**African Americans After Slavery**

**Interpreting Primary Sources**

All freedmen...over the age of eighteen years, found on the second Monday in January, 1866, or thereafter, with no lawful employment or business, or found unlawfully assembling themselves together, either in the day or night time, and all white persons so assembling with freedmen...shall be deemed vagrants, and on conviction thereof shall be fined in the sum of not exceeding in the crease of a freedman...fifty dollars, and a white man two hundred dollars, and imprisoned at the discretion of the court....   
  
And in case of any freedman...shall fail for five days after the imposition of any fine...for violation of this act...it shall be ...the duty of the sheriff...to hire out said freedman...to any person who will, for the shortest period of service, pay said fines....

Mississippi Black Code, 1865

This is an institution of Chivalry, Humanity, Mercy, and Patriotism...its peculiar objects being...to protect the weak, the innocent, and the defenseless, from the indignities, wrongs, and outrages of the lawless, the violent and the brutal; to relieve the injured and oppressed; to succor the suffering and unfortunate, and especially the widows and orphans of Confederate soldiers....   
  
Interrogations to Be Asked   
  
5th. Are you opposed to Negro equality, both social and political?   
6th. Are you in favor of a white man's government in this country?

Principles of the Ku Klux Klan

These men are not only armed, disciplined, oath-bound members of the Confederate army, but they work in disguise; and their instruments are terror and crime....They pretended, I believe, in the outset to be representative ghosts of the Confederate dead...and they terrified men, women and children, white and black....They are secret, oath-bound; they murder, rob, plunder, whip, and scourge; and they commit these crimes, not upon the high and lofty, but upon the lowly, upon the poor, upon feeble men and women who are utterly defenseless.

Senator John Sherman on the Ku Klux Klan, 1871

It is assumed that the power of Congress [includes the] authority for declaring by law that all persons shall have equal accommodations and privileges in all inns, public conveyances, and places of public amusement; the argument being that the denial of such equal accommodations and privileges is in itself a subjection to a species of servitude within the meaning of the [Thirteenth] amendment....   
  
Can the act of a mere individual, the owner of the train, the public conveyance, or place of amusement, refusing the accommodation, be justly regarded as imposing any badge of slavery.... We are forced to the conclusion that such an act if refusal has nothing to do with slavery or involuntary servitude. Mere discriminations on account of race [is] not regarded as badges of slavery.

Supreme Court invalidates the postwar Civil Rights Act in the Civil Rights Cases, 1883

We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff's argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority....The argument also assumes that social prejudices may be overcome by legislation, and that equal rights cannot be secured to the Negro except by an enforced commingling of the two races....

Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences, and the attempt to do so can only result in accentuating the difficulties of the present situation. If the civil and political rights of both races be equal one cannot be inferior to the other civilly or politically. If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane.

Supreme Court upholds segregation in Plessy v. Ferguson, 1896

The white race deems itself to be the dominant race in this country....But in view of the Constitution...there is in this country no superior, dominant, ruling class of citizens. There is no caste here. Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respects of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law.

Justice John Harlan's dissent, 1896

I do not think it was ever intended by the Creator that the two races should live together upon equal terms...One or the other must rule. The people of the South tried to share with the Negro the government of the country after the war, but the Negro declined to share with the white man. Black heels rested cruelly upon white necks for many years after the close of the war. The white man endured the Negro's misrule, his insolence, impudence, and infamy. He suffered his criminal incapacity to govern until the public domain had been well-nigh squandered and the public treasury looted....We invoked the law of self-preservation; we arose in the might of an outraged race and...the southern white man drove from power the scalawag, the carpetbagger, and the incompetent Negro.

James K. Vardaman, 1914

Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labour and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life....

You [white Southerners] can be sure in the future, as in the past, that you and your families will be surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people that the world has seen....In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.

Booker T. Washington, 1895

As a result of this tender of the palm-branch, what has been the return? In these years that have occurred:  
1. The disenfranchisement of the Negro.  
2. The legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the Negro.  
3. The steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for the higher training of the Negro.  
These movements are not, to be sure, direct results of Mr. Washington's teachings; but his propagandas, without a shadow of doubt, helped their speedier accomplishment.

