

Foner 3/e
Chapter 16
Chapter Outline

- I. Second industrial revolution
 - A. Astounding pace and magnitude
 - B. Emergence of factory as foremost realm of industrial production
 - C. Emergence of wage labor as prevalent source of livelihood
 - D. Emergence of city as chief setting for manufacture
 - 1. Leading industrial cities
 - a. New York
 - b. Chicago
 - c. Pittsburgh
 - 2. Single-industry cities
 - E. Railroads and the national market
 - 1. Eastern markets for western goods (agricultural, extractive)
 - 2. Western markets for eastern goods (manufactured)
 - 3. Central role of railroad
 - 4. National brands, chains, mail order firms
 - F. The spirit of innovation—technology
 - 1. Leading breakthroughs
 - 2. Thomas A. Edison's research laboratories
 - G. Competition and consolidation—wealth and power
 - 1. Volatility of marketplace
 - 2. Downward pressure on prices; Great Depression of 1873–1897
 - 3. Ruthless competition among businesses
 - 4. Corporate initiatives to stabilize marketplace
 - a. Pools
 - b. Trusts
 - c. Mergers
 - H. Industrial giants
 - 1. Vast accumulations of wealth and power
 - 2. Leading business figures
 - a. Thomas A. Scott (railroad)
 - i. Size and scope of Pennsylvania Railroad
 - ii. Prototype of modern business organization
 - b. Andrew Carnegie (steel)
 - i. Personal rise
 - ii. Vertical integration
 - iii. Blend of philanthropy and dictatorial management
 - c. John D. Rockefeller (oil)
 - i. Cutthroat competition
 - ii. Horizontal integration
 - iii. Blend of philanthropy and dictatorial management
 - 3. Popular perceptions of
 - a. Favorable; "captains of industry"
 - b. Unfavorable; "robber barons"
 - I. Workers' freedom in an industrial age
 - 1. Advantages for skilled labor elite
 - a. High wages
 - b. Areas of control
 - i. Process of production
 - ii. Pace of production
 - iii. Training of apprentices
 - 2. Hardships for growing ranks of semi-skilled workers

- a. Economic insecurity
 - i. Unreliability of employment and wage rates
 - ii. Lack of pensions
 - iii. Lack of compensation for injury or unemployment
 - b. Working conditions
 - i. Length of workday
 - ii. Dangers of workplace
 - c. Odds against collective action
 - 3. Breadth and depth of poverty
 - J. Sunshine and shadow—increasing wealth and poverty
 - 1. New urban middle-class neighborhoods
 - 2. Exclusive world of the rich
 - a. Home and neighborhood
 - b. Resorts, social clubs, schools
 - c. "Conspicuous consumption" (Thorstein Veblen)
 - d. 1897 Waldorf-Astoria costume ball
 - 3. Contrasts of wealth and poverty
 - a. Matthew Smith's *Sunshine and Shadow*
 - b. Jacob Riis's *How the Other Half Lives*
- II. Transformation of the West
 - A. A diverse region
 - 1. Variety of regions within West
 - 2. Variant on global patterns of political and economic incorporation
 - a. Displacement of indigenous peoples
 - b. Promotion of business development
 - c. Promotion of population settlement
 - d. Vital role of government
 - B. Farming on the middle border
 - 1. Spread of land under cultivation
 - 2. Pace and diversity of settlement
 - 3. Wheat and corn production on Middle Border
 - 4. Hardships of Great Plains farming
 - a. Hazards of nature
 - b. Hard labor and solitude (especially for women)
 - 5. Call for large-scale irrigation
 - a. John Wesley Powell
 - b. Implications for small-scale farmers
 - 6. Increasing market orientation of small farmers
 - a. Forms
 - i. Sale of crops
 - ii. Purchase of manufactured goods
 - b. Impacts
 - i. Dependence on loans
 - ii. Vulnerability to shifts in world markets
 - 7. Budding trend toward large-scale farming
 - a. Features
 - b. California precedent
 - C. Cowboys
 - 1. Diversity
 - 2. Myth vs. reality
 - 3. Rise and decline of cattle drives
 - D. Corporate West
 - 1. Prominent manufacturing and trading centers
 - a. San Francisco
 - b. Los Angeles

