

UNIT 6

THE SEEDS OF MODERN AMERICA



UNIT 6 | OVERVIEW, UNIT OBJECTIVES, ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

The era following the American Civil War saw many of the seeds of modern America planted. Technology continued to improve, with inventions like the electric lightbulb, telephone, and radio would revolutionize the industrial world. The expansion of industrial production and economic progress combined with a lack of regulation allowed a few very wealthy elites to create monopolies and grow even wealthier. Many Americans were left behind in this process, and economic inequality grew. This inspired a growing labor movement in many urban areas, which led to increased unrest between capitalists and their laborers, as strikes, riots, and reactionary suppression of both often ended in violence. Industrial growth and the promise of American economic might also increasingly drew wave after wave of immigrants, adding to the nation's urbanization and fundamentally changing America's demographic make up. Immigrant populations gathered in enclaves along the Eastern seaboard and West Coast. This growing population continued America's expansion to the West. This continued the process of genocide of Native American cultures, and the first nations of the American West were permanently displaced. All in all this "Gilded Age," as Mark Twain dubbed it,



saw America rise to prominence as a global economic and military power. Domestically, the fruits of this growth were harvested by some, but a great many, including the increasingly disenfranchised African Americans of the South, were on the outside looking in.

TIMELINE: 1865-1898

INSTRUCTIONAL HOURS: 5

UNIT OBJECTIVES

- Analyze the ways in which America's economics and politics shaped one another during this period.
- Analyze the impact of individuals and their actions on the successes and failures of the period.
- Examine the growing inequalities and unequal distribution of progress in America during the period.
- Understand the ways in which the economic and political expansion of the United States impacted the people and environment of the American West.
- Understand the ways in which economic and/or racial oppression impacted Americans during the period and analyze the effectiveness of the methods of resistance that evolved.

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- In what ways did the period between 1865 and 1898 shape the political, social, and cultural identity of the United States?
- In what ways can this period be viewed as both a period of prosperity or progress and also a period of strife and inequality?



UNIT 6 | CONTENT

1 LESSON 6.1: GROWTH & CONSEQUENCES

3 Opening | EQ Notebook – Lesson 1
5 Watch | Crash Course US History #23 – The Industrial Economy
9 Read | Capital & Labor
22 Read | The Crime of Poverty
32 Read | Andrew Carnegie – The Gospel of Wealth
35 Read | Haymarket Affair – Address of August Spies
43 Read | Labor Battles in the Gilded Age
48 Watch | Crash Course US History #24 – Westward Expansion
52 Reading & Activity | Westward Expansion & Conflict
61 Read | Native Americans and Westward Expansion – Primary Sources
73 Read | The Frontier Thesis
77 Watch | Crash Course US History #25 – Growth, Cities, and Immigration
80 Read | The Rush of Immigrants
84 Reading & Activity | How the Other Half Lives
92 Closing | EQ Notebook

94 LESSON 6.2: THE POLITICS OF THE GILDED AGE

96 Opening | EQ Notebook – Lesson 6.2
98 Watch | Crash Course US History #26 – Gilded Age Politics
102 Read | Plunkitt of Tammany Hall
106 Read | Populists & Socialists
117 Read | Populist Party Platform
123 Read | Ida B. Wells
129 Closing | EQ Notebook



LESSON 6.1.0 | OVERVIEW | Growth & Consequences

The late 1800s were a time of great change in America. Technology and industry improved rapidly, the nature of work changed, cities grew in size and stature, immigrants flocked to the United States to fill new jobs, and the destruction of Native American societies continued. The era is known as a period in which the American economy boomed and laid the foundations of a modern United States, setting the stage for the global economic empire that would emerge in the 20th century. Along the way, a few American industrialists grew exceedingly wealthy while workers and farmers sought ways to counterbalance the growing inequality of the age through social and political reforms. The America of today has been shaped, physically and culturally, by this "Gilded Age."

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- In what ways did the period between 1865 and 1898 shape the political, social, and cultural identity of the United States?
- In what ways can this period be viewed as both a period of prosperity or progress and also a period of strife and inequality?

LESSON 6.1.0 | OVERVIEW | Learning Outcomes, Vocabulary, & Outline

LEARNING OUTCOMES

- Analyze the impact of expansion of industry, urbanization, and immigration on American economy/society.
- Analyze the impacts of Westward Expansion on the United States and Native American Peoples of the American West.
- Evaluate the various costs and benefits of the major events of the Gilded Age.

LESSON ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- How and why did industrialization, urbanization, and immigration increase during the Gilded Age?
- What were the social impacts of the developments of the Gilded Age?

LESSON OUTLINE

1 Opening | EQ Notebook – Lesson 1
2 Watch | Crash Course US History #23 – The Industrial Economy
3 Read | Capital & Labor
4 Read | The Crime of Poverty
5 Read | Andrew Carnegie – The Gospel of Wealth
6 Read | Haymarket Affair – Address of August Spies
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10 Read | Native Americans and Westward Expansion – Primary Sources
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13 Read | The Rush of Immigrants
14 Reading & Activity | How the Other Half Lives
15 Closing | EQ Notebook



LESSON 6.1.1 | OPENING | EQ Notebook

PURPOSE

Each unit of the Crash Course US History Curriculum (CCUSH) is guided by what we call an essential question. The Essential Question Notebook (EQ Notebook) is an informal writing resource for students to track their learning and understanding of a concept throughout a unit. Students will be given an Essential Question at the beginning of a unit and asked to provide a response based on prior knowledge and speculation. Students will then revisit the notebook in order to answer the Essential Question with evidence they have gathered throughout the unit. This provides students an opportunity to track their learning and to prepare them for future activities. To help students focus on the important ideas, this activity asks them to look at the big ideas through the lens of the Essential Question. At this point, students won't have much background to bring to bear on the issue just yet. This early exercise helps to bring to the fore what they know coming into the unit.

PROCESS

Ask students to think about the essential questions for Unit 6 and Lesson 6.1, respectively. Students should write down the Essential Questions and record their responses to opening questions in their EQ Notebook Worksheets.

Example Opening Questions: How do you think that the results of the Civil War are going to shape America and its path forward? What is capitalism? What are some of its benefits and dangers? Why do people immigrate from one place to another? How do immigrants shape the new nations they call home? What does a nation have to be to be considered prosperous?

They can do this in the context of their knowledge of US History, or relate it to their own lives.

ATTACHMENT

- The EQ Unit 6 Notebook Worksheet

UNIT 6 | EQ Notebook Worksheet

Answer the Essential Questions in Lesson 6.1.1, then again in Lesson 6.1.15. In your answer, be sure to include ideas such as historical context and how themes through history change over time. Use specific examples to support your claims or ideas.

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

1. How and why did industrialization, urbanization, and immigration increase during the Gilded Age?
2. What were the social impacts of the developments of the Gilded Age?

LESSON 6.1.1.	
LESSON 6.1.15.	
HOW HAS YOUR THINKING CHANGED?	



LESSON 6.1.2 | WATCH | Crash Course US History #23
The Industrial Economy

PREVIEW

In which John Green teaches you about the Industrial Economy that arose in the United States after the Civil War. You know how when you're studying history, and you're reading along and everything seems safely in the past, and then BOOM you think, "Man, this suddenly seems very modern." For me, that moment in US History is the post-Reconstruction expansion of industrialism in America. After the Civil War, many of the changes in technology and ideas gave rise to this new industrialism. You'll learn about the rise of Captains of Industry (or Robber Barons) like Cornelius Vanderbilt, Andrew Carnegie, John D Rockefeller, and JP Morgan. You'll learn about trusts, combinations, and how the government responded to these new business practices. All this, plus John will cover how workers reacted to the changes in society and the early days of the labor movement. You'll learn about the Knights of Labor and Terence Powderly, and Samuel Gompers and the AFL.

PURPOSE

In this video, students will be introduced to several of the ways in which the economy shifted during the Gilded Age. New financial and corporate instruments helped propel a few major companies to previously unseen levels of wealth. This rise of the "Robber Barons" and the impact that the concentration of wealth had on the development of labor unions and the conflict between the workers and the wealthy.

PROCESS

As with all of the videos in the course, ask students to watch the video before class. Remind students of John's fast-talking and play the video with captions. Pause and rewind when necessary. Before they watch the video, remind them of the central ideas of the Unit 6 Essential Questions and the Lesson 6.1 Essential Questions.

LINK

- Crash Course US History #23 – The Industrial Economy

Video questions for students to answer during their viewing.

LESSON 6.1.2 | WATCH | Key Ideas – Factual

Use these questions and prompts at the appropriate stopping points to check in with students and ensure they are getting the key concepts covered in the video.

1. (:30) In the simplest of terms, how did America become the richest and most industrialized nation on earth?

SAMPLE ANSWER: America grew to become the most industrialized nation thanks to the Civil War, which improved the finance system by forcing the introduction of a national currency and spurred industrialization by giving massive contracts to arms and clothing manufacturers. The war also boosted the telegraph, thus improving communication, and gave birth to the Transcontinental Railroad, which increased productivity and efficiency.

2. (1:30) How do geography, demography, and law contribute to America's economic boom?

SAMPLE ANSWER: Geographically, the United States is a huge country with most if not all the resources (coal, iron, oil, grain, etc.) necessary for an industrial boom. Demographically, the US population grew from 40 million in 1870 to 76 million in 1900, which a third of this growth is due to immigration, and those immigrants were flooding cities. Finally, the Constitution and the Commerce Clause made the US a single area of commerce.

3. (2:30) How did American government play a role in the economic growth?

SAMPLE ANSWER: The government played a role by instituting high tariffs, especially on steel, giving massive land grants to railroads, and moving (now controversially) Native Americans to reservations.

4. (3:10) What significant economic growths occurred leading up to and including 1913?

SAMPLE ANSWER: In the economic growth leading up to 1913, a majority of the workforce worked in non-farming jobs and two-thirds of Americans worked for wages. But in 1913, the United States produced one-third of the world's total industrial output.

5. (6:00) Why are industrial capitalists considered villainous?

SAMPLE ANSWER: Industrial capitalists often drove competitors out of business and generally cared very little for their workers.

6. (6:50) What was key to John D. Rockefeller's success?

SAMPLE ANSWER: Rockefeller ruthlessly bought up so many of his rivals that by the late 1880s, Standard Oil controlled 90 percent of the US oil industry.

7. (7:20) What is vertical integration?

SAMPLE ANSWER: Vertical integration is where a company or firm purchases all aspects of the production process, from raw materials to production to transportation and distribution.

8. (7:40) What is horizontal integration?

SAMPLE ANSWER: Horizontal integration is when those companies purchase smaller companies or their competition.

9. (8:30) Describe conditions of laborers due to industrialization.

SAMPLE ANSWER: Thanks to industrialization, laborers commonly worked 60 hours per week with no pensions or injury compensations, even though the United States had the highest rate of industrial injuries in the world.

10. (10:00) What is Social Darwinism and what did its followers believe?

SAMPLE ANSWER: Social Darwinists believed that the theory of survival of the fittest should be applied to people and corporations. They believed that big companies were big because they were fitter and that people had nothing to fear from monopolies. This was used as a way of arguing that governments shouldn't regulate businesses or pass laws to help poor people - that the rich were rich because of an evolutionary flaw.

11. (11:10) What did unions want for America?

SAMPLE ANSWER: Unions wanted the US and its citizens to imagine freedom more broadly, arguing that without a more equal economic system, America was becoming less free, despite it becoming more prosperous.

LESSON 6.1.2 | WATCH | Conceptual Thinking

Have students answer the following question in order for them to make connections across different concepts and think more critically about the information presented in the video.

1. How is inequality the opposite of freedom?



LESSON 6.1.3 | READ | Capital & Labor

PURPOSE

This selection from The American Yawp covers the rise of American capital in the Gilded Age and the response it drew from the labor movement. Students will receive a bit more detail on concepts introduced in the previous Crash Course US History video on the expanding industrial economy, including discussions of specific ideas, like social darwinism, and events, like the Haymarket Riot.

PROCESS

Make the attached reading on the rise of Capital and Labor during the Gilded Age available to students. Students should read actively by marking up the text and taking notes. They should then be sure to answer the questions at the end of the document.

ATTACHMENT

- Capital & Labor

READING | Capital and Labour —From The American Yawp, Chapter 16

Introduction

The Great Railroad Strike of 1877 heralded a new era of labor conflict in the United States. That year, mired in the stagnant economy that followed the bursting of the railroads' financial bubble in 1873, rail lines slashed workers' wages (even, workers complained, as they reaped enormous government subsidies and paid shareholders lucrative stock dividends). Workers struck from Baltimore to St. Louis, shutting down railroad traffic—the nation's economic lifeblood—across the country.

Panicked business leaders and friendly political officials reacted quickly. When local police forces were unwilling or incapable of suppressing the strikes, governors called out state militias to break them and restore rail service. Many strikers destroyed rail property rather than allow militias to reopen the rails. The protests approached a class war. The governor of Maryland deployed the state's militia. In Baltimore the militia fired into a crowd of striking workers, killing eleven and wounding many more. Strikes convulsed towns and cities across Pennsylvania. The head of the Pennsylvania Railroad, Thomas Andrew Scott, suggested that, if workers were unhappy with their wages, they should be given "a rifle diet for a few days and see how they like that kind of bread."[1] Law enforcement in Pittsburgh refused to put down the protests, so the governor called out the state militia, who killed twenty strikers with bayonets and rifle fire. A month of chaos erupted. Strikers set fire to the city, destroying dozens of buildings, over a hundred engines, and over a thousand cars. In Reading, strikers destroyed rail property and an angry crowd bombarded militiamen with rocks and bottles. The militia fired into the crowd, killing ten. A general strike erupted in St. Louis, and strikers seized rail depots and declared for the eight-hour day and the abolition of child labor. Federal troops and vigilantes fought their way into the depot, killing eighteen and breaking the strike. Rail lines were shut down all across neighboring Illinois, where coal miners struck in sympathy, tens of thousands gathered to protest under the aegis of the Workingmen's Party, and twenty protesters were killed in Chicago by special police and militiamen.[2]

Courts, police, and state militias suppressed the strikes, but it was federal troops that finally defeated them. When Pennsylvania militiamen were unable to contain the strikes, federal troops stepped in. When militia in West Virginia refused to break the strike, federal troops broke it instead. On the orders of the President, American soldiers were deployed all across northern rail lines. Soldiers moved from town to town, suppressing protests and reopening rail lines. Six weeks after it had begun, the strike had been crushed.[3]

1 *David T. Burbank, Reign of the Rabble: The St. Louis General Strike of 1877 (Augustus M. Kelley, Publishers, 1966), 11.*

2 *Robert V. Bruce, 1877: Year of Violence (New York: Ivan R. Dee, 1957); Philip S. Foner, The Great Labor Uprising of 1877 (New York: Monad Press, 1977); David Omar Stowell, editor, The Great Strikes of 1877 (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2008).*

3 *Ibid.*

Nearly 100 Americans died in "The Great Upheaval." Workers destroyed nearly $40 million worth of property. The strike galvanized the country. It convinced laborers of the need for institutionalized unions, persuaded businesses of the need for even greater political influence and government aid, and foretold a half-century of labor conflict in the United States.[4]

The March of Capital

Growing labor unrest accompanied industrialization. The greatest strikes first hit the railroads only because no other industry had so effectively marshaled together capital, government support, and bureaucratic management. Many workers perceived their new powerlessness in the coming industrial order. Skills mattered less and less in an industrialized, mass-producing economy, and their strength as individuals seemed ever smaller and more insignificant when companies grew in size and power and managers grew flush with wealth and influence. Long hours, dangerous working conditions, and the difficulty of supporting a family on meager and unpredictable wages compelled armies of labor to organize and battle against the power of capital.

The post-Civil War era saw revolutions in American industry. Technological innovations and national investments slashed the costs of production and distribution. New administrative frameworks sustained the weight of vast firms. National credit agencies eased the uncertainties surrounding rapid movement of capital between investors, manufacturers, and retailers. Plummeting transportation and communication costs opened new national media, which advertising agencies used to nationalize various products.

By the turn of the century, corporate leaders and wealthy industrialists embraced the new principles of "scientific management," or "Taylorism," after its noted proponent, Frederick Taylor. The precision of steel parts, the harnessing of electricity, the innovations of machine tools, and the mass markets wrought by the railroads offered new avenues for efficiency. To match the demands of the machine age, Taylor said, firms needed a scientific organization of production. He urged all manufacturers to increase efficiency by subdividing tasks. Rather than having thirty mechanics individually making thirty machines, for instance, a manufacturer could assign thirty laborers to perform thirty distinct tasks. Such a shift would not only make workers as interchangeable as the parts they were using, it would also dramatically speed up the process of production. If managed by trained experts, specific tasks could be done quicker and more efficiently. Taylorism increased the scale and scope of manufacturing and allowed for the flowering of mass production. Building upon the use of interchangeable parts in Civil War Era weapons manufacturing, American firms advanced mass production techniques and technologies. Singer sewing machines, Chicago packers' "disassembly" lines, McCormick grain reapers, Duke cigarette rollers: all realized unprecedented efficiencies and achieved unheard-of levels of production that propelled their companies into the forefront of American business. Henry Ford made the assembly line famous,

4 *Ibid.*

allowing the production of automobiles to skyrocket as their cost plummeted, but various American firms had been paving the way for decades.[5]

Cyrus McCormick had overseen the construction of mechanical reapers (used for harvesting wheat) for decades. He had relied upon skilled blacksmiths, skilled machinists, and skilled woodworkers to handcraft horse-drawn machines. But production was slow and the machines were expensive. The reapers still enabled massive efficiency gains in grain farming, but their high cost and slow production times put them out of reach of most American wheat farmers. But then, in 1880, McCormick hired a production manager who had overseen the manufacturing of Colt firearms to transform his system of production. The Chicago plant introduced new jigs, steel gauges, and pattern machines that could make precise duplicates of new, interchangeable parts. The company had produced 21,000 machines in 1880. It made twice as many in 1885, and by 1889, less than a decade later, it was producing over 100,000 a year.[6]

Industrialization and mass production pushed the United States into the forefront of the world. The American economy had lagged behind Britain, Germany, and France as recently as the 1860s, but by 1900 the United States was the world's leading manufacturing nation. Thirteen years later, by 1913, the United States produced one-third of the world's industrial output—more than Britain, France, and Germany combined.[7]

Firms such as McCormick's realized massive economies of scale: after accounting for their initial massive investments in machines and marketing, each additional product lost the company relatively little in production costs. The bigger the production, then, the bigger the profits. New industrial companies therefore hungered for markets to keep their high-volume production facilities operating. Retailers and advertisers sustained the massive markets needed for mass production and corporate bureaucracies meanwhile allowed for the management of giant new firms. A new class of managers—comprising what one prominent economic historian called the "visible hand"—operated between the worlds of workers and owners and ensured the efficient operation and administration of mass production and mass distribution. Even more important to the growth and maintenance of these new companies, however, were the legal creations used to protect investors and sustain the power of massed capital.[8]

The costs of mass production were prohibitive for all but the very wealthiest individuals, and, even then, the risks would be too great to bear

5 *Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977); David A. Hounshell, From the American System to Mass Production, 1800-1932 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984).*

6 *Hounshell, 153-188.*

7 *Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., Scale and Scope: The Dynamics of Industrial Capitalism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 52.*

8 *Chandler, Visible Hand.*

individually. The corporation itself was ages-old, but the actual right to incorporate had generally been reserved for public works projects or government-sponsored monopolies. After the Civil War, however, the corporation, using new state incorporation laws passed during the Market Revolution of the early-nineteenth century, became a legal mechanism for nearly any enterprise to marshal vast amounts of capital while limiting the liability of shareholders. By washing their hands of legal and financial obligations while still retaining the right to profit massively, investors flooded corporations with the capital needed to industrialize.

But a competitive marketplace threatened the promise of investments. Once the efficiency gains of mass production were realized, profit margins could be undone by cutthroat competition, which kept costs low as price-cutting sunk into profits. Companies rose and fell—and investors suffered losses—as manufacturing firms struggled to maintain supremacy in their particular industries. Economies of scale were a double-edged sword: while additional production provided immense profits, the high fixed costs of operating expensive factories dictated that even modest losses from selling under-priced goods were preferable to not selling profitably priced goods at all. And as market share was won and lost, profits proved unstable. American industrial firms tried everything to avoid competition: they formed informal pools and trusts, they entered price-fixing agreements, they divided markets, and, when blocked by anti-trust laws and renegade price-cutting, merged into consolidations. Rather than suffer from ruinous competition, firms combined and bypassed it altogether.

Between 1895 and 1904, and particularly in the four years between 1898 and 1902, a wave of mergers rocked the American economy. Competition melted away in what is known as "the great merger movement." In nine years, 4000 companies–nearly 20% of the American economy–were folded into rival firms. In nearly every major industry, newly consolidated firms such as General Electric and DuPont utterly dominated their market. Forty-one separate consolidations each controlled over 70% of the market in their respective industries. In 1901, financier J.P. Morgan oversaw the formation of United States Steel, built from eight leading steel companies. Industrialization was built on steel, and one firm—the world's first billion-dollar company—controlled the market. Monopoly had arrived.[9]

The Rise of Inequality

Industrial capitalism realized the greatest advances in efficiency and productivity that the world had ever seen. Massive new companies marshaled capital on an unprecedented scale and provided enormous profits that created unheard-of fortunes. But it also created millions of low-paid, unskilled, unreliable jobs with long hours and dangerous working conditions. Industrial capitalism confronted Gilded Age Americans with unprecedented inequalities. The sudden appearance of the extreme wealth of industrial and financial leaders alongside the

9 *Naomi R. Lamoreaux, The Great Merger Movement in American Business, 1895-1904 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).*

crippling squalor of the urban and rural poor shocked Americans. "This association of poverty with progress is the great enigma of our times," economist Henry George wrote in his 1879 bestseller, Progress and Poverty.[10]

The great financial and industrial titans, the so-called "robber barons," including railroad operators such as Cornelius Vanderbilt, oilmen such as J.D. Rockefeller, steel magnates such as Andrew Carnegie, and bankers such as J.P. Morgan, won fortunes that, adjusted for inflation are still among the largest the nation has ever seen. According to various measurements, in 1890 the wealthiest one-percent of Americans owned one-fourth of the nation's assets; the top ten percent owned over seventy percent. And inequality only accelerated. By 1900, the richest ten percent controlled perhaps ninety percent of the nation's wealth.[11]

As these vast and unprecedented new fortunes accumulated among a small number of wealthy Americans, new ideas arose to bestow moral legitimacy upon them. In 1859, British naturalist Charles Darwin published his theory of evolution through natural selection in his On the Origin of Species. It was not until the 1870s, however, that those theories gained widespread traction among the majority of biologists, naturalists, and other scientists in the United States, and, in turn, challenged the social, political, and religious beliefs of many Americans. One of Darwin's greatest popularizers, the British sociologist and biologist Herbert Spencer, applied Darwin's theories to society and popularized the phrase "survival of the fittest." The fittest, Spencer said, would demonstrate their superiority through economic success, while state welfare and private charity would lead to social degeneration–it would encourage the survival of the weak.[12]

"There must be complete surrender to the law of natural selection," the Baltimore Sun journalist H. L. Mencken wrote in 1907. "All growth must occur at the top. The strong must grow stronger, and that they may do so, they must waste no strength in the vain task of trying to uplift the weak."[13] By the time Mencken wrote those words, the ideas of social Darwinism had spread among wealthy Americans and their defenders. Social Darwinism identified a natural order that extended from the laws of the cosmos to the workings of industrial society. All species and all societies, including modern humans, the theory went, were governed by a relentless competitive struggle for survival. The inequality of outcomes was to be not merely tolerated, but encouraged and celebrated. It signified the progress of species

10 *See especially Edward O'Donnell, Henry George and the Crisis of Inequality: Progress and Poverty in the Gilded Age (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 41-45.*

11 *Michael McGerr, A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920 (New York: Free Press, 2003).*

12 *Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955).*

13 *Henry Louis Mencken, The Philosophy of Friedrich Nietzche (Boston: Luce and Company, 1908), 102-103.*

and societies. Spencer's major work, Synthetic Philosophy, sold nearly 400,000 copies in the United States by the time of his death in 1903. Gilded Age industrial elites, such as steel magnate Andrew Carnegie, inventor Thomas Edison, and Standard Oil's John D. Rockefeller, were among Spencer's prominent followers. Other American thinkers, such as Yale's William Graham Sumner, echoed his ideas. Sumner said, "before the tribunal of nature a man has no more right to life than a rattlesnake; he has no more right to liberty than any wild beast; his right to pursuit of happiness is nothing but a license to maintain the struggle for existence."[14]

But not all so eagerly welcomed inequalities. The spectacular growth of the U.S. economy and the ensuing inequalities in living conditions and incomes confounded many Americans. But as industrial capitalism overtook the nation, it achieved political protections. Although both major political parties facilitated the rise of big business and used state power to support the interests of capital against labor, big business looked primarily to the Republican Party.