W.E.B. DuBois, 1903

I believe Booker T. Washington's heart is right, but that in fawning, cringing and groveling before the white man he has cost his race their rights, and that twenty years hence, as he looks back and sees the harm his course has done his race, he will be brokenhearted over it.

Charles Satchel Morris, 1906

While most of us were agonizing over the Negro's relation to the State and his political fortunes, Booker Washington saw that there was a great economic empire that needed to be conquered. He saw an emancipated race chained to the soil by the Mortgage Crop System, and other devices, and he said, "You must own your own farms"--and forthwith there was a second emancipation. He saw the industrial trades and skilled labor pass from our race into other hands. he said, "The hands as well as the head must be educated."

William Henry Lewis, 1915

**Questions To Think About**

**1. Describe the obstacles that stood in the way of economic and political equality for Southern blacks in the late l9th century.**

**2. How did the Supreme Court respond to the growth of racial segregation?**

**3. Describe the conflicting strategies pursued by black leaders to achieve full racial equality.**

**4. What advice did Booker T. Washington offer to black Southerners?**

**5. Why did Washington's opponents criticize his "Atlanta Compromise"? Are their criticisms valid?**

**6. Which in your view was the most effective strategy for late l9th century black Southerners to pursue--accommodation to racial prejudice and efforts for economic self-development or a commitment to full political and social equality?**

**Indian Policy**

**Interpreting Primary Statistics**

One [infantry] battalion...left Fort Lyon [Colorado] on the night of the 28th of November, 1864; about daybreak on the morning of the 29th of November we came in sight of the camp of friendly [Cheyenne and Arapaho] Indians...and were ordered by Colonel [J.M.] Chivington to attack the same, which was accordingly done....Going over the battle ground the next day I did not see a body of man, woman, or child but was scalped, and in many instances their bodies were mutilated in the most horrible manner--men, women, and children's privates cut out etc.; I heard one man say that he had cut out a woman's private parts and had them for exhibition on a stick; I heard another man say that he had cut fingers off an Indian to get the rings on the hand....

Sand Creek massacre, 1864

Whatever you wanted of me I have obeyed. The Great Father sent me word that whatever he had against me in the past had been forgiven and thrown aside, and I have accepted his promises and came in. And he told me not to step aside from the white man's path, and I am doing my best to travel in that path. I sit here and look around me now, and I see my people starving. We want cattle to butcher. That is the way you live, and we want to live the same way.

Sitting Bull, 1883

It was natural, at a time when the national territory seemed almost illimitable and contained many millions of acres far outside the bounds of civilized settlements, that a policy should have been initiated which more than aught else has been the fruitful source of our Indian complications. I refer, of course, to the policy of dealing with the various Indian tribes as separate nationalities, of relegating them by treaty stipulations to the occupancy of immense reservations in the West, and of encouraging them to live a savage life, undisturbed by any earnest and well directed efforts to bring them under the influences of civilization.

The unsatisfactory results which have sprung from this policy are becoming apparent to all. As the white settlements have crowded the borders of the reservations, the Indians, sometimes contentedly and sometimes against their will, have been transferred to other hunting grounds, from which they have again been dislodged whenever their new-found homes have been desired by the adventurous settlers. These removals and the frontier collisions by which they have often been preceded have led to frequent and disastrous conflicts between the races....

The government has of late been cautiously but steadily feeling its way to the adoption of a policy...to introduce among the Indians the customs and pursuits of civilized life and gradually to absorb them into the mass of our citizens, sharing their rights and holden to their responsibilities....

President Chester Arthur defending the Dawes Plan, 1881

The President of the United States be...authorized...to allot; the lands in said reservation in severalty to any Indian located thereon in quantities as follows:   
To each head of a family, one-quarter of a section;   
To each single person over eighteen years of age, one-eighth of a section;   
To each orphan child under eighteen years of age, one-eighth of a section....   
  