- 2. Large corporate enterprises
 - a. Lumber
 - b. Mining
 - c. Railroad
 - 3. Displacement of independent prospectors, farmers
 - E. Subjugation of the plains Indians
 - 1. Earlier transformations of Plains Indians
 - a. Eighteenth-century shift to hunting and farming
 - b. Arrival and coalescence of rival tribes
 - 2. U.S.-Indian conflict on the Plains
 - a. Emergence in 1850s
 - b. During Civil War
 - c. President Ulysses S. Grant's "peace policy"
 - d. Systematic onslaught on Indian life
 - i. By army, hunters
 - ii. On villages, horses, buffalo
 - 3. U.S.-Indian conflict further west
 - a. Defeat of the Navajo
 - i. Destruction of orchards and sheep
 - ii. Removal to reservation
 - b. Defeat of the Nez Percé
 - i. Pursuit of and capture by U.S. Army
 - ii. Removal to reservation
 - iii. Chief Joseph's Washington speech
 - 4. Continuation of Indian resistance
 - a. Sioux-Cheyenne victory at Little Big Horn
 - b. Apache escapes and raids
 - 5. Ongoing white encroachment
 - a. New western states
 - b. Railroads, soldiers, settlers
 - c. Indian reservations
 - i. Spread of
 - ii. Impoverishment, exploitation
 - d. Reduction of Sitting Bull to popular spectacle
 - 6. Remaking Indian life—assault on native culture
 - a. Imposition of white American values
 - b. Elimination of treaty system
 - c. Dawes Act
 - i. Provisions
 - ii. Outcomes
 - 7. Indian citizenship
 - a. Conditional offers of American citizenship in nineteenth century
 - b. Judicial obstructions to equal citizenship for Indians
 - i. Western courts
 - ii. Supreme Court
 - c. Gradual expansion of Indian citizenship
 - 8. Closing act
 - a. Ghost Dance
 - b. Wounded Knee massacre
 - F. Settlers, societies, and the global west
 - 1. Global phenomenon of settlement
 - 2. Similar movements occurred in S. America, Africa, Australia, and New Zealand
- III. Politics in a Gilded Age
 - A. Origins and meanings of "Gilded Age"
 - B. The corruption of politics

1. Widespread unease over
 2. Manifestations of
 3. Corporate lobbyists
 4. Urban political machines; "Boss" Tweed
 5. Crédit Mobilier scandal
 - C. The politics of dead center—political parties
 1. Imprint of Civil War on each
 2. Social and regional bases of support
 - a. Republican
 - b. Democratic
 3. Close division of popular support
 - a. Presidential elections
 - b. Congressional elections
 - c. Political stalemate
 - D. The state of American political democracy
 1. Indications of vitality
 - a. Closely contested elections
 - b. Intense party loyalty
 - c. High voter turnout
 - d. Spectacular rallies and oratory
 2. Meager response to social problems of industrial era
 - a. Minimal nature of federal government
 - i. Size
 - ii. Scale of activity
 - b. Deference of both parties to business interests
 - c. Divergence of parties over tariff policy
 - d. Convergence of parties over fiscal policy
 3. Reform legislation—achievements and limits of national politics
 - a. Civil Service Act
 - b. Interstate Commerce Act
 - c. Sherman Antitrust Act
 - E. Political ferment in the states
 1. Debate over role of government at state and local levels
 - a. Potential points of intervention
 - b. Actual points of intervention
 2. Popular campaigns for government action
 - a. Greenback-Labor party
 - b. Grange
 - c. Labor movement
 3. Legacies of popular campaigns
 - a. Mixed results in short-term
 - b. Sowing of long-term debate on political and economic freedom
- IV. Freedom in the Gilded Age
- A. Social problems
 1. Relations between classes
 2. Coexistence of poverty and wealth
 3. Advent of "permanent factory population"
 - B. Freedom, inequality, and democracy—Gilded Age inequality
 1. Justifications for concentration of wealth, low wages
 2. Uncoupling of principles of freedom and equality
 - C. New "liberal" reformers
 1. Fear of lower-class democracy
 2. Commitment to individual liberty and property rights
 - D. Social Darwinism in America
 1. Application of evolutionary science to social problems