The Republican Party had risen as an antislavery faction committed to "free labor," but it was also an ardent supporter of American business. Abraham Lincoln had been a corporate lawyer who defended railroads, and during the Civil War the Republican national government took advantage of the war-time absence of southern Democrats to push through a pro-business agenda. The Republican congress gave millions of acres and dollars to railroad companies. Republicans became the party of business, and they dominated American politics throughout the Gilded Age and the first several decades of the twentieth century. Of the sixteen presidential elections between the Civil War and the Great Depression, Republican candidates won all but four. Republicans controlled the Senate in twenty-seven out of thirty-two sessions in the same period. Republican dominance maintained a high protective tariff, an import tax designed to shield American businesses from foreign competition, a policy Southern planters had vehemently opposed before the war but now could do nothing to prevent. It provided the protective foundation for a new American industrial order, while Spencer's social Darwinism provided moral justification for national policies that minimized government interference in the economy for anything other than the protection and support of business.

The Labor Movement

The ideas of social Darwinism attracted little support among the mass of American industrial laborers. American workers toiled in difficult jobs for long hours and little pay. Mechanization and mass production threw skilled laborers into unskilled positions. Industrial work ebbed and flowed with the economy. The typical industrial laborer could expect to be unemployed one month out of the year. They labored sixty hours a week and could still expect their annual income to fall below the poverty line. Among the working poor,

14 *William Graham Sumner, Earth-Hunger, and Other Essays, Edited by Albert Galloway Keller, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1913), 234.*

wives and children were forced into the labor market to compensate. Crowded cities, meanwhile, failed to accommodate growing urban populations and skyrocketing rents trapped families in crowded slums.

Strikes ruptured American industry throughout the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Workers seeking higher wages, shorter hours, and safer working conditions had struck throughout the antebellum era, but organized unions were fleeting and transitory. The Civil War and Reconstruction seemed to briefly distract the nation from the plight of labor, but the end of the sectional crisis and the explosive growth of big business, unprecedented fortunes, and a vast industrial workforce in the last quarter of the nineteenth century sparked the rise of a vast American labor movement.

The failure of the Great Railroad Strike of 1877 convinced workers of the need to organize. Union memberships began to climb. The Knights of Labor enjoyed considerable success in the early 1880s, due in part to its efforts to unite skilled and unskilled workers. It welcomed all laborers, including women (the Knights only barred lawyers, bankers, and liquor dealers). By 1886, the Knights had over 700,000 members. The Knights envisioned a cooperative producer-centered society that rewarded labor, not capital, but, despite their sweeping vision, the Knights focused on practical gains that could be won through the organization of workers into local unions.[15]

In Marshall, Texas, in the spring of 1886, one of Jay Gould's rail companies fired a Knights of Labor member for attending a union meeting. His local union walked off the job and soon others joined. From Texas and Arkansas into Missouri, Kansas, and Illinois, nearly 200,000 workers struck against Gould's rail lines. Gould hired strikebreakers and the Pinkerton Detective Agency, a kind of private security contractor, to suppress the strikes and get the rails moving again. Political leaders helped him and state militias were called in support of Gould's companies. The Texas governor called out the Texas Rangers. Workers countered by destroying property, only winning them negative headlines and for many justifying the use of strikebreakers and militiamen. The strike broke, briefly undermining the Knights of Labor, but the organization regrouped and set its eyes on a national campaign for the eight-hour day.[16]

In the summer 1886 the campaign for an eight-hour day, long a rallying cry that united American laborers, culminated in a national strike on May 1, 1886. Somewhere between 300,000 and 500,000 workers struck across the country.

In Chicago, police forces killed several workers while breaking up protestors at the McCormick reaper works. Labor leaders and radicals called for a protest at Haymarket Square the following day, which police also proceeded to break up. But as they did, a bomb exploded and killed seven policemen. Police fired into the crowd, killing four. The deaths of the Chicago policemen sparked outrage across

15 *Leon Fink, Workingmen's Democracy: The Knights of Labor and American Politics (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983).*

16 *Ruth A. Allen, The Great Southwest Strike (Austin: University of Texas, 1942).*

the nation and the sensationalization of the "Haymarket Riot" helped many Americans to associate unionism with radicalism. Eight Chicago anarchists were arrested and, despite no direct evidence implicating them in the bombing, charged and found guilty of conspiracy. Four were hanged (and one committed suicide before he could be). Membership in the Knights had peaked earlier that year, but fell rapidly after Haymarket: the group became associated with violence and radicalism. The national movement for an eight-hour day collapsed.[17]

The American Federation of Labor (AFL) emerged as a conservative alternative to the vision of the Knights of Labor. An alliance of craft unions (unions composed of skilled workers), the AFL rejected the Knights' expansive vision of a "producerist" economy and advocated "pure and simple trade unionism," a program that aimed for practical gains (higher wages, fewer hours, and safer conditions) through a conservative approach that tried to avoid strikes. But workers continued to strike.

In 1892, the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers struck at one of Carnegie's steel mills in Homestead, Pennsylvania. After repeated wage cuts, workers shut the plant down and occupied the mill. The plant's operator, Henry Clay Frick, immediately called in hundreds of Pinkerton detectives but the steel workers fought back. The Pinkertons tried to land by river and were besieged by the striking steel workers. After several hours of pitched battle, the Pinkertons surrendered, ran a bloody gauntlet of workers, and were kicked out of the mill grounds. But the Pennsylvania governor called the state militia, broke the strike, and reopened the mill. The union was essentially destroyed in the aftermath.[18]

Still, despite repeated failure, strikes continued to roll across the industrial landscape. In 1894, workers in George Pullman's "Pullman Car" factories struck when he cut wages by a quarter but kept rents and utilities in his company town constant. The American Railway Union (ARU), led by Eugene Debs, launched a sympathy strike: the ARU would refuse to handle any Pullman cars on any rail line anywhere in the country. Thousands of workers struck and national railroad traffic ground to a halt. Unlike nearly every other major strike, the governor of Illinois sympathized with workers and refused to dispatch the state militia. It didn't matter. In July, President Grover Cleveland dispatched thousands of American soldiers to break the strike and a federal court had issued a preemptive injunction against Debs and the union's leadership. The strike violated the injunction, and Debs was arrested and imprisoned. The strike evaporated without its leadership. Jail radicalized Debs, proving to him that political and judicial leaders were merely tools for capital in its struggle against labor.[19]

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17 *James R. Green, Death in the Haymarket: A Story of Chicago, the First Labor Movement and the Bombing that Divided Gilded Age America. New York: Pantheon Books, 2006).*

18 *Paul Krause, The Battle for Homestead, 1890-1892: Politics, Culture, and Steel (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992).*

19 *Almont Lindsey, The Pullman Strike: The Story of a Unique Experiment and of a Great Labor Upheaval (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943).*

The degrading conditions of industrial labor sparked strikes across the country. The final two decades of the nineteenth century saw over 20,000 strikes and lockouts in the United States. Industrial laborers struggled to carve for themselves a piece of the prosperity lifting investors and a rapidly expanding middle class into unprecedented standards of living.

NAME _____

COURSE _____

TIME _____

WORKSHEET | Questions

Introduction

1. What was the Great Railroad Strike of 1877?

2. How was it suppressed?

3. What were its consequences?

The March of Capital

1. Why did workers begin to strike?

2. What were some of the major changes to American industry and business practices following the Civil War?

3. What is "Taylorism"?

NAME _____

COURSE _____

TIME _____

WORKSHEET | Questions

4. What was the "visible hand" and what was its function?

5. Why was competition viewed as a threat to investors/industrialists?

6. Describe the elimination of competition that took place at the end of the 19th century.

The Rise of Inequality

1. What are some examples of the ways in which the period saw a rise in inequality?

2. What role did a mindset of "survival of the fittest" play in this period?

3. What were some other responses to the growing inequality?

NAME _____

COURSE _____

TIME _____

WORKSHEET | Questions

4. How did politics help to shape the industrial/economic landscape?

The Labor Movement

1. How were laborers affected by the system in place in the Gilded Age?

2. What was the Knights of Labor? What were some if its early actions?

3. What happened at Haymarket Square?

4. How was the new American Federation of Labor different from the Knights of Labor?

5. What was the role of state and federal government in the conflicts between businesses and striking workers. Why do you think they would usually take the side of the corporations?



LESSON 6.1.4 | READ | The Crime of Poverty

PURPOSE

In 1885, newspaper editor Henry George gave the attached speech to an audience in an opera house in Burlington, Iowa. This speech reflects George's major criticisms with the economic system employed in the United States during the Gilded Age. George's positions reflect a rejection of the notion of Social Darwinism and an accusation that poverty is a crime of the society within which that poverty exists. In his explanation, George calls attention to the contradictions bread by the industrial capitalism of the age, namely that, despite their work, the "working class" became synonymous with the impoverished class.

PROCESS

Make the attached document on the nature of poverty during the Gilded Age available to students. Students should read actively by marking up the text and taking notes. They should then be sure to answer the following questions as they read the document:

- What is the argument the speaker is making?
- Which portions of the text did you find most effective at conveying the author's point?
- Which portions of the speaker's argument did you find to be less convincing and why?
- What does this document tell us about the nature of poverty during the Gilded Age? Do you find any of this relevant today? Why or why not?

ATTACHMENT

- The Crime of Poverty

READING | The Crime of Poverty —Henry George

April 1, 1885
speech delivered in Burlington, Iowa

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I propose to talk to you to-night of the Crime of Poverty. I cannot, in a short time, hope to convince you of much; but the thing of things I should like to show you is that poverty is a crime. I do not mean that it is a crime to be poor. Murder is a crime; but it is not a crime to be murdered; and a man who is in poverty, I look upon, not as a criminal in himself, so much as the victim of a crime for which others, as well perhaps as himself, are responsible. That poverty is a curse, the bitterest of curses, we all know. Carlyle was right when he said that the hell of which Englishmen are most afraid is the hell of poverty; and this is true, not of Englishmen alone, but of people all over the civilised world, no matter what their nationality. It is to escape this hell that we strive and strain and struggle; and work on oftentimes in blind habit long after the necessity for work is gone.

The curse born of poverty is not confined to the poor alone; it runs through all classes, even to the very rich. They, too, suffer; they must suffer; for there cannot be suffering in a community from which any class can totally escape. The vice, the crime, the ignorance, the meanness born of poverty, poison, so to speak, the very air which rich and poor alike must breathe.

Poverty is the mother of ignorance, the breeder of crime. I walked down one of your streets this morning, and I saw three men going along with their hands chained together. I knew for certain that those men were not rich men; and, although I do not know the offence for which they were carried in chains through your streets, this I think I can safely say, that, if you trace it up you will find it in some way to spring from poverty. Nine tenths of human misery, I think you will find, if you look, to be due to poverty. If a man chooses to be poor, he commits no crime in being poor, provided his poverty hurts no one but himself. If a man has others dependent upon him; if there are a wife and children whom it is his duty to support, then, if he voluntarily chooses poverty, it is a crime—aye, and I think that, in most cases, the men who have no one to support but themselves are men that are shirking their duty. A woman comes into the world for every man; and for every man who lives a single life, caring only for himself, there is some woman who is deprived of her natural supporter. But while a man who chooses to be poor cannot be charged with crime, it is certainly a crime to force poverty on others. And it seems to me clear that the great majority of those who suffer from poverty are poor not from their own particular faults, but because of conditions imposed by society at large. Therefore I hold that poverty is a crime—not an individual crime, but a social crime, a crime for which we all, poor as well as rich, are responsible. . . .

I hold, and I think no one who looks at the facts can fail to see, that poverty is utterly unnecessary. It is

not by the decree of the Almighty, but it is because of our own injustice, our own selfishness, our own ignorance, that this scourge, worse than any pestilence, ravages our civilisation, bringing want and suffering and degradation, destroying souls as well as bodies. Look over the world, in this heyday of nineteenth century civilisation. In every civilised country under the sun you will find men and women whose condition is worse than that of the savage: men and women and little children with whom the veriest savage could not afford to exchange. Even in this new city of yours with virgin soil around you, you have had this winter to institute a relief society. Your roads have been filled with tramps, fifteen, I am told, at one time taking shelter in a round-house here. As here, so everywhere; and poverty is deepest where wealth most abounds.

What more unnatural than this? There is nothing in nature like this poverty which to-day curses us. We see rapine in nature; we see one species destroying another; but as a general thing animals do not feed on their own kind; and, wherever we see one kind enjoying plenty, all creatures of that kind share it. No man, I think, ever saw a herd of buffalo, of which a few were fat and the great majority lean. No man ever saw a flock of birds, of which two or three were swimming in grease and the others all skin and bone. Nor in savage life is there anything like the poverty that festers in our civilisation.

In a rude state of society there are seasons of want, seasons when people starve; but they are seasons when the earth has refused to yield her increase, when the rain has not fallen from the heavens, or when the land has been swept by some foe—not when there is plenty. And yet the peculiar characteristic of this modern poverty of ours is that it is deepest where wealth most abounds.

Why, to-day, while over the civilised world there is so much distress, so much want, what is the cry that goes up? What is the current explanation of the hard times? Overproduction! There are so many clothes that men must go ragged, so much coal that in the bitter winters people have to shiver, such over-filled granaries that people actually die by starvation! Want due to over-production! Was a greater absurdity ever uttered? How can there be over-production till all have enough? It is not over-production; it is unjust distribution.

Poverty necessary! Why, think of the enormous powers that are latent in the human brain! Think how invention enables us to do with the power of one man what not long ago could not be done by the power of a thousand. Think that in England alone the steam machinery in operation is said to exert a productive force greater than the physical force of the population of the world, were they all adults. And yet we have only begun to invent and discover. We have not yet utilised all that has already been invented and discovered. And look at the powers of the earth. They have hardly been touched. In every direction as we look new resources seem to open. Man's ability to produce wealth seems almost infinite—we can set no bounds to it. Look at the power that is flowing by your city in the current of the Mississippi that might be set at work for you. So in every direction energy that we might utilise goes to waste; resources that we might draw upon are untouched. Yet men are delving and straining

to satisfy mere animal wants; women are working, working, working their lives away, and too frequently turning in despair from that hard struggle to cast away all that makes the charm of woman.

If the animals can reason what must they think of us? Look at one of those great ocean steamers ploughing her way across the Atlantic, against wind, against wave, absolutely setting at defiance the utmost power of the elements. If the gulls that hover over her were thinking beings could they imagine that the animal that could create such a structure as that could actually want for enough to eat? Yet, so it is. How many even of those of us who find life easiest are there who really live a rational life? Think of it, you who believe that there is only one life for man—what a fool at the very best is a man to pass his life in this struggle to merely live? And you who believe, as I believe, that this is not the last of man, that this is a life that opens but another life, think how nine tenths, aye, I do not know but ninety-nine-hundredths of all our vital powers are spent in a mere effort to get a living; or to heap together that which we cannot by any possibility take away. Take the life of the average workingman. Is that the life for which the human brain was intended and the human heart was made? Look at the factories scattered through our country. They are little better than penitentiaries.

I read in the New York papers a while ago that the girls at the Yonkers factories had struck. The papers said that the girls did not seem to know why they had struck, and intimated that it must be just for the fun of striking. Then came out the girls' side of the story and it appeared that they had struck against the rules in force. They were fined if they spoke to one another, and they were fined still more heavily if they laughed. There was a heavy fine for being a minute late. I visited a lady in Philadelphia who had been a forewoman in various factories, and I asked her, Is it possible that such rules are enforced? She said it was so in Philadelphia. There is a fine for speaking to your next neighbour, a fine for laughing; and she told me that the girls in one place where she was employed were fined ten cents a minute for being late, though many of them had to come for miles in winter storms. She told me of one poor girl who really worked hard one week and made $3.50; but the fines against her were $5.25. That seems ridiculous; it is ridiculous, but it is pathetic and it is shameful.

But take the cases of those even who are comparatively independent and well off. Here is a man working hour after hour, day after day, week after week, in doing one thing over and over again, and for what? Just to live! He is working ten hours a day in order that he may sleep eight and may have two or three hours for himself when he is tired out and all his faculties are exhausted. That is not a reasonable life; that is not a life for a being possessed of the powers that are in man, and I think every man must have felt it for himself. I know that when I first went to my trade I thought to myself that it was incredible that a man was created to work all day long just to live. I used to read the Scientific American, and as invention after invention was heralded in that paper I used to think to myself that when I became a man it would not be necessary to work so hard. But on the contrary, the struggle for existence has become more and

more intense. People who want to prove the contrary get up masses of statistics to show that the condition of the working classes is improving. Improvement that you have to take a statistical microscope to discover does not amount to anything. But there is not improvement.

Improvement! Why, according to the last report of the Michigan Bureau of Labour Statistics, as I read yesterday in a Detroit paper, taking all the trades, including some of the very high priced ones, where the wages are from $6 to $7 a day, the average earnings amount to $1.77, and, taking out waste time, to $1.40. Now, when you consider how a man can live and bring up a family on $1.40 a day, even in Michigan, I do not think you will conclude that the condition of the working classes can have very much improved.

Here is a broad general fact that is asserted by all who have investigated the question, by such men as Hallam, the historian, and Professor Thorold Rogers, who has made a study of the history of prices as they were five centuries ago. When all the productive arts were in the most primitive state, when the most prolific of our modern vegetables had not been introduced, when the breeds of cattle were small and poor, when there were hardly any roads and transportation was exceedingly difficult, when all manufacturing was done by hand—in that rude time the condition of the labourers of England was far better than it is to-day. In those rude times no man need fear want save when actual famine came, and owing to the difficulties of transportation the plenty of one district could not relieve the scarcity of another. Save in such times, no man need fear want. Pauperism, such as exists in modern times, was absolutely unknown. Everyone, save the physically disabled, could make a living, and the poorest lived in rude plenty. But perhaps the most astonishing fact brought to light by this investigation is that at that time, under those conditions in those dark ages, as we call them, the working day was only eight hours. While with all our modern inventions and improvements, our working classes have been agitating and struggling in vain to get the working day reduced to eight hours. . . .

I say that all this poverty and the ignorance that flows from it is unnecessary; I say that there is no natural reason why we should not all be rich, in the sense, not of having more than each other, but in the sense of all having enough to completely satisfy all physical wants; of all having enough to get such an easy living that we could develop the better part of humanity. There is no reason why wealth should not be so abundant, that no one should think of such a thing as little children at work, or a woman compelled to a toil that nature never intended her to perform; wealth so abundant that there would be no cause for that harassing fear that sometimes paralyses even those who are not considered the poor, the fear that every man of us has probably felt, that if sickness should smite him, or if he should be taken away, those whom he loves better than his life would become charges upon charity. Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin. I believe that in a really Christian community, in a society that honoured not with the lips but with the act, the

doctrines of Jesus, no one would have occasion to worry about physical needs any more than do the lilies of the field. There is enough and to spare. The trouble is that, in this mad struggle, we trample in the mire what has been provided in sufficiency for us all; trample it in the mire while we tear and rend each other.

There is a cause for this poverty; and, if you trace it down, you will find its root in a primary injustice. Look over the world to-day—poverty everywhere. The cause must be a common one. You cannot attribute it to the tariff, or to the form of government, or to this thing or to that in which nations differ; because, as deep poverty is common to them all the cause that produces it must be a common cause. What is that common cause? There is one sufficient cause that is common to all nations; and that is the appropriation as the property of some of that natural element on which and from which all must live.

Take that fact I have spoken of, that appalling fact that, even now, it is harder to live than it was in the ages dark and rude five centuries ago—how do you explain it? There is no difficulty in finding the cause. Whoever reads the history of England, or the history of any other civilised nation (but I speak of the history of England because that is the history with which we are best acquainted) will see the reason. For century after century a parliament composed of aristocrats and employers passed laws endeavouring to reduce wages, but in vain. Men could not be crowded down to wages that gave a mere living because the bounty of nature was not wholly shut up from them; because some remains of the recognition of the truth that all men have equal rights on the earth still existed; because the land of that country, that which was held in private possession, was only held on a tenure derived from the nation, and for a rent payable back to the nation. The church lands supported the expenses of public worship, of the maintenance of seminaries and the care of the poor; the crown lands defrayed the expenses of the civil list; and from a third portion of the lands, those held under the military tenures, the army was provided for. There was no national debt in England at that time. They carried on wars for hundreds of years, but at the charge of the landowners. And more important still, there remained everywhere, and you can see in every old English town their traces to this day, the common lands to which any of the neighbourhood was free. It was as those lands were enclosed; it was as the commons were gradually monopolised, as the church lands were made the prey of greedy courtiers, as the crown lands were given away as absolute property to the favourites of the king, as the military tenants shirked their rents and laid the expenses they had agreed to defray, upon the nation, in taxation that bore upon industry and upon thrift—it was then that poverty began to deepen, and the tramp appeared in England; just as to-day he is appearing in our new States….

Did you ever think of the utter absurdity and strangeness of the fact that, all over the civilised world, the working classes are the poor classes? Go into any city in the world, and get into a cab and ask the man to drive you where the working people live. He won't take you to where the fine houses are. He will take you, on the contrary, into the squalid quarters, the poorer quarters. Did you ever think how

curious that is? Think for a moment how it would strike a rational being who had never been on the earth before, if such an intelligence could come down, and you were to explain to him how we live on earth, how houses and food and clothing, and all the many things we need were all produced by work, would he not think that the working people would be the people who lived in the finest houses and had most of everything that work produces? Yet, whether you took him to London or Paris or New York, or even to Burlington, he would find that those called the working people were the people who live in the poorest houses.

All this is strange—just think of it. We naturally despise poverty; and it is reasonable that we should. I do not say—I distinctly repudiate it—that the people who are poor are poor always from their own fault, or even in most cases; but it ought to be so. If any good man or woman could create a world, it would be a sort of a world in which no one would be poor unless he was lazy or vicious. But that is just precisely the kind of a world this is; that is just precisely the kind of a world the Creator has made. Nature gives to labour, and to labour alone; there must be human work before any article of wealth can be produced; and in the natural state of things the man who toiled honestly and well would be the rich man, and he who did not work would be poor. We have so reversed the order of nature that we are accustomed to think of the workingman as a poor man. . . .

We talk about over-production. How can there be such a thing as over-production while people want? All these things that are said to be over-produced are desired by many people. Why do they not get them? They do not get them because they have not the means to buy them; not that they do not want them. Why have not they the means to buy them? They earn too little. When the great masses of men have to work for an average of $1.40 a day, it is no wonder that great quantities of goods cannot be sold.

Now why is it that men have to work for such low wages? Because if they were to demand higher wages there are plenty of unemployed men ready to step into their places. It is this mass of unemployed men who compel that fierce competition that drives wages down to the point of bare subsistence. Why is it that there are men who cannot get employment? Did you ever think what a strange thing it is that men cannot find employment? Adam had no difficulty in finding employment; neither had Robinson Crusoe; the finding of employment was the last thing that troubled them.

If men cannot find an employer, why cannot they employ themselves? Simply because they are shut out from the element on which human labour can alone be exerted. Men are compelled to compete with each other for the wages of an employer, because they have been robbed of the natural opportunities of employing themselves; because they cannot find a piece of God's world on which to work without paving some other human creature for the privilege. . . .

I cannot go over all the points I would like to try, but I wish to call your attention to the utter absurdity

of private property in land! Why, consider it, the idea of a man's selling the earth—the earth, our common mother. A man selling that which no man produced—a man passing title from one generation to another. Why, it is the most absurd thing in the world. Why, did you ever think of it? What right has a dead man to land? For whom was this earth created? It was created for the living, certainly, not for the dead. Well, now we treat it as though it was created for the dead. Where do our land titles come from? They come from men who for the most part are past and gone. Here in this new country you get a little nearer the original source; but go to the Eastern States and go back over the Atlantic. There you may clearly see the power that comes from landownership….

Poverty! Can there be any doubt of its cause? Go, into the old countries—go into western Ireland, into the highlands of Scotland—these are purely primitive communities. There you will find people as poor as poor can be—living year after year on oatmeal or on potatoes, and often going hungry. I could tell you many a pathetic story. Speaking to a Scottish physician who was telling me how this diet was inducing among these people a disease similar to that which from the same cause is ravaging Italy (the Pellagra), I said to him: There is plenty of fish; why don't they catch fish? There is plenty of game; I know the laws are against it, but cannot they take it on the sly? That, he said, never enters their heads. Why, if a man was even suspected of having a taste for trout or grouse he would have to leave at once.

