

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

A new wave of immigrants came to the United States in the late 1800s, settling in cities and troubling some native-born Americans.

READING FOCUS

1. How did patterns of immigration change at the turn of the century?
2. Why did immigrants come to America in the late 1800s, and where did they settle?
3. How did nativists respond to the new wave of immigration?

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Ellis Island
Angel Island
benevolent society
Denis Kearney
Chinese Exclusion Act
Gentlemen's Agreement
literacy test

TAKING NOTES

As you read, take notes on the challenges of the immigrant experience in the late 1800s. Record your notes in a graphic organizer like the one shown below.

Getting Here	Being Allowed In	Facing Challenges

THE INSIDE STORY

Will they send you back to Europe? At the immigration checkpoint at Ellis Island in New York Harbor, families huddled nervously. Inspectors were waiting to check each newcomer for any disease or defect, mental or physical. They would decide whether a person would be admitted to the United States—or sent back to Europe.

Most people didn't realize that the first test came as they climbed the stairs, carrying children and bundles. Doctors were watching carefully. Did that woman seem sickly? Did that man limp? Any sign of weakness could be trouble.

The physical checkup took only a few minutes. Doctors looked at the way people spoke, walked, and behaved. They examined hands, skin, and scalp. They especially looked for diseases, such as tuberculosis, which could spread to other people. What many people feared most was the test for trachoma, an eye disease. With his fingers or with an instrument like a buttonhook, the "eye man" turned the eyelid inside-out to look for signs. Trachoma, which could lead to blindness, meant rejection.

To identify people who needed a closer look, doctors marked their shoulders with blue chalk. The letter *B* meant back, *H* meant heart, *L* meant lameness, *X* meant mental problems. Families were terribly upset when one member was sent for further tests. It could mean they would be separated, perhaps forever. ■

Buttonhook Men and Blue Chalk



► An immigrant undergoes an eye exam at Ellis Island, 1905.

Changing Patterns of Immigration

It has been said that the United States is a nation of immigrants. During the history of this country, Native Americans were the only ones who did not come from somewhere else originally. All other Americans, at some point in their family history, came to the United States as immigrants.

The old immigrants Between 1800 and 1880, more than 10 million immigrants came to the United States. These people became known as the old immigrants. Most came from Northern and Western Europe—primarily from the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, the German states, Sweden, and Norway. Most of these immigrants were Protestant Christians. Their cultures were fairly similar to those of the original American settlers.

Why did the old immigrants come to the United States? Some came to have a voice in their government. Others came to escape political turmoil. Still others sought religious freedom. Some, like the Irish, came to escape poverty and starvation.

Most immigrants, however, came in search of economic opportunity. They had limited prospects in their home countries, where jobs were scarce and nobles and the church controlled most of the land. The huge supply of open farming land in the United States—and the easy access to it—attracted millions of Northern and Western Europeans in the decades before 1880.

Europeans, however, were not the only ones to come to the United States during these early waves of immigration. About 25,000 Chinese immigrants arrived to seek their fortunes in the late 1840s and early 1850s, lured by news of the California gold rush.

After the gold rush faded, more Chinese immigrants came to help build the nation's railroads, especially the first transcontinental railroad. Many later found employment as farmers, miners, or domestic servants.

The new immigrants From 1880 to 1910, a new wave of immigration brought some 18 million people to America. Their arrival would further transform the United States.

OLD AND NEW IMMIGRANTS

Old Immigrants

- Arrived before 1880
- Came from Northern and Western Europe
- Were mainly Protestant Christians
- Were culturally similar to the original American settlers
- Settled both in cities and in rural areas

New Immigrants

- Arrived 1880–1910
- Came from Southern and Eastern Europe
- Were mainly Catholics, Jews, or Orthodox Christians
- Were often culturally different from the original American settlers
- Generally settled in cities

QUICK FACTS

Unlike the old immigrants, most of these new immigrants came from Southern and Eastern Europe. Many were Czech, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Polish, Russian, or Slovak. Furthermore, most of these new immigrants were not Protestant Christians. Many were Roman Catholics, Orthodox Christians, or Jews. Arab, Armenian, and French Canadian immigrants also poured in by the thousands.

Smaller numbers of new immigrants came from East Asia. Chinese communities had flourished for decades in the western United States. Severe immigration laws in the 1880s reduced new Chinese arrivals to a trickle. However, an estimated 90,000 people of Chinese descent lived in the country in 1900.

Meanwhile, Japanese immigrants were beginning to appear. The earliest came around 1885, when Japan decided to let laborers leave to work on sugar plantations in the Hawaiian Islands. From Hawaii, many Japanese moved to the United States. By 1904 about 10,000 Japanese lived in the United States.

The massive flood of new immigrants dramatically changed the makeup of the American population. The United States became more diverse than ever before. In fact, by 1910 about 1 in 12 Americans had been born in a foreign country.

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

immigration
the movement of people into foreign countries

READING CHECK

Contrasting How did the new immigrants differ from the old immigrants?

TRACING HISTORY

Immigration

The number and origins of immigrants coming to the United States have been influenced by many factors, including political and economic changes abroad, as well as U.S. policies that alternately encourage or restrict immigration.



1845–1850 Some 500,000 people flee famine in Ireland to come to America.

1800

1892 Ellis Island immigration station opens in sight of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor.



Coming to America

The decision to move to the United States was agonizing for many immigrants. Leaving their homeland meant separation from the people they loved and the culture they knew. What brought them here?

Desire for a better life John F. Kennedy, an Irish American who became president in 1961, wrote in his book *A Nation of Immigrants*, "There were probably as many reasons for coming to America as there were people who came." Most of the new immigrants, like their predecessors, were seeking a better life. But the reasons they left their homelands varied.

Russian Jews fled to the United States in search of freedom from religious persecution. Entire villages of Jews were forced out of Russia and Eastern Europe by pogroms, organized attacks that were often encouraged by local authorities. Many of these Jews came to the United States not only to practice their religion but also to save their lives.

Many immigrants left Southern and Eastern Europe because of desperate poverty and little economic opportunity. Europe's population was rising fast. Too many people competed for too little land and too few jobs. Many Europeans heard that America was the

land of opportunity. In America, it was said, all people needed to do was work hard and save their money, and they would prosper.

The journey to America The decision to come to the United States often involved the entire family. One family member—usually a father or an eldest son—might make the journey first. The family would pool their resources to buy his passage on a ship. He would then come to the United States and work, saving his earnings so he could send prepaid tickets back to the rest of his family.

For many immigrants, just getting to a departure point was a journey in itself. Travelers made their way to port cities by train, wagon, or foot. Once at the docks, they might have to wait weeks for a departing ship.

After a U.S. immigration law went into effect in 1893, immigrants had to be approved by the steamship authorities before they were allowed to come on board. They had to provide identifying information, show that they had at least \$30 in cash, and indicate whether they had ever been in prison, a poorhouse, or a mental institution.

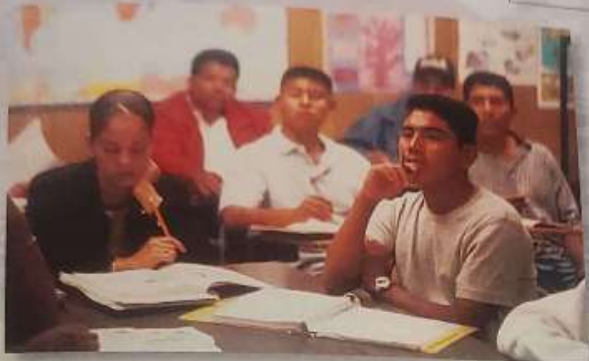
Immigrants faced one last hurdle before boarding the ship: the medical examination. Doctors employed by the steamship lines examined immigrants for any obvious diseases

1910 The Angel Island immigration center opens in San Francisco Bay, processing mainly Asian immigrants.



1900

2000



2000–2003 Almost 3 million legal immigrants come to the United States, the most in any three-year period since 1912–1914.

or defects. They then vaccinated all immigrants, disinfected them and their baggage, and allowed the immigrants to board the ship.

