

Chapter 25 (14th)

America Moves to the City

1. The Urban Frontier

1. The population of the U.S. doubled 1870 - 1900. The population of cities *tripled*. Cities grew outward, but also *upward*.
 1. Cities grew outward thanks to the electric trolley. The old "walking city" of Europe had expanded to become larger than was practical to walk across. People now rode trolleys.
 2. Cities grew upward thanks to skyscrapers. Working in Chicago in the 1880's, architect **Louis Sullivan** was the father of the skyscraper. He used steel, concrete, newly invented elevators, & the motto "form follows function." A bit ahead of his time, his techniques would later influence **Frank Lloyd Wright** & become accepted.
2. Cities attracted people from the farms partly due to jobs, partly to the excitement of the city, partly due to advances.
 1. Cities had city lights, indoor plumbing, telephones, and skyscrapers. There were department stores like Marshall Field's in Chicago and Macy's in New York.
 2. New York's **Brooklyn Bridge** was completed in 1883. The suspension bridge came to symbolize American ingenuity, technology, commerce, and can-do attitude.
3. Author **Theodore Dreiser** captured big-city life (for both good and bad) in his novel *Sister Carrie*. In a nutshell, it's about the struggles of a young woman who wants to leave boring country life for the hustle-bustle of Chicago. She finds upward mobility by sleeping with men she thinks are her ticket up the social ladder. Notably, Dreiser was a "realist" writer—Carrie's life and Chicago are written about plainly, without "sugar coating", and rather depressingly.
 1. There was another way for country folks to gain a bit of the big city—via mail order catalogs. Companies like **Sears and Montgomery Ward** sent catalogs yearly and people could buy anything in the catalog and have it sent to their rural homes.
4. The rapid growth of cities had negative effects as well, mainly in sanitation.
 1. Trash piled up in the streets, drinking water was poor, sewage systems were ineffective, air quality was terrible, animal droppings were everywhere. The result was unhealthy and unclean conditions in the streets.
 2. Slums popped up as well. They were far too over-populated and far too unsanitary. Those two conditions simply added to one another literally making the slums death-traps.
 1. An early godsend was the "**dumbbell**" apartment. Getting clean air into the tenement apartments was a problem. The dumbbell apartment had an air shaft vertically down the through the building to let in air. It wasn't perfect, but was much healthier than a cubicle box shaped apartment with no air shaft.
 2. People usually moved up and out of the slums. The slums would then be re-inhabited by the next wave of immigrants.
5. A notable statistic occurred in 1920: for the first time, America was more *urban* than *rural*. That is to say, more people lived in cities (of 2,500 people or more) than in the country.

2. The New Immigration

1. Immigration was speeding up and it was changing.
2. Before 1880, most immigrants to America were from "**Old Immigration**."
 1. They came from northern and western Europe—Britain, Ireland, Germany, Scandinavia. They largely came from nations with some democratic backgrounds and were of the fair-skinned Anglo-Saxon type.
 2. They were Protestant (except for the Irish and a few Germans).
 3. They were generally better educated and with a bit of money behind them.
3. Around 1880, things changed over to "**New Immigration**."
 1. They came from southern and eastern Europe—Poland, Italy, Slovakia, Croatia. They largely came from nations with little democratic traditions.
 2. They were usually Catholic, uneducated, and were generally penniless.
4. In 1880 they made up 19% of immigrants; 1910 they were up to 66% of immigrants.
5. They generally came to areas consisting of their home-country neighbors. Places popped up like "Little Italy" and "Little Poland." Americans felt these newcomers could not or would not melt into the American way of life.

3. Southern Europe Uprooted

1. The New Immigrants came to America for many reasons: the population in Europe had grown very fast, there had been wars, there was discrimination, but the main reason for emigrating to America, as usual, was economic opportunities. Trans-Atlantic steamships also made passage easier.
 1. American businesses loved the immigration boom. It meant a steady and cheap labor force.
2. Jews immigrated largely to New York City. They were unusual in that they'd come from *cities* of Europe & brought their city-life skills.
3. Many young men (about 25% of the immigrants) came to America not to live, but to work and then return to Europe.
4. Immigrants struggled between keeping Old World customs and adopting the New World. To keep the old, Catholics set up school systems, there were foreign language newspapers, ethnic restaurants, theaters and social clubs. The children of the immigrants normally grew up "American" and become wholly "American."