There is no difficulty in discovering what makes those people poor. They have no right to anything that nature gives them. All they can make above a living they must pay to the landlord. They not only have to pay for the land that they use, but they have to pay for the seaweed that comes ashore and for the turf they dig from the bogs. They dare not improve, for any improvements they make are made an excuse for putting up the rent. These people who work hard live in hovels, and the landlords, who do not work at all—oh! they live in luxury in London or Paris. If they have hunting boxes there, why they are magnificent castles as compared with the hovels in which the men live who do the work. Is there any question as to the cause of poverty there?

Now go into the cities and what do you see! Why, you see even a lower depth of poverty; aye, if I would point out the worst of the evils of land monopoly I would not take you to Connemara; I would not take you to Skye or Kintire— I would take you to Dublin or Glasgow or London. There is something worse than physical deprivation, something worse than starvation; and that is the degradation of the mind, the death of the soul. That is what you will find in those cities.

Now, what is the cause of that? Why, it is plainly to be seen; the people driven off the land in the country are driven into the slums of the cities. For every man that is driven off the land the demand for the produce of the workmen of the cities is lessened; and the man himself with his wife and children, is forced among those workmen to compete upon any terms for a bare living and force wages down.

Get work he must or starve—get work he must or do that which those people, so long as they maintain their manly feelings, dread more than death, go to the alms-houses. That is the reason, here as in Great Britain, that the cities are overcrowded. Open the land that is locked up, that is held by dogs in the manger, who will not use it themselves and will not allow anybody else to use it, and you would see no more of tramps and hear no more of over-production. ...

What is the reason for this overcrowding of cities? There is no natural reason. Take New York, one half its area is not built upon. Why, then, must people crowd together as they do there? Simply because of private ownership of land. There is plenty of room to build houses and plenty, of people who want to build houses, but before anybody can build a house a blackmail price must be paid to some dog in the manger. It costs in many cases more to get vacant ground upon which to build a house than it does to build the house. And then what happens to the man who pays this blackmail and builds a house? Down comes the tax-gatherer and fines him for building the house.

It is so all over the United States—the men who improve, the men who turn the prairie into farms and the desert into gardens, the men who beautify your cities, are taxed and fined for having done these things. Now, nothing is clearer than that the people of New York want more houses; and I think that even here in Burlington you could get along with more houses. Why, then, should you fine a man who builds one? Look all over this country—the bulk of the taxation rests upon the improver; the man who puts up a building, or establishes a factory, or cultivates a farm he is taxed for it; and not merely taxed for it, but I think in nine cases out of ten the land which he uses, the bare land, is taxed more than the adjoining lot or the adjoining 160 acres that some speculator is holding as a mere dog in the manger, not using it himself and not allowing anybody else to use it.

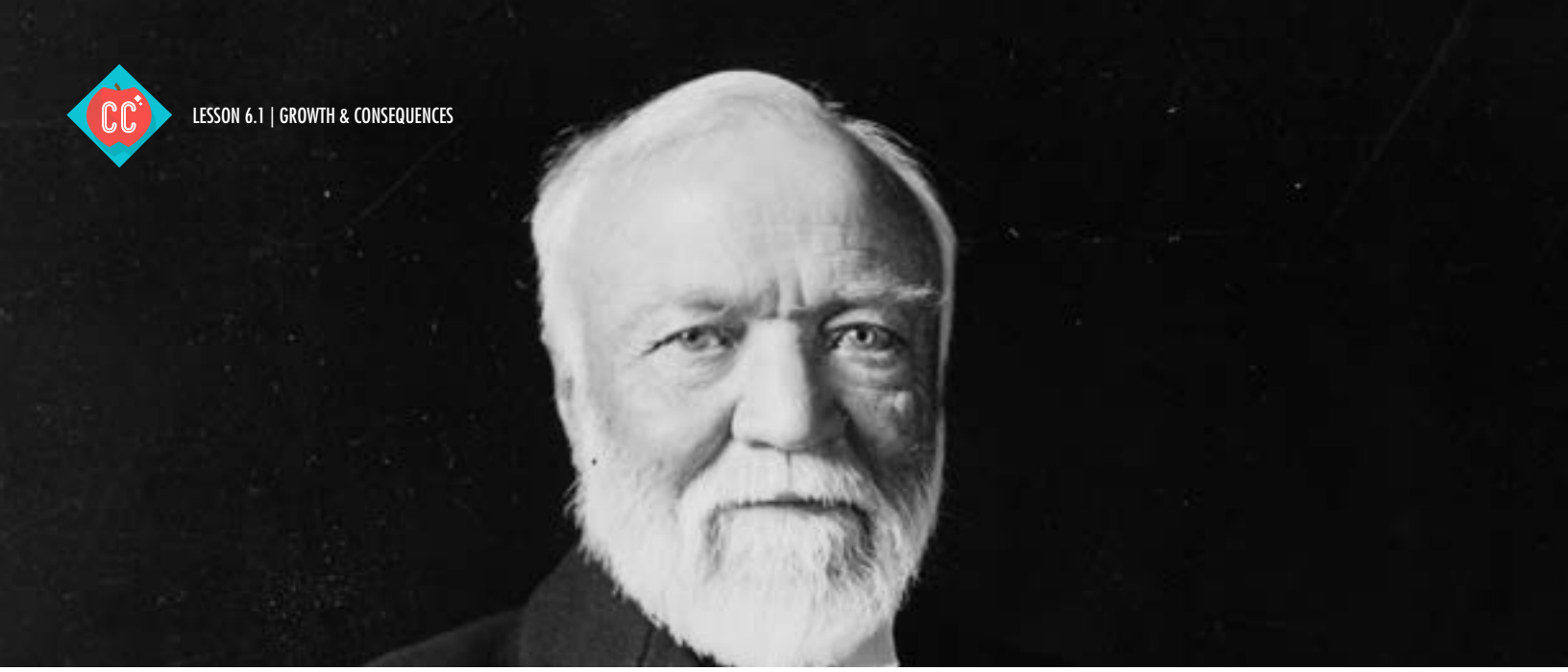
Now, supposing we should abolish all other taxes direct and indirect, substituting for them a tax upon land values, what would be the effect? In the first place it would be to kill speculative values. It would be to remove from the newer parts of the country the bulk of the taxation and put it on the richer parts. It would be to exempt the pioneer from taxation and make the larger cities pay more of it. It would be to relieve energy and enterprise, capital and labour, from all those burdens that now bear upon them. What a start that would give to production! In the second place we could, from the value of the land, not merely pay all the present expenses of the government, but we could do infinitely more. In the city of San Francisco James Lick left a few blocks of ground to be used for public purposes there, and the rent amounts to so much, that out of it will be built the largest telescope in the world, large public baths and other public buildings, and various costly works. If, instead of these few blocks, the whole value of the land upon which the city is built had accrued to San Francisco what could she not do? ....

But I have not time to enter into further details. I can only ask you to think upon this thing, and the more you will see its desirability. As an English friend of mine puts it: No taxes and a pension for

everybody; and why should it not be? To take land values for public purposes is not really to impose a tax, but to take for public purposes a value created by the community. And out of the fund which would thus accrue from the common property, we might, without degradation to anybody, provide enough to actually secure from want all who were deprived of their natural protectors or met with accident, or any man who should grow so old that he could not work. All prating that is heard from some quarters about its hurting the common people to give them what they do not work for is humbug. The truth is, that anything that injures self-respect, degrades, does harm; but if you give it as a right, as something to which every citizen is entitled to, it does not degrade. Charity schools do degrade children that are sent to them, but public schools do not.

But all such benefits as these, while great, would be incidental. The great thing would be that the reform I propose would tend to open opportunities to labour and enable men to provide employment for themselves. That is the great advantage. We should gain the enormous productive power that is going to waste all over the country, the power of idle hands that would gladly be at work. And that removed, then you would see wages begin to mount. It is not that everyone would turn farmer, or everyone would build himself a house if he had an opportunity for doing so, but so many could and would, as to relieve the pressure on the labour market and provide employment for all others. And as wages mounted to the higher levels, then you would see the productive power increased. The country where wages are high is the country of greatest productive powers. Where wages are highest, there will invention be most active; there will labour be most intelligent; there will be the greatest yield for the expenditure of exertion. The more you think of it the more clearly you will see that what I say is true. I cannot hope to convince you in an hour or two, but I shall be content if I shall put you upon inquiry.

Think for yourselves; ask yourselves whether this wide-spread fact of poverty is not a crime, and a crime for which every one of us, man and woman, who does not do what he or she can do to call attention to it and do away with it, is responsible.



LESSON 6.1.5 | READ | Andrew Carnegie and The Gospel of Wealth

PURPOSE

In this article, excerpted by The American Yawp Primary Source Reader, industrialist Andrew Carnegie recounts his vision for the role of wealth and the wealthy within society.

PROCESS

Make the attached document available to students. Students should read actively by marking up the text and taking notes. They should then be sure to answer the following questions:

- According to Carnegie, what is the role of wealth and the wealthy in society?
- Do you agree with Carnegie's assessments? Are they practical? Why or why not?

ATTACHMENT

- The Gospel of Wealth – Andrew Carnegie

READING | Andrew Carnegie's Gospel of Wealth — June 1889

Andrew Carnegie, the American steel titan, explains his vision for the proper role of wealth in American society.

[1]

The problem of our age is the administration of wealth, so that the ties of brotherhood may still bind together the rich and poor in harmonious relationship. The conditions of human life have not only been changed, but revolutionized, within the past few hundred years. In former days there was little difference between the dwelling, dress, food, and environment of the chief and those of his retainers. . .

The contrast between the palace of the millionaire and the cottage of the laborer with us today measures the change which has come with civilization.

This change, however, is not to be deplored, but welcomed as highly beneficial. It is well, nay, essential for the progress of the race, that the houses of some should be homes for all that is highest and best in literature and the arts, and for all the refinements of civilization, rather than that none should be so. Much better this great irregularity than universal squalor. Without wealth there can be no Maecenas. The "good old times" were not good old times. Neither master nor servant was as well situated then as to day. A relapse to old conditions would be disastrous to both-not the least so to him who serves-and would sweep away civilization with it. . . .

. . .

The price which society pays for the law of competition, like the price it pays for cheap comforts and luxuries, is also great; but the advantages of this law are also greater still, for it is to this law that we owe our wonderful material development, which brings improved conditions in its train. But, whether the law be benign or not, we must say of it, as we say of the change in the conditions of men to which we have referred: It is here; we cannot evade it; no substitutes for it have been found; and while the law may be sometimes hard for the individual, it is best for the race, because it insures the survival of the fittest in every department. We accept and welcome, therefore, as conditions to which we must accommodate ourselves, great inequality of environment, the concentration of business, industrial and commercial, in the hands of a few, and the law of competition between these, as being not only beneficial, but essential for the future progress of the race. . . .

. . .

This, then, is held to be the duty of the man of Wealth: . . . becoming the mere agent and trustee for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience, and ability to administer, doing for them better than they would or could do for themselves.

. . .

The laws of accumulation should be left free; the laws of distribution free. Individualism will continue.

1 *Source from The American Yawp Primary Source Reader: (http://www.americanyawp.com/reader/16-capital-and-labor/andrew-carnegies-gospel-of-wealth-june-1889/)*

But the millionaire will be but a trustee for the poor; entrusted for a season with a part of the increased wealth of the community, but administering it for the community far better than it did, or would have done, of itself. The best in minds will thus have reached a stage in the development of the race in which it is clearly seen that there is no mode of disposing of surplus wealth creditable to thoughtful and earnest men into whose hands it flows save by using it year-by-year for the general good. This day already dawns.

Source

Andrew Carnegie, "Wealth," North American Review 148 (June, 1889), 653–665.



LESSON 6.1.6 | READ | Haymarket Affair – Address of August Spies

PURPOSE

This excerpt is from the testimony of August Spies regarding his conviction for conspiracy to commit murder in the Haymarket Affair of 1886. Spies, an anarchist, was accused with seven other men of being responsible for the deaths of seven police officers when a bomb exploded in Haymarket Square in Chicago. Spies and three others were eventually executed. In this piece, Spies lays out the case for anarchism and accuses the State itself of being the truly guilty party. Through this piece, students will learn about the motivations for the anti-capitalist movements in the Gilded Age and see another example of the ways in which Americans were responding to the consequences of the growth of the industrial economy during the period.

PROCESS

Make the attached document on the Haymarket Affair available to students. Students should read actively by marking up the text and taking notes. They should then be sure to answer the questions at the end of the document.

ATTACHMENT

- Haymarket Affair – Address of August Spies

READING | Haymarket Affair — Address of August Spies

Toward the end of a gathering at Haymarket Square in Chicago on May 4, 1886, a bomb exploded. The bomb killed seven and wounded over sixty of the 180 police officers sent in to disperse the crowd that had gathered in that spot to protest of the murder of four workers by police the previous day. August Spies (pronounced "Spees") was an Anarchist and one of eight men charged with conspiracy to commit murder for that incident. Below is Spies's testimony to the court during his sentencing. Eventually, Spies and three other men were executed for their alleged involvement in the Haymarket Affair.

YOUR HONOR: In addressing this court I speak as the representative of one class to the representative of another. I will begin with the words uttered five hundred years ago on a similar occasion, by the Venetian Doge Faheri, who, addressing the court, said: "My defense is your accusation; the causes of my alleged crime your history!" I have been indicted on a charge of murder, as an accomplice or accessory. Upon this indictment I have been convicted. There was no evidence produced by the State to show or even indicate that I had any knowledge of the man who threw the bomb, or that I myself had anything to do with the throwing of the missile, unless, of course, you weigh the testimony of the accomplices of the State's attorney and Bonfield, the testimony of Thompson and Gilmer, by the price they were paid for it. If there was no evidence to show that I was legally responsible for the deed, then my conviction and the execution of the sentence is nothing less than willful, malicious, and deliberate murder, as foul a murder as may be found in the annals of religious, political, or any other sort of persecution. There have been many judicial murders committed where the representatives of the State were acting in good faith, believing their victims to be guilty of the charge accused of. In this case the representatives of the State cannot shield themselves with a similar excuse. For they themselves have fabricated most of the testimony which was used as a pretense to convict us; to convict us by a jury picked out to convict! Before this court, and before the public, which is supposed to be the State, I charge the State's attorney and Bonfield with the heinous conspiracy to commit murder. . . .

The contemplated murder of eight men, whose only crime is that they have dared to speak the truth, may open the eyes of these suffering millions; may wake them up. Indeed, I have noticed that our conviction has worked miracles in this direction already. The class that clamors for our lives, the good, devout Christians, have attempted in every way, through their newspapers and otherwise, to conceal the true and only issue in this case. By simply designating the defendants as Anarchists, and picturing them as a newly discovered tribe or species of cannibals, and by inventing shocking and horrifying stories of dark conspiracies said to be planned by them—these good Christians zealously sought to keep the naked fact from the working people and other righteous parties, namely: That on the evening of May 4, two hundred armed men, under the command of a notorious ruffian, attacked a meeting of peaceable citizens! With what intention? With the intention of murdering them, or as many of them as

they could. I refer to the testimony given by two of our witnesses. The wage workers of this city began to object to being fleeced too much—they began to say some very true things, but they were highly disagreeable to our Patrician class; they put forth—well, some very modest demands. They thought eight hours hard toil a day for scarcely two hours' pay was enough. This "lawless rabble" had to be silenced! The only way to silence them was to frighten them, and murder those whom they looked up to as their leaders. Yes, these "foreign dogs" had to be taught a lesson, so that they might never again interfere with the high-handed exploitation of their benevolent and Christian masters. Bonfield, the man who would bring a blush of shame to the managers of the St. Bartholomew night—Bonfield, the illustrious gentleman with a visage that would have done excellent service to Dore in portraying Dante's fiends of hell—Bonfield was the man best fitted to consummate the conspiracy of the Citizens' Association, of our Patricians. If I had thrown that bomb, or had caused it to be thrown, or had known of it, I would not hesitate a moment to say so. It is true that a number of lives were lost—many were wounded. But hundreds of lives were thereby saved! But for that bomb, there would have been a hundred widows and hundreds of orphans where now there are a few. These facts have been carefully suppressed, and we were accused and convicted of conspiracy by the real conspirators and their agents. This, your honor, is one reason why sentence should not be passed by a court of justice—if that name has any significance at all.

Grinnell's main argument against the defendants was—"They were foreigners; they were not citizens." I cannot speak for the others. I will only speak for myself. I have been a resident of this State fully as long as Grinnell, and probably have been as good a citizen—at least, I should not wish to be compared with him. Grinnell has incessantly appealed to the patriotism of the jury. To that I reply in the language of Johnson, the English litterateur, "an appeal to patriotism is the last resort of a scoundrel."

My efforts in behalf of the disinherited and disfranchised millions, my agitation in this direction, the popularization of economic teachings—in short, the education of the wage workers, is declared "a conspiracy against society." The word "society" is here wisely substituted for "the State," as represented by the Patricians of today. It has always been the opinion of the ruling classes that the people must be kept in ignorance, for they lose their servility, their modesty and their obedience to the powers that be, as their intelligence increases. The education of a black slave a quarter of a century ago was a criminal offense. Why? Because the intelligent slave would throw off his shackles at whatever cost. Why is the education of the working people of today looked upon by a certain class as an offense against the State? For the same reason! The State, however, wisely avoided this point in the prosecution of this case. From their testimony one is forced to conclude that we had, in our speeches and publications, preached nothing else but destruction and dynamite. The court has this morning stated that there is no case in history like this. I have noticed, during this trial, that the gentlemen of the legal profession are not well versed in history. In all historical cases of this kind truth had to be perverted by the priests of the established power that was nearing its end.

What have we said in our speeches and publications? We have interpreted to the people their conditions and relations in society. We have explained to them the different social phenomena and the social laws and circumstances under which they occur. We have, by way of scientific investigation, incontrovertibly proved and brought to their knowledge that the system of wages is the root of the present social iniquities—iniquities so monstrous that they cry to heaven. We have further said that the wage system, as a specific form of social development, would, by the necessity of logic, have to give way to higher forms of civilization; that the wage system must furnish the foundation for a social system of co-operation—that is, Socialism. That whether this or that theory, this or that scheme regarding future arrangements were accepted was not a matter of choice, but one of historical necessity, and that to us the tendency of progress seemed to be Anarchism– that is, a free society without kings or classes– a society of sovereigns in which liberty and economic equality of all would furnish an unshakable equilibrium as a foundation for natural order

Grinnell has intimated to us that Anarchism was on trial. The theory of Anarchism belongs to the realm of speculative philosophy. There was not a syllable said about Anarchism at the Haymarket meeting. At that meeting the very popular theme of reducing the hours of toil was discussed. But, "Anarchism is on trial!" foams Mr. Grinnell. If that is the case, your honor, very well; you may sentence me, for I am an Anarchist. I believe with Buckle, with Paine, Jefferson, Emerson, and Spencer, and many other great thinkers of this century, that the state of castes and classes—the state where one class dominates over and lives upon the labor of another class, and calls this order—yes, I believe that this barbaric form of social organization, with its legalized plunder and murder, is doomed to die, and make room for a free society, voluntary association, or universal brotherhood, if you like. You may pronounce the sentence upon me, honorable judge, but let the world know that in A. D. 1886, in the State of Illinois, eight men were sentenced to death, because they believed in a better future; because they had not lost their faith in the ultimate victory of liberty and justice!

"You have taught the destruction of society and civilization," says the tool and agent of the Bankers' and Citizens' Association, Grinnell. That man has yet to learn what civilization is. It is the old, old argument against human progress. Read the history of Greece, of Rome; read that of Venice; look over the dark pages of the church, and follow the thorny path of science. "No change! No change! You would destroy society and civilization!" has ever been the cry of the ruling classes. They are so comfortably situated under the prevailing system that they naturally abhor and fear even the slightest change. Their privileges are as dear to them as life itself, and every change threatens these privileges. But civilization is a ladder whose steps are monuments of such changes! Without these social changes—all brought about against the will and the force of the ruling classes—there would be no civilization. As to the destruction of society which we have been accused of seeking, sounds this not like one of Aesop's fables—like the cunning of the fox? We, who have jeopardized our lives to save society from the fiend—the fiend who has grasped her by the

throat; who sucks her life-blood, who devours her children—we, who would heal her bleeding wounds, who would free her from the fetters you have wrought around her; from the misery you have brought upon her—we her enemies!! Honorable judge, the demons of hell will join in the laughter this irony provokes!

"We have preached dynamite!" Yes, we have predicted from the lessons history teaches, that the ruling classes of today would no more listen to the voice of reason than their predecessors; that they would attempt by brute force to stay the wheels of progress. Is it a lie, or was it the truth we told? Are not the large industries of this once free country already conducted under the surveillance of the police, the detectives, the military and the sheriffs—and is this return to militancy not developing from day to day? American sovereigns—think of it—working like galley convicts under military guards! We have predicted this, and predict that soon these conditions will grow unbearable. What then? The mandate of the feudal lords of our time is slavery, starvation, and death! This has been their program for years. We have said to the toilers, that science had penetrated the mystery of nature—that from Jove's head once more has sprung a Minerva—dynamite! If this declaration is synonymous with murder, why not charge those with the crime to whom we owe the invention?

To charge us with an attempt to overthrow the present system on or about May 4, by force, and then establish Anarchy, is too absurd a statement, I think, even for a political office holder to make. If Grinnell believed that we attempted such a thing, why did he not have Dr. Bluthardt make an inquiry as to our sanity? Only mad men could have planned such a brilliant scheme, and mad people cannot be indicted or convicted of murder. If there had existed anything like a conspiracy or a pre-arrangement, does your honor believe that events would not have taken a different course than they did on that evening and later? This "conspiracy" nonsense is based upon an oration I delivered on the anniversary of Washington's birthday at Grand Rapids, Mich., more than a year and a half ago. I had been invited by the Knights of Labor for that purpose. I dwelt upon the fact that our country was far from being what the great revolutionists of the last century intended it to be. I said that those men, if they lived today, would clean the Augean stables with iron brooms, and that they, too, would undoubtedly be characterized as "wild Socialists." It is not unlikely that I said Washington would have been hanged for treason if the revolution had failed. Grinnell made this "sacrilegious remark" his main arrow against me. Why? Because he intended to inveigh the know-nothing spirit against us. But who will deny the correctness of the statement? That I should have compared myself with Washington, is a base lie. But if I had, would that be murder? I may have told that individual who appeared here as a witness that the workingmen should procure arms, as force would in all probability be the ultima ratio regum; and that in Chicago there were so and so many armed, but I certainly did not say that we proposed to "inaugurate the social revolution." And let me say here: Revolutions are no more made than earthquakes and cyclones. Revolutions are the effect of certain causes and conditions. I have made social philosophy a specific study for more than

ten years, and I could not have given vent to such nonsense! I do believe, however, that the revolution is near at hand—in fact, that it is upon us. But is the physician responsible for the death of the patient because he foretold that death? If any one is to be blamed for the coming revolution it is the ruling class who steadily refuses to make concessions as reforms become necessary; who maintain that they can call a halt to progress, and dictate a standstill to the eternal forces of which they themselves are but the whimsical creation.

The position generally taken in this case is that we are morally responsible for the police riot on May 4. Four or five years ago I sat in this very court room as a witness. The workingmen had been trying to obtain redress in a lawful manner. They had voted and, among others, had elected their aldermanic candidate from the fourteenth ward. But the street car company did not like the man. And two of the three election judges of one precinct, knowing this, took the ballot box to their home and "corrected" the election returns, so as to cheat the constituents of the elected candidate of their rightful representative and give the representation to the benevolent street car monopoly. The workingmen spent $1,500 in the prosecution of the perpetrators of this crime. The proof against them was so overwhelming that they confessed to having falsified the returns and forged the official documents. Judge Gardner, who was presiding in this court, acquitted them, stating that "that act had apparently not been prompted by criminal intent." I will make no comment. But when we approach the field of moral responsibility, it has an immense scope! Every man who has in the past assisted in thwarting the efforts of those seeking reform is responsible for the existence of the revolutionists in this city today! Those, however who have sought to bring about reforms must be exempted from the responsibility—and to these I belong. . . .

It has been charged that we (the eight here) constituted a conspiracy. I would reply to that that my friend Lingg I had seen but twice at meetings of the Central Labor Union, where I went as a reporter, before I was arrested. I had never spoken to him. With Engel, I have not been on speaking terms for at least a year. And Fischer, my lieutenant (?), used to go around and make speeches against me. So much for that.

Your honor has said this morning, "we must learn their objects from what they have said and written," and in pursuance thereof the court has read a number of articles. . . .

Now, if we cannot be directly implicated with this affair, connected with the throwing of the bomb, where is the law that says, these men shall be picked out to suffer? Show me that law if you have it! If the position of the court is correct, then half of the population of this city ought to be hanged, because they are responsible the same as we are for that act on May 4. And if half of the population of Chicago is not hanged, then show me the law that says, "eight men shall be picked out and hanged as scapegoats!" You have no good law. Your decision, your verdict, our conviction is nothing but an arbitrary will of this lawless court. It is true there is no precedent in jurisprudence in this case! It is true we have called upon the people to arm themselves.