Most immigrants traveled in steerage, the cheapest way to travel. Steerage passengers were held in the bottom of the steamships in crowded and unsanitary conditions. A government report in 1911 explained how terrible these conditions were.

HISTORY'S VOICES

“The ventilation is almost always inadequate, and the air soon becomes foul. The unattended vomit of the seasick, the odors of not too clean bodies, the reek of food and the awful stench of the nearby toilet rooms make the atmosphere of the steerage such that it is a marvel that human flesh can endure it . . . All of these conditions are naturally aggravated by the crowding.”

—Reports of the Immigration Commission, 1911

Immigrants who survived the awful ocean crossing faced one last test before they could begin their new lives in America. They had to make it through the immigration station.

Ellis Island The U.S. government opened an immigration station in 1892 on **Ellis Island** in New York Harbor. Over the next 62 years, some 12 million immigrants would pass through Ellis Island on their way to begin a new life.

Immigrants had to pass inspection before being allowed to enter the United States. For those who traveled in first or second class, inspectors came aboard ship to check their health and review their papers.

Those who traveled in steerage had to make their way through the immigration checkpoint at Ellis Island. The inspection process usually took up to five hours. Immigrants waited nervously, fearful they would be sent back home. Doctors would scan each passenger for signs of serious disease or disability. Immigrants who did not pass the medical inspection were sent back, some penniless and without their families.

In peak years, as many as 20 percent of immigrants were held for weeks or longer at Ellis Island before being allowed to land. Sick passengers stayed at the island's hospital until they recovered. Those whose papers did not pass review were held for a hearing. About five out of every six passengers who were detained were eventually cleared to enter.

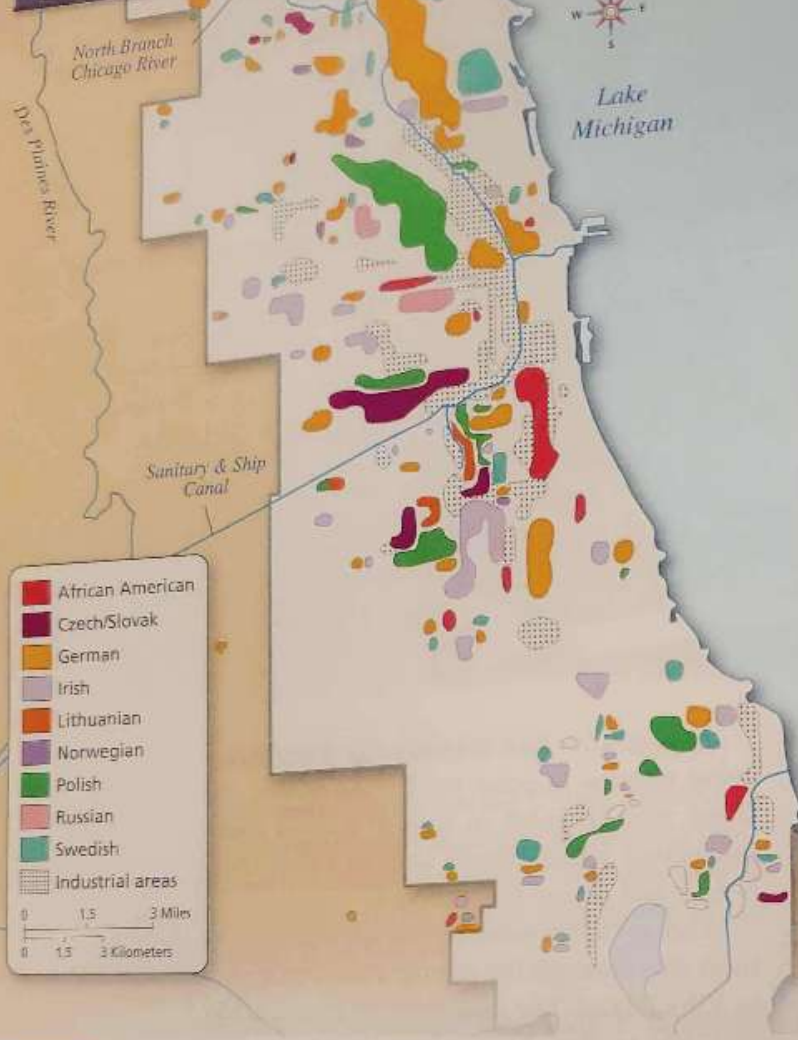
After passing inspection, immigrants were free to enter the United States and begin their new lives. Some headed off on their own, while others met family members already in the United States. One Russian Jewish immigrant remembered meeting her father for the first time, in 1910.

THE IMPACT TODAY

Daily Life

It is estimated that nearly half of all Americans today can trace their family origins to at least one immigrant who entered the country at Ellis Island.

ETHNIC NEIGHBORHOODS IN CHICAGO, 1880–1910



GEOGRAPHY SKILLS INTERPRETING MAPS

Around the turn of the century, three-quarters of Chicago's population consisted of immigrants and their children.

Place What were the two largest ethnic groups in Chicago at this time?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H20

HISTORY'S VOICES

"I saw a man coming forward and he was so beautiful I didn't know he was my father . . . Later on I realized why he looked so familiar to me. He looked exactly like I did . . . But that's when I met him for the first time. And I fell in love with him and he with me."

—Katherine Beychok, *Ellis Island History*

Angel Island After 1910, newcomers arriving on the West Coast were processed at **Angel Island**, an immigration station in San Francisco Bay. Some immigrants passed through Angel

Island fairly quickly. But many Chinese immigrants were detained for weeks or months while awaiting a ruling on whether or not they could stay.

The people detained at Angel Island faced prisonlike conditions. Much of the time they were locked in barracks to prevent escape and were allowed outside only for supervised recreation. To relieve the boredom of life at Angel Island, some Chinese immigrants wrote poetry on the walls of their barracks. Their poems often expressed resentment and despair over their treatment.

HISTORY'S VOICES

"Imprisoned in the wooden building day after day,

My freedom withheld; how can I bear to talk about it?

I look to see who is happy but they only sit quietly.

I am anxious and depressed and cannot fall asleep . . .

After experiencing such loneliness and sorrow,

Why not just return home and learn to plow the fields?"

—Anonymous Chinese immigrant

For those immigrants who were finally allowed to settle in the United States, a stressful ordeal was over. Yet for many, the hard times were just beginning. Poverty and discrimination faced many new arrivals.

Building urban communities Many immigrants found themselves better off in the United States than they had been. Still, they typically experienced hardships. Most immigrants settled in crowded cities. Most could find only low-paying, unskilled jobs. As a result, new immigrants generally had no choice but to live in poor housing in teeming slums—frequently near the factories where they worked.

In the cities of the Northeast and Midwest, immigrants usually settled near others from their homeland or even their home city or province. Surrounded by people who spoke their language and shared their culture, newcomers

PRIMARY SOURCES

Political Cartoon

Immigrants in 1893. They would have been the first to be deported and the last to be admitted.

found companionship and got help adapting to their new lives. Meanwhile, the cities became a patchwork of ethnic clusters.