4. Reactions to the New Immigration

1. Immigrants were left on their own once entering America. City bosses, such as the infamous **Boss Tweed** of the **Tammany Hall district** in New York City, pretty much ran the immigrants' lives.

2. Eventually, people's social conscience kicked into gear.
 1. Protestant clergy called for Christian charity. They called for the "**social gospel**" where churches should address social issues and problems.
 2. Leading preachers of the social gospel were Walter Rauschenbusch (German Baptist) and Washington Gladden (Congregational).
3. Most notable of social reformers of the late 1800's was **Jane Addams**.
 1. Addams founded **Hull House** in Chicago (1889). It was a "settlement house"—immigrants came there for counseling, literacy training, child care, cultural activities, and the like.
 2. A well-known spin-off of Hull House was the **Henry Street Settlement** in New York run by Lillian Wald.
4. Settlement houses became hot-beds for activism.
 1. Women in particular began to be active in issues, particularly addressing discrimination against women for jobs.
 2. Jobs for women, were few to begin with, and depended on a woman's race, ethnicity, and class. Each "brand" of woman was pigeon-holed into a certain group of jobs.
 3. Still, the big cities generally offered more opportunities in jobs & entertainment than the small towns back home.
5. Narrowing the Welcome Mat
 1. With the boom of immigration, "nativism" (bias against foreigners) reappeared from its 1840's roots. By the 1880's it was the "New Immigrants" being looked down upon.
 1. The Old Immigrants from northern Europe disliked the New because they were poorly educated, poor, Catholic, were from the "inferior" regions of Europe, and had high immigration and birth rates.
 2. In simple dollars-and-sense, these New Immigrants would work for pennies. This kept everyone's wages low. Also, immigrants were used as **scabs** (strike-breakers) and were hard to unionize due to language issues. This fostered even more resent.
 3. Politically, they had no democratic background. They came from areas of dictatorships, socialism, and some were anarchists. These ideas mingled in natives minds and spawned fear.
 2. Nativist organizations emerged (reminiscent of the old Know Nothing Party of the 1840's and 50's).
 1. The **American Protective Association (APA)** gained millions of members and urged voting against Catholics.
 3. Eventually laws followed people's feelings.
 1. The first law restricting immigration to America was passed in 1882. It banned paupers (a very poor person), criminals, and convicts.
 2. Another law in 1885 forbade importing workers under contract at substandard wages.
 3. Other laws banned more "undesirables" and literacy tests kept many immigrants out until 1917.
 4. A red-letter law was passed in 1882, the **Chinese Exclusion Act**. It banned the immigration of Chinese. This was the first immigration law to specifically target and ban a specific ethnicity.
 4. Ironically, the **Statue of Liberty** (1886) was given to the U.S. by France during the days of such anti-foreigner feelings. Poet **Emma Lazarus** words were inscribed on the bottom: *Give me your tired, your poor Your huddled masses yearning to be free,...*"
6. Churches Confront the Urban Challenge
 1. Changes in city were also affecting the churches.
 1. In the shift to the cities, churches seemed to be losing their place in society.
 2. Many people began to question the motives of the churches. The established churches largely had established church-goers. They seemed to be materialistic and happily stagnant. It was as if the wealthy parishioner didn't want to get his hands dirty dealing with the issues of the poor.
 2. Within this set of circumstances, religious changes would occur...
 1. Some preachers had been influenced by Unitarianism of the the 2nd Great Awakening days. These liberal groups spun their own twist on religion: they rejected a literal interpretation of the bible, rejected original sin of mankind, and pushed for the social gospel.
 2. **Dwight Lyman Moody** started the **Moody Bible Institute** and pushed for Christian charity and kindness. His goal and achievement was connect biblical teachings and Christianity to modern city life.
 3. The Roman Catholic and Jewish faiths were growing largely in numbers due to the New Immigration.
 4. America had 150+ varieties of faiths by 1890. A good social gospel example was the **Salvation Army** which helped anyone struggling to make a go of things by doling out soup.
 5. A new religion emerged: **Mary Baker Eddy** started the **Church of Christ, Scientist** (AKA "Christian Science"). The main belief of Christian Science was healing through prayer, not through medical treatment.
 6. Membership in the YMCA or YWCA (the Young Men's/Women's Christian Association) grew quickly. They mixed religion with exercise and activity.
7. Darwin Disrupts the Churches
 1. **Charles Darwin** published *On the Origin of Species* in 1859. His theory of evolution argued that higher forms of life had evolved from lower forms of life via random mutation and survival-of-the-fittest.
 1. At first, scientists rejected Darwin's views. Many people followed Frenchmen Jean-Baptiste Lamarck's version of evolution saying things that happened during an organism's life could be the surviving factor (not necessarily genetic mutation). By the 1920's, Darwin's view was largely accepted by scientists.
 2. Darwin's view thus rejected divine creation. Three groups were now in a culture war...
 1. "Fundamentalists" believed the bible as it is written, without any errors. They accepted Genesis 1:1 that states, "In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth."
 2. Liberal Christians blended evolution with divine creation. They justified evolution as acts of God.