It is true that we told them time and again that the great day of change was coming. It was not our desire to have bloodshed. We are not beasts. We would not be Socialists if we were beasts. It is because of our sensitiveness that we have gone into this movement for the emancipation of the oppressed and suffering. It is true we have called upon the people to arm and prepare for the stormy times before us.

This seems to be the ground upon which the verdict is to be sustained. "But when a long train of abuses and usurpations pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce the people under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government and provide new guards for their future safety." This is a quotation from the Declaration of Independence. Have we broken any laws by showing to the people how these abuses, that have occurred for the last twenty years, are invariably pursuing one object, viz: to establish an oligarchy in this country so strong and powerful and monstrous as never before has existed in any country? I can well understand why that man Grinnell did not urge upon the grand jury to charge us with treason. I can well understand it. You cannot try and convict a man for treason who has upheld the constitution against those who trample it under their feet. It would not have been as easy a job to do that, Mr. Grinnell, as to charge these men with murder.

Now, these are my ideas. They constitute a part of myself. I cannot divest myself of them, nor would I, if I could. And if you think that you can crush out these ideas that are gaining ground more and more every day; if you think you can crush them out by sending us to the gallows; if you would once more have people suffer the penalty of death because they have dared to tell the truth—and I defy you to show us where we have told a lie—I say, if death is the penalty for proclaiming the truth, then I will proudly and defiantly pay the costly price! Call your hangman! Truth crucified in Socrates, in Christ, in Giordano Bruno, in Huss, in Galileo, still lives—they and others whose number is legion have preceded us on this path. We are ready to follow!

NAME _____

COURSE _____

TIME _____

WORKSHEET | Questions

1. Summarize Spies's argument as to why it is the State and not he who should be the ones charged with a crime.

2. Which portions of Spies's statement did you find to the most compelling, and why?

3. Which parts did you think were less convincing?

4. Why do you think Spies quotes the Declaration of Independence and compares his own ideals and circumstances (in different parts of the speech) with those of Jefferson, Paine, and even Jesus Christ?

5. What does the story of August Spies and the ideals he espoused here have to tell us about this period in American history and the conflicts that existed? Does it still hold relevance today? Why or why not?



LESSON 6.1.7 | READ | Labor Battles in the Gilded Age

PURPOSE

This selection from The Khan Academy covers major labor disputes during the Gilded Age. Students will receive a bit more detail on events, namely the Homestead and Pullman Strikes of the 1890s, which were mentioned in Crash Course US History #23.

PROCESS

Make the attached reading on labor disputes during the Gilded Age available to students. Students should read actively by marking up the text and taking notes. They should then be sure to answer the questions at the end of the document.

ATTACHMENT

- Theodore Roosevelt Primary Sources

READING | Labor Battles in the Gilded Age — From Khan Academy

As the United States became a major industrial power, conflict between workers and factory owners intensified. Read about the Homestead Strike and the Pullman Strike, two of the most famous labor battles in American history.

Overview

As the United States' industrial economy grew in the late 1800s, conflict between workers and factory owners became increasingly frequent and sometimes led to violence.

The Homestead Strike occurred at the Carnegie Steel Company's Homestead Steel Works in 1892. The strike culminated in a gun battle between unionized steelworkers and a group of men hired by the company to break the strike. The steelworkers ultimately lost the strike.

The Pullman Strike of 1894 started outside Chicago at the Pullman sleeping car manufacturing company and quickly grew into a national railroad strike involving the American Railway Union, the Pullman Company, railroads across the nation, and the federal government.

Gilded Age capitalism and the rise of unions

By the late 1800s the United States' industrial output and GDP was growing faster than that of any other country in the world.

At the center of the nation's economic success was a dynamic and expansive industrial capitalism, one consequence of which was mass immigration. From 1865 to 1918, 27.5 million immigrants poured into the United States, many aspiring to the opportunities afforded by the nation's economic successes.[1]

The late nineteenth century was a time when industrial capitalism was new, raw, and sometimes brutal. Between 1881 and 1900, 35,000 workers per year lost their lives in industrial and other accidents at work, and strikes were commonplace: no fewer than 100,000 workers went on strike each year. In 1892, for example, 1,298 strikes involving some 164,000 workers took place across the nation. Unions–which function to protect workers' wages, hours of labor, and working conditions–were on the rise.[2]

Strikes and Strikebreaking: The Homestead Strike
On June 29, 1892, Henry Clay Frick, the manager of the Homestead Steelworks outside Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania—motivated by a desire to break the union of skilled steel workers who for years had

1 *On economic growth, see U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976), chart labeled Series F 10-16 on p. 225; on immigration, see chart labeled Series C 89-119 on pp. 105-106.*

2 *David Montgomery, Workers' Control in America: Studies in the History of Work, Technology, and Labor Struggles (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 20.*

controlled elements of the workflow on the shop floor in the steel mill and slowed output—locked the members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers (AA) out of the Homestead Steelworks. In response, the next day, AA members struck the plant.

In the first days of the strike, Frick decided to bring in a group of strikebreakers (commonly called scabs). To get inside the steelworks, the replacement workers would have the daunting task of making their way past picketing strikers who had surrounded the steelworks. But Frick hadn't hired any old strikebreakers: he decided to hire men from the Pinkerton detective agency, who were technically dubbed "detectives" but who were actually armed men seeking to push past striking workers and forcibly reopen the steelworks.

On July 6, gunfire broke out between striking workers and some of the three hundred Pinkerton detectives that Frick had hired. The Pinkerton agents, who were aboard barges being towed toward the side of the steelworks that bordered the Monongahela River, were pinned down in the barges by gunfire from the striking workers. By the next afternoon, with several having been killed on both sides, the Pinkertons raised a white flag of surrender.

Five days later, however, 6,000 state militiamen who had been dispatched by the governor of Pennsylvania marched into town, surrounded the steelworks, and reopened the plant. The state government had sided with the owners. The union had been defeated.[3]

The Pullman Strike

George Pullman was an engineer who designed a popular railroad sleeping car. (Before the advent of cars and airplanes, Americans traveled long distances by rail and slept in railroad cars on the trains.) George Pullman manufactured the nation's most popular sleeping cars, and Pullman was so successful that he built a company town outside Chicago, where the 12,000 workers who built Pullman sleeping cars worked and lived. But when, in the spring of 1894, amid a general economic downturn and decline in prices nationally, Pullman cut workers' wages without also proportionally reducing rents on the company-owned houses or prices of goods sold in the company-owned stores, workers struck.

The Pullman Strike, which had begun in May, spread the next month to become a nationwide railroad strike as the American Railway Union, led by Eugene V. Debs, called out workers on railroads across the country in sympathy with Pullman workers.

In turn, the railroad companies placed bags of US Mail onto trains striking workers were refusing to

3 *For more on the Homestead Strike see Philip Foner, History of the Labor Movement in the United States, v. 2: From the Founding of the A.F. of L. to the Emergence of American Imperialism (New York: International Publishers, 1955), and Paul Krause, The Battle for Homestead, 1890-1892: Politics, Culture, and Steel (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992).*

move. Declaring that the American Railway Union was illegally obstructing the delivery of the United States mail, rail owners enlisted the support of US President Grover Cleveland. Cleveland dispatched troops to Chicago, ostensibly to protect the US Mail, and an injunction was issued against the union. Debs and other strike leaders were imprisoned when they refused to abide by the court-ordered injunction and call off the strike. The injunction was upheld by the courts, and the strike was ended by late July. Again, government–this time the federal government–had sided with employers in a labor-management dispute.[4]

The Federal Government and the Labor Movement

The limits and legal rights of those who own companies and those who work in companies is an ongoing debate in American politics. As a nation equally committed to both capitalism and the rights of individuals, the United States has struggled to balance the needs of corporations and the needs of workers.

As in the Homestead and Pullman strikes, government in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries often sided with management and against unions. But not always. In the 1902 anthracite coal strike President Teddy Roosevelt threatened coal mine owners that if they did not bargain in good faith with the coal workers' union that the federal government—would take over control of the mines. The owners quickly capitulated to his demands and the strike was settled.

In the Great Depression, the federal government enacted provisions on behalf of workers and labor unions. President Franklin Roosevelt signed the Wagner Labor Relations Act into law on July 5, 1935. The Wagner Act established federal guidelines for allowing unions to organize and established the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) as a federal agency to enforce the Act's pro-labor provisions.

In 1947, however, Congress amended the Wagner Act with the Taft-Hartley Act (still in effect today), which restricts the activities and power of labor unions.

4 *For more on the Pullman Strike, see Richard Schneirov, et. al., eds. The Pullman Strike and the Crisis of the 1890s: Essays on Labor and Politics (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999).*

NAME _____

COURSE _____

TIME _____

WORKSHEET | Questions

1. What effect do you think the Homestead and Pullman strikes had on American culture and society in this time period?

2. What role did government play in the Homestead and Pullman Strikes?
What role do you think government should play in labor-management disputes?

3. Overall, do you think the federal government has been more favorable to workers or to corporations? Why?

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LESSON 6.1.8 | WATCH | Crash Course US History #24
Westward Expansion

PREVIEW

In which John Green teaches you about the Wild, Wild, West, which as it turns out, wasn't as wild as it seemed in the movies. When we think of the western expansion of the United States in the 19th century, we're conditioned to imagine the loner. The self-reliant, unattached cowpoke roaming the prairie in search of wandering calves, or the half-addled prospector who has broken from reality thanks to the solitude of his single-minded quest for gold dust. While there may be a grain of truth to these classic Hollywood stereotypes, it isn't a very big grain of truth. Many of the pioneers who settled the west were family groups. Many were immigrants. Many were major corporations. The big losers in the westward migration were Native Americans, who were killed or moved onto reservations.

PURPOSE

In this video, students will be introduced to the events of the expansion westward of the United States in the second half of the 19th century. Conflicts with Native Americans and challenges to popular notions of the Wild West figure prominently. Students should look to identify the reasons why the people, corporations, and the United States government found it necessary to engage in this expansion and how it impacted those groups and the Native American people they displaced.

PROCESS

As with all of the videos in the course, ask students to watch the video before class. Remind students of John's fast-talking and play the video with captions. Pause and rewind when necessary. Before they watch the video, remind them of the central ideas of the Unit 6 Essential Questions and the Lesson 6.1 Essential Questions.

LINK

- Crash Course US History #24 – Westward Expansion

Video questions for students to answer during their viewing.

LESSON 6.1.8 | WATCH | Key Ideas – Factual

Use these questions and prompts at the appropriate stopping points to check in with students and ensure they are getting the key concepts covered in the video.

1. (1:00) How did Frederick Jackson Turner perpetuate a myth about the frontier?

SAMPLE ANSWER: Turner argued that the west was responsible for key characteristics of American culture: beliefs in individualism, political democracy, and economic mobility. He painted the west as a magnet for restless young men who set out for the uncorrupted, unoccupied, and untamed territories to seek fortune.

2. (2:20) How did railroads make western settlement possible?

SAMPLE ANSWER: Without railroads there would be no way to bring crops or other goods to market. Railroads also made life in the west profitable and livable because they brought the goods that people needed. They allowed settlers to stay connected with the modernity that was becoming the hallmark of the industrialized world.

3. (3:10) What is perhaps the central way in which the government supported railroads?

SAMPLE ANSWER: The government supported western settlement and investment of railroads by leading military expeditions against American Indians, placing them on smaller and smaller reservations, and killing their culture.

4. (5:05) What is the Dawes Act of 1887 and what did it mean for American Indians and their land?

SAMPLE ANSWER: The Dawes Act of 1887 set land aside for natives was allotted to individual families rather than tribes. In what was supposed to become a protection of native lands falling out of their possession, these laws were not protective. Much of the land was purchased by land speculators or white settlers. Due to the Dawes Act, 86 million acres of native land was lost.

5. (7:10) What acts did the Bureau of Indian Affairs institute with regard to American Indians?

SAMPLE ANSWER: After the buffalo were killed off, their land stolen, and they were forced onto reservations, the Bureau of Indian Affairs instituted a policy against the natives that amounted to cultural genocide. Indian children were forcefully removed from their families to be civilized in boarding schools. Children were taught English, their clothes, names, culture, and connections to family were taken away. The idea was to, "Kill the Indian, save the man."

6. (8:30) Why are railroads responsible for the "iconic" image of cowboys?

SAMPLE ANSWER: Railroads gave us the imagery of cowboys and cattle drives, because cowboys lived and worked near railroads. Without train cars and towns where stations were located, cowboys would have had no means of processing cattle for market.

7. (9:30) Why were western farms family-run and in a sense, global?

SAMPLE ANSWER: While it's romantic to think of the west as a haven for rugged men seeking fortune, farms needed the help of everyone in order to thrive. Therefore it was essential for families to be involved. Farmers were also in competition for production and lower prices against farmers in other large grain producing countries.

8. (9:55) Why are the Great Plains a good place for growing grains?

SAMPLE ANSWER: Farming is great in the Great Plains because the land is fed by a massive, although dwindling, underground lake known as the Ogallala Aquifer.

9. (10:15) Describe large-scale farming in the early 1900s.

SAMPLE ANSWER: Large-scale farming in the 1900s began to look more like agribusiness than family farms. California was home to giant commercial farms that relied on irrigation and chemical fertilizers that were owned by corporations like Southern Pacific Railroad and were worked by migrant farm laborers.

10. (11:45) In what ways does the Wild West and the industrialized world end up looking similar?

SAMPLE ANSWER: The west, like the rest of the industrialized world, was incentivized to increase productivity, and was shaped by an increasingly international economic system.



LESSON 6.1.9 | READING & ACTIVITY | Westward Expansion & Conflict

PURPOSE

This activity exposes students to the major events in the conflicts between the United States and various nations of Native Americans in the West during the period following the Civil War. Students should glean from this a greater understanding of the relationship between the groups involved and the impact of American imperialism on native people. The activity that follows the questions allows students to delve deeper into the events of the Wounded Knee Massacre (which is only referred to at the end of the article) and stories of one of the important Native American leaders of the period.

PROCESS

Make the attached reading on American imperialism in the West available to students. Students should read actively by marking up the text and taking notes. They should then be sure to answer the questions at the end of the documents. Once they've answered the questions, they should then choose a research topic and complete their brief research activity. They should record both their answers to the questions and citations for the sources from which they gather information.

ATTACHMENT

- From Resistance to Reservations*

*Students will need internet access to complete the following task

READING | From Resistance to Reservations
—USHistory.org as found on commonlit.org

This informational text discusses the finale of the American Indian Wars, a succession of official and unofficial wars and attacks between American Indian tribes, U.S. military, and individual American settlers west of the Mississippi River from the early 1600s to the Massacre of Wounded Knee in 1890. At the end of the American Indian Wars, all surviving Native Americans were assigned to reservations where they faced poverty, alcoholism, unemployment, poor farming land, depression, and the forced removal of children to Indian boarding schools where they were stripped of their culture and language. As you read, note what motivates multiple sides to compromise or not compromise with one another on how American Indians can live.

In the second half of the late 19th century, America's westward expansion was meeting forceful resistance from native populations. Settlers seeking opportunity out West were eager for land and resources controlled by different Indian tribes. The U.S. government fell into a pattern of forming and then breaking treaties with the Indians. This allowed settlers to take more and more Indian land, forcing Indians to respond with violence. The repeated cycle of stealth, resistance, and defeat that followed would eventually force the surviving Indian populations to bend to the will of the U.S. government.

Another Broken Treaty

America had a long history of forming treaties with tribes, and as western expansion continued, the government sought to use treaties to force Native Americans onto smaller and smaller tracts of land. Treaties did not promise peace though. In 1864, government troops massacred a peaceful Cheyenne village at Sand Creek in Colorado. Subsequently, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Sioux warriors retaliated. By 1868, the upsurge of violence on the Great Plains forced the U.S. to amend the 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie with these and other regional tribes.

Following the new Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, which altered tribes' territories in the northern Great Plains, the American military shared a delicate peace with the Sioux and the Cheyenne. Gold broke it. In 1874, a scientific exploration group led by General George Armstrong Custer discovered the precious metal in the heart of the Black Hills of South Dakota, a land sacred to the Lakota Sioux.

When word of the discovery leaked, nothing could stop the masses of prospectors looking to get rich quick, despite the treaty protections that awarded that land to the Sioux. Two local Indian leaders, Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, decided to take up arms to defend their dwindling land supply.

Little Bighorn

Custer was perhaps the most flashy and brash officer in the United States Army. He was confident that

his technologically superior troops could contain the Native American fighters. Armed with new weapons of destruction such as the rapid-firing Gatling gun, Custer and his soldiers felt that it was only a matter of time before the Indians would surrender and submit to life on a smaller reservation than promised in the Fort Laramie Treaty. Custer hoped to make that happen sooner rather than later.

His orders were to locate the Sioux encampment in the Bighorn Mountains of Montana and trap them until reinforcements arrived. But the prideful Custer sought to engage the Sioux on his own.

On June 25, 1876, he discovered a small Indian village on the banks of the Little Bighorn River. Custer confidently ordered his troops to attack, not realizing that he was confronting the main Sioux and Cheyenne encampment. About three thousand Sioux warriors led by Crazy Horse descended upon Custer's regiment, and within hours Cuter and his entire Seventh Cavalry were dead.

The victory was brief for the warring Sioux. Soldiers arrived and chased them for the next several months. By October, much of the native resistance had ended. Crazy Horse had surrendered, but Sitting Bull and a small band of warriors escaped to Canada. Eventually, in 1881, they returned to the United States and surrendered due to hunger.

Reactions Back East

The Battle of the Little Bighorn, or Custer's Last Stand as it was called back East, caused massive debate. War hawks demanded an immediate increase in federal military spending and swift judgment for the noncompliant Sioux.

Critics of United States policy also made their opinions known. The most vocal detractor, Helen Hunt Jackson, published a blistering assault on United States Indian policy in her 1881 book *A Century of Dishonor.* It chronicled injustices toward Native Americans over the past hundred years.

The American masses, however, were unsympathetic or indifferent. A systematic plan to end all native resistance was approved, and the Indians of the West would not see another victory like the Little Bighorn.

In spite of the Sioux's fighting, Custer's vision for gold-mining the Black Hills came true. In 1877, Congress seized the land in violation of the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie. (To add insult to injury, 50 years later the U.S. government would commission the Mount Rushmore National Memorial in the Black Hills.)

The End of Resistance

The crackdown on Native Americans went far beyond those involved in the Battle of the Little Bighorn. Settlers and federal troops now relentlessly hunted any tribes resisting American advancement. Tribes that wished to survive were thus slowly forced onto reservations.

The Lakota Sioux were decimated by yet another American tactic of war: an attack on their food

supply. Travelers heading westward were encouraged to kill any buffalo they encountered. Buffalo robes became fashionable in the East, so profit-seekers slaughtered thousands of bison simply for their hides. Others shot them for sport, leaving their remains for the local vultures.

The army was even known to use Gatling guns on the herds to reduce their numbers. The plan was effective. At the end of the Civil War, an estimated 15 million buffalo roamed the Great Plains. By 1900, there were only several hundred, as the species was nearly extinct. The Sioux and other Plains tribes lost their chief means of subsistence and mourned the loss of the animal, which was revered as sacred according to many tribal religions.

Chief Joseph and The Nez Percé

The year after Custer's infamous defeat, the Nez Percé Indians of Idaho fell victim to western expansion. When gold was discovered on their lands in 1877, demands were made for over 90 percent of their territory. After a stand-off between tribal warriors and the United States Army, their leader Chief Joseph directed his followers toward Canada to avoid capture. He hoped to join forces with Sitting Bull and plan the next move from there.

Army officials chased the Nez Percé 1700 miles across Idaho and Western Montana. As they neared the border, the army closed in and Chief Joseph was forced to surrender in the Bear Paw Mountains, where he famously said:

"Tell General Howard that I know his heart. What he told me before I have in my heart. I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are killed. Looking Glass is dead, Tu-hul-hil-sote is dead. The old men are all dead. It is the young men who now say yes or no. He who led the young men [Joseph's brother Alikut] is dead. It is cold and we have no blankets. The little children are freezing to death. My people — some of them have run away to the hills and have no blankets and no food. No one knows where they are — perhaps freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children and see how many of them I can find. Maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs, my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands I will fight no more against the white man."

The entire tribe was relocated to Oklahoma where nearly half of them perished from disease and despair. Chief Joseph went to Washington D.C. in 1879 where he said, "I have heard talk and talk, but nothing is done. Good words do not last long unless they amount to something. Words do not pay for my dead people. They do not pay for my country, now overrun by white men.… I am tired of talk that comes to nothing."

Carving Up Oklahoma

Homesteaders had taken over much of the land that Indians once roamed in search of game or cultivated for crops. The last land to be claimed by homesteaders was in Oklahoma. Previously dubbed "Indian Territory" by the federal government, Oklahoma had been used as a state-sized reservation of many tribes around the country, ranging from the Nez Percé of Idaho to the Cherokee of Georgia.

Not all of the land in Oklahoma had been assigned to a specific tribe though. So, in 1889, the United States Government decided to break Oklahoma up from one reservation into many, with all the land left unassigned to a tribe up for grabs. Two million acres of Indian land would be available to homesteaders.

At noon on April 22, 1889, the land was legally opened to claim under the provisions of the Homestead Act. Thousands rushed across Oklahoma to grab a piece. Land once promised to the Indians was gobbled up in a matter of hours.

By nightfall, Oklahoma City qualified as a city of 10,000 tent inhabitants. Those who staked a claim before it was legal were called "Sooners," giving the state its future nickname. Successful homesteaders rested that night in triumph, leaving the Indians of the area to despair over yet another grand theft and reduction of their land.

After being forced off their native lands, many American Indians found life to be most difficult. Beginning in the first half of the 19th century, federal policy dictated that certain tribes be confined to fixed land plots to continue their traditional ways of life. There were many problems with this approach. Besides the moral issue of depriving a people of life on their historic land, many economic issues plagued reservations. Nomadic tribes that followed animal migrations lost their entire means of subsistence by being constricted to a defined area. Farmers found themselves with land unsuitable for agriculture. Many lacked the know-how to implement complex irrigation systems. Hostile tribes were often forced into the same proximity. The results were disastrous.

The Dawes Act

Faced with disease, alcoholism, and despair on the reservations, federal officials changed directions with the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887. Each Native American family was offered 160 acres of tribal land to own outright. Although the land could not be sold for 25 years, these new landowners could farm it for profit like other farmers in the West.

Congress hoped that this system would end the dependency of the tribes on the federal government, enable Indians to become individually prosperous, and assimilate the Indians into mainstream American life. After 25 years, participants would become American citizens, effectively ending the tribal way of life.

Tribes widely resisted what the government saw as a fair proposal. Tribal leaders foretold the end of their ancient folkways and a further loss of communal land. When individuals did attempt this new way of life, they were often unsuccessful. Farming the West takes considerable expertise. Lacking this knowledge, many were still dependent upon the government for assistance, revealing a flaw in the federal plan.

The Dawes Act was an unmitigated disaster for tribal units. Native American tribes lost half their land in less than two decades. When the Dawes Act was repealed in 1934, alcoholism, poverty, illiteracy, and suicide rates were higher for Native Americans than any other ethnic group in the United States. As America grew to the status of a world power, the first Americans were reduced to hopelessness.

Many 19th century Americans saw the Dawes Act as a way to "civilize" the Native Americans. Visiting missionaries attempted to convert the Indians to Christianity, although they found few new believers. Since it was no longer possible to resist forced assimilation through armed resistance, many American Indians turned to spiritual resistance. The Ghost Dance emerged in the northern Great Plains as a new spiritual gathering of Native Americans committed to their ancestral ways of life. Like the armed warriors before them, these peaceful natives would be swept up in a violent end at the hands of the U.S. government: the 1890 Massacre of Wounded Knee.

NAME _____

COURSE _____

TIME _____

WORKSHEET | Questions

1. What happened at Little Bighorn and why was it important?

2. The Battle of the Little Bighorn has been called the Battle of the Greasy Grass by American Indians and Custer's Last Stand by white Americans. Why do you believe different groups call this battle by different names? What does this indicate about how America records its history and how Americans view their country?

3. What do you believe motivated the U.S. government and military in their policies towards American Indians in the West?

4. Why do you think tribes and the U.S. government could not reach lasting compromises throughout the 1800s? What was fair or unfair about some of the proposed compromises?

5. How might the examples shown here illustrate that American imperialism in the West was similar to imperialism in other parts of the world during the 1800s that you've learned about in other classes?

UNIT 6 | EQ Notebook Worksheet

For this activity, you will research the Massacre at Wounded Knee, which was mentioned at the end of the article. Then, to give you further perspective on the period, you should choose one of the following Native American leaders below to research. Through your research, you should be able to answer the questions below.