Sec. 6. That upon the completion of said allotments and the patenting of the lands to said allottees, each and every member of the respective band or tribes of Indians...shall...be subject to the laws, both civil and criminal, of the State or Territory in which they may reside.

Dawes Severalty Act of l887

**Questions To Think About**

**1. How would you explain the depth of hostility felt by many white Americans toward the Indians?**

**2. What is the goal of the Dawes plan? Do you approve or disapprove of the plan? Why**?

**The Farmers Revolt**

**Interpreting Primary Sourcesg.gif"**

For our business interests, we desire to bring producers and consumers, farmers and manufacturers into the most direct and friendly relations possible. Hence we must dispense with a surplus of middlemen, not that we are unfriendly to them, but we do not need them. Their surplus and their exactions diminish our profits....   
  
We are opposed to excessive salaries, high rates of interest, and exorbitant per cent profits in trade. They greatly increase our burdens, and do not bear a proper proportion to the profits of producers.

Declaration of Purposes of the Patrons of Husbandry (The Grangers), 1874

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...the newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled, public opinion silenced, business prostrated, our homes covered with mortgages, labor impoverished, and the land concentrating in the hands of the capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right of organization 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 degenerated into European conditions. The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes, unprecedented in the history of the world, while their possessors despise the republic and endanger liberty.

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 is taking possession of the world....

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 interest of rural and civic labor are the same; their enemies are identical....

We believe that the time has come when the railroad corporations will either own the people or the people must own the railroads....

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....

1892 Populist platform

The farmers of the United States are up in arms. They are the bone and sinew of the nation; they produce the largest share of its wealth; but they are getting, they say, the smallest share for themselves. The American farmer is steadily losing ground. His burdens are heavier every year and his gains are more meager; he is beginning to fear that he may be sinking into a servile condition. He has waited long for the redress of his grievances; he purposes to wait no longer....

Washington Gladden, "The Embattled Farmers"

Now the People's Party says..."You are kept apart that you may be separately fleeced of your earnings. You are made to hate each other because upon that hatred is rested the keystone of the arch of financial despotism which enslaves you both. You are deceived and blinded that you may not see how this race antagonism perpetuates a monetary system which beggars both."

Tom Watson, 1892, appealing to black voters

If the gold standard advocates win, this country will be dominated by the financial harpies of Wall Street. I am trying to save the American people from that disaster--which will mean the enslavement of the farmers, merchants, manufacturers and laboring classes to the most merciless and unscrupulous gang of speculators on earth--the money power. My ambition is to make money the servant of industry, to dethrone it from the false position it has usurped as master, and this can only be done by destroying the money monopoly.

William Jennings Bryan, 1896

The man who is employed for wages is as much a businessman as his employer. The attorney in a country town is as much a businessman as the corporation counsel in a great metropolis. The merchant at the crossroads store is as much a businessman as the merchant of New York. The farmer who goes forth in the morning and toils all day...is as much a businessman as the man who goes upon the Board of Trade and bets upon the price of grain.

We come to speak for this broader class of businessmen....It is for these that we speak. We do not come as aggressors. Our war is not a war of conquest. We are fighting in the defense of our homes, our families, and posterity. We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned. We have entreated, and our entreaties have been disregarded. We have begged, and they have mocked when our calamity came.

We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more. We defy them!

There are two ideas of government. There are those who believe that if you just legislate to make the well-to-do prosperous that their prosperity will leak through on those below. The Democratic idea has been that if you legislate to make the masses prosperous their prosperity will find its way up and through every class that rests upon it.

You come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard. I tell you that the great cities rest upon these broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again as if by magic. But destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in this country.

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.

William Jennings Bryan, 1896

For the first time since the civil war the American people have witnessed the calamitous consequence of full and unrestricted Democratic control of the government. It has been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor, and disaster....It has...entailed an unceasing deficit...piled up the public debt...forced an adverse balance of trade...pawned American credit to alien syndicates....In the broad effect of its policy it has precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, reduced work and wages, halted enterprise and crippled American production, while stimulating foreign production for the American market.... [Our] policy taxes foreign products and encourages home industry. it puts the burden of revenue on foreign goods; it secures the American market for the American producer....   
  