In these immigrant neighborhoods, residents built institutions to keep their cultures alive. They established churches and synagogues so they could practice their religious faith. Many religious organizations provided their members with economic assistance, training courses, and child care.

In a number of cities, residents formed **benevolent societies**, aid organizations to help immigrants. Some benevolent societies helped immigrants obtain jobs, health care, or education. Some collected a few cents from members every month. In return, members received financial support if they became too ill to work, and they were buried when they died.

These benevolent societies made a huge difference in helping immigrants through difficult times. At the time, there were no state-sponsored programs to help poor and needy people. The benevolent societies filled this void. At the same time, they helped build a sense of community among immigrants.

READING CHECK

Contrasting How did Ellis Island and Angel Island differ?

Nativists Respond

The immigrants who settled in the United States strengthened the American economy. Immigrant labor kept the factories running and helped build cities.

Many native-born Americans, however, saw the new immigrants as a threat to society. Many thought the newcomers were simply too different to fit in. Others blamed immigrants for problems such as crime, poverty, and violence. Americans who opposed immigration were known as **nativists**.

Nativists believed that immigrants also posed a threat to the economy. Immigrants accepted lower wages for their work. The result, claimed nativists, was a loss of jobs for native-born Americans and lower wages for everyone. Nativists opposed further immigration. They began pressing for laws that would close America's doors to newcomers.

Limiting Chinese immigration For many years people had tolerated Chinese workers, although they did not welcome them. After 1873, though, the economy worsened. Many American citizens blamed Chinese immigrants for taking away needed jobs.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Political Cartoon

This cartoon appeared in 1893. Its caption reads: "They would close to the new-comer the bridge that carried them and their fathers over."

These successful old immigrants stand opposed to new immigration.



The clothing and items carried by this immigrant are typical of a poor person from Eastern Europe.

Skills Focus

READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

- 1. Interpreting Political Cartoons** Who do the shadow figures represent? (Reread the caption for clues.)
- 2. Making Inferences** Was the artist a nativist?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H31

In the late 1870s a group of unemployed workers organized the Workingmen's Party of California to oppose Chinese immigration. Their leader was **Denis Kearney**, an Irish immigrant. Kearney ended many of his speeches with the angry cry, "The Chinese must go!"

In 1879 California adopted a new state constitution that prohibited Chinese workers from holding state jobs. The new constitution also allowed local governments to ban the Chinese from their communities or to restrict them to certain districts.

Soon this anti-Chinese sentiment spread to the federal level. In 1882 Congress passed the **Chinese Exclusion Act**. This law banned Chinese immigration for 10 years. It also declared that none of the Chinese who were already in the United States could become citizens. The law was renewed in 1892. Then in 1902 Congress banned Chinese immigration indefinitely.

This ban did not completely stop Chinese immigration to the United States. Some exceptions were made. Overall, though, Chinese immigration declined sharply after 1882.

Limiting Japanese immigration The nativists on the West Coast resented Japanese immigrants as well. As a result, in 1906 the San Francisco school board segregated its schools. Japanese students were then required to attend a separate school from white children. The Japanese government angrily protested this discrimination.

The matter went to President Theodore Roosevelt, who in 1907 negotiated the **Gentlemen's Agreement** with Japan. Japan agreed to prevent unskilled workers from immigrating to the United States. In exchange, San Francisco stopped the practice of segregating Japanese schoolchildren.

Deterring other immigrants Some nativists opposed immigration not only from Asia but also from Southern and Eastern Europe. They claimed that those immigrants could not blend into American society because they were poor, illiterate, or non-Protestant.

Many nativists called for immigrants to pass a **literacy test**, an exam to determine whether the test takers could read English. They wanted the test to keep many of these immigrants out. In 1917 Congress passed the Literacy Test Act over President Woodrow Wilson's veto.

Americanization Not all native-born Americans wanted to prevent immigrants from coming to the United States. Some people wanted to teach the newcomers American ways to help them assimilate into American society. Schools and voluntary organizations taught immigrants English literacy skills and subjects needed for citizenship, such as American history and government.

READING CHECK Summarizing Why did nativists oppose immigration?

THE IMPACT TODAY

Daily Life

The Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed in 1943, and the Immigration Act of 1965 ended other discriminatory policies toward the Chinese. Today Chinese Americans are the largest Asian group in the country, numbering some 2.7 million in the 2000 census.

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

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Online Quiz

Keyword: SD7 HP15

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- Describe** Who were the new immigrants?
 - Analyze** Why did the United States seem to offer immigrants a promising future?
 - Predict** Of all the differences between new and old immigrants, which ones do you think would pose the most tensions between the two groups? Explain your reasoning.
- Recall** Where were Ellis Island and Angel Island located?
 - Compare** How were Ellis Island and Angel Island similar?
 - Elaborate** How did the practices at Angel Island reveal a bias against certain immigrants?
- Identify** Who was Denis Kearney?
 - Make Generalizations** How did nativists view the new wave of immigrants in the late 1800s?
 - Evaluate** How did nativism influence the law?

Critical Thinking

- Sequencing** Copy the chart below and record the steps taken by most immigrants in their journey to the United States. Begin with the decision to leave their homeland and end with their approval to enter the United States.

Decide to leave homeland



Enter the United States

FOCUS ON WRITING

- Persuasive** Suppose you are an American citizen who opposes nativist legislation such as the Chinese Exclusion Act. Write a letter to the editor to support your position. Consider the contributions of immigrants to U.S. history and the reasons for anti-immigrant sentiments.

SECTION 2

Urban Life

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

In cities in the late 1800s, people in the upper, middle, and lower classes lived different kinds of lives because of their different economic situations.

READING FOCUS

1. How did American cities change in the late 1800s?
2. How did class differences affect the way urban dwellers lived?
3. How did the settlement house movement work to improve living conditions for immigrants and poor Americans?

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Elisha Otis
Frederick Law Olmsted
settlement house
Jane Addams
Lillian Wald
Social Gospel

TAKING NOTES

As you read, take notes on improvements and problems in turn-of-the-century society. Record your notes in a graphic organizer like the one shown here.

The Social Gospel	Social Darwinism

THE INSIDE STORY

Do you enjoy a walk in the park?

If so, thank Frederick Law Olmsted. He and his firm planned and built many of America's most beautiful public parks. His ideas had a strong influence on park design throughout the country.

Before becoming a landscape architect—a term he invented—Olmsted studied engineering, ran a farm, and worked as a journalist. In 1850, when he was 28, Olmsted and some friends took a walking tour of Europe. There he admired the many public and private parks as well as the elegant layouts of country estates.