Research Topic #1: Wounded Knee Massacre

Answer the following about Wounded Knee:

1. Where is Wounded Knee and who was involved in the incident?

2. What was the Ghost Dance?

3. What happened at Wounded Knee on December 29, 1890?

4. In what ways does the Wounded Knee massacre serve as an important moment in American History? What does this event tell us about the larger context of Westward Expansion?

Research Topic #2: Choose one of the following people to research:

a. Sitting Bull (Lakota)
b. Crazy Horse (Lakota)
c. Chief Joseph (Nez Perce)
d. Geronimo (Apache)

Answer the following for the person you chose.

1. Briefly describe the details and major events of this person's life.

2. What were the ways in which this person resisted?

3. In what ways might this person's experience represent an important snapshot of the situation that existed between the Native Americans in the West and the United States?



LESSON 6.1.10 | READ | Native Americans and Westward Expansion – Primary Sources

PURPOSE

This activity illustrates the impact of westward expansion on Native Americans through the words of those doing the expanding and the Native Americans experiencing the encroachment. From an account by a US military captain on the mission to "civilize" Native Americans to the recounting of the Wounded Knee Massacre by Lakota eyewitnesses, these powerful sources provide students an opportunity to wrestle with the complex legacy of the United States' march to the West.

PROCESS

Make the attached primary sources on Westward Expansion and the Primary Source Analysis Tool available to students. Students should read actively by marking up the text and taking notes. They should then be sure to complete the Primary Source Analysis for each of the three pieces in the reading.

ATTACHMENT

- Native Americans in the West – Primary Sources
- Primary Source Analysis Tool

READING | From Resistance to Reservations
—USHistory.org as found on commonlit.org

Source 1:
"Kill the Indian, and Save the Man" Capt. Richard H. Pratt on the Education of Native Americans

A great general has said that the only good Indian is a dead one, and that high sanction of his destruction has been an enormous factor in promoting Indian massacres. In a sense, I agree with the sentiment, but only in this: that all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him, and save the man.

We are just now making a great pretence of anxiety to civilize the Indians. I use the word "pretence" purposely, and mean it to have all the significance it can possibly carry. Washington believed that commerce freely entered into between us and the Indians would bring about their civilization, and Washington was right. He was followed by Jefferson, who inaugurated the reservation plan. Jefferson's reservation was to be the country west of the Mississippi; and he issued instructions to those controlling Indian matters to get the Indians there, and let the Great River be the line between them and the whites. Any method of securing removal - persuasion, purchase, or force - was authorized.

Jefferson's plan became the permanent policy. The removals have generally been accomplished by purchase, and the evils of this are greater than those of all the others combined. . . .

It is a sad day for the Indians when they fall under the assaults of our troops, as in the Piegan massacre, the massacre of Old Black Kettle and his Cheyennes at what is termed "the battle of the Washita," and hundreds of other like places in the history of our dealings with them; but a far sadder day is it for them when they fall under the baneful influences of a treaty agreement with the United States whereby they are to receive large annuities, and to be protected on reservations, and held apart from all association with the best of our civilization. The destruction is not so speedy, but it is far more general. The history of the Miamis and Osages is only the true picture of all other tribes.

"Put yourself in his place" is as good a guide to a proper conception of the Indian and his cause as it is to help us to right conclusions in our relations with other men. For many years we greatly oppressed the black man, but the germ of human liberty remained among us and grew, until, in spite of our irregularities, there came from the lowest savagery into intelligent manhood and freedom among us more than seven millions of our population, who are to-day an element of industrial value with which we could not well dispense. However great this victory has been for us, we have not yet fully learned our lesson nor completed our work; nor will we have done so until there is throughout all of our communities the most unequivocal and complete acceptance of our own doctrines, both national

and religious. Not until there shall be in every locality throughout the nation a supremacy of the Bible principle of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God, and full obedience to the doctrine of our Declaration that "we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created free and equal, with certain inalienable rights," and of the clause in our Constitution which forbids that there shall be "any abridgment of the rights of citizens on account of race, color, or previous condition." I leave off the last two words "of servitude," because I want to be entirely and consistently American. . . .

There is a great lesson in this. The schools did not make them citizens, the schools did not teach them the language, nor make them industrious and self-supporting. Denied the right of schools, they became English-speaking and industrious through the influences of association. Scattered here and there, under the care and authority of individuals of the higher race, they learned self-support and something of citizenship, and so reached their present place. No other influence or force would have so speedily accomplished such a result. Left in Africa, surrounded by their fellow-savages, our seven millions of industrious black fellow-citizens would still be savages. Transferred into these new surroundings and experiences, behold the result. They became English-speaking and civilized, because forced into association with English-speaking and civilized people; became healthy and multiplied, because they were property; and industrious, because industry, which brings contentment and health, was a necessary quality to increase their value.

The Indians under our care remained savage, because forced back upon themselves and away from association with English-speaking and civilized people, and because of our savage example and treatment of them. . . .

We have never made any attempt to civilize them with the idea of taking them into the nation, and all of our policies have been against citizenizing and absorbing them. Although some of the policies now prominent are advertised to carry them into citizenship and consequent association and competition with other masses of the nation, they are not, in reality, calculated to do this. . . .

The five civilized tribes of the Indian Territory—Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles—have had tribal schools until it is asserted that they are civilized; yet they have no notion of joining us and becoming a part of the United States. Their whole disposition is to prey upon and hatch up claims against the government, and have the same lands purchased and repurchased and purchased again, to meet the recurring wants growing out of their neglect and inability to make use of their large and rich estate. . . .

Indian schools are just as well calculated to keep the Indians intact as Indians as Catholic schools are to keep the Catholics intact. Under our principles we have established the public school system, where people of all races may become unified in every way, and loyal to the government; but we do not gather the people of one nation into schools by themselves, and the people of another

nation into schools by themselves, but we invite the youth of all peoples into all schools. We shall not succeed in Americanizing the Indian unless we take him in in exactly the same way. I do not care if abundant schools on the plan of Carlisle are established. If the principle we have always had at Carlisle—of sending them out into families and into the public schools—were left out, the result would be the same, even though such schools were established, as Carlisle is, in the centre of an intelligent and industrious population, and though such schools were, as Carlisle always has been, filled with students from many tribes. Purely Indian schools say to the Indians: "You are Indians, and must remain Indians. You are not of the nation, and cannot become of the nation. We do not want you to become of the nation."

We make our greatest mistake in feeding our civilization to the Indians instead of feeding the Indians to our civilization. America has different customs and civilizations from Germany. What would be the result of an attempt to plant American customs and civilization among the Germans in Germany, demanding that they shall become thoroughly American before we admit them to the country? Now, what we have all along attempted to do for and with the Indians is just exactly that, and nothing else. We invite the Germans to come into our country and communities, and share our customs, our civilization, to be of it; and the result is immediate success. Why not try it on the Indians? Why not invite them into experiences in our communities? Why always invite and compel them to remain a people unto themselves?

It is a great mistake to think that the Indian is born an inevitable savage. He is born a blank, like all the rest of us. Left in the surroundings of savagery, he grows to possess a savage language, superstition, and life. We, left in the surroundings of civilization, grow to possess a civilized language, life, and purpose. Transfer the infant white to the savage surroundings, he will grow to possess a savage language, superstition, and habit. Transfer the savage-born infant to the surroundings of civilization, and he will grow to possess a civilized language and habit. These results have been established over and over again beyond all question; and it is also well established that those advanced in life, even to maturity, of either class, lose already acquired qualities belonging to the side of their birth, and gradually take on those of the side to which they have been transferred.

As we have taken into our national family seven millions of Negroes, and as we receive foreigners at the rate of more than five hundred thousand a year, and assimilate them, it would seem that the time may have arrived when we can very properly make at least the attempt to assimilate our two hundred and fifty thousand Indians, using this proven potent line, and see if that will not end this vexed question and remove them from public attention, where they occupy so much more space than they are entitled to either by numbers or worth.

The school at Carlisle is an attempt on the part of the government to do this. Carlisle has always planted treason to the tribe and loyalty to the nation at large. It has preached against colonizing Indians,

and in favor of individualizing them. It has demanded for them the same multiplicity of chances which all others in the country enjoy. Carlisle fills young Indians with the spirit of loyalty to the stars and stripes, and then moves them out into our communities to show by their conduct and ability that the Indian is no different from the white or the colored, that he has the inalienable right to liberty and opportunity that the white and the negro have. Carlisle does not dictate to him what line of life he should fill, so it is an honest one. It says to him that, if he gets his living by the sweat of his brow, and demonstrates to the nation that he is a man, he does more good for his race than hundreds of his fellows who cling to their tribal communistic surroundings. . . .

When we cease to teach the Indian that he is less than a man; when we recognize fully that he is capable in all respects as we are, and that he only needs the opportunities and privileges which we possess to enable him to assert his humanity and manhood; when we act consistently towards him in accordance with that recognition; when we cease to fetter him to conditions which keep him in bondage, surrounded by retrogressive influences; when we allow him the freedom of association and the developing influences of social contact—then the Indian will quickly demonstrate that he can be truly civilized, and he himself will solve the question of what to do with the Indian.

Source 2:
Chief Joseph on Indian Affairs (1877, 1879)

A branch of the Nez Percé tribe, from the Pacific Northwest, refused to be moved to a reservation and attempted to flee to Canada but were pursued by the U.S. Cavalry, attacked, and forced to return. The following is a transcript of Chief Joseph's surrender, as recorded by Lieutenant Wood, Twenty-first Infantry, acting aide-de-camp and acting adjutant-general to General Oliver O. Howard, in 1877.

I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are killed. Looking Glass is dead. Too-hul-hul-sote is dead. The old men are all dead. It is the young men who say yes or no. He who led on the young men is dead. It is cold and we have no blankets. The little children are freezing to death. My people, some of them, have run away to the hills, and have no blankets, no food; no one knows where they are—perhaps freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children and see how many of them I can find. Maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs. I am tired; my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands I will fight no more forever.

In 1879, Chief Joseph was invited to Washington D.C. He made the following report.

I am glad I came [to Washington D.C.]. I have shaken hands with a good many friends, but there are some things I want to know which no one seems able to explain. I cannot understand how the Government sends a man out to fight us, as it did General Miles,

and then breaks his word. Such a government has something wrong about it. I cannot understand why so many chiefs are allowed to talk so many different ways, and promise so many different things. I have seen the Great Father Chief [President Hayes]; the Next Great Chief [Secretary of the Interior]; the Commissioner Chief [Commissioner of Indian Affairs]; the Law Chief [General Butler]; and many other law chiefs [Congressmen] and they all say they are my friends, and that I shall have justice, but while all their mouths talk right I do not understand why nothing is done for my people. I have heard talk and talk but nothing is done. Good words do not last long unless they amount to something. Words do not pay for my dead people. They do not pay for my country now overrun by white men. They do not protect my father's grave. They do not pay for my horses and cattle. Good words do not give me back my children. Good words will not make good the promise of your war chief, General Miles. Good words will not give my people a home where they can live in peace and take care of themselves. I am tired of talk that comes to nothing. It makes my heart sick when I remember all the good words and all the broken promises. There has been too much talking by men who had no right to talk. Too many misinterpretations have been made; too many misunderstandings have come up between the white men and the Indians. If the white man wants to live in peace with the Indian he can live in peace. There need be no trouble. Treat all men alike. Give them the same laws. Give them all an even chance to live and grow. All men were made by the same Great Spirit Chief. They are all brothers. The earth is the mother of all people, and all people should have equal rights upon it. You might as well expect all rivers to run backward as that any man who was born a free man should be contented penned up and denied liberty to go where he pleases. If you tie a horse to a stake, do you expect he will grow fat? If you pen an Indian up on a small spot of earth and compel him to stay there, he will not be contented nor will he grow and prosper. I have asked some of the Great White Chiefs where they get their authority to say to the Indian that he shall stay in one place, while he sees white men going where they please. They cannot tell me….

When I think of our condition, my heart is heavy. I see men of my own race treated as outlaws and driven from country to country, or shot down like animals.

I know that my race must change. We cannot hold our own with the white men as we are. We only ask an even chance to live as other men live. We ask to be recognized as men. We ask that the same law shall work alike on all men. If an Indian breaks the law, punish him by the law. If a white man breaks the law, punish him also.

Let me be a free man, free to travel, free to stop, free to work, free to trade where I choose, free to choose my own teachers, free to follow the religion of my fathers, free to talk, think and act for myself — and I will obey every law or submit to the penalty.

Whenever the white man treats the Indian as they treat each other then we shall have no more wars. We shall be all alike — brothers of one father and mother, with one sky above us and one country

around us and one government for all. Then the Great Spirit Chief who rules above will smile upon this land and send rain to wash out the bloody spots made by brothers' hands upon the face of the earth. For this time the Indian race is waiting and praying. I hope no more groans of wounded men and women will ever go to the ear of the Great Spirit Chief above, and that all people may be one people.

In-mut-too-yah-lat-lat has spoken for his people.

Sources

Report of the Secretary Of War, Being Part Of The Message And Documents Communicated To The Two Houses Of Congress, Beginning Of The Second Session Of The Forty-Fifth Congress. Volume I (Washington: Government Printing Office 1877), 630; Joseph, "An Indian's View of Indian Affairs," The North American Review.

Source 3
Lakota Accounts of the Massacre at Wounded Knee

From the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1891, volume 1, pages 179-181. Extracts from verbatim stenographic report of council held by delegations of Sioux with Commissioner of Indian Affairs, at Washington, February 11, 1891.

TURNING HAWK, Pine Ridge (Mr. Cook, interpreter): Mr. Commissioner, my purpose to-day is to tell you what I know of the condition of affairs at the agency where I live. A certain falsehood came to our agency from the west which had the effect of a fire upon the Indians, and when this certain fire came upon our people those who had farsightedness and could see into the matter made up their minds to stand up against it and fight it. The reason we took this hostile attitude to this fire was because we believed that you yourself would not be in favor of this particular mischief-making thing; but just as we expected, the people in authority did not like this thing and we were quietly told that we must give up or have nothing to do with this certain movement. Though this is the advice from our good friends in the east, there were, of course, many silly young men who were longing to become identified with the movement, although they knew that there was nothing absolutely bad, nor did they know there was anything absolutely good, in connection with the movement.

In the course of time we heard that the soldiers were moving toward the scene of trouble. After a while some of the soldiers finally reached our place and we heard that a number of them also reached our friends at Rosebud. Of course, when a large body of soldiers is moving toward a certain direction they inspire a more or less amount of awe, and it is natural that the women and children who see this large moving mass are made afraid of it and be put in a condition to make them run away. At first we thought the Pine Ridge and Rosebud were the only two agencies where soldiers were sent, but finally we heard that the other agencies fared likewise. We heard and saw that about half our friends at Rosebud agency, from fear at seeing the soldiers, began the move of running away from their agency toward ours (Pine Ridge), and when they had gotten inside of our reservation they there learned that right ahead of them at our agency was another large crowd of

soldiers, and while the soldiers were there, there was constantly a great deal of false rumor flying back and forth. The special rumor I have in mind is the threat that the soldiers had come there to disarm the Indians entirely and to take away all their horses from them. That was the oft-repeated story.

So constantly repeated was this story that our friends from Rosebud, instead of going to Pine Ridge, the place of their destination, veered off and went to some other direction toward the "Bad Lands." We did not know definitely how many, but understood there were 300 lodges of them, about 1,700 people. Eagle Pipe, Turning Bear, High Hawk, Short Bull, Lance, No Flesh, Pine Bird, Crow Dog, Two Strike, and White Horse were the leaders.

Well, the people after veering off in this way, many of them who believe in peace and order at our agency, were very anxious that some influence should be brought upon these people. In addition to our love of peace we remembered that many of these people were related to us by blood. So we sent out peace commissioners to the people who were thus running away from their agency.

I understood at the time that they were simply going away from fear because of so many soldiers. So constant was the word of these good men from Pine Ridge agency that finally they succeeded in getting away half of the party from Rosebud, from the place where they took refuge, and finally were brought to the agency at Pine Ridge. Young-Man-Afraid-of-his-Horses, Little Wound, Fast Thunder, Louis Shangreau, John Grass, Jack Red Cloud, and myself were some of these peace-makers.

The remnant of the party from Rosebud not taken to the agency finally reached the wilds of the Bad Lands. Seeing that we had succeeded so well, once more we sent to the same party in the Bad Lands and succeeded in bringing these very Indians out of the depths of the Bad Lands and were being brought toward the agency. When we were about a day's journey from our agency we heard that a certain party of Indians (Big Foot's band) from the Cheyenne River agency was coming toward Pine Ridge in flight.

CAPTAIN SWORD: Those who actually went off of the Cheyenne River agency probably number 303, and there were a few from the Standing Rock reserve with them, but as to their number I do not know. There were a number of Ogalallas, old men and several school boys, coming back with that very same party, and one of the very seriously wounded boys was a member of the Ogalalla boarding school at Pine Ridge agency. He was not on the warpath, but was simply returning home to his agency and to his school after a summer visit to relatives on the Cheyenne river.

TURNING HAWK: When we heard that these people were coming toward our agency we also heard this. These people were coming toward Pine Ridge agency, and when they were almost on the agency they were met by the soldiers and surrounded and finally taken to the Wounded Knee creek, and there at a given time their guns were demanded. When they had delivered them up, the men were separated from their families, from the tipis, and taken to a certain spot. When the guns were thus taken and the men thus separated, there was a crazy man, a young man of very bad influence and in fact a nobody, among

that bunch of Indians fired his gun, and of course the firing of a gun must have been the breaking of a military rule of some sort, because immediately the soldiers returned fire and indiscriminate killing followed.

SPOTTED HORSE: This man shot an officer in the army; the first shot killed this officer. I was a voluntary scout at that encounter and I saw exactly what was done, and that was what I noticed; that the first shot killed an officer. As soon as this shot was fired the Indians immediately began drawing their knives, and they were exhorted from all sides to desist, but this was not obeyed. Consequently the firing began immediately on the part of the soldiers.

TURNING HAWK: All the men who were in a bunch were killed right there, and those who escaped that first fire got into the ravine, and as they went along up the ravine for a long distance they were pursued on both sides by the soldiers and shot down, as the dead bodies showed afterwards. The women were standing off at a different place from where the men were stationed, and when the firing began, those of the men who escaped the first onslaught went in one direction up the ravine, and then the women, who were bunched together at another place, went entirely in a different direction through an open field, and the women fared the same fate as the men who went up the deep ravine.

AMERICAN HORSE: The men were separated, as has already been said, from the women, and they were surrounded by the soldiers. Then came next the village of the Indians and that was entirely surrounded by the soldiers also. When the firing began, of course the people who were standing immediately around the young man who fired the first shot were killed right together, and then they turned their guns, Hotchkill guns, etc., upon the women who were in the lodges standing there under a flag of truce, and of course as soon as they were fired upon they fled, the men fleeing in one direction and the women running in two different directions. So that there were three general directions in which they took flight.

There was a woman with an infant in her arms who was killed as she almost touched the flag of truce, and the women and children of course were strewn all along the circular village until they were dispatched. Right near the flag of truce a mother was shot down with her infant; the child not knowing that its mother was dead was still nursing, and that especially was a very sad sight. The women as they were fleeing with their babes were killed together, shot right through, and the women who were very heavy with child were also killed. All the Indians fled in these three directions, and after most all of them had been killed a cry was made that all those who were not killed wounded should come forth and they would be safe. Little boys who were not wounded came out of their places of refuge, and as soon as they came in sight a number of soldiers surrounded them and butchered them there.

Of course we all feel very sad about this affair. I stood very loyal to the government all through those troublesome days, and believing so much in the government and being so loyal to it, my

disappointment was very strong, and I have come to Washington with a very great blame on my heart. Of course it would have been all right if only the men were killed; we would feel almost grateful for it. But the fact of the killing of the women, and more especially the killing of the young boys and girls who are to go to make up the future strength of the Indian people, is the saddest part of the whole affair and we feel it very sorely.

I was not there at the time before the burial of the bodies, but I did go there with some of the police and the Indian doctor and a great many of the people, men from the agency, and we went through the battlefield and saw where the bodies were from the track of the blood.

TURNING HAWK: I had just reached the point where I said that the women were killed. We heard, besides the killing of the men, of the onslaught also made upon the women and children, and they were treated as roughly and indiscriminately as the men and boys were.

Of course this affair brought a great deal of distress upon all the people, but especially upon the minds of those who stood loyal to the government and who did all that they were able to do in the matter of bringing about peace. They especially have suffered much distress and are very much hurt at heart. These peace-makers continued on in their good work, but there were a great many fickle young men who were ready to be moved by the change in the events there, and consequently, in spite of the great fire that was brought upon all, they were ready to assume any hostile attitude. These young men got themselves in readiness and went in the direction of the scene of battle so they might be of service there. They got there and finally exchanged shots with the soldiers. This party of young men was made up from Rosebud, Ogalalla (Pine Ridge), and members of any other agencies that happened to be there at the time. While this was going on in the neighborhood of Wounded Knee-the Indians and soldiers exchanging shots-the agency, our home, was also fired into by the Indians. Matters went on in this strain until the evening came on, and then the Indians went off down by White Clay creek. When the agency was fired upon by the Indians from the hillside, of course the shots were returned by the Indian police who were guarding the agency buildings.

Although fighting seemed to have been in the air, yet those who believed in peace were still constant at their work. Young-Man-Afraid-of-his-Horses, who had been on a visit to some other agency in the north or northwest, returned, and immediately went out to the people living about White Clay creek, on the border of the Bad Lands, and brought his people out. He succeeded in obtaining the consent of the people to come out of their place of refuge and return to the agency. Thus the remaining portion of the Indians who started from Rosebud were brought back into the agency. Mr. Commissioner, during the days of the great whirlwind out there, those good men tried to hold up a counteracting power, and that was "Peace." We have now come to realize that peace has prevailed and won the day. While we were engaged in bringing about peace our property was left behind, of course, and most of us

have lost everything, even down to the matter of guns with which to kill ducks, rabbits, etc, shotguns, and guns of that order. When Young-Man-Afraid brought the people in and their guns were asked for, both men who were called hostile and men who stood loyal to the government delivered up their guns.

[TEXT: James Mooney, The Ghost-dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890, 14th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 2 (1896)]

HANDOUT | Primary Source Analysis Tool

TOPIC: **AUTHOR:**

SOURCE TITLE: **PUBLICATION DATE:**

OBSERVE: WHAT WERE THE MAIN IDEAS/THEMES OF THE PIECE? (THIS BOX SHOULD HAVE OBJECTIVE STATEMENTS ABOUT WHAT IS IN THE PIECE, NOT WHAT YOU PERSONALLY FEEL ABOUT THE IDEAS IN THE SOURCE.)	
QUOTES: WHAT QUOTES DID YOU FIND TO BE PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT OR INTERESTING?	
REFLECTION: WHAT DO YOU THINK WAS MOST COMPELLING OR INTERESTING ABOUT THE SOURCE? WHY IS THIS SOURCE IMPORTANT? WHAT CAN IT TELL US ABOUT THE PERIOD? DO ANY OF ITS IDEAS APPLY TO AMERICA TODAY?	
QUESTIONS: WHAT QUESTIONS DO YOU HAVE ABOUT THE SOURCE OR THE TOPIC, GENERALLY?	



LESSON 6.1.11 | READ | The Frontier Thesis

PURPOSE

This is a selection from historian Frederick Jackson Turner's "Frontier Thesis." In this reading, students will glimpse Turner's famous interpretation of the idea that the American frontier had all but closed as the nineteenth century came to an end. What role had the existence of the Western frontier played in US History? What is the implication for the future without this frontier?

PROCESS

Make the attached reading from Frederick Jackson Turner available to students. Students should read actively by marking up the text and taking notes. They should then be sure to answer the questions at the end of the document.

ATTACHMENT

- Turner - Frontier Thesis

READING | "Significance of the Frontier in American History" — Frederick Jackson Turner (1893)

"Significance of the Frontier in American History"
Frederick Jackson Turner (1893)

Perhaps the most influential essay by an American historian, Frederick Jackson Turner's address to the American Historical Association on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" defined for many Americans the relationship between the frontier and American culture and contemplated what might follow "the closing of the frontier."

In a recent bulletin of the Superintendent of the Census for 1890 appear these significant words:
"Up to and including 1880 the country had a frontier of settlement, but at present the unsettled area has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line. In the discussion of its extent, its westward movement, etc., it can not, therefore, any longer have a place in the census reports." This brief official statement marks the closing of a great historic movement. Up to our own day American history has been in a large degree the history of the colonization of the Great West. The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development.