The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money....We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country.

1896 Republican Party Platform

Questions To Think About

1. Identify the economic and political grievances of late 19th century American farmers.

2. How compelling do you find the farmers' reform program?

3. Do you think that agrarian radicalism was a realistic response to actual conditions or an irrational and hysterical expression of farmers' fears and anxieties?

4. Was the decision of farmers in l896 to focus on the issue of free silver a betrayal of agrarian ideals or a reasonable response to the political situation facing farmers?

**The Changing Lives of American Farmers**

**Interpreting Statistics**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Agricultural Productivity** | | |
|  | 1800 | 1900 |
| Wheat | | |
| Worker-hours to produce an acre | 56 | 15 |
| Yield per acre | 15 | 14 |
| Corn | | |
| Worker-hours per acre | 86 | 38 |
| Yield per acre | 25 | 26 |
| Cotton | | |
| Worker-hours per acre | 185 | 112 |
| Yield per acre | 147 | 191 |

**Questions To Think About**

1. How great was the increase in agricultural productivity between 1800 and 1900?

2. Why did agricultural productivity increase between 1800 and 1900?

3. Describe the social and economic consequences of increasing agricultural productivity?

**Trends in American Farming**

**Interpreting statistics**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Percentage of Labor Force in Agriculture** | |
| 1860 | 53% |
| 1870 | 52 % |
| 1880 | 51 % |
| 1890 | 43 % |
| 1900 | 40 % |
| 1910 | 31 % |
| 1920 | 26 % |
| 1930 | 21 % |

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Farming Profession** | | |
|  | Number of Farms (in thousands) | Proportion of Total Population |
| 1940 | 6,350 | 23.1 % |
| 1950 | 5,648 | 15.2 % |
| 1960 | 3,963 | 8.7 % |
| 1970 | 2,949 | 4.7 % |
| 1980 | 2,428 | 2.7 % |

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **U.S. Population** | | | |
| Year | Total Population (in millions) | Rural | Urban |
| 1870 | 40 | 74% | 26% |
| 1880 | 50 | 72 % | 28 % |
| 1890 | 63 | 65 % | 35 % |
| 1900 | 76 | 60 % | 40 % |

**Questions To Think About**

1. When did the steepest decline take place in the proportion of American workers earning their livelihood in agriculture?

2. How did rural growth compare with urban growth?

**Farming**

**Interpreting Statistics**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Farm Production** | | | | | |
| Year | Number of Farms (in millions) | Bales of Cotton | Bushels of Corn | Bushels of Wheat | Price Index 1860=100 |
| 1860 | 2 | 3.8 | 839 | 173 | 100 |
| 1870 | 2.7 | 4.4 | 1,124 | 254 | 140 |
| 1880 | 4 | 6.6 | 1,706 | 502 | 100 |
| 1890 | 4.6 | 8.7 | 1,65 | 449 | 90 |
| 1900 | 5.7 | 10.1 | 2,662 | 599 | 90 |

**Questions To Think About**

1. What happened to farm production after the Civil War?

2. What happened to farm prices?

**Interpreting Statistics**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Growth of Farm Tenancy** Percentage of Farms Operated by Tenants | | | |
|  | U.S. | South | Non-South |
| 1880 | 26 | 36 | 19 |
| 1900 | 35 | 47 | 26 |

**Questions To Think About**

1. Did farm tenancy grow in the late l9th century? By how much?

2. Was the growth of farm tenancy largely confined to the South? Or was it a national phenomenon?

**Interpreting Statistics**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Regional Differences in Urbanization** Percent Living in Cities of 2,500 or more | | |
|  | 1860 | 1900 |
| Northeast | 36 | 66 |
| Midwest | 14 | 39 |
| West | 16 | 41 |
| South | 7 | 15 |

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Regional Differences in Per Capita Income** Per Capita Income as a Percentage of U.S. Income | | |
|  | 1860 | 1900 |
| Northeast | 139 | 137 |
| Midwest | 68 | 103 |
| West | n.a. | 163 (This figure reflects high incomes in mining) |
| South | 72 | 51 |

**Questions To Think About**

1. Did various regions share equally in the growth of national wealth following the Civil War?

2. If not, why

**Responses to Industrialism**

**Interpreting Primary Sources**

It is idle to talk of a peaceful strike. None such has ever occurred. All combinations to interfere with perfect freedom in the proper management and control of one's lawful business, to dictate the terms upon which such business shall be conducted by means of threats, are within the condemnation of the law.