By 1856 the City of New York had acquired 840 acres on what was then the edge of town. Olmsted and architect

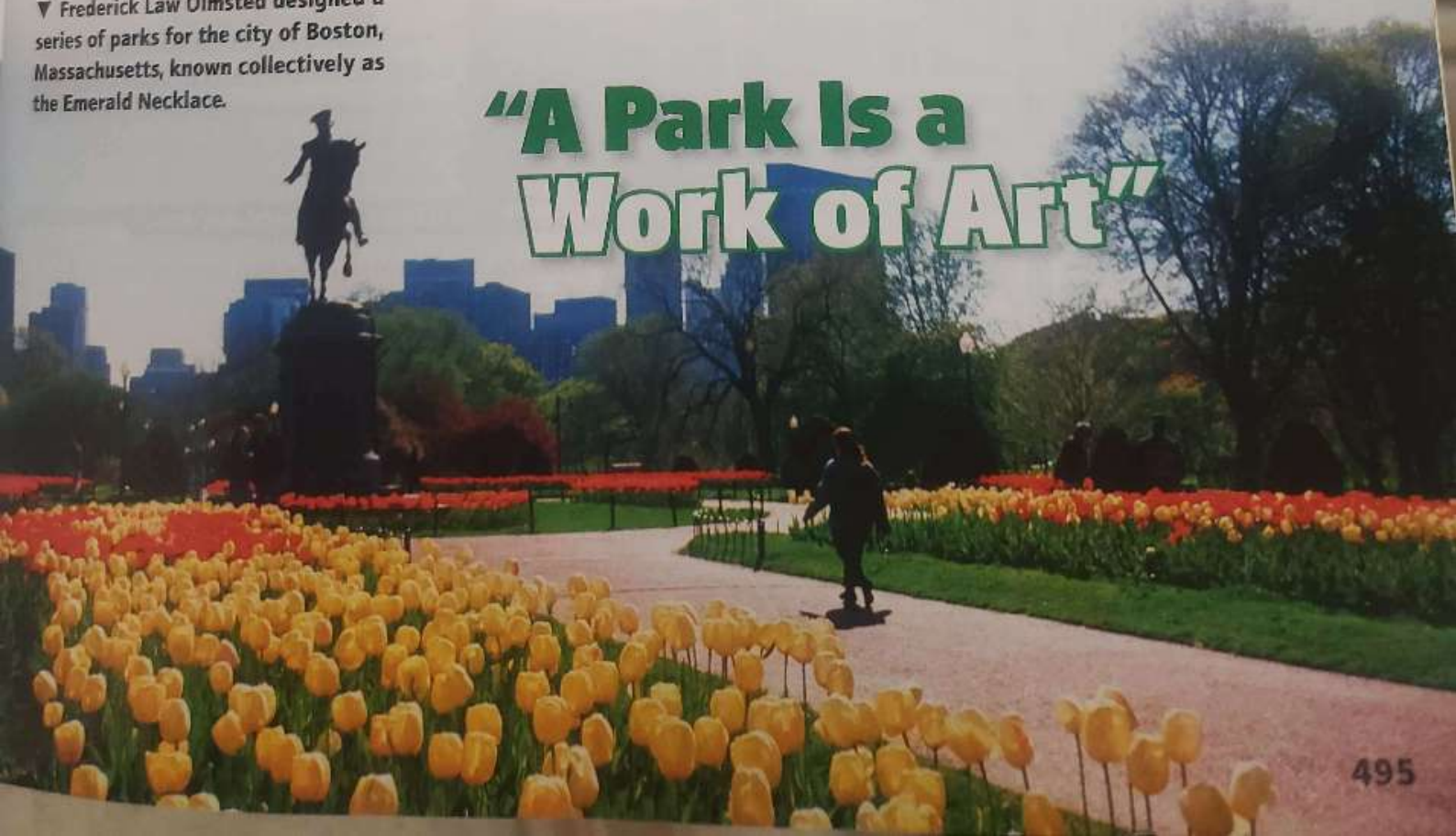
Calvert Vaux won a competition to design the city's new Central Park. Their plan kept the feel of a natural landscape but added walks and parkways so that people could stroll comfortably and enjoy the area.

Central Park was one of the first large U.S. city parks. Olmsted thought that expanses of green space and trees improved the quality of city life. "A park is a work of art," he said. Every detail—every blade of grass—mattered.

During the Civil War, Olmsted was in charge of medical supplies and sanitation for the Union army. After the war he returned to park design. For the next 30 years he created peaceful havens in Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago, Boston, Montreal, and other cities. His firm also designed landscapes for the U.S. Capitol and White House grounds and for national parks from Maine to California.

▼ Frederick Law Olmsted designed a series of parks for the city of Boston, Massachusetts, known collectively as the Emerald Necklace.

"A Park Is a Work of Art"



HISTORY CLOSE-UP

Early Skyscrapers

The Reliance Building Reaching 14 stories in 1894, the Reliance Building in Chicago seemed to defy gravity. Its steel skeleton supported an exterior made mostly of windows. The Reliance Building helped usher in the era of the skyscraper.



American Cities Change

Before industrialization, cities were compact. Few buildings stood taller than four stories. Most people lived within walking distance of their workplaces, schools, shopping districts, and places of worship. But in the late 1800s, cities began to run out of buildable space. Instead of spreading out, they began to build up. Architects started using strong steel frames, which allowed them to build taller buildings than ever before. The safety elevator, invented by Elisha Otis, made taller buildings practical.

With the coming of mass transit, cities expanded as people moved farther away. Middle class and wealthy people could work in the city but leave the noises and smells behind when they went home. The working poor, however, could not afford to move from the city center.

As cities grew, some people began to fear that urban areas would no longer have any green spaces. The new field of urban planning arose to deal with this challenge. Urban planners and civil engineers tried to map out the best use of space in cities. Landscape architects

such as Frederick Law Olmsted designed city parks to provide city residents with a sense of the countryside. Olmsted designed New York City's Central Park as well as a network of Boston parks known as the Emerald Necklace and other urban parks.

READING CHECK

Identifying Cause and Effect How did the use of steel change the way architects designed buildings?

Skills FOCUS

INTERPRETING INFOGRAPHICS

Because an internal steel skeleton provided structural support, the outside of the Reliance Building could be more decorative. Larger-than-usual windows let in light and air. Exterior details, such as the bands of terra cotta ornamentation, gave it an intricate look.

Making Inferences Why did the Reliance Building need stairways when it already had mechanized elevators?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H18

Class Differences

America's booming cities provided bountiful opportunities for success in life. But the opportunities varied tremendously depending on one's status in society.

The wealthy The richest Americans in the late 1800s did not all come from old-money families with inherited wealth. Instead, they made their fortunes in industry and business. Many of these newly rich made a point of conspicuously displaying their wealth. Because of their excesses, the period from the 1870s to the 1890s is sometimes called the Gilded Age.

The well-to-do spent vast sums of money on housing. Affluent New Yorkers lined Fifth Avenue with grand houses resembling medieval castles and Italian Renaissance palaces. In the summer, they left their city homes for magnificent country estates. The oldest grandson of industrialist Cornelius Vanderbilt, for example, built a palatial summer home in Newport, Rhode Island. His "cottage" had 70 rooms.

High-society women read instructive literature that outlined proper behavior for ladies and gentlemen. The guides glorified the ideal woman as a homemaker. Her role was to organize and decorate her home, entertain, supervise a staff of servants, and offer moral and social guidance to her family. Most wealthy women stayed busy with these private activities. Some, however, lent their time and occasionally their money to social reform efforts.

The middle class The growth of new industries resulted in an increase in the urban middle class. The rise of modern corporations also caused the middle class to swell as more and more people became accountants, clerks, managers, and salespeople.

Industry and business, as well as a growing population, created a need for educated workers such as teachers, engineers, lawyers, and doctors. Before the late 1800s, however, few standards existed to ensure that these workers had appropriate qualifications. During the 1870s and 1880s, schools and organizations began to standardize the skills and knowledge needed for certain occupations. This process became known as professionalization. It brought new respect to professions such as medicine, law, and education.

Few professions accepted women as members. But women found other opportunities to work outside the home. Businesses hired women as salesclerks, secretaries, and typists.

When young, middle-class women married, they usually stopped working outside the home. Yet managing a home now involved less labor than it had previously. Women could buy many of the items their mothers had formerly made themselves, such as clothing. In addition, many middle class households employed at least one servant to manage the housework.