Behind institutions, behind constitutional forms and modifications, lie the vital forces that call these organs into life and shape them to meet changing conditions. The peculiarity of American institutions is, the fact that they have been compelled to adapt themselves to the changes of an expanding people—to the changes involved in crossing a continent, in winning a wilderness, and in developing at each area of this progress out of the primitive economic and political conditions of the frontier into the complexity of city life. Said Calhoun in 1817, "We are great, and rapidly—I was about to say fearfully—growing!" So saying, he touched the distinguishing feature of American life. All peoples show development; the germ theory of politics has been sufficiently emphasized. In the case of most nations, however, the development has occurred in a limited area; and if the nation has expanded, it has met other growing peoples whom it has conquered. But in the case of the United States we have a different phenomenon. Limiting our attention to the Atlantic coast, we have the familiar phenomenon of the evolution of institutions in a limited area, such as the rise of representative government; the differentiation of simple colonial governments into complex organs; the progress from primitive industrial society, without division of labor, up to manufacturing civilization. But we have in addition to this a recurrence of the process of evolution in each western area reached in the process of expansion. Thus American development has exhibited not merely advance along a single line, but a return to primitive conditions on a continually advancing frontier line, and a new development for that area. American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This

perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating American character. The true point of view in the history of this nation is not the Atlantic coast, it is the Great West.

. . .

In this advance, the frontier is the outer edge of the wave—the meeting point between savagery and civilization. Much has been written about the frontier from the point of view of border warfare and the chase, but as a field for the serious study of the economist and the historian it has been neglected. . . .

From the conditions of frontier life came intellectual traits of profound importance. The works of travelers along each frontier from colonial days onward describe certain common traits, and these traits have, while softening down, still persisted as survivals in the place of their origin, even when a higher social organization succeeded. The result is that to the frontier the American intellect owes its striking characteristics. That coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless, nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil, and withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom—these are traits of the frontier, or traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier. Since the days when the fleet of Columbus sailed into the waters of the New World, America has been another name for opportunity, and the people of the United States have taken their tone from the incessant expansion which has not only been open but has even been forced upon them. 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. For a moment, at the frontier, the bonds of custom are broken and unrestraint is triumphant. There is not tabula rasa. The stubborn American environment is there with its imperious summons to accept its conditions; the inherited ways of doing things are also there; and yet, in spite of environment, and in spite of custom, each frontier did indeed furnish a new field of opportunity, a gate of escape from the bondage of the past; and freshness, and confidence, and scorn of older society, impatience of its restraints and its ideas, and indifference to its lessons, have accompanied the frontier. What the Mediterranean Sea was to the Greeks, breaking the bond of custom, offering new experiences, calling out new institutions and activities, that, and more, the ever retreating frontier has been to the United States directly, and to the nations of Europe more remotely. And now, four centuries from the discovery of America, at the end of a hundred years of life under the Constitution, the frontier has gone, and with its going has closed the first period of American history.

Source:

Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier in American History, 1919.

NAME _____

COURSE _____

TIME _____

WORKSHEET | Questions

1. What is the role of the frontier in American history according to Turner?

2. What do you think Turner means when he says, "The peculiarity of American institutions is, the fact that they have been compelled to adapt themselves to the changes of an expanding people"?

3. What does Turner feel is the implication of the closing of the frontier? Do you agree? Why or why not?



LESSON 6.1.12 | WATCH | Crash Course US History #25
Growth, Cities, and Immigration

PREVIEW

In which John Green teaches you about the massive immigration to the United States during the late 19th and early 20th century. Immigrants flocked to the US from all over the world in this time period. Millions of Europeans moved to the US where they drove the growth of cities and manned the rapid industrialization that was taking place. In the western US many, many Chinese immigrants arrived to work on the railroad and in mines. As is often the case in the United States, the people who already lived in the US reacted kind of badly to this flood of immigrants. Some legislators tried to stem the flow of new arrivals, with mixed success. Grover Cleveland vetoed a general ban on immigration, but the leadership at the time did manage to get together to pass and anti-Chinese immigration law. Immigrants did win some important Supreme Court decisions upholding their rights, but in many ways, immigrants were treated as second class citizens. At the same time, the country was rapidly urbanizing. Cities were growing rapidly and industrial technology was developing new wonders all the time. John will cover all this upheaval and change, and hearken back to a time when racial profiling did in fact boil down to analyzing the side of someone's face.

PURPOSE

This video provides students an overview of the impact that the growing industrial economy had on American society. In particular, the video focuses on the large scale immigration during the period and the exponential growth of American cities. As usual, the complexities of both of these processes will be touched on, providing plenty of food for thought as we move into the final section of Lesson 6.1.

PROCESS

As with all of the videos in the course, ask students to watch the video before class. Remind students of John's fast-talking and play the video with captions. Pause and rewind when necessary. Before they watch the video, remind them of the central ideas of the Unit 6 Essential Questions and the Lesson 6.1 Essential Questions.

LINK

- Crash Course US History #25 – Growth, Cities, and Immigration

Video questions for students to answer during their viewing.

LESSON 6.1.12 | WATCH | Key Ideas – Factual

Use these questions and prompts at the appropriate stopping points to check in with students and ensure they are getting the key concepts covered in the video.

1. (1:30) What actions led to what is called agriculture's Golden Age?

SAMPLE ANSWER: Agriculture's Golden Age was spurred by a population boom and an increase in crop prices. The Homestead Act saw more than a million land claims in areas like Texas, Oklahoma, and Plains states that all saw a population increase.

2. (1:45) In what measures did cities grow in a 40 year span around the turn of the 20th Century?

SAMPLE ANSWER: In 1880, 20 percent of Americans lived in 12 cities with populations over 100,000. This rose to 18 cities in 1900, with the percentage of urban dwellers rising to 38 percent. And by 1920, 68 percent of Americans lived in urban areas with 26 cities having a population over 100,000.

3. (3:30) More than increased food production, improvements in nutrition, and increased birth rates, what is the biggest contribution to the growth of American cities?

SAMPLE ANSWER: Much of the growth of American cities can be attributed to immigration.

4. (5:30) What sort of persecution and prejudice were Eastern European immigrants subjected to?

SAMPLE ANSWER: Eastern European immigrants were more likely to be Jewish or Catholic who were escaping political or religious persecution. They were subjected to new "scientific theories" which consigned them to different races whose low level of civilization was fit only for certain kinds of work, and predisposed them to criminality.

5. (6:30) What sort of persecution did Chinese immigrants face?

SAMPLE ANSWER: Chinese immigrants, overwhelmingly male, settled mostly in the west and worked on railroads and in mines. They were viewed with suspicion because they looked different, spoke a different language, and had strange habits. San

Francisco refused to educate Asians until the state supreme court ordered them to do so, to which the city responded with segregated schools. Additionally, Chinese immigrants faced violence in vigilante-led riots, like the one in Rock Springs, Wyoming which killed 26 people.

6. (8:00) Was immigration strictly limited to America during during this era?

SAMPLE ANSWER: No. While America received the bulk of foreign immigration, at least 20 million people immigrated to Brazil, the Caribbean, Canada, and Argentina.

7. (9:45) What part of New York City became a magnet for immigrants arriving into the country?

SAMPLE ANSWER: Manhattan's Lower East Side became the magnet for waves of immigrants. This was led first by the Germans, then Eastern European Jews, and Italians. They often settled in several story buildings called tenements, which were unsanitary and crowded, but often doubled as work spaces for women and children.

8. (10:20) What were conditions like in cities?

SAMPLE ANSWER: In addition to abhorrent conditions in tenement buildings, cities like New York often saw a presence of livestock on the streets, which added to poor environmental conditions. Things improved with elevated railroads and subways, but then citizens were at risk of pickpockets.

LESSON 6.1.12 | WATCH | Conceptual Thinking

Have students answer the following question in order for them to make connections across different concepts and think more critically about the information presented in the video.

1. Why is this era of study, more than any other thus far studied, perhaps the foundation for a modern industrial America that we live in today?



LESSON 6.1.13 | READ | Immigration Overview

PURPOSE

This reading gives students further detail on the spike in immigration during the Gilded Age. The article discusses who was coming to the US during the period, where they were settling, and the impact they had in their new homes. Students will also learn how this increase in immigration was accompanied by resistance from people already living in the United States, many of whom were the descendants of immigrants themselves.

PROCESS

Make the attached reading on immigration during the Gilded Age available to students. Students should read actively by marking up the text and taking notes. They should then be sure to answer the questions at the end of the document.

ATTACHMENT

- The Rush of Immigrants

READING | THE RUSH OF IMMIGRANTS
— by USHistory.org via CommonLit.org 2016

This informational text discusses the tide of new immigration, from the beginning of the Gilded Age of economic growth in the 1870s to the anti-immigration policies put in place during the 1920s. While immigrants of the early 1800s often came from Western Europe, the new immigrants came from southern and eastern Europe, as well as Asia.

As you read, note what separated the new immigrants from American society and culture.

Immigration is a central part of the American experience. Except for Native Americans, all United States citizens can claim some immigration experience for their ancestors, whether during prosperity or despair, brought by force or by choice. However, immigration to the United States reached its peak from 1880-1920.

The so-called "Old Immigration" up until the mid 1800s brought thousands of Irish and German people to the New World. But during the New Immigration boom, although those groups would continue to come, even greater ethnic diversity would grace America's populace. Many would come from Southern and Eastern Europe, and some would come from as far away as Asia. New complexions, new languages, and new religions confronted the already diverse American mosaic.

The New Immigrants

Most immigrant groups that had formerly come to America by choice seemed distinct, but in fact had many similarities. Most had come from Northern and Western Europe. Most had some experience with representative democracy. With the exception of the Irish, most were Protestant. Many were literate, and some possessed a fair degree of wealth.

The later groups arriving by the boatload in the Gilded Age were characterized by few of these traits. Their nationalities included Greek, Italian, Polish, Slovak, Serb, Russian, Croat, and others. Until cut off by federal decree, Japanese and Chinese settlers relocated to the American West Coast. None of these groups were predominantly Protestant.

The vast majority were Roman Catholic or Eastern Orthodox. However, due to increased persecution of Jews in Eastern Europe, many Jewish immigrants sought freedom from torment. Very few newcomers spoke any English, and large numbers were illiterate in their native tongues. None of these groups hailed from democratic regimes. The American form of government was as foreign as its culture.

The new American cities became the destination of many of the most destitute. Once the trend was established, letters from America from friends and family beckoned new immigrants to ethnic enclaves such as Chinatown, Greektown, or Little

Italy. This led to an urban ethnic patchwork, with little integration. Most of the newcomers lived in run-down and overcrowded apartment buildings, called tenements, until they could save enough money for an upward move.

Despite the horrors of tenement housing and factory work, many agreed that the wages they could earn and the food they could eat surpassed their former realities. Still, as many as 25% of the European immigrants of this time never intended to become American citizens. These so-called "birds of passage" simply earned enough income to send to their families and returned to their former lives.

Resistance to Immigration

Not all Americans welcomed the new immigrants with open arms. While factory owners greeted the rush of cheap labor with zeal, laborers often treated their new competition with hostility. Many religious leaders were awestruck at the increase of non-Protestant believers. Racial purists feared the genetic outcome of the eventual pooling of these new bloods.

Gradually, these "nativists" lobbied successfully to restrict the flow of immigration. In 1882, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, barring this ethnic group in its entirety. Twenty-five years later, Japanese immigration was restricted by executive agreement. These two Asian groups were the only ethnicities to be completely excluded from America.

Criminals, contract workers, the mentally ill, anarchists, and alcoholics were among groups to be gradually barred from entry by Congress. In 1917, Congress required the passing of a literacy test to gain admission. Finally, in 1924, the door was shut to millions by placing an absolute cap on new immigrants based on ethnicity. That cap was based on the United States population of 1890 and was therefore designed to favor the previous immigrant groups.

But millions had already come. During the age when the Statue of Liberty beckoned the world's "huddled masses yearning to breathe free," American diversity mushroomed. Each brought pieces of an old culture and made contributions to a new one. Although many former Europeans swore to their deaths to maintain their old ways of life, their children did not agree. Most enjoyed a higher standard of living than their parents, learned English easily, and sought American lifestyles. At least to that extent, America was a melting pot.

NAME _____

COURSE _____

TIME _____

WORKSHEET | Questions

1. What were some of the major reasons why immigrants came to the United States? Where were many of them coming from?

2. In what ways did anti-immigrant sentiment manifest itself?



LESSON 6.1.14 | READING & ACTIVITY | How the Other Half Lives

PURPOSE

In 1890, journalist and photographer Jacob Riis published his book, How the Other Half Lives. In this book, Riis discussed and illustrated the conditions in which the immigrants to New York City at the end of the nineteenth century lived. This article provides an overview of Riis's biography and his most famous work. Also included are a few of Riis's photographs, which students will analyze following the reading.

PROCESS

Make the attached reading on How the Other Half Lives available to students. Students should read actively by marking up the text and taking notes. They should then be sure to answer the questions at the end of the document. Once they've answered the questions, they should complete the photo analysis activity that follows the questions.

ATTACHMENT

- From Resistance to Reservations*

READING | Jacob Riis, How the Other Half Lives — From the Khan Academy, Essay by Miriam Bader

The slums of New York

Jacob Riis documented the slums of New York, what he deemed the world of the "other half," teeming with immigrants, disease, and abuse. A police reporter and social reformer, Riis became intimately familiar with the perils of tenement living and sought to draw attention to the horrendous conditions. Between 1888 and 1892, he photographed the streets, people, and tenement apartments he encountered, using the vivid black and white slides to accompany his lectures and influential text, How the Other Half Lives, published in 1890 by Scribner's. His powerful images brought public attention to urban conditions, helping to propel a national debate over what American working and living conditions should be.

A Danish immigrant, Riis arrived in America in 1870 at the age of 21, heartbroken from the rejection of his marriage proposal to Elisabeth Gjørtz. Riis initially struggled to get by, working as a carpenter and at various odd jobs before gaining a footing in journalism. In 1877 he became a police reporter for The New York Tribune, assigned to the beat of New York City's Lower East Side. Riis believed his personal struggle as an immigrant who "reached New York with just one cent in my pocket"* shaped his involvement in reform efforts to alleviate the suffering he witnessed.

As a police reporter, Riis had unique access to the city's slums. In the evenings, he would accompany law enforcement and members of the health department on raids of the tenements, witnessing the atrocities people suffered firsthand. Riis tried to convey the horrors to readers, but struggled to articulate the enormity of the problems through his writings. Impressed by the newly invented flash photography technique he read about, Riis began to experiment with the medium in 1888, believing that pictures would have the power to expose the tenement-house problem in a way that his textual reporting could not do alone. Indeed, the images he captured would shock the conscience of Americans.

Midnight rounds

At first Riis engaged the services of a photographer who would accompany him as he made his midnight rounds with the police, but ultimately dissatisfied with this arrangement, Riis purchased a box camera and learned to use it. The flash technique used a combination of explosives to achieve the light necessary to take pictures in the dark. The process was new and messy and Riis made adjustments as he went. First, he or his assistants would position the camera on a tripod and then they would ignite the mixture of magnesium flash-powder above the camera lens, causing an explosive noise, great smoke, and a blinding flash of light. Initially, Riis used a revolver to shoot cartridges containing the explosive magnesium flash-powder, but he soon discovered that showing up waving pistols set the wrong tone and substituted a frying pan for the

gun, flashing the light on that instead. The process certainly terrified those in the vicinity and also proved dangerous. Riis reported setting two fires in places he visited and nearly blinding himself on one occasion.

Home and work

While it is unclear if Riis' pictures were totally candid or posed, his agenda of using the stark images to persuade the middle and upper classes that reform was needed is well documented. A major theme of Riis' images was the terrible conditions immigrants lived in. In the 1890s, tenement apartments served as both homes and as garment factories. "Knee-Pants at Forty-Five Cents a Dozen—A Ludlow Street Sweater's Shop" depicts the intersection of home and work life that was typical. Note the number of people crowded together making knickers and consider their ages, gender, and role. Each worker would be paid by the piece produced and each had his/her own particular role to fill in the shop which was also a family's home.



Jacob August Riis, "Knee-pants" at forty five cents a dozen—A Ludlow Street Sweater's Shop (detail), c. 1890, 7 x 6 inches from How the Other Half Lives

While Riis did not record the names of the people he photographed, he organized his book into ethnic sections, categorizing the images according to the racial and ethnic stereotypes of his age. In this regard, Riis has been criticized for both his bias and reducing those photographed to nameless victims. "Knee- Pants," appears in the chapter Jewtown and one can assume that the individuals are part of the large wave of Eastern European Jewish migration that flooded New York at the turn of the twentieth century.

They are likely conversing in Yiddish and share some type of familial or neighborly connection. Some of the workers depicted might have lived in a neighboring New York City apartment or next door back in the old country. Home life, family relations and business relations, are intertwined. Just as it is impossible to know the names of the people captured in Riis' image, and what Riis actually thought of them, one also cannot know their own impressions of the workplace, or their hopes and day-to-day challenges.

The work performed in tenements like these throughout the Lower East Side made New York City the largest producer of clothing in the United States. Under the contracting system, the tenement shop would be responsible for assembling the garments, which made up the bulk of the work. By 1910, New York produced 70% of women's clothing and 40% of men's ready-made clothing. That meant that the knee-pants and garments made by the workers captured in this Ludlow Street sweatshop were shipped across the nation. Riis' photographs helped make the sweatshop a subject of a national debate and the center of a struggle between workers, owners, consumers, politicians, and social reformers.

The Progressive Era

Riis' photographs are part of a larger reform effort undertaken during the Progressive Era, that sought to address the problems of rapid industrialization and urbanization. Progressives worked under the premise that if one studies and documents a problem and proposes and tests solutions, difficulties can ultimately be solved, improving the welfare of society as a whole. Progressives like Riis, Lewis Hine, and Jessie Tarbox Beals pioneered the tradition of documentary photography, using the tool to record and publicize working and housing conditions and a renewed call for reform. These efforts ultimately led to government regulation and the passage of the 1901 Tenement House Law, which mandated new construction and sanitation regulations that improved the access to air, light, and water in all tenement buildings.

In the introduction to the How the Other Half Lives, Riis challenged his readers to confront societal ills, asking "What are you going to do about it? is the question of to-day." It was a question of the past, but one that endures.

NAME _____

COURSE _____

TIME _____

WORKSHEET | Questions

1. Who was Jacob Riis?

2. What role did his work play in understanding the realities of immigrant communities in American cities?

3. What do you think the power of images has to do with Riis's success? Would he have been as successful just writing about social issues?

UNIT 6 | How the Other Half Lives Images



Describe the details of the photograph.

1. What are two inferences that you can make about the image?

2. What are does the photo tell us about immigration to the United States in the late 19th century?

3. What questions does the image raise?



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UNIT 6 | How the Other Half Lives Images



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3. What questions does the image raise?



LESSON 6.1.15 | CLOSING | EQ Notebook

PURPOSE

At the start of the lesson, students looked at the essential questions without much to go on. Now that the lesson is over, students should revisit the essential questions. This time, students should cite specific passages and evidence from the content in the unit that provided insights into answering the driving questions.

PROCESS

At the start of this lesson on the Gilded Age, students were given two Unit 6 Essential Questions and two Lesson 6.1 Essential Questions. As a reminder, here they are again:

Unit 6 Essential Questions:

- In what ways did the period between 1865 and 1898 shape the political, social, and cultural identity of the United States?
- In what ways can this period be viewed as both a period of prosperity or progress and also a period of strife and inequality?

Lesson 6.1 Essential Questions:

- How and why did industrialization, urbanization, and immigration increase during the Gilded Age?
- What were the social impacts of the developments of the Gilded Age?

Ask students to think about these questions and respond on their EQ Notebook Worksheets.

Now that students have spent some time with the material of this unit, they should look back over the content covered as well as any additional information they have come across, and write down any quotes or evidence that provide new insights into the essential questions assigned for this lesson. Once they've finished, they should think about how this new information has impacted their thinking about the unit essential question, and write down their thoughts in their EQ Notebook.

ATTACHMENT

- The EQ Unit 6 Notebook Worksheet

UNIT 6 | EQ Notebook Worksheet

Answer the Essential Questions in Lesson 6.1.1, then again in Lesson 6.1.15. In your answer, be sure to include ideas such as historical context and how themes through history change over time. Use specific examples to support your claims or ideas.

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

1. How and why did industrialization, urbanization, and immigration increase during the Gilded Age?
2. What were the social impacts of the developments of the Gilded Age?

LESSON 6.1.1.	
LESSON 6.1.15.	
HOW HAS YOUR THINKING CHANGED?	



LESSON 6.2.0 | OVERVIEW | The Politics of the Gilded Age

The Gilded Age was a period of drastic change in America. As you saw in the previous lesson from this unit, this was a period of expansion. Both our industrial economy and population expanded through the growth of the corporation and rapid immigration, respectively. All the while, Americans expanded to the West at the cost of the Native Americans already populating those areas. In this lesson we look at the political changes of the era. Big city, party politics became synonymous with rampant corruption, as figures like William "Boss" Tweed and his Democratic Party machine out of Tammany Hall in New York City controlled virtually everything that happened in the nation's largest city and grew all the wealthier for it. The growth of business brought about politicians happy to play ball with corporations, allowing them the benefit of government assistance in their pursuits of riches. Naturally the corruption and the unequal distribution of both political and economic capital led others to resist and push for reform. The discontented masses gathered and created political parties in the Populists and Socialists that were fleeting in their actual existence, but they would plant the seeds for major reforms and new ways of understanding politics in the United States.

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- In what ways did the period between 1865 and 1898 shape the political, social, and cultural identity of the United States?
- In what ways can this period be viewed as both a period of prosperity or progress and also a period of strife and inequality?

LESSON 6.2.0 | OVERVIEW | Learning Outcomes, Vocabulary, & Outline

LEARNING OUTCOMES

- Describe political changes brought about during this period.
- Identify important figures and moments from the Gilded Age.
- Analyze the ways in which the period constitutes a distinct era in US History.
- Understand the responses to political and economic inequalities from various groups.

LESSON ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- What were the major ideas and actions that drove politics during the Gilded Age?
- How were the economic and political spheres impacting one another during the period, and what was the effect on the American people?

LESSON OUTLINE

1 Opening | EQ Notebook – Lesson 6.2
2 Watch | Crash Course US History #26 – Gilded Age Politics
3 Read | Tammany Hall
4 Read | Populists & Socialists
5 Read | Populist Party Platform
6 Read | Ida B. Wells
7 Closing | EQ Notebook



LESSON 6.2.1 | OPENING | EQ Notebook

PURPOSE

Each unit of the Crash Course US History Curriculum (CCUSH) is guided by what we call an essential question. The Essential Question Notebook (EQ Notebook) is an informal writing resource for students to track their learning and understanding of a concept throughout a unit. Students will be given an Essential Question at the beginning of a unit and asked to provide a response based on prior knowledge and speculation. Students will then revisit the notebook in order to answer the Essential Question with evidence they have gathered throughout the unit. This provides students an opportunity to track their learning and to prepare them for future activities. To help students focus on the important ideas, this activity asks them to look at the big ideas through the lens of the Essential Question. At this point, students won't have much background to bring to bear on the issue just yet. This early exercise helps to bring to the fore what they know coming into the unit.

PROCESS

Just as in the last unit, students will have Essential Questions to guide their learning during this unit. Our unit essential Questions remain the same, but there are two new questions specific to this lesson over politics during the Gilded Age. Students should think of these as guides to what it is they should focus on for the bulk of the unit. Remind them that if they ever find themselves unsure of what it is they're supposed to be learning in a given activity, instruct them to review the questions and focus their thinking toward those topics. To begin the unit, they should record the new questions in their notebooks and jot down any initial ideas they may have related to the topics discussed.

ATTACHMENTS

- The EQ Unit 6 Notebook Worksheet

UNIT 6 | EQ Notebook Worksheet

Answer the Essential Questions in Lesson 6.2.1, then again in Lesson 6.2.7. In your answer, be sure to include ideas such as historical context and how themes through history change over time. Use specific examples to support your claims or ideas.

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

1. What were the major ideas and actions that drove politics during the Gilded Age?
2. How were the economic and political spheres impacting one another during the period, and what was the effect on the American people?

LESSON 6.2.1.	
LESSON 6.2.7.	
HOW HAS YOUR THINKING CHANGED?	



LESSON 6.2.2 | WATCH | Crash Course US History #26
Gilded Age Politics

PREVIEW

In which John Green teaches you about the Gilded Age and its politics. What, you may ask, is the Gilded Age? The term comes from a book by Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner titled, "The Gilded Age." You may see a pattern emerging here. It started in the 1870s and continued on until the turn of the 20th century. The era is called Gilded because of the massive inequality that existed in the United States. Gilded Age politics were marked by a number of phenomenons, most of them having to do with corruption. On the local and state level, political machines wielded enormous power. John gets into details about the most famous political machine, Tammany Hall. Tammany Hall ran New York City for a long, long time, notably under Boss Tweed. Graft, kickbacks, and voter fraud were rampant, but not just at the local level. Ulysses S. Grant ran one of the most scandalous presidential administrations in U.S. history, and John will tell you about two of the best known scandals, the Credit Mobilier scandal and the Whiskey Ring. There were a few attempts at reform during this time, notably the Civil Service Act of 1883 and the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890. John will also get into the Grange Movement of the western farmers, and the Populist Party that arose from that movement. The Populists, who threw in their lot with William Jennings Bryan, never managed to get it together and win a presidency, and they faded after 1896.