3. "Modernists" rejected religion and accepted Darwin's theory of evolution and his rationale for the beginnings of life and of life's variety.
8. The Lust for Learning
 1. Education continued to march forward. The idea of "free compulsory education," paid for by taxpayers, was a reality, but generally only up to the 8th grade.
 1. High schools were now growing and were to 6,000 in number by 1900.
 2. Other areas of education grew: (a) kindergartens, (b) "normal" (teacher training) schools, and (c) the fast growth of parochial schools (especially Catholic).
 2. Adults were left out of this system. But, many adults participated in the **Chataqua** movement. It was a series of lectures, a descendant of the earlier "lyceum" circuit. Many well-known speakers, like Mark Twain, spoke.
 3. Stats reflect the benefits of education: the illiteracy rate fell from 20% (1870) to 10.7% (1900).
9. Booker T. Washington and Education for Black People
 1. In the post-war South, many still struggled, especially blacks. They were largely poor and poorly educated.
 2. **Booker T. Washington** developed a plan for bettering the lots of blacks.
 1. He developed **Tuskegee Institute** in AL, a normal school for black teachers & taught hands-on industrial trades.
 2. **George Washington Carver** studied the peanut, sweet potato, and soybean there and came up with many uses for them: shampoo, axle grease, vinegar, and paint.
 3. He felt the way for blacks to advance in the South was through bettering themselves economically. Social justice would come later.
 3. Washington's largest critic was **W.E.B. DuBois**.
 1. DuBois was a Harvard intellectual. He criticism was that Washington's method put blacks in a little box of manual labor only.
 2. DuBois help start the **NAACP** (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) and called for the "talented tenth" of the black community to be given full access and equality.
 4. On a day-to-day level, many blacks related much better to Washington and his practical approach.
10. The Hallowed Halls of Ivy
 1. Upper education expanded after the Civil War.
 1. Women gained more colleges, often in the Midwest, like Vassar.
 2. Black colleges emerged, like **Howard University** in Washington D.C. and **Atlanta University**.
 2. Two laws helped the growth of colleges: the **Morrill Act (1862)** and then the **Hatch Act (1887)**. They provided money to states for "land-grant colleges." A focus was on agricultural research at the universities.
 1. They gave birth to 100+ colleges and universities, such as University of California, Texas A&M, and Ohio State.
 3. Philanthropy or private donations went a long way for colleges. Examples included Cornell, Stanford University from railroad tycoon Leland Stanford, and the University of Chicago from John D. Rockefeller.
 4. Johns Hopkins University became the first top-rate graduate school.
11. The March of the Mind
 1. With new topics, universities began to struggle to reconcile science with religion. The solution was drop moral instruction.
 2. The curriculum changed as well.
 1. Traditionally, the curriculum consisted of languages, notably Latin and Greek for bible study, and grammar or rhetoric. Universities in America had been started to train preachers.
 2. Now, the movement was toward a more practical curriculum. Also, the elective system became very popular as it gave students choices of classes.
 3. The reform of education jumped forward when chemist **Dr. Charles W. Eliot** was named president of Harvard. Symbolically, he changed Harvard's motto from *Christo et Ecclesiae* (for Christ and Church) to *Veritas* (Truth).
 3. Medicine and med-schools improved.
 1. **Louis Pasteur** (pasteurization) and **Joseph Lister's** (antiseptics) work helped move medicine from superstition to science. People now understood germs and life expectancy rose.
 4. **Henry James** wrote influentially on psychology with books like *Principles of Psychology* and *Pragmatism* (saying America's contribution to any idea was its usefulness, or not).
12. The Appeal of the Press
 1. Books had always been popular, but by 1900 people were starving to read. Libraries and newspapers satisfied that urge.
 2. **Library of Congress** opened in 1897 and Andrew Carnegie had given \$60 million to build local libraries across the U.S.
 3. Newspapers were on the rise as well with the invention of Linotype. People were hungry to read the latest goings-on.
 1. **Joseph Pulitzer** (*NY World*) mastered sensational reporting/yellow journalism after comic "The Yellow Kid."
 2. **William Randolph Hearst** (*San Francisco Examiner*) was also a yellow journalism editor and put together a newspaper empire made of a chain of newspapers.
 3. Daily newspapers immensely helped unify the U.S. People were now much more on the "same page," literally, as someone in another section of the nation. Notably, this is when the popularity of national sports, especially baseball, took off since one could follow his team each day.
 4. Drawbacks rose: one as the influence of advertisers in expanding newspaper business; another was that reporting was focussed more on selling papers than on accuracy (a "juicy" story was better than an accurate story).
 5. The establishment of the **Associated Press** (AP) and their accuracy helped balance the yellow journalism.
13. Apostles of Reform
 1. Magazines were popular, such as *Harper's*, *Atlantic Monthly*, and *Scribners*.
 2. Editor **Edwin L. Godkin's** liberal magazine *Nation* was very influential.