Farmer's Loan and Trust v. Northern Pacific, 1894

Combinations are reappearing on all sides....They all do something to raise prices, or hold them up, and they wind up with banquets for which we pay....   
  
The coal combination was investigated by the New York legislature in 1878, after the combination had raised the prices of coal in New York to double what they had been....The committee found that coal could be laid down on the dock, after paying all charges, for an average of $3.20 a ton. It was at that time retailing in the city for $4.90 to $5.25 a ton....   
  
Our industries, from railroads to working men, are being organized to prevent milk, nails, lumber, freights, labor, soothing syrup, and all these other things from becoming too cheap....   
  
If the tendency to combination is irresistible, control of it is imperative. Monopoly and anti-monopoly, odious as these words have become to the literary ear, represent the two great tendencies of our time: monopoly, the tendency to combination; anti-monopoly, the demand for social control of it.

Henry Demarest Lloyd, 1884

The enormous increase in productive power which has marked the present century...has no tendency to extirpate poverty or to lighten the burdens of those compelled to toil....In factories where labor-saving machinery has reached its most wonderful development, little children are at work...amid the greatest accumulations of wealth, men die of starvation, and puny infants suckle dry breasts; while everywhere the greed of gain, the worship of wealth, shows the force of the fear of want....   
  
In the United States it is clear that squalor and misery, and the vices and crimes that spring from them, everywhere increase as the village grows to the city....So long as the increased wealth which modern progress brings goes but to build up great fortunes, to increase luxury and make sharper the contrast between the House of Have and the House of Want, progress is not real and cannot be permanent....The ideas that there is a necessary conflict between capital and labor, that machinery is an evil, that competition must be restrained and interest abolished, that wealth may be created by the issue of money, that it is the duty of government to furnish capital or furnish work, are rapidly making way among the great body of the people....Is there not growing up among us [wealthy men] who have all the power without any of the virtues of aristocracy? We have simple citizens who control thousands of miles of railroad, millions of acres of land, the means of livelihood of great numbers of men; who name the Governors of sovereign States as they name their clerks, choose Senators as they choose attorneys....

Henry George, Progress and Poverty, 1879

But now comes a harder question. How is this growing wealth divided? Is it rightly or wrongly divided?...During the past fourteen years the wealth of this nation has increased much faster than the population, but the people who work for wages are little if any better off than they were fourteen years ago....   
  
What has the Christian moralist to say about this state of things? He is bound to say that it is a bad state of things, and must somehow be reformed....Christianity...ought with all its emphasis to say to society: "Your present industrial system, which fosters enormous inequalities, which permits a few to heap up most of the gains of this advancing civilization, and leaves the many without any substantial share in them, is an inadequate and inequitable system, and needs important changes to make it the instrument of righteousness."   
  
This is not saying that Christians should ask the state to take the property of the rich and distribute it among the poor....There are, however, one or two things, that he will insist upon as the immediate duty of the state. Certain outrageous monopolies exist that the state is bound to crush....Another gigantic public evil that the state must exterminate is that of gambling in stocks and produce.

Congregationalist Minister Washington Gladden, 1886

It is hardly disputed that capital, under our modern industrial system, is receiving more than a just share of the fruits of labor, and the laborer is receiving relatively less and less of the profits of his toil....It is to the interest of capital, when it releases itself from moral and social obligations and looks only to its own increase, to keep a huge class of unemployed men who must work or starve. The present industrial system could not exist were it not for the fact that the great multitudes of the unemployed have been brought to this country, systematically and purposely, for the sake of reducing wages and producing a state of poverty....   
  