PURPOSE

In this video, students will be introduced to the major political events of the Gilded Age. Through this video, they will come to understand the ways in which political machines were built and dictated much about the operations in major American cities. This episode also features details on corruption, regulation, and the birth of populism at the close of the nineteenth century.

PROCESS

As with all of the videos in the course, ask students to watch the video before class. Remind students of John's fast-talking and play the video with captions. Pause and rewind when necessary. Before they watch the video, remind them of the central ideas of the Unit 6 Essential Questions and the Lesson 6.2 Essential Questions.

LINK

- Crash Course US History #26 – Gilded Age Politics

Video questions for students to answer during their viewing.

LESSON 6.2.2 | WATCH | Key Ideas – Factual

Use these questions and prompts at the appropriate stopping points to check in with students and ensure they are getting the key concepts covered in the video.

1. (:30) How did the Gilded Age get its name?

SAMPLE ANSWER: The Gilded Age shares its name with a Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner book, which was actually about politics and not the imagery of ostentatious displays of wealth one pictures when considering the era.

2. (1:40) What is a political machine and what is a famous example of a political machine?

SAMPLE ANSWER: A political machine is basically an organization that works to win elections so that they can exercise power. The most famous political machine was New York City's Tammany Hall, which dominated Democratic Party politics in the late 19th Century and is keenly associated with corruption.

3. (3:00) Why is New York County's courthouse (now site of NYC's Department of Education) Boss Tweed's greatest feat of swindling and corruption?

SAMPLE ANSWER: Building the courthouse was initially estimated to cost around $250,000, but ended up costing $13,000,000 due to the kickbacks that were negotiated by Tammany Hall.

4. (4:35) In exchange for helping the immigrants and poor of the city, what did Tammany Hall expect from this help?

SAMPLE ANSWER: In return from help offered to the poor and immigrants, Tammany Hall expected votes which equated to them staying in power.

5. (4:55) What other fraudulent methods did Tammany Hall employ to influence politics?

SAMPLE ANSWER: Tammany was known for finding bearded men to vote on their behalf, give that man a shave down to a mustache to vote again, only to have him vote a third time when the mustache was shaved off. There was also the use of violence and intimidation.

6. (5:30) Describe the scandal surrounding the road building for Union Pacific Railroad.

SAMPLE ANSWER: The construction company that completed most of the road building was accused of overcharging the public for construction costs and siphoning off profits, then bribing Congressmen.

7. (6:10) Describe the scandal surrounding the Whiskey Ring?

SAMPLE ANSWER: The Whiskey Ring was a group of distillers in Saint Louis who decided they didn't like paying excise taxes on their products. A President Grant administration official, John McDonald, helped distillers reduce their taxes by intentionally under-counting their product. This meant they paid less on what they had "produced" but still profited off everything they sold.

8. (7:00) What are the differences between political parties of the Gilded Age?

SAMPLE ANSWER: Gilded Age Republicans favored high tariffs, low government spending, paying off national debt, and reducing the amount of paper money. Democrats opposed the tariffs and were often linked to New York bankers and financiers. Both were pro-business, just in different areas.

9. (8:10) How did reform legislation change depending on geographic location?

SAMPLE ANSWER: As state governments expanded their responsibility for public health and welfare, cities (mostly in the north) invested in public works like transportation, electricity, and public education. Some northern states passed laws that limited work days to 8 hours. Reform legislation was less developed in the south where they were rolling back Reconstruction laws and creating ones that limited the civil rights of African Americans. In the west, farmers became politically motivated over the issue of freight rates.

10. (10:50) What may have prevented a third major political party system in the United States?

SAMPLE ANSWER: The Populist party called for free coinage of silver, which never really caught on because it would have led to inflation, especially of food prices that would have hurt urban laborers. Had the threat of silver inflation not occurred, it's likely the Populist party would have caught on nationally.

LESSON 6.2.2 | WATCH | Conceptual Thinking

Have students answer the following question in order for them to make connections across different concepts and think more critically about the information presented in the video.

1. Is the political climate of the Gilded Age similar to today's political landscape? If so, in what ways do the two mirror each other? List examples to support your answer.



LESSON 6.2.3 | READ | Tammany Hall

PURPOSE

The attached document is an excerpt from a book featuring the talks of New Yorker George Plunkitt. It detailed Plunkitt and his cronies' efforts at what he called, "honest graft." In this reading students will get a sense of the ways that political machines like Tammany used both loopholes and wide authority to instill a vein of corruption in city government, growing wealthy along the way.

PROCESS

Print or share the reading with the students. Remind students that they should read actively, marking the text as they go. This will allow them to be better prepared to discuss the reading in class. After completing the reading, students should be sure to answer the questions at the end of the document.

ATTACHMENT

- Plunkitt of Tammany Hall

READING | "I Seen My Opportunities and I Took 'Em."
An Old-Time Pol Preaches Honest Graft

One of the famous, albeit not the most important of the old-time political bosses, was George Washington Plunkitt. Although he was well known in New York City political circles in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, his enduring fame came from a very short book with a very long subtitle: Plunkitt of Tammany Hall: A Series of Very Plain Talks on Very Practical Politics, Delivered by Ex-Senator George Washington Plunkitt, the Tammany Philosopher, from his Rostrum—the New York County Courthouse Bootblack Stand. Journalist William Riordan listened to Plunkitt's talks and published them as interviews in various local newspapers. In 1905, he published them in a book, which became a classic on American urban politics, one still widely read today. Amidst political cynicism, Plunkitt also preached the virtues of hard work, sobriety, and even (as in this talk on "honest graft") honesty.

Everybody is talkin' these days about Tammany men growin' rich on graft, but nobody thinks of drawin' the distinction between honest graft and dishonest graft. There's all the difference in the world between the two. Yes, many of our men have grown rich in politics. I have myself. I've made a big fortune out of the game, and I'm gettin' richer every day, but I've not gone in for dishonest graft—blackmailin' gamblers, saloonkeepers, disorderly people, etc.—and neither has any of the men who have made big fortunes in politics.

There's an honest graft, and I'm an example of how it works. I might sum up the whole thing by sayin': "I seen my opportunities and I took 'em."

Just let me explain by examples. My party's in power in the city, and it's goin' to undertake a lot of public improvements. Well, I'm tipped off, say, that they're going to lay out a new park at a certain place. I see my opportunity and I take it. I go to that place and I buy up all the land I can in the neighborhood. Then the board of this or that makes its plan public, and there is a rush to get my land, which nobody cared particular for before.

Ain't it perfectly honest to charge a good price and make a profit on my investment and foresight? Of course, it is. Well, that's honest graft. Or supposin' it's a new bridge they're goin' to build. I get tipped off and I buy as much property as I can that has to be taken for approaches. I sell at my own price later on and drop some more money in the bank.

Wouldn't you? It's just like lookin' ahead in Wall Street or in the coffee or cotton market. It's honest graft, and I'm lookin' for it every day in the year. I will tell you frankly that I've got a good lot of it, too.

I'll tell you of one case. They were goin' to fix up a big park, no matter where. I got on to it, and went lookin' about for land in that neighborhood.

I could get nothin' at a bargain but a big piece of swamp, but I took it fast enough and held on to it. What turned out was just what I counted on. They couldn't make the park complete without Plunkitt's swamp, and they had to pay a good price for it. Anything dishonest in that?

Up in the watershed I made some money, too. I bought up several bits of land there some years ago and made a pretty good guess that they would be bought up for water purposes later by the city.

Somehow, I always guessed about right, and shouldn't I enjoy the profit of my foresight? It was rather amusin' when the condemnation commissioners came along and found piece after piece of the land in the name of George Plunkitt of the Fifteenth Assembly District, New York City. They wondered how I knew just what to buy. The answer is—I seen my opportunity and I took it. I haven't confined myself to land; anything that pays is in my line.

For instance, the city is repavin' a street and has several hundred thousand old granite blocks to sell. I am on hand to buy, and I know just what they are worth.

How? Never mind that. I had a sort of monopoly of this business for a while, but once a newspaper tried to do me. It got some outside men to come over from Brooklyn and New Jersey to bid against me.

Was I done? Not much. I went to each of the men and said: "How many of these 250,000 stones do you want?" One said 20,000, and another wanted 15,000, and other wanted 10,000. I said: "All right, let me bid for the lot, and I'll give each of you all you want for nothin'."

They agreed, of course. Then the auctioneer yelled: "How much am I bid for these 250,000 fine pavin' stones?"

"Two dollars and fifty cents," says I.

"Two dollars and fifty cents" screamed the auctioneer. "Oh, that's a joke Give me a real bid."

He found the bid was real enough. My rivals stood silent. I got the lot for $2.50 and gave them their share. That's how the attempt to do Plunkitt ended, and that's how all such attempts end.

I've told you how I got rich by honest graft. Now, let me tell you that most politicians who are accused of robbin' the city get rich the same way.

They didn't steal a dollar from the city treasury. They just seen their opportunities and took them. That is why, when a reform administration comes in and spends a half million dollars in tryin' to find the public robberies they talked about in the campaign, they don't find them.

The books are always all right. The money in the city treasury is all right. Everything is all right. All they can show is that the Tammany heads of departments looked after their friends, within the law, and gave them what opportunities they could to make honest graft. Now, let me tell you that's never goin' to hurt Tammany with the people. Every good man looks

after his friends, and any man who doesn't isn't likely to be popular. If I have a good thing to hand out in private life, I give it to a friend. Why shouldn't I do the same in public life?

Another kind of honest graft. Tammany has raised a good many salaries. There was an awful howl by the reformers, but don't you know that Tammany gains ten votes for every one it lost by salary raisin'? The Wall Street banker thinks it shameful to raise a department clerk's salary from $1500 to $1800 a year, but every man who draws a salary himself says: "That's all right. I wish it was me." And he feels very much like votin' the Tammany ticket on election day, just out of sympathy.

Tammany was beat in 1901 because the people were deceived into believin' that it worked dishonest graft. They didn't draw a distinction between dishonest and honest graft, but they saw that some Tammany men grew rich, and supposed they had been robbin' the city treasury or levyin' blackmail on disorderly houses, or workin' in with the gamblers and lawbreakers.

As a matter of policy, if nothing else, why should the Tammany leaders go into such dirty business, when there is so much honest graft lyin' around when they are in power? Did you ever consider that?

Now, in conclusion, I want to say that I don't own a dishonest dollar. If my worst enemy was given the job of writin' my epitaph when I'm gone, he couldn't do more than write:

"George W. Plunkitt. He Seen His Opportunities, and He Took 'Em."

Source

William L. Riordan, Plunkitt of Tammany Hall (1905; reprint, New York: E. P. Dutton, 1963), 3–6.

http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5030/



LESSON 6.2.4 | READ | Populists and Socialists

PURPOSE

This selection, from the Open Source textbook The American Yawp, provides students with an overview of the rise of the Populist and Socialist Parties. Each party had a charismatic leader and offered a solution to the ills of the rise of industrial capitalism as felt by farmers and industrial laborers. Ultimately, neither group succeeded in breaking through to mainstream acceptance, but they both helped to shape the politics that would come out of the period.

PROCESS

Print or share the reading with the students. Remind students that they should read actively, marking the text as they go. This will allow them to be better prepared to discuss the reading in class. After completing the reading, students should be sure to answer the questions at the end of the document.

ATTACHMENT

- American Yawp - Populists and Socialists

READING | Populists and Socialists — Excerpted from The American Yawp, Chapter 16

"Wall street owns the country," the Populist leader Mary Elizabeth Lease told dispossessed farmers around 1890. "It is no longer a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, but a government of Wall Street, by Wall Street, and for Wall Street." Farmers, who remained a majority of the American population through the first decade of the twentieth century, were hit especially hard by industrialization. The expanding markets and technological improvements that increased efficiency also decreased commodity prices. Commercialization of agriculture put farmers in the hands of bankers, railroads, and various middle men. As the decades passed, more and more farmers fell ever further into debt, lost their land, and were forced to enter the industrial workforce or, especially in the South, became landless farmworkers.

The rise of industrial giants reshaped the American countryside and the Americans who called it home. Railroad spur lines, telegraph lines, and credit crept into farming communities and linked rural Americans, who still made up a majority of the country's population, with towns, regional cities, American financial centers in Chicago and New York, and, eventually, London and the world's financial markets. Meanwhile, improved farm machinery, easy credit, and the latest consumer goods flooded the countryside. But new connections and new conveniences came at a price.

Farmers had always been dependent on the whims of the weather and local markets. But now they staked their financial security on a national economic system subject to rapid price swings, rampant speculation, and limited regulation. Frustrated American farmers attempted to reshape the fundamental structures of the nation's political and economic systems, systems they believed enriched parasitic bankers and industrial monopolists at the expense of the many laboring farmers who fed the nation by producing its many crops and farm goods. Their dissatisfaction with an erratic and impersonal system put many of them at the forefront of what would become perhaps the most serious challenge to the established political economy of Gilded Age America. Farmers organized, and launched their challenge first through the cooperatives of the Farmers' Alliance and later through the politics of the People's (or Populist) Party.

Mass production and business consolidations spawned giant corporations that monopolized nearly every sector of the U.S. economy in the decades after the Civil War. In contrast, the economic power of the individual farmer sunk into oblivion. Threatened by ever-plummeting commodity prices and ever-rising indebtedness, Texas agrarians met in Lampasas in 1877 and organized the first Farmers' Alliance to restore some economic power to farmers as they dealt with railroads, merchants, and bankers. If big business would rely on their numerical strength to exert their economic will, why shouldn't farmers unite to counter that power? They could share machinery, bargain from wholesalers, and negotiate higher prices for their crops. Over the following

years, organizers spread from town to town across the former Confederacy, Midwest, and the Great Plains, holding evangelical-style camp meetings, distributing pamphlets, and establishing over 1,000 Alliance newspapers. As the Alliance spread, so too did its near-religious vision of the nation's future as a "cooperative commonwealth" that would protect the interests of the many from the predatory greed of the few. At its peak, the Farmers' Alliance claimed 1,500,000 members meeting in 40,000 local sub-alliances.[1]

The Alliance's most innovative programs were a series of farmer's cooperatives that enabled farmers to negotiate higher prices for their crops and lower prices for the goods they purchased. These cooperatives spread across the South between 1886 and 1892 and claimed more than a million members at its high point. While most failed financially, these "philanthropic monopolies," as one Alliance speaker termed them, inspired farmers to look to large-scale organization to cope with their economic difficulties.[2] But cooperation was only part of the Alliance message.

In the South, Alliance-backed Democratic candidates won 4 governorships and 48 congressional seats in 1890.[3] But at a time when falling prices and rising debts conspired against the survival of family farmers, the two political parties seemed incapable of representing the needs of poor farmers. And so Alliance members organized a political party—the People's Party, or the Populists, as they came to be known. The Populists attracted supporters across the nation by appealing to those convinced that there were deep flaws in the political economy of Gilded Age America, flaws that both political parties refused to address. Veterans of earlier fights for currency reform, disaffected industrial laborers, proponents of the benevolent socialism of Edward Bellamy's popular Looking Backward, and the champions of Henry George's farmer-friendly "single-tax" proposal joined Alliance members in the new party. The Populists nominated former Civil War general James B. Weaver as their presidential candidate at the party's first national convention in Omaha, Nebraska, on July 4, 1892.[4]

At that meeting the party adopted a platform that crystallized the Alliance's cooperate program into a coherent political vision. The platform's preamble, written by longtime political iconoclast and Minnesota populist Ignatius Donnelly, warned that "[t]he fruits of the toil of millions [had been]

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1 *Historians of the Populists have produced a large number of excellent histories. See especially Lawrence Goodwyn, Democratic Promise: The Populist Moment in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976); and Charles Postel, The Populist Vision (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).*

2 *Lawrence Goodwyn argued that the Populists' "cooperative vision" was the central element in their hopes of a "democratic economy." Goodwyn, Democratic Promise, 54*

3 *John Donald Hicks, The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press), 178.*

4 *Ibid, 236.*

boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few."[5] Taken as a whole, the Omaha Platform and the larger Populist movement sought to counter the scale and power of monopolistic capitalism with a strong, engaged, and modern federal government. The platform proposed an unprecedented expansion of federal power. It advocated nationalizing the country's railroad and telegraph systems to ensure that essential services would be run in the best interests of the people. In an attempt to deal with the lack of currency available to farmers, it advocated postal savings banks to protect depositors and extend credit. It called for the establishment of a network of federally-managed warehouses—called subtreasuries—which would extend government loans to farmers who stored crops in the warehouses as they awaited higher market prices. To save debtors it promoted an inflationary monetary policy by monetizing silver. Direct election of Senators and the secret ballot would ensure that this federal government would serve the interest of the people rather than entrenched partisan interests and a graduated income tax would protect Americans from the establishment of an American aristocracy. Combined, these efforts would, Populists believed, help to shift economic and political power back toward the nation's producing classes.

In the Populists' first national election campaign in 1892, Weaver received over one million votes (and 22 electoral votes), a truly startling performance that signaled a bright future for the Populists. And when the Panic of 1893 sparked the worst economic depression the nation had ever yet seen, the Populist movement won further credibility and gained even more ground. Kansas Populist Mary Lease, one of the movement's most fervent speakers, famously, and perhaps apocryphally, called on farmers to "raise less corn and more Hell." Populist stump speakers crossed the country, speaking with righteous indignation, blaming the greed of business elites and corrupt party politicians for causing the crisis fueling America's widening inequality. Southern orators like Texas' James "Cyclone" Davis and Georgian firebrand Tom Watson stumped across the South decrying the abuses of northern capitalists and the Democratic Party. Pamphlets such as W.H. Harvey's Coin's Financial School and Henry D. Lloyd's Wealth against Commonwealth provided Populist answers to the age's many perceived problems. The faltering economy combined with the Populist's extensive organizing. In the 1894 elections, Populists elected six senators and seven representatives to Congress. The third party seemed destined to conquer American politics.[6]

The movement, however, still faced substantial obstacles, especially in the South. The failure of Alliance-backed Democrats to live up to their campaign promises drove some southerners to break with the party of their forefathers and join the Populists. Many, however, were unwilling to take what was, for southerners, a radical step. Southern Democrats, for their part, responded to the Populist challenge with electoral fraud and racial demagoguery. Both severely limited Populist

5 *Edward McPherson, A Handbook of Politics for 1892 (Washington D.C.: James J. Chapman, 1892), 269.*

6 *Hicks, 321-339.*

gains. The Alliance struggled to balance the pervasive white supremacy of the American South with their call for a grand union of the producing class. American racial attitudes—and its virulent southern strain—simply proved too formidable. Democrats race-baited Populists and Populists capitulated. The Colored Farmers Alliance, which had formed as a segregated sister organization to the Southern Alliance, and had as many as 250,000 members at its peak, fell prey to racial and class-based hostility. The group went into rapid decline in 1891 when faced with the violent white repression of a number of Colored Alliance-sponsored cotton-picker strikes. Racial mistrust and division remained the rule, even among Populists, and even in North Carolina, where a political marriage of convenience between Populists and Republicans resulted in the election of Populist Marion Butler to the Senate. Populists opposed Democratic corruption, but this did not necessarily make them champions of interracial democracy. As Butler explained to an audience in Edgecome County, "[w]e are in favor of white supremacy, but we are not in favor of cheating and fraud to get it."[7] In fact, across much of the South, Populists and Farmers Alliance members were often at the forefront of the movement for disfranchisement and segregation.

Populism exploded in popularity. The first major political force to tap into the vast discomfort of many Americans with the disruptions wrought by industrial capitalism, the Populist Party seemed poise to capture political victory. And yet, even as Populism gained national traction, the movement was stumbling. The party's often divided leadership found it difficult to shepherd what remained a diverse and loosely organized coalition of reformers towards unified political action. The Omaha platform was a radical document, and some state party leaders selectively embraced its reforms. More importantly, the institutionalized parties were still too strong, and the Democrats loomed, ready to swallow Populist frustrations and inaugurate a new era of American politics.

William Jennings Bryan and the Politics of Gold

William Jennings Bryan (March 19, 1860 – July 26, 1925) accomplished many different things in his life: he was a skilled orator, a Nebraska Congressman, a three-time presidential candidate, the U.S. Secretary of the State under Woodrow Wilson, and a lawyer who supported prohibition and opposed Darwinism (most notably in the 1925 Scopes "Monkey" Trial). In terms of his political career, he won national renown for his attack on the gold standard and his tireless promotion of free silver and policies for the benefit of the average American. Although Bryan was unsuccessful in winning the presidency, he forever altered the course of American political history.[8]

Bryan was born in Salem, Illinois, in 1860 to a devout family with a strong passion for law, politics, and public speaking. At twenty, he attended

7 *Postel, 197.*

8 *For William Jennings Bryan, see especially Michael Kazin, A Godly Hero: The Life of William Jennings Bryan (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006).*

Union Law College in Chicago and passed the bar shortly thereafter. After his marriage to Mary Baird in Illinois, Bryan and his young family relocated to Nebraska, where he won a reputation among the state's Democratic Party leaders as an extraordinary orator. Bryan would later win recognition as one of the greatest speakers in American history.

When economic depressions struck the Midwest in the late 1880s, despairing farmers faced low crop prices and found few politicians on their side. While many rallied to the Populist cause, Bryan worked from within the Democratic Party, using the strength of his oratory. After delivering one speech, he told his wife, "Last night I found that I had a power over the audience. I could move them as I chose. I have more than usual power as a speaker… God grant that I may use it wisely."[9] He soon won election to the Nebraska House of Representatives, where he served for two terms. Although he lost a bid to join the Nebraska Senate, Bryan refocused on a much higher political position: the presidency of the United States. There, he believed he could change the country by defending farmers and urban laborers against the corruptions of big business.

In 1895-1896, Bryan launched a national speaking tour in which he promoted the free coinage of silver. He believed that "bimetallism," by inflating American currency, could alleviate farmers' debts. In contrast, Republicans championed the gold standard and a flat money supply. American monetary standards became a leading campaign issue. Then, in July 1896, the Democratic Party's national convention met to settle upon a choice for their president nomination in the upcoming election. The party platform asserted that the gold standard was "not only un-American but anti-American." Bryan spoke last at the convention. He astounded his listeners. At the conclusion of his stirring speech, he declared, "Having behind us the commercial interests and the laboring interests and all the toiling masses, we shall answer their demands for a gold standard by saying to them, you shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."[10] After a few seconds of stunned silence, the convention went wild. Some wept, many shouted, and the band began to play "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow." Bryan received the 1896 Democratic presidential nomination.

The Republicans ran William McKinley, an economic conservative who championed business interests and the gold standard. Bryan crisscrossed the country spreading the silver gospel. The election drew enormous attention and much emotion. According to Bryan's wife, he received two thousand letters of support every day that year, an enormous amount for any politician, let alone one not currently in office. Yet Bryan could not defeat the McKinley. The pro-business Republicans outspent Bryan's campaign fivefold.

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9 *Kazin, 25.*

10 *Richard Franklin Bensel, Passion and Preferences: William Jennings Bryan and the 1896 Democratic Convention (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 232.*

A notably high 79.3% of eligible American voters cast ballots and turnout averaged 90% in areas supportive of Bryan, but Republicans swayed the population-dense Northeast and Great Lakes region and stymied the Democrats.[11]

In early 1900, Congress passed the Gold Standard Act, which put the country on the gold standard, effectively ending the debate over the nation's monetary policy. Bryan sought the presidency again in 1900 but was again defeated, as he would be yet again in 1908.