With less time spent on housework, many middle class women had time for other activities. Some participated in reform movements. Others joined reading clubs and other social groups. By taking part in activities outside the home, middle class women began to expand their influence into the public world.

The working class Many people in the cities lived in terrible poverty. As more people moved to the cities in search of work, the growing population kept wages low. Housing shortages meant that most workers lived in cramped conditions. In New York City, for example, about half of the population crowded into tenements, or run-down apartment buildings.

Tenements were usually within walking distance of the factories, stockyards, and ports where many of the urban poor worked. This meant that at home, as well as on the job, they had to endure pollution and filth. Sickness and untimely death were common.

Tenements lacked sufficient light and ventilation. Only the rooms facing the street and the back of the building had windows, and even these were a mixed blessing. They let in sunlight but also the stench from trash and sewage and the pollution from belching factories.

Housekeeping was laborious in a tenement. With no indoor plumbing, women and children had to haul water from an outdoor water pump for laundry, bathing, and cooking. Women washed clothes by boiling them on the stove and then hanging them to dry on lines strung between buildings or in the kitchen. On top of their difficult housekeeping tasks, many working-class women also labored in low-paying jobs outside the home.

READING CHECK

Contrasting How did life in the cities differ for wealthy and working-class people?

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

sufficient

enough, adequate

THE IMPACT TODAY

Government

Today all 50 states have laws requiring licensing for many occupations, from practicing medicine to doing electrical work to cutting hair in a barbershop or beauty salon.

Jane ADDAMS

1860–1935



Jane Addams grew up in privileged circumstances in Illinois, but she found her calling in serving the disadvantaged. With her father's encouragement, she attended college and became part of the first generation of American women to gain higher education.

In the 1880s Addams toured Europe and visited a settlement house in London. Inspired, she returned to Chicago and founded Hull House to serve poor immigrants and the working class. Addams also pushed for reforms in city government, championed voting rights for women, and spoke out against racial discrimination and war. In 1931 Addams became the second woman to receive the Nobel Peace Prize.

Summarize How did Addams work to improve her community?

The Settlement House Movement

With poverty a desperate problem, some American reformers turned to Great Britain for inspiration. In 1884 London reformers had founded the first **settlement house**, a place where volunteers provided a variety of services to people in need.

Instead of just giving handouts, settlement houses taught immigrants many skills they could use to help themselves out of poverty. They offered English classes and job-training courses. They also provided social activities, such as clubs and sports.

Soon, settlement houses began appearing in U.S. cities. One of the first was Hull House in Chicago, founded by Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr in 1889. The settlement house movement spread quickly. In New York City, Lillian Wald founded the Henry Street Settlement. Janie Porter Barrett established the Locust Street Social Settlement in Hampton, Virginia, the first settlement house for African Americans. By 1910 there were 400 settlement houses in U.S. cities.

Most settlement house workers were middle-class, college-educated women who lived among the people they served. In a society that barred women from working in many professions, the settlement houses gave women new opportunities to lead, organize, and improve life for others.

Many workers in the settlement houses held strong religious views. They believed in the **Social Gospel**, the idea that religious faith should be expressed through good works. They believed that churches had a moral duty to help solve society's problems.

Social Darwinists, however, criticized the Social Gospel movement. Social Darwinists such as sociologist William Graham Sumner viewed existence as a competitive struggle in which only the fittest would survive. People were poor, Sumner said, because of their own deficiencies. Therefore, social reforms could not help them.

READING CHECK

Summarizing How did the settlement house movement work to address poverty?

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

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Online Quiz

Keyword: SD7 HP15

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- a. Identify** Who was Elisha Otis?

b. Draw Conclusions How did elevators and steel change the way cities looked?
- a. Describe** What were conditions in tenements like?

b. Explain How did professionalization meet the needs of the developing American economy?

c. Develop How did women's roles vary from one social class to another?
- a. Recall** What was the settlement house movement?

b. Make Inferences Why did middle-class women get involved in the settlement house movement?

c. Elaborate How did the settlement house movement differ from earlier attempts to relieve poverty?

Critical Thinking

- Contrasting** Copy the table below and record the difference between the Social Gospel concept and social Darwinism.

Social Gospel	Social Darwinism

FOCUS ON WRITING

- Descriptive** Suppose you are a settlement house worker around 1900. Write a letter to a friend describing the people you serve, their needs, and their neighborhood.

SECTION 3

Politics in the Gilded Age

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

Political corruption was common in the late 1800s, but reformers began fighting for changes to make government more honest.

READING FOCUS

1. How did political machines control politics in major cities?
2. What efforts were made to reduce federal corruption?
3. How did the Populist movement give farmers political power?

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

William Marcy Tweed
Thomas Nast
James A. Garfield
Chester A. Arthur
National Grange
Populist Party
William McKinley

TAKING NOTES

As you read, take notes on major developments in the rise of the Populist movement in the United States. Record your notes in a graphic organizer like the one shown here.

Rise of the Populist Movement
1867
1870s on
1892

THE INSIDE STORY

Who runs the city? James Pendergast owned a hotel and saloon in an area of tenements and small factories in Kansas City, Missouri. In 1892 "Big

Jim" won a seat representing this tough ward on the City Council. This became his base for building a powerful political machine—a network of friends who helped him control city government.

Pendergast spoke out for underpaid workers, such as firefighters. He made sure that poor families had food and heat. He could count on their support in return. "All there is to it," he said, "is having friends, doing things for people, and then later on they'll do things for you."

Not all of Pendergast's buddies were upstanding citizens. Some ran illegal gambling and liquor operations. But Pendergast's cronies in the police department protected them.

When "Big Jim" died in 1911, his brother Tom took over and extended machine control over the entire state Democratic Party. The Pendergast machine grew more and more corrupt. It finally collapsed in the 1930s as Tom Pendergast and others went to prison. ■

► These down-at-the-heels citizens gladly exchanged their votes for a pair of new shoes.

Politics and Friendship



Political Machines

Before the Civil War, most cities were small and easily managed by part-time politicians. By the late 1800s, however, cities faced challenges that part-timers could not handle. Problems such as crime, inadequate water supplies, and poor sanitation needed professionals to solve them.

The solution in many cities was the political machine, an informal group of professional politicians who controlled local government. Political machines sorted out some of the biggest urban problems. However, they often resorted to corrupt methods.

Immigrants and political machines By the late 1800s, political machines controlled many major U.S. cities. They made a special point of reaching out to immigrants. They helped newcomers find jobs or housing, supplied coal in winter, and provided turkeys for holiday dinners. Machine politicians also helped immigrants become naturalized citizens. In

return, these elected officials expected the people they assisted to vote for them and rally the broader community support.

James Pendergast was a popular political boss in Kansas City, Missouri. He gained the loyalty of local immigrants by doing favors such as giving money to those in need. He used his connections to run for alderman. By 1900 he controlled Kansas City politics.