The state must be redeemed from the worship of property and from commercial theories of government....A baseless assumption which the state must correct is, that employers have an economic right to employ and discharge from the individual standpoint, with only a money obligation to employees, and no responsibility to society....No industrial concern has a right to receive the benefits of society without bearing commensurate responsibilities.

Congregationalist Minister George D. Herron, 1893

Section 1. Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states, or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal.

Sherman Anti-Trust Act of l890

The recent alarming development and aggression of aggregated wealth, which, unless checked will invariably lead to the pauperization and hopeless degradation of the toiling masses, render it imperative...that a check should be placed upon its power and upon unjust accumulation, and a system adopted which will secure to the laborer the fruits of his toil....We have formed the Knights of Labor with a view of securing the organization and direction by cooperative effort, of the power of the industrial classes....

To secure to the toilers a proper share of the wealth that they create; more of the leisure that rightfully belongs to them.... The establishment of cooperative institutions, productive and distributive. The reserving of the public lands--the heritage of the people--for the actual settlers;--not another acre for railroads or speculators. The abrogation of all laws that do not bear equally upon capital and labor, the removal of unjust technicalities, delays, and discriminations in the administration of justice, an the adopting of measures providing for the health and safety of those engaged in mining, manufacturing, or building pursuits....The prohibition of the employment of children in workshops, mines, and factories before attaining their fourteen year. To abolish the system of letting out by contract the labor of convicts in our prisons and reformatory institutions. To secure for both sexes equal pay for equal work. The reduction of the hours of labor to eight per day....

Constitution of the Knights of Labor, 1878

Just as religion has fettered the human mind, and as property, or the monopoly of things, has subdued and stifled man's needs, so has the state enslaved his spirit...."All government in essence," says Emerson, "is tyranny."...In every instance its aim is the absolute subordination of the individual.

Emma Goldman, Anarchism, 1910

Dynamite!...Stuff several pounds of this sublime stuff into an inch pipe (gas or water pipe), plug up both ends, insert a cap with a fuse attached, place this in the immediate vicinity of a lot of rich loafers who live by the sweat of other people's brows, and light the fuse. A most cheerful and gratifying result will follow....A pound of this good stuff beats a bushel of ballots all hollow--and don't you forget it!

The Alarm, 1885

Now one of the very first requirements for a man who is fit to handle pig iron as a regular occupation is that he shall be so stupid and so phlegmatic that he more nearly resembles in his mental make-up the ox than any other type. The man who is mentally alert and intelligent is for this very reason entirely unsuited to what would, for him, be the grinding monotony of work of this character. Therefore the workman who is best suited to handling pig iron is unable to understand the real science of doing this class of work. He is so stupid that the word "percentage" has no meaning to him, and he must consequently be trained by a man more intelligent than himself into the habit of working in accordance with the laws of this science before he can be successful.

Frederick Winslow Taylor on the principles of scientific management, 1911

**Questions To Think About**

1. On what grounds do critics complain about the emerging industrial order? How valid do you find their criticism?

2. What do the quotations suggest should be the proper role of government in the economy?

3. Is bigness in industry the result of manipulation or the natural workings of economic laws? Is bigness in industry bad and if so, why?

4. Big business's critics accused it of financial trickery, political corruption, the unscrupulous exercise of monopoly power, inhumanity toward labor, and disregard for the consumer. Defenders stressed big business's innovations--economies of scale, vertical and horizontal integration, rationalization of American industry, technical innovation, and promotion of efficient organization, capitalization, and research. Which argument do you find more persuasive?