1. It was read by intellectuals and thinker-types and was reform minded.
 2. It pushed civil service reform (government jobs based on talent), honest government, and a mild tariff.
 3. **Henry George** wrote *Progress and Poverty* which examined the relationship between those two concepts. His theory was that "progress" pushed land values up and thus increased poverty amongst many.
 1. His solution to the distribution of wealth was to propose a 100% tax on profits—a very controversial proposal.
 4. **Edward Bellamy** published the novel *Looking Backward*. It's character fell asleep and awoke in the year 2000 to an ideal society. His solution was that the government had taken over all business, communist/socialist-style, and everything was rosy. Intellectual-types enjoyed discussing the book and its ideas.
14. Postwar Writing
1. People read like wildfire after the Civil War. "Dime novels" were very popular, especially about the Wild West with characters like "Deadwood Dick."
 1. **Harlan F. Halsey** wrote about 650 dime novels and became rich.
 2. **Gen. Lewis Wallace** wrote *Ben Hur: A Tale of the Christ*. It countered Darwinism with Christ & sold 2 million copies.
 3. A very influential writer was **Horatio Alger**. He wrote rags-to-riches stories, usually about a good boy that made good. They all championed the virtues of honesty and hard work that lead to prosperity and honor. His best known book was titled *Ragged Dick*.
 4. **Walt Whitman** revised his classic "Leaves of Grass." He also wrote "O Captain! My Captain!", inspired by Lincoln's assassination.
 5. **Emily Dickinson** became famous as a poet after she died and her writings were found and published.
15. Literary Landmarks
1. Writing was going through a change of flavor: in the early 1800's "romanticism" ruled (for example, *The Last of the Mohicans*), by the late 1800's "realism" took over (for example, *Sister Carrie*). The switch to realism was spawned by the industrial revolution and growth of cities.
 2. **Kate Chopin** wrote openly about adultery, suicide, and the ambitions of women in *The Awakening* (1889).
 3. Born Samuel Langhorne Clemens, **Mark Twain** took that pseudonym since he'd worked on a Mississippi riverboat as a boy and that was the captain's yell to mark the depth. He was already famous with the story "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County".
 1. He traveled through the West and wrote *Roughing It* (1872) recounting the trip. It was a mix of truths, half-truths, and tall tales, and readers loved it.
 2. He co-wrote with Charles D. Warner *The Gilded Age* that lay bare questionable politics & business of the day.
 3. *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876) told of the likable huckster and school-skipper and his gal Polly.
 4. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884) told of buddies runaway Huck and runaway slave Jim as they rafted down the Mississippi. The book was immensely popular and influential. Ernest Hemingway later said, "All modern American literature comes from one book by Mark Twain called *Huckleberry Finn*."