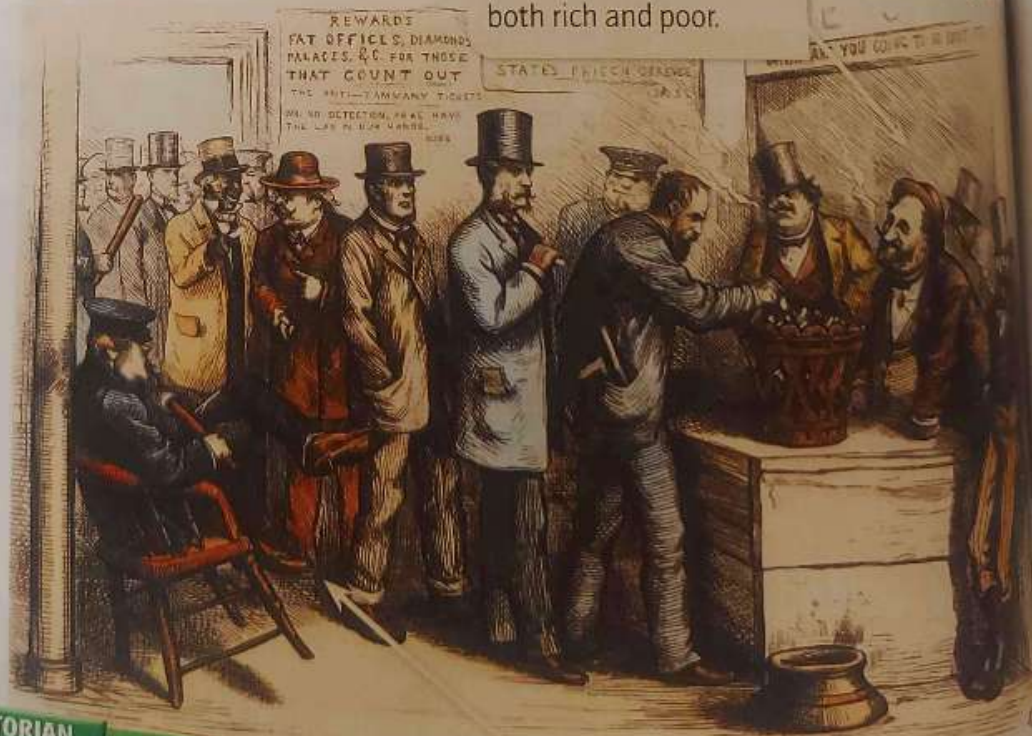
Political machines sometimes dominated entire counties. Stephen Powers and James P. Wells Jr. set up a political machine in Cameron County, Texas, in the 1870s. In exchange for votes, they helped Mexican Americans pay for weddings, funerals, and living expenses during hard times.

In some cities, immigrants not only backed the political machine but also became part of it. Irish Americans rose through the ranks of Boston's political machine. Two second-generation Irish immigrants even became mayor: John F. Fitzgerald (President John F. Kennedy's grandfather) and James Michael Curley.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Political Cartoon

Thomas Nast's biting political cartoons helped expose the corrupt Tammany Hall political machine. Here Boss Tweed takes money from the public, while a sign above him says tauntingly, "What are you going to do about it?"



Tweed, behind the table, collects payments from both rich and poor.

A police officer with a nightstick enforces Tweed's shady business.

Skills Focus

READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Identifying Points of View What message was Nast trying to send about public money?

Interpreting Political Cartoons What makes Tweed look corrupt?

See **Skills Handbook**, pp. H28–H29, H31

Corruption It is appropriate for politicians to help their constituents and ask for their support. But political machines became famous for using illegal tactics to maintain control.

Machine bosses bought voter support with jobs and favors. They also engaged in election fraud. Sometimes they hired men to vote several times in an election. The hired voters would change coats or shave off their beards so they could vote more than once without detection. Hence the old Chicago joke, "Vote early and vote often."

Many machine politicians practiced graft—using their position to gain money and power dishonestly. They demanded bribes and payoffs in exchange for contracts or jobs. For example, one Chicago business leader routinely paid members of the City Council to let him maintain a monopoly over the city's streetcar system. Like other business leaders, he considered the payoffs part of the cost of doing business.

The Tweed Ring The most notorious political machine was Tammany Hall, which ran the Democratic Party in New York City. In 1863 **William Marcy Tweed** became the powerful head of Tammany Hall.

Like other political bosses, Boss Tweed used his position to rake in riches for himself and his friends, a group known as the Tweed Ring. In one case the city paid \$13 million to build a new courthouse, which was several times the actual construction cost. The difference went into the pockets of Tweed and his associates.

Tweed controlled elections, corrupt judges, and big business in the city. His power seemed unbreakable—until 1871. That's when a new bookkeeper for the county gave evidence to the *New York Times* that proved how much the Tweed Ring had stolen.

Thomas Nast, a political cartoonist, attacked this corruption in *Harper's Weekly* magazine in 1871. Week after week, Nast's cartoons sharply criticized Tweed and Tammany Hall. As public opinion turned against Tweed, he is said to have demanded that the cartoons be stopped.

HISTORY'S VOICES

"I don't care so much what the papers write about me—my constituents can't read, but they can see the . . . pictures."

—William Marcy "Boss" Tweed, 1871

Tweed was convicted for fraud and extortion in 1873. He was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment. Tweed later escaped but was caught in Spain. Officials there recognized him from one of Nast's drawings. In 1878 Tweed died in a New York City jail.

READING CHECK Drawing Conclusions

Why do you think corruption flourished in New York City for so long without a public outcry?

Federal Corruption

The dominant image of government in the late 1800s was the smoke-filled back room—the clubs and parlors where corrupt politicians and business leaders made deals to enrich themselves. Much dirty business was conducted in this way, out of public view. The problem extended to the highest levels of government.

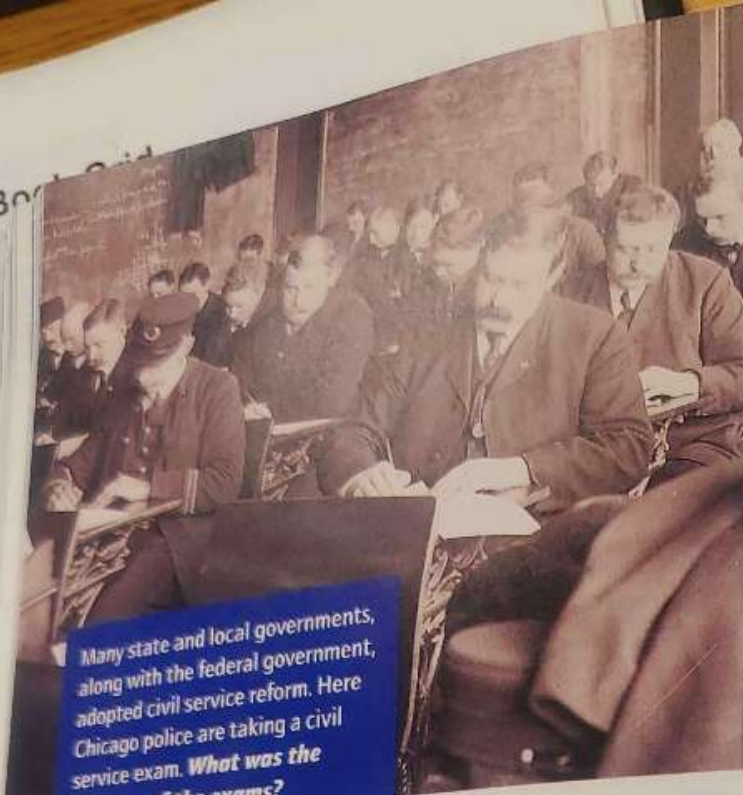
Scandals of the Grant administration

Ulysses S. Grant, the Union army's commanding general at the end of the Civil War, became president in 1869. His presidency was marred by several scandals that outraged the nation.

One of the most significant dramas was the *Crédit Mobilier* scandal. In the 1860s the Union Pacific Railroad set up a construction company called *Crédit Mobilier* to build part of the transcontinental railroad. *Crédit Mobilier* charged American taxpayers about \$23 million more than it actually cost to build the railroad. That \$23 million went into the bank accounts of the Union Pacific directors and the *Crédit Mobilier* stockholders.