**Industrialization**

**Interpreting Statistics**

**The Growth of Industry**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Increase in the Size of Industrial Establishments (Number of workers per average establishment)** | | |
|  | 1860 | 1900 |
| Agricultural implements | 8 | 65 |
| Cotton goods | 112 | 287 |
| Iron and steel | 65 | 333 |
| Paper | 15 | 65 |
| Shipbuilding | 15 | 42 |
| Meatpacking | 20 | 61 |
| Tobacco | 30 | 67 |

**Questions To Think About**

1. Why do you think the size of industrial establishments grew after the Civil War?

2. What difference might this make to the lives of employees?

**Interpreting Statistics**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Increasing Industrial Output, 1870-1910** | | |
|  | Coal | Steel |
| 1870 | 20 million tons | 850 million tons |
| 1890 | 111 million tons | 6,746 million tons |
| 1910 | 417 million tons | 24,216 million tons |

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Value added per worker (in 1879 dollars)** | | |
|  | Agriculture | Manufacturing and Mining |
| 1870 | $256 | $521 |
| 1900 | $358 | $984 |
| increase | 43% | 76% |

**>Questions To Think About**

1. Why do you think industrial output increased so rapidly in the late 19th century?

2. Which increased more rapidly--value added per worker in agricultural or in manufacturing and mining? Why?

**Interpreting Statistics**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Share of Commodity Production** | | |
|  | Agriculture | Manufacturing and Mining |
| 1870 | 53 percent | 33 percent |
| 1900 | 33 percent | 58 percent |

**Questions To Think About**

1. In what sense is the United States an industrial nation by 1900?

2. What public policy implications might this have?

**American Labor**

**Interpreting Statistics**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Daily Wages and Hours** | | |
|  | Average Work Day | Daily Wage 1860 = 100 |
| 1860 | 11.0 | 100 |
| 1870 | 10.5 | 167 |
| 1880 | 10.3 | 143 |
| 1890 | 10.0 | 168 |

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Weekly Wages and Hours in Manufacturing** | | | |
|  | Average Work Week in Hours | Hourly Wage | Average Annual Wage |
| 1890 | 60 | 20 cents |  |
| 1900 | 59 | 22 cents | $400-500 |
| 1910 | 56.6 | 26 cents |  |
| 1920 | 51 | 66 cents | $1,424 |
| 1930 | 42 | 55 cents | $1,368 |
| 1940 | 38 | 66 cents | $1,300 |
| 1950 | 40.5 | $1.46 | $3,008 |

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Average Annual Earnings, 1870-1900** | |
| 1870 | $375 |
| 1880 | $395 |
| 1890 | $519 |
| 1900 | $573 |

**Questions To Think About**

1. Describe the general trend in the wages of American workers.

2. When did wages rise most rapidly? Most slowly?

**Interpreting Statistics**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Strikes** | |
| 1881 | 477 |
| 1890 | 1,897 |
| 1900 | 1,839 |
| 1905 | 2,186 |
| 1915 | 1,593 |
| 1916 | 3,789 |
| 1917 | 4,450 |
| 1918 | 3,353 |
| 1919 | 3,630 |
| 1920 | 3,411 |
| 1930 | 637 |
| 1935 | 2,014 |
| 1940 | 2,508 |
| 1945 | 4,750 |
| 1950 | 4,843 |

**Questions To Think About**

1. When was labor unrest greatest?

2. During what periods did the number of strikes rise most rapidly?

**The Gospel of Wealth**

Thus is the problem of Rich and Poor to be solved. The laws of accumulation will be left free; the laws of distribution free. Individualism will continue, but the millionaire will be but a trustee for the poor; entrusted for a season with a great part of the increased wealth of the community, but administering it for the community far better than it could or would have done itself.

Andrew Carnegie

The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for, not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom, has given control of the property interests of the country.

George F. Baer

Here, then, is the issue. The gospel of Christ says that progress comes from every individual merging his individuality in sympathy with his neighbors. On the other side, the conviction of the nineteenth century is that progress takes place by virtue of every individual's striving for himself with all his might and trampling his neighbor under foot whenever he gets a chance to do so. This may accurately be called the Gospel of Greed.

Charles S. Peirce

God gave me my money.

John D. Rockefeller

**Questions To Think About**

1. How does wealth come about, according to the quotations--by exploitation or by the virtues of patience and frugality?

2. What is the role of the entrepreneur in promoting economic development? in helping the poor and disadvantaged? What are the business leader's social responsibilities, if any?

3. How is economic inequality explained?

4. Can the private sector be trusted to serve the public interest?