 4. **Bret Harte** wrote of West in gold rush stories, especially "The Luck of Roaring Camp" & "The Outcasts of Poker Flat."
 5. **William Dean Howells**, editor of *Atlantic Monthly*, wrote about common people and controversial social topics.
 6. **Stephen Crane** wrote brilliantly and realistically about industrial, urban America in *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* (1893). It told of a girl-turned-prostitute and then suicide.
 1. His most famous work was *The Red Badge of Courage* (1895) about a Civil War soldier and his sacrifice.
 7. **Henry Adams**, grandson of John Adams, wrote a history of early U.S. & *The Education of Henry Adams*, his best known.
 8. **Henry James**, brother of philosopher William James, usually wrote about innocent Americans, normally women, thrown amid Europeans. His best works were *Daisy Miller* (1879), *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881), and *The Bostonians* (1886).
 9. **Jack London** wrote about the wilderness in *The Call of the Wild* (1903), *White Fang*, and *The Iron Heel*.
 10. **Frank Norris**'s novels criticized corrupt business. *The Octopus* (1901) was about railroad and political corruption and *The Pit* was about speculators trading in wheat.
 11. Two black writers gained prominence using black dialect and folklore.
 1. **Paul Dunbar** wrote poetry, notably with "Lyrics of Lowly Life" (1896).
 2. **Charles W. Chesnutt** wrote fiction, notably *The Conjure Women* (1899).
 12. **Theodore Dreiser**, champion of realism with his novel *Sister Carrie* (1900), moved in with 1 man then eloped with another (who was already married), then left both for career on stage. Morality of the novel shocked to proper society.
16. The New Morality
1. "Modern" times and morality were changing, or perhaps more accurately, morality didn't change but was challenged.
 2. Two sisters, **Victoria Woodhull** and **Tennessee Claflin** published a periodical that shocked proper, Elizabethan society. Woodhull announced her belief in free love, they both pushed for women's propaganda, and charged that respectable Henry Ward Beecher had been having a long affair.
 1. **Anthony Comstock** made it his mission to stop all moral threat. Armed with the "Comstock Law," he collected dirty pictures and pills/powders he said abortionists used.
 3. The "new morality" began to take place in the form of higher divorce rates, increased birth control, and more open sex talk. These changes had largely been prompted by the increased independence of women that their own jobs provided.
17. Families and Women in the City
1. Families were stressed in the new urban society.
 1. On the farm, another child was another helping hand; in the city, another child was a liability—another mouth to feed. Thus, birth rates declined. Under the stress of the city, divorce rates shot up.
 2. Paradoxically, people seemed more lonely in crowded cities than on farms. Families became critical companionship.

