this was through the Antiquities Act of 1906. The act allowed the federal government to designate and protect archaeological and cultural sites on public lands. It also empowered the president to designate national monuments. Roosevelt used the act to create eighteen national monuments. Since then, presidents have used it more than 150 times.

Under Roosevelt's administration, more than two hundred million acres (809,371 sq km) of public land were withdrawn from sale and became part of the national forest. In 1905, Roosevelt created the National Forest Service, and in 1906, he signed the Yosemite Reclamation Bill, which placed Yosemite National Park under federal control. He persuaded Congress to set aside money to establish irrigation projects and set up the Inland Waterways Commission to conserve and develop the nation's lakes, rivers, and canals. Roosevelt was also responsible for the creation of dozens of wildlife sanctuaries and five national parks.

One story about Roosevelt that has become a legend is that he and some of his aides went hunting with a group of reporters, who were along to cover the story. After many hours, the president had not shot anything. His aides found a bear and tied it to a tree for the president to shoot, but Roosevelt refused to kill the confused and frightened animal. Members of the press relayed this story back to their papers. A Brooklyn store owner saw a cartoon of the incident and made a stuffed bear for his store window. He posted a sign alongside it that read "Teddy's bear." Thus, the "teddy bear" was born.

Roosevelt was not a perfect person or a perfect president. He, like others of his time, held complicated views about race and harbored racial prejudices that informed his policies as president. For example, Roosevelt nominated African Americans to federal political positions in the South, but he did not fight hard for their confirmations. Roosevelt's efforts to promote reform were limited by the racial attitudes of the time. After he invited Booker T. Washington to dine at the White House with his family, Roosevelt received significant backlash in the Southern press, making this the first and only time he entertained an African American at the White House. One of the most troubling events during his presidency was the 1906 Brownsville Affair. Several African American soldiers were accused of killing a white man in Brownsville, Texas. The U.S. Army assumed the soldiers were guilty despite conflicting testimony and a lack of evidence. When none of the accused soldiers claimed responsibility, Roosevelt ordered the army to dishonorably discharge more than 160 African American soldiers—without giving any of them a chance to defend themselves at trial.