2. Implications for social policy
 - a. Acceptance of poverty, material inequality
 - b. Rejection of public relief, economic regulation
 - c. Notion of "undeserving" poor
3. William Graham Sumner; *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other*
- E. Liberty of contract
 1. Link to Social Darwinism
 2. Themes
 - a. Freedom as limited government and unrestrained market
 - b. Sanctity of labor contract
 - i. As arbiter of free labor
 - ii. As beyond reach of public intervention
 3. The courts and freedom (rulings on regulatory legislation)
 - a. *Munn v. Illinois*
 - b. *Wabash v. Illinois*
 - c. Pro-business slant in ICC cases
 - d. *U.S. v. E.C. Knight Co.*
 - e. Use of Sherman Antitrust Act against labor
 - f. *Lochner v. New York*
- V. Labor and the republic
 - A. 1877 railroad strike and emergence of "labor question"
 - B. Resurgence of labor movement
 1. Knights of Labor
 - a. Size and diversity
 - b. Range of activities
 2. Variety of programs
 3. Common targets
 - a. Ideologies of Social Darwinism and liberty of contract
 - b. Growing loss of economic independence
 - c. Inequalities of wealth and power
 - d. Corruption of democracy by concentrated capital
 - C. Middle-class reformers
 1. Unease over social conditions, concentrated capital, class conflict
 2. Range of social prescriptions
 - D. Leading works of social criticism
 1. Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*
 - a. Statement of problem
 - b. "Single tax" solution
 - c. Conceptions of freedom
 - d. Mass popularity
 2. Laurence Gronlund's *The Cooperative Commonwealth*
 - a. Popularization of socialist ideal in America
 - b. Core socialist principles
 - c. Socialism as outcome of peaceful evolution
 3. Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*
 - a. Futuristic utopian novel
 - b. Themes
 - i. Embrace of cooperation, interdependence, equality, economic security, powerful state
 - ii. Rejection of class strife, individualism, inequality, competition
 - c. Impact
 - i. Inspiration for Nationalist clubs
 - ii. Influence on reform thought
 - E. Social Gospel movement
 1. Seedbed

- a. Emerging strain within Protestantism
 - b. Variant within Catholicism
 - 2. Themes and initiatives
 - a. Critique of Social Darwinism, laissez-faire doctrine, Gospel of Wealth
 - b. Vision of equalization of wealth and power, checks on competition
 - c. Efforts to ameliorate working-class conditions
 - d. Promotion of cooperative organization of economy
- F. The Haymarket affair—labor's great upheaval
 - 1. Explosive growth of Knights of Labor
 - 2. Nationwide May Day demonstration for eight-hour day
 - 3. Haymarket Affair (Chicago)
 - a. Background
 - i. Iron moulders' strikes of 1885 and 1886
 - ii. Killing of strikers by police
 - b. Bloodshed at Haymarket Square
 - c. Scapegoating of labor movement
 - i. As violent
 - ii. As vehicle of immigrant radicals
 - d. "Haymarket martyrs"
 - i. Arrests, trial, and conviction of anarchists
 - ii. Hangings, imprisonment, commutations
 - iii. Albert and Lucy Parsons
- G. Labor and politics
 - 1. Spread of independent labor political campaigns
 - a. Connection to Knights of Labor
 - b. Major goals
 - c. Electoral successes
 - 2. New York mayoral campaign of Henry George
 - 3. Decline of Knights of Labor