3. Feminist **Charlotte Perkins Gilman** published *Women and Economics*, a classic of feminism. She (1) shunned traditional femininity, (2) said there were no real differences between men and women, and (3) called for group nurseries and kitchens to free up women.
 4. Ladies still pushed for suffrage-rights to vote had taken a time-out to push for blacks' rights; now the push was on again.
 1. The National American Suffrage Association was started in 1890 with Elizabeth Cady Stanton (from the old Seneca Falls Convention of 1848) and Susan B. Anthony.
 2. A new leader was **Carrie Chapman Pratt**. She changed the argument from "women deserve to right to vote since they're equal" to "women deserve the right to vote in order to carry out their traditional roles and homemakers and mothers."
 1. This new argument linking voting to traditional women's roles seemed to pay dividends. Western states, which had always been more accepting of an independent woman, began to give women the right to vote (Wyoming being the first).
 5. Women's Clubs popped up in cities and garnered some 200,000 members in 1900.
 6. Female suffrage was reserved to white women only. Black women found other causes: **Ida Wells** led a nationwide push against lynching and helped start the National Association of Colored Women (1896).
18. Prohibition of Alcohol and Social Progress
1. The movement to prohibit alcohol gained steam as well as corner bars were everywhere in the city. The argument, mostly by women, was that alcohol and the bars kept the men drunk, took the family's wages, and increased violence at home.
 2. The National Prohibition Party (1869) got a handful of votes, though not many, for president.
 3. The **Woman's Christian Temperance Union** (1874) was more aggressive. It was led by **Francis E. Willard** and **Carrie A. Nation** whose trademark was to literally walk into a bar and chop it up with a hatchet.
 4. The **Anti-Saloon League** (1893) increased the push against alcohol by singing anti-liquor songs.
 5. Gains were made...
 1. On a local level, some states/counties banned alcohol, led by Maine.
 2. On the national level, the **18th Amendment** (1819) was the culmination of the prohibition movement. Amendment 18 (AKA "Prohibition") simply banned alcohol in the U.S. It was short-lived. The **21st Amendment repealed the ban on alcohol.**
 6. Notably other crusades popped up at the same time: the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and the **American Red Cross** (1881) led by **Clara Barton**, the famous Civil War nurse.
19. Artistic Triumphs
1. In the early days of America, art had been on hold while the nation was built. By the end of the 18th century, American art was coming into its own.
 2. Many new artists emerged...
 1. **James Whistler** lived an eccentric life. His best-known painting was of his mother.
 2. **John Singer Sargent** painted portraits of European nobility.
 3. **Mary Cassat** painted women and children, as with her "The Bath" showing a mother bathing a small girl.
 4. **George Inness** painted landscapes.
 5. **Thomas Eakins** painted realistically, as seen in his graphic surgical painting "The Gross Clinic."
 6. **Winslow Homer** was perhaps the most "American" painter. He typically painted scenes of daily New England life and the sea. Homer's topics included schoolhouses, farmers, young women, sailors, and coastlines.
 7. Sculptor **Augustus Saint-Gaudens** made the Robert Gould Shaw (leader of 54th black regiment in the Civil War) memorial in Boston Common.
 3. Music made steps with symphonies in Boston and Chicago and New York's Metropolitan Opera House.
 1. Black folk tunes were giving birth to jazz, ragtime, and blues. These genres would later spawn country and rock 'n roll, as by Elvis Presley.
 2. Thomas Edison invented the phonograph which recorded sound and music for playback.
 4. Architecture mimicked older, classical styles.
 1. Architect **Henry H. Richardson** designed buildings with his trademark high-vaulted arches in his "Richardsonian" style. His style was very ornate and reminiscent of Gothic cathedrals. The Marshall Fields building in Chicago was his masterpiece.
 2. The **Columbian Exposition** (1893 in Chicago) revived classical architectural forms and setback realism or Louis Sullivan's new "form follows function" style.
20. The Business of Amusement
1. American entertainment went to the national level. This was due to increased free time due to hourly jobs in cities and increased national unity due to newspapers.
 2. Phineas T. "**P.T.**" **Barnum** (who quipped, "There's a sucker born every minute," and "the public likes to be humbugged.") and **James A. Bailey** started the circus and adopted the slogan, "The Greatest Show on Earth".
 3. Wild West shows like "**Buffalo Bill**" **Cody's** with **Annie Oakley** who shot holes into tossed silver dollars were popular.
 4. Baseball became very popular. It emerged as the clear "American pastime" and a professional league started in the 1870's.
 5. Horse racing was also being organized and would soon become the nation's second national pastime. The first Kentucky Derby was run in the early 1870's, even before the first World Series.
 6. Other sports emerged: (1) basketball was invented by **William Naismith** in 1891, (2) people liked the rugged nature of football, and (3) boxing took on gloves and became more of a spectator sport.
 7. Two crazes hit at the end of the 1800's—croquet and bicycling. Croquet was considered risqué because it exposed women's ankles and encouraged flirting.