Bryan was among the most influential losers in American political history. When the agrarian wing of the Democratic Party nominated the Nebraska congressman in 1896, Bryan's fiery condemnation of northeastern financial interests and his impassioned calls for "free and unlimited coinage of silver" co-opted popular Populist issues. The Democrats stood ready to siphon off a large proportion of the Populist's political support. When the People's Party held its own convention two weeks later, the party's moderate wing, in a fiercely contested move, overrode the objections of more ideologically pure Populists and nominated Bryan as the Populist candidate as well. This strategy of temporary "fusion" movement fatally fractured the movement and the party. Populist energy moved from the radical-yet-still-weak People's Party to the more moderate-yet-powerful Democratic Party. And although at first glance the Populist movement appears to have been a failure—its minor electoral gains were short-lived, it did little to dislodge the entrenched two-party system, and the Populist dream of a cooperative commonwealth never took shape—yet, in terms of lasting impact, the Populist Party proved the most significant third-party movement in American history. The agrarian revolt would establish the roots of later reform and the majority of policies outlined within the Omaha Platform would eventually be put into law over the following decades under the management of middle-class reformers. In large measure, the Populist vision laid the intellectual groundwork for the coming progressive movement.[12]

The Socialists

American socialists carried on the Populists' radical tradition by uniting farmers and workers in a sustained, decades-long political struggle to reorder American economic life. Socialists argued that wealth and power were consolidated in the hands of too few individuals, that monopolies and trusts controlled too much of the economy, and that owners and investors grew rich while the very workers who produced their wealth, despite massive productivity gains and rising national wealth, still suffered from low pay, long hours, and unsafe working conditions. Karl Marx had described the new industrial economy as a worldwide class struggle between the wealthy "bourgeoisie," who owned the means of production, such as factories and farms, and the "proletariat," factory workers

11 *Lyn Ragsdale, Vital Statistics on the Presidency (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1998), 132-38.*

12 *Elizabeth Sanders, The Roots of Reform: Farmers, Workers, and the American State, 1877-1917, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).*

and tenant farmers who worked only for the wealth of others. According to Eugene Debs, socialists sought "the overthrow of the capitalist system and the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery."[13] Under an imagined socialist cooperative commonwealth, the means of production would be owned collectively, ensuring that all men and women received a fair wage for their labor. According to socialist organizer and newspaper editor Oscar Ameringer, socialists wanted "ownership of the trust by the government, and the ownership of the government by the people."[14]

The Socialist movement drew from a diverse constituency. Party membership was open to all regardless of race, gender, class, ethnicity, or religion. Many prominent Americans, such as Helen Keller, Upton Sinclair, and Jack London, became socialists. They were joined by masses of American laborers from across the United States: factory workers, miners, railroad builders, tenant farmers, and small farmers all united under the red flag of socialism.

The Socialist Party of America (SPA), founded in 1901, carried on the American third-party political tradition. Socialist mayors were elected in 33 cities and towns—ranging from Berkeley, California to Schenectady, New York—and two socialists—Victor Berger from Wisconsin and Meyer London from New York—won congressional seats. All told, over 1000 socialist candidates won various American political offices. Julius A. Wayland, editor of the socialist newspaper Appeal to Reason, proclaimed that "socialism is coming. It's coming like a prairie fire and nothing can stop it … you can feel it in the air." By 1913 there were 150,000 members of the Socialist Party and, in 1912, Eugene V. Debs, the Indiana-born Socialist Party candidate for president, received almost one million votes, or six percent of the total.[15]

Over the following years, however, the embrace of many socialist policies by progressive reformers, internal ideological and tactical disagreements, a failure to dissuade most Americans of the perceived incompatibility between socialism and American values, and, especially, government oppression and censorship, particularly during and after World War I, ultimately sunk the party. Like the Populists, however, socialists had tapped into a deep well of discontent and their energy and organizing filtered out into American culture and American politics.

13 *Eugene V. Debs, "The Socialist Party and the Working Class, The International Socialist Review (September, 1904).*

14 *Oscar Ameringer, Socialism: What It Is and How to Get It (Milwaukee: Political Action Co., 1911), 31.*

15 *Nick Salvatore, Eugene V. Debs, Citizen and Socialist (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1983).*

NAME _____

COURSE _____

TIME _____

WORKSHEET | Questions

The Populist Movement

1. How was the economic growth during the Gilded Age impacting rural areas? How was it leaving some Americans behind and unhappy?

2. How did farmers and others respond to the problems?

3. Describe the Populists rise to political success.

4. What problems did the Populists run into in the South?

NAME _____

COURSE _____

TIME _____

WORKSHEET | Questions

William Jennings Bryan and the Politics of Gold

1. Describe the rise of William Jennings Bryan.

2. What is "bimetallism" and how/why did it help Bryan rise in popularity?

3. Why is Bryan so important in American political history?

NAME _____

COURSE _____

TIME _____

WORKSHEET | Questions

The Socialist

1. What factors led to the rising popularity of socialism?

2. Who was Eugene V. Debs and why was he important?

3. Who was allowed to join the Socialist Party?

4. What were some of the electoral successes of the SPA? Why did it ultimately fail?



LESSON 6.2.5 | READ | Populist Party Platform

PURPOSE

The attached primary source document is the platform of the Populist Party. It was adopted in Omaha, Nebraska in 1892. It provides students with more information about the Party and a clear picture of their concerns and plans for the future.

PROCESS

Print or share the reading with the students. Remind students that they should read actively, marking the text as they go. This will allow them to be better prepared to discuss the reading in class. After completing the reading, students should be sure to answer the questions at the end of the document.

ATTACHMENT

- Populist Party - Omaha Platform

READING | The "Omaha Platform" of the People's Party (1892)

In 1892, the People's, or Populist, Party crafted a platform that indicted the corruptions of the Gilded Age and promised government policies to aid "the people."

Preamble

The conditions which surround us best justify our co-operation; we meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political, and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the Legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized; most of the States have been compelled to isolate the voters at the polling places to prevent universal intimidation and bribery. The newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled, public opinion silenced, business prostrated, homes covered with mortgages, labor impoverished, and the land concentrating in the hands of capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right to organize for self-protection, imported pauperized labor beats down their wages, a hireling standing army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down, and they are rapidly degenerating into European conditions. The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind; and the possessors of those, in turn, despise the republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes—tramps and millionaires.

The national power to create money is appropriated to enrich bondholders; a vast public debt payable in legal tender currency has been funded into gold-bearing bonds, thereby adding millions to the burdens of the people.

Silver, which has been accepted as coin since the dawn of history, has been demonetized to add to the purchasing power of gold by decreasing the value of all forms of property as well as human labor, and the supply of currency is purposely abridged to fatten usurers, bankrupt enterprise, and enslave industry. A vast conspiracy against mankind has been organized on two continents, and it is rapidly taking possession of the world. If not met and overthrown at once it forebodes terrible social convulsions, the destruction of civilization, or the establishment of an absolute despotism.

We have witnessed for more than a quarter of a century the struggles of the two great political parties for power and plunder, while grievous wrongs have been inflicted upon the suffering people. We charge that the controlling influences dominating both these parties have permitted the existing dreadful conditions to develop without serious effort to prevent or restrain them. Neither do they now promise us any substantial reform. They have agreed together to ignore, in the coming campaign, every issue but one. They propose to drown the outcries of a plundered people with the uproar of a sham battle over the tariff, so that capitalists, corporations, national banks, rings, trusts, watered stock, the

demonetization of silver and the oppressions of the usurers may all be lost sight of. They propose to sacrifice our homes, lives, and children on the altar of mammon; to destroy the multitude in order to secure corruption funds from the millionaires.

Assembled on the anniversary of the birthday of the nation, and filled with the spirit of the grand general and chief who established our independence, we seek to restore the government of the Republic to the hands of "the plain people," with which class it originated. We assert our purposes to be identical with the purposes of the National Constitution; to form a more perfect union and establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity.

We declare that this Republic can only endure as a free government while built upon the love of the whole people for each other and for the nation; that it cannot be pinned together by bayonets; that the civil war is over, and that every passion and resentment which grew out of it must die with it, and that we must be in fact, as we are in name, one united brotherhood of free men.

Our country finds itself confronted by conditions for which there is no precedent in the history of the world; our annual agricultural productions amount to billions of dollars in value, which must, within a few weeks or months, be exchanged for billions of dollars' worth of commodities consumed in their production; the existing currency supply is wholly inadequate to make this exchange; the results are falling prices, the formation of combines and rings, the impoverishment of the producing class. We pledge ourselves that if given power we will labor to correct these evils by wise and reasonable legislation, in accordance with the terms of our platform.

We believe that the power of government—in other words, of the people—should be expanded (as in the case of the postal service) as rapidly and as far as the good sense of an intelligent people and the teachings of experience shall justify, to the end that oppression, injustice, and poverty shall eventually cease in the land.

While our sympathies as a party of reform are naturally upon the side of every proposition which will tend to make men intelligent, virtuous, and temperate, we nevertheless regard these questions, important as they are, as secondary to the great issues now pressing for solution, and upon which not only our individual prosperity but the very existence of free institutions depend; and we ask all men to first help us to determine whether we are to have a republic to administer before we differ as to the conditions upon which it is to be administered, believing that the forces of reform this day organized will never cease to move forward until every wrong is remedied and equal rights and equal privileges securely established for all the men and women of this country.

Platform

We declare, therefore—

First:—That the union of the labor forces of the United States this day consummated shall be permanent and perpetual; may its spirit enter into

all hearts for the salvation of the Republic and the uplifting of mankind.

Second.—Wealth belongs to him who creates it, and every dollar taken from industry without an equivalent is robbery. "If any will not work, neither shall he eat." The interests of rural and civic labor are the same; their enemies are identical.

Third.—We believe that the time has come when the railroad corporations will either own the people or the people must own the railroads, and should the government enter upon the work of owning and managing all railroads, we should favor an amendment to the Constitution by which all persons engaged in the government service shall be placed under a civil-service regulation of the most rigid character, so as to prevent the increase of the power of the national administration by the use of such additional government employes.

FINANCE.—We demand a national currency, safe, sound, and flexible, issued by the general government only, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and that without the use of banking corporations, a just, equitable, and efficient means of distribution direct to the people, at a tax not to exceed 2 per cent. per annum, to be provided as set forth in the sub-treasury plan of the Farmers' Alliance, or a better system; also by payments in discharge of its obligations for public improvements.

- We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of l6 to 1.
- We demand that the amount of circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than $50 per capita.
- We demand a graduated income tax.
- We believe that the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all State and national revenues shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government, economically and honestly administered.
- We demand that postal savings banks be established by the government for the safe deposit of the earnings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

TRANSPORTATION—Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people. The telegraph, telephone, like the post-office system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the government in the interest of the people.

LAND.—The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

EXPRESSION OF SENTIMENTS

Your Committee on Platform and Resolutions beg leave unanimously to report the following:

Whereas, Other questions have been presented for our consideration, we hereby submit the following,

not as a part of the Platform of the People's Party, but as resolutions expressive of the sentiment of this Convention.

1. RESOLVED, That we demand a free ballot and a fair count in all elections and pledge ourselves to secure it to every legal voter without Federal Intervention, through the adoption by the States of the unperverted Australian or secret ballot system.
2. RESOLVED, That the revenue derived from a graduated income tax should be applied to the reduction of the burden of taxation now levied upon the domestic industries of this country.
3. RESOLVED, That we pledge our support to fair and liberal pensions to ex-Union soldiers and sailors.
4. RESOLVED, That we condemn the fallacy of protecting American labor under the present system, which opens our ports to the pauper and criminal classes of the world and crowds out our wage-earners; and we denounce the present ineffective laws against contract labor, and demand the further restriction of undesirable emigration.
5. RESOLVED, That we cordially sympathize with the efforts of organized workingmen to shorten the hours of labor, and demand a rigid enforcement of the existing eight-hour law on Government work, and ask that a penalty clause be added to the said law.
6. RESOLVED, That we regard the maintenance of a large standing army of mercenaries, known as the Pinkerton system, as a menace to our liberties, and we demand its abolition. . . .
7. RESOLVED, That we commend to the favorable consideration of the people and the reform press the legislative system known as the initiative and referendum.
8. RESOLVED, That we favor a constitutional provision limiting the office of President and Vice-President to one term, and providing for the election of Senators of the United States by a direct vote of the people.
9. RESOLVED, That we oppose any subsidy or national aid to any private corporation for any purpose.
10. RESOLVED, That this convention sympathizes with the Knights of Labor and their righteous contest with the tyrannical combine of clothing manufacturers of Rochester, and declare it to be a duty of all who hate tyranny and oppression to refuse to purchase the goods made by the said manufacturers, or to patronize any merchants who sell such goods.

Source

Edward McPherson, A Handbook of Politics for 1892 (Washington D.C.: James J. Chapman, 1892), 269-271. Via Google Books

http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5361/

NAME _____

COURSE _____

TIME _____

WORKSHEET | Questions

1. What are some of the major demands of the Populist platform?

2. How do these demands relate to the issues brought about during the Gilded Age?

3. Why do you think the Populist Party became influential during this period?

4. What does this document tell you about the fears of working people during the period?



LESSON 6.2.6 | READ | Ida B. Wells

PURPOSE

The attached primary source document is an excerpt from a work by African American activist and writer, Ida B. Wells. In this selection, Wells lays out the unimaginable terror of lynching in the American South, as well as the case for African Americans to take action in their own defense. This provides students with a perspective on how the progress of the Gilded Age was not enjoyed by many in the United States' African American population.

PROCESS

Print or share the reading with the students. Remind students that they should read actively, marking the text as they go. This will allow them to be better prepared to discuss the reading in class. After completing the reading, students should be sure to answer the questions at the end of the document.

ATTACHMENT

- Southern Horror: Lynch Laws in All Its Phases

READING | Excerpt From Southern Horrors: Lynch Laws In All Its Phases
Ida B. Wells (1892) From CommonLit.org

Ida Bell Wells (1862-1931) was an African-American journalist, suffragist, sociologist, and an early leader in the Civil Rights Movement. The following excerpt comes from her work entitled Southern Horrors: Lynch Laws in All Its Phases, which was originally published in the New York Age (June 25, 1892) and was then printed as a pamphlet after much demand and many donations. In this pamphlet, Wells talks about lynching, or the murder by mob for an alleged crime without a legal trial. The targets of such wanton violence and hatred were almost always African Americans. Wells began investigating Southern lynching in 1889 when she wrote about the local lynching of a friend in her newspaper, Free Speech. This caused so much anger that people threatened Wells not to return from a trip to New York to her hometown of Memphis, prompting her to write Southern Horrors while exiled from the South.

As you read, take notes on Wells' argument as to why black people in the South were so targeted and the consequences of lynching that, essentially, let whites take the law into their own hands.

The Black and White of It

The Cleveland Gazette of January 16, 1892, publishes a case in point. Mrs. J.S. Underwood, the wife of a minister of Elyria, Ohio, accused an Afro-American of rape. She told her husband that during his absence in 1888, stumping the State for the Prohibition Party, the man came to the kitchen door, forced his way in the house and insulted her. She tried to drive him out with a heavy poker, but he overpowered and chloroformed her, and when she revived her clothing was torn and she was in a horrible condition. She did not know the man but could identify him. She pointed out William Offett, a married man, who was arrested and, being in Ohio, was granted a trial.

The prisoner vehemently denied the charge of rape, but confessed he went to Mrs. Underwood's residence at her invitation and was criminally intimate with her at her request. This availed him nothing against the sworn testimony of a minister's wife, a lady of the highest respectability. He was found guilty, and entered the penitentiary, December 14, 1888, for fifteen years. Some time afterwards the woman's remorse led her to confess to her husband that the man was innocent.

These are her words:
I met Offett at the Post Office. It was raining. He was polite to me, and as I had several bundles in my arms he offered to carry them home for me, which he did. He had a strange fascination for me, and I invited him to call on me. He called, bringing chestnuts and candy for the children. By this means we got them to leave us alone in the room. Then I sat on his lap. He made a proposal to me and I readily consented. Why I did so, I do not know, but that I did is true. He visited me several times after that and each time I was indiscreet. I did not care after the first time. In fact I could not have resisted, and had no desire to resist.

When asked by her husband why she told him she had been outraged, she said: "I had several reasons for telling you. One was the neighbors saw the fellows here, another was, I was afraid I had contracted a loathsome disease, and still another was that I feared I might give birth to a Negro baby. I hoped to save my reputation by telling you a deliberate lie." Her husband horrified by the confession had Offett, who had already served four years, released and secured a divorce.

There are thousands of such cases throughout the South, with the difference that the Southern white men in insatiate fury wreak their vengeance without intervention of law upon the Afro-Americans who consort with their women. [...]

Hundreds of such cases might be cited, but enough have been given to prove the assertion that there are white women in the South who love the Afro-American's company even as there are white men notorious for their preference for Afro-American women.

There is hardly a town in the South which has not an instance of the kind which is well known, and hence the assertion is reiterated that "nobody in the South believes the old thread bare lie that negro men rape white women." Hence there is a growing demand among Afro-Americans that the guilt or innocence of parties accused of rape be fully established. They know the men of the section of the country who refuse this are not so desirous of punishing rapists as they pretend. The utterances of the leading white men show that with them it is not the crime but the class. Bishop Fitzgerald has become apologist for lynchers of the rapists of white women only. Governor Tillman, of South Carolina, in the month of June, standing under the tree in Barnwell, S.C., on which eight Afro-Americans were hung last year, declared that he would lead a mob to lynch a negro who raped a white woman. So say the pulpits, officials and newspapers of the South. But when the victim is a colored woman it is different.

Last winter in Baltimore, Md., three white ruffians assaulted a Miss Camphor, a young Afro-American girl, while out walking with a young man of her own race. They held her escort and outraged the girl. It was a deed dastardly enough to arouse Southern blood, which gives its horror of rape as excuse for lawlessness, but she was an Afro-American. The case went to the courts, an Afro-American lawyer defended the men and they were acquitted.

In Nashville, Tenn., there is a white man, Pat Hanifan, who outraged a little Afro-American girl, and, from the physical injuries received, she has been ruined for life. He was jailed for six months, discharged, and is now a detective in that city. In the same city, last May, a white man outraged an Afro-American girl in a drug store. He was arrested, and released on bail at the trial. It was rumored that five hundred Afro-Americans had organized to lynch him. Two hundred and fifty white citizens armed themselves with Winchesters and guarded him. A cannon was placed in front of his home, and the Buchanan Rifles (State Militia) ordered to the scene for his protection. The Afro-American mob did not materialize. Only two weeks before Eph. Grizzard, who had only been charged with rape upon a white

woman, had been taken from the jail, with Governor Buchanan and the police and militia standing by, dragged through the streets in broad daylight, knives plunged into him at every step, and with every fiendish cruelty a frenzied mob could devise, he was at last swung out on the bridge with hands cut to pieces as he tried to climb up the stanchions. A naked, bloody example of the blood-thirstiness of the nineteenth-century civilization of the Athens of the South! No cannon or military was called out in his defense. He dared to visit a white woman.[...]

The New Cry

The appeal of Southern whites to Northern sympathy and sanction, the adroit, insidious plea made by Bishop Fitzgerald for suspension of judgment because those "who condemn lynching express no sympathy for the white woman in the case," falls to the ground in the light of the foregoing.

From this exposition of the race issue in lynch law, the whole matter is explained by the well-known opposition growing out of slavery to the progress of the race. This is crystalized in the oft-repeated slogan: "This is a white man's country and the white man must rule." The South resented giving the Afro-American his freedom, the ballot box and the Civil Rights Law. The raids of the Ku-Klux and \White Liners to subvert reconstruction government, the Hamburg and Ellerton, S.C., the Copiah County, Miss., and the Layfayette Parish, La., massacres were excused as the natural resentment of intelligence against government by ignorance. [...]

One by one the Southern States have legally disfranchised the Afro-American, and since the repeal of the Civil Rights Bill nearly every Southern State has passed separate car laws with a penalty against their infringement. The race regardless of advancement is penned into filthy, stifling partitions cut off from smoking cars. All this while, although the political cause has been removed, the butcheries of black men at Barnwell, S.C., Carrolton, Miss., Waycross, Ga., and Memphis, Tenn., have gone on; also the flaying alive of a man in Kentucky, the burning of one in Arkansas, the hanging of a fifteen-year-old girl in Louisiana, a woman in Jackson, Tenn., and one in Hollendale, Miss., until the dark and bloody record of the South shows 728 Afro-Americans lynched during the past eight years. Not fifty of these were for political causes; the rest were for all manner of accusations from that of rape of white women, to the case of the boy Will Lewis who was hanged at Tullahoma, Tenn., last year for being drunk and "sassy" to white folks. [...]

This cry has had its effect. It has closed the heart, stifled the conscience, warped the judgment and hushed the voice of press and pulpit on the subject of lynch law throughout this "land of liberty." Men who stand high in the esteem of the public for Christian character, for moral and physical courage, for devotion to the principles of equal and exact justice to all, and for great sagacity, stand as cowards who fear to open their mouths before this great outrage. They do not see that by their tacit encouragement, their silent acquiescence, the black shadow of lawlessness in the form of lynch law is spreading its wings over the whole country. [...]

The mob spirit has grown with the increasing intelligence of the Afro-American. It has left the out-of-the-way places where ignorance prevails, has thrown off the mask and with this new cry stalks in broad daylight in large cities, the centers of civilization, and is encouraged by the "leading citizens" and the press. [...]

The South's Position

Henry W. Grady in his well-remembered speeches in New England and New York pictured the Afro-American as incapable of self-government. Through him and other leading men the cry of the South to the country has been "Hands off! Leave us to solve our problem." To the Afro-American the South says, "the white man must and will rule." There is little difference between the Antebellum South and the New South.

Her white citizens are wedded to any method however revolting, any measure however extreme, for the subjugation of the young manhood of the race. They have cheated him out of his ballot, deprived him of civil rights or redress therefor in the civil courts, robbed him of the fruits of his labor, and are still murdering, burning and lynching him.

The result is a growing disregard of human life. Lynch law has spread its insidious influence till men in New York State, Pennsylvania and on the free Western plains feel they can take the law in their own hands with impunity, especially where an Afro-American is concerned. The South is brutalized to a degree not realized by its own inhabitants, and the very foundation of government, law and order, are imperiled. [...]

Self-Help

In the creation of this healthier public sentiment, the Afro-American can do for himself what no one else can do for him. The world looks on with wonder that we have conceded so much and remain law-abiding under such great outrage and provocation.

To Northern capital and Afro-American labor the South owes its rehabilitation. If labor is withdrawn capital will not remain. The Afro-American is thus the backbone of the South. A thorough knowledge and judicious exercise of this power in lynching localities could many times effect a bloodless revolution. The white man's dollar is his god, and to stop this will be to stop outrages in many localities. [...]

The appeal to the white man's pocket has ever been more effectual than all the appeals ever made to his conscience. Nothing, absolutely nothing, is to be gained by a further sacrifice of manhood and self-respect. By the right exercise of his power as the industrial factor of the South, the Afro-American can demand and secure his rights, the punishment of lynchers, and a fair trial for accused rapists. [...]

Nothing is more definitely settled than he must act for himself. I have shown how he may employ the boycott, emigration and the press, and I feel that by a combination of all these agencies can be effectually stamped out lynch law, that last relic of barbarism and slavery. "The gods help those who help themselves."

NAME _____

COURSE _____

TIME _____

WORKSHEET | Questions

1. How does the mention of African Americans being "disfranchised" contribute to Wells' larger argument regarding lynching?

2. In the context of this passage, what are the effects of prejudice? Why, according to the passage and your own knowledge of history, were African Americans specifically targeted? What factors contributed to this prejudice, discrimination, and violence?

3. Which of the following best describes the author's purpose in writing this text? How does Wells seek to address the terror of Lynch law?



LESSON 7.2.14 | CLOSING | EQ Notebook

PURPOSE

At the start of the lesson, students looked at the essential questions without much to go on. Now that the lesson is over, students should revisit the essential questions. This time, students should cite specific passages and evidence from the content in the unit that provided insights into answering the driving questions.

PROCESS

At the start of this lesson, students were given two Unit 6 Essential Questions and two Lesson 6.2 Essential Questions. As a reminder, here they are again:

Unit 6 Essential Questions:

- In what ways did the period between 1865 and 1898 shape the political, social, and cultural identity of the United States?
- In what ways can this period be viewed as both a period of prosperity or progress and also a period of strife and inequality?

Lesson 6.2 Essential Questions:

- What were the major ideas and actions that drove politics during the Gilded Age?
- How were the economic and political spheres impacting one another during the period, and what was the effect on the American people?

Ask students to think about these questions and respond on their EQ Notebook Worksheets.

Now that students have spent some time with the material of this unit, they should look back over the content covered as well as any additional information they have come across, and write down any quotes or evidence that provide new insights into the essential questions assigned for this lesson. Once they've finished, they should think about how this new information has impacted their thinking about the unit essential question, and write down their thoughts in their EQ Notebook.

ATTACHMENT

- The EQ Unit 7 Notebook Worksheet

UNIT 6 | EQ Notebook Worksheet

Answer the unit Essential Questions in Lessons 6.2.1, then again in Lesson 6.2.7. In your answer, be sure to include ideas such as historical context and how themes through history change over time. Use specific examples to support your claims or ideas.

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

1. What were the major ideas and actions that drove politics during the Gilded Age?
2. How were the economic and political spheres impacting one another during the period, and what was the effect on the American people?

LESSON 6.2.1.	
LESSON 6.2.7.	
HOW HAS YOUR THINKING CHANGED?	