In 1872 the *New York Sun* revealed that *Crédit Mobilier* had given stock to members of Congress and even to Vice President Schuyler Colfax. Corruption now tainted some of the nation's foremost leaders.

Another scandal erupted in 1875 when a new treasury secretary revealed a conspiracy to divert tax collections into private hands. The *Whiskey Ring*, a group that included Grant's private secretary, whiskey distillers, distributors, and government officials, stole millions of dollars of taxpayers' money. Whiskey producers paid bribes to government officials. In exchange, officials allowed them to keep millions of dollars in liquor taxes that should have gone to the federal treasury.



Many state and local governments, along with the federal government, adopted civil service reform. Here Chicago police are taking a civil service exam. **What was the purpose of the exams?**

President Hayes and reform These scandals moved reformers to action. They wanted to end the fraud under the spoils system, a long-standing practice of filling government jobs with the winning political party's supporters.

When Republican Rutherford B. Hayes became president in 1877, he wanted reform. He issued an executive order that prohibited government employees from managing political parties or campaigns. At the New York Customhouse, where corrupt Republicans controlled the jobs, two top officials ignored the order. Hayes fired them.

This outraged Roscoe Conkling, a political boss and Republican senator from New York. Conkling and his supporters, known as the Stalwarts, wanted to continue the spoils system. Reformers in the Republican Party wanted to end it.

In 1880, when Hayes decided not to run for a second term, the Republicans split over whom to nominate. They finally compromised on Ohio senator **James A. Garfield**.

Garfield's short presidency Garfield won the election, but he soon angered the Stalwarts by failing to give Conkling a cabinet appointment. The feud did not last long, however. Four months into his term, in July 1881, Garfield was shot in a Washington, D.C., railroad station. The president died in September.

The man who killed Garfield was Charles Guiteau (guh-TOH), an unstable character who had been denied a job in Garfield's administration. Guiteau believed that killing the president would help the Stalwart cause. However, the opposite happened. Garfield was succeeded by the vice president, Chester A. Arthur. Although Arthur had formerly supported the Stalwarts, he now turned against the spoils system.

Civil service reform President Arthur surprised many people by acting independently of the Republican Party that helped him into office. In 1883 he helped secure passage of the Pendleton Civil Service Act. The law required that promotions be based on merit, not on political connections. Although the Pendleton Act initially applied to only 10 percent of federal jobs, it was an important first step in reducing corruption in the federal government.

READING CHECK

Summarizing How did Presidents Hayes and Arthur begin civil service reform?

The Populist Movement

Calls for reform also arose from another direction. Farmers began a movement for reform that would challenge both of the major political parties.

Farmers' hardships Farmers in the late 1800s were in a desperate situation. Crop prices were falling. Many farmers borrowed large sums to buy new equipment or more land so they could grow more crops. The resulting oversupply of farm products caused prices to fall even further. A farmer who planted 24 acres of cotton in 1894 made less money than a farmer who planted only 9 acres in 1873.

Indebted farmers found it increasingly difficult to repay their loans. Even worse, railroads began to charge enormous fees to transport crops to market. The smallest farmers often had to pay the highest shipping prices.

To many farmers, it seemed that everyone else was making money at their expense. The merchants who sold the farm equipment profited. The banks and the railroads got richer and richer. But the farmers who worked all day every day were nearly penniless. Outraged farmers decided to fight this unjust situation.

The National Grange With no one else to help them, farmers organized to help themselves. Local groups formed to provide emergency aid and other assistance to individual farmers. In time, local groups merged to form nationwide organizations.

The first major farmers' organization was the Order of Patrons of Husbandry, more commonly known as the **National Grange**. Founded in 1867 by Oliver Hudson Kelley, the Grange began as a social group. Kelley had surveyed farming conditions in the South immediately after the Civil War, and he saw how downtrodden many farmers were. He decided to create an organization in which farmers could support each other.

HISTORY'S VOICES

“1. United by the strong and faithful tie of Agriculture, we mutually resolve to labor for the good of our Order, our country, and mankind.

2. We heartily endorse the motto: 'In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity.'”

—1874 Declaration of Purposes of the National Grange

The Grange campaigned to unite farmers from across the nation, transcending regional rivalries. The organization declared that “in our agricultural brotherhood and its purposes, we shall recognize no North, no South, no East, no West.”

Within a few years, membership in the Grange exploded. Farmers began to realize that to save their livelihoods, they would have to fight against the railroads and operators of grain elevators who made huge profits at their expense. An 1874 Grange document urged farmers to act boldly to protect their interests.

HISTORY'S VOICES

“Choke monopolies, break up rings, vote for honest men, fear God and make money. So shalt thou prosper and sorrow and hard times shall flee away.”

—“The Ten Commandments of the Grange,”

Oshkosh (WI) Weekly Times, December 16, 1874

Around this time, the focus of the Grange shifted toward fighting for political reform. The organization's first target was railroad rates. By the late 1870s, the Grange had succeeded in persuading the state legislatures in Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin to regulate railroads and operators of grain elevators. The

business opposed regulation because it took a bite out of their profits. They challenged these Granger laws in the courts.

In 1877 the Supreme Court agreed with the Grange. In the case of *Munn v. Illinois*, the Court declared that state legislatures did have the right to regulate businesses that involved the public interest.

Nine years later the Court ruled again on the issue of business regulation. In the 1886 case *Wabash v. Illinois*, the Court ruled that the federal government had the power to regulate railroad traffic moving across state boundaries.

The *Wabash* case led Congress to approve the Interstate Commerce Act in 1887. Passage of the law had great historic significance. It marked the first time that the federal government had regulated an industry.

The objective of the Interstate Commerce Act was to make railroad rates fair for all customers by requiring the rates to be “reasonable and just.” The act prohibited railroads from giving more favorable rates or special rebates to large shippers. It also forbade railroads from charging more for short hauls than for long hauls over the same rail line. To oversee the railroads, the act created the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC).

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY
objective goal



The National Grange was founded in 1867. In less than a decade, more than 21,000 granges were organized on the state, county, and local levels.

Congress did not, however, give the ICC the power to enforce the provisions of the law. The ICC did not gain enforcement power until 1906, under President Theodore Roosevelt. Nonetheless, the ICC would later serve as a model for government regulation of private businesses.

The Alliance movement Other farmers' organizations formed in Texas and New York in the 1870s. As they grew and established links, they became known as the Farmers' Alliance.

Like the Grange, the Farmers' Alliance began as a way to help farmers with practical needs such as buying equipment or marketing farm products. Soon, the Alliance also began lobbying for banking reform and regulation of railroad rates.

The Alliance movement spread quickly. By 1890 more than 1 million farmers from different regions of the country had joined.

In the South, however, leaders of the Southern Alliance restricted membership to white farmers only. African American farmers therefore formed their own organization, the Colored Farmers' Alliance.

In 1890 the Colored Farmers' Alliance had more than 1 million members. It worked for the same kinds of reforms as the Southern Alliance. In addition, the Colored Farmers'

Alliance fought prejudice. It urged its members to become economically strong by avoiding debt and owning their own farms. Like other African American organizations of the time, it advocated hard work and sacrifice as the keys to gaining equality in society.

The money supply issue In order to create better economic conditions for farmers, the Farmers' Alliances wanted to expand the money supply. In other words, they wanted the government to print more money. They thought that more money in circulation would inflate prices, including the prices for crops. The resulting inflation would ease farmers' debt burden.

Paper money was originally redeemable for either gold or silver coins. But in 1873 Congress voted to adopt the gold standard, a monetary system in which the standard unit of exchange is a certain amount of gold. Under the gold standard, the government promised to redeem any bill for gold. In addition, there could only be as much money in circulation as there was gold in the treasury to back it up.

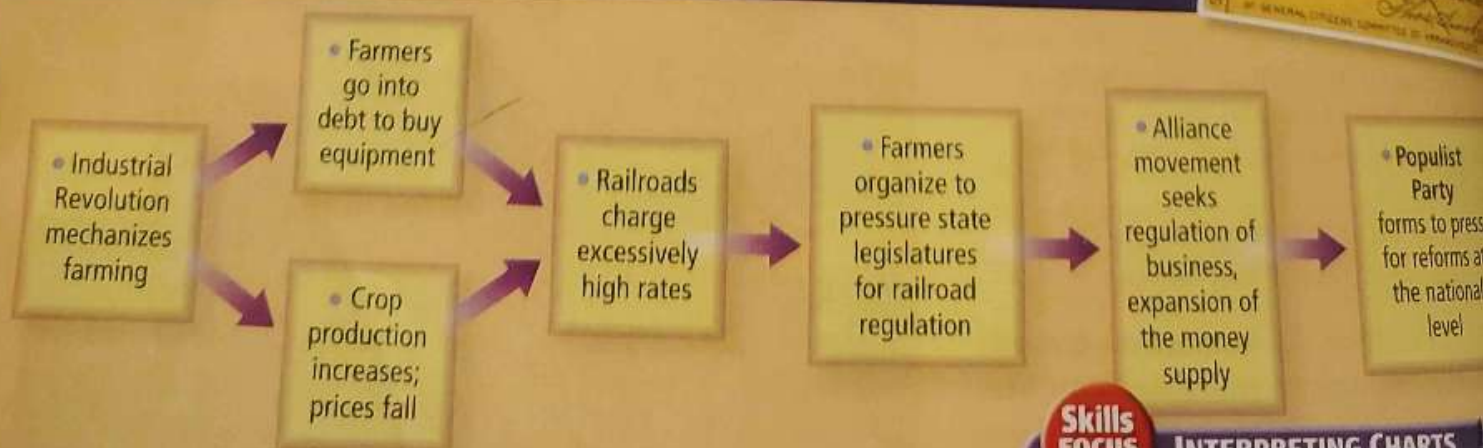
The gold standard reduced the number of dollars in circulation, and this alarmed many farmers. In the hope of expanding the supply of money, farm groups urged that money once

Growth of the Populist Movement

The Populist movement began among struggling farmers in the Midwest, South, and West. Eventually laborers joined with farmers to press for new government policies

that would benefit ordinary working people. The Populist movement reached its height in the 1890s with the formation of the Populist Party.

THE POPULIST MOVEMENT



**Skills
FOCUS**

INTERPRETING CHARTS

What role did the Industrial Revolution play in the formation of the Populist Party?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H15

again be backed by silver as well as gold. They pressured Congress to pass laws requiring the government to buy some silver to mint coins. However, the silver did not have much impact on the money supply.

This sharply disappointed Alliance members. In the elections of 1890, they became very politically active. They stood behind any candidate who supported their position on monetary policy, and they had remarkable success. Alliance-backed candidates won more than 40 seats in Congress and four governorships.

The Populist Party Encouraged by their clout in the elections, Alliance leaders decided to form a national political party. At a convention in Omaha, Nebraska, in July 1892, the People's Party was born. This coalition of farmers, labor leaders, and reformers became more commonly known as the **Populist Party**.

The Populist Party supported National Grange and Alliance demands. The party platform called for an income tax, bank regulation, government ownership of railroad and telegraph companies, and the free (unlimited) coinage of silver. In pushing this agenda, the Populists claimed to speak for the common people rather than the ruling elite.

HISTORY'S VOICES

“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 . . . We believe that the power of government—in other words, of the people—should be expanded . . . to the end that oppression, injustice, and poverty shall eventually cease in the land.”

—Preamble to the 1892 Platform of the Populist Party

In the 1892 presidential election, the Populists backed James B. Weaver against the Republican incumbent, Benjamin Harrison, and the Democratic candidate, Grover Cleveland. Cleveland won the election, but the Populist Party won several seats in Congress as well as several state offices. This was remarkable success for a new party.

The Panic of 1893 Soon after the election, the nation plunged into an economic depression. In May 1893 one of the leading railroad companies failed. This triggered the Panic of

FACES OF HISTORY

Mary Elizabeth LEASE

1853–1933



Daughter of an Irish immigrant activist, Mary Elizabeth Lease became an activist as well. Lease moved west to Kansas for a teaching job and became more involved in

soon joined the temperance movement. She became more involved in politics when she joined the Populist Party. In the 1890 election Lease traveled the country giving more than 160 speeches. A riveting speaker, she was nicknamed Mary “Yellin” Lease by her opponents. Lease spoke out unceasingly in favor of popular election of U.S. senators, government control of railroads, regulation of corporations, women’s right to vote, and monetary reforms. She also opposed the efforts of Populists who wanted to merge with the Democratic Party.

Make Generalizations What kinds of causes did Lease support?

1893: investors pulled out of the stock market and thousands of businesses collapsed. By year’s end, some 3 million people had lost their jobs. Strikes and protests swept the country.

There were many causes for this national depression, including a worldwide financial slump. President Cleveland focused on one of many causes: the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890.

This law required the government to pay for silver purchases with paper money redeemable in either gold or silver. But new discoveries of silver decreased its value, and people rushed to exchange their paper money for gold. This put a huge strain on the treasury’s gold reserves. To protect the gold standard and to restore confidence in the economy, Cleveland called for Congress to repeal the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. Congress did so in October 1893. Because of Cleveland’s actions, the country stayed on the gold standard.

The election of 1896 Silver continued to be a controversial issue. In the presidential election of 1896, the Republicans nominated Ohio governor William McKinley, who believed that the gold standard was the key to the nation’s prosperity. The Democrats, meanwhile, did not want President Cleveland to seek re-election because the Panic of 1893 had made him so unpopular. Instead, they nominated William Jennings Bryan, a former two-term U.S. congressman from Nebraska.

THE IMPACT TODAY

Economics

President Richard Nixon took the United States off the gold standard in 1971, and the dollar has been allowed to “float” according to market value ever since.

Judge



Skills Focus **READING LIKE A HISTORIAN**

The caption of this Republican cartoon called Bryan unfit to be president because he made "sacrilegious" use of Christian symbols—the cross and crown of thorns—in his speeches.

Interpreting Political Cartoons How does the image suggest Bryan's lack of respect?

Bryan hailed the free coinage of silver as the key to prosperity. In a famous speech, he vowed to resist the gold standard alongside business people, workers and farmers.

HISTORY'S VOICES

“If they [Republicans] dare to come out in the open field and defend the gold standard as a good thing, we will fight them to the uttermost. Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests and the laboring interests and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand 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, speech to the Democratic National Convention, July 9, 1896

The Democratic Party's adoption of the free-silver platform caused the Populists to throw their support to Bryan as well. Worried that Bryan was picking up votes, many business leaders contributed millions of dollars to the Republican campaign. McKinley subsequently won the election. Free silver had not been a strong enough issue for a national victory.

The election of 1896 was the high point of influence for the Populist Party, which soon faded away. Even so, the party's platform laid the groundwork for reforms that the government would later enact. Populist language also became a mainstay in politics. Many politicians have tried to craft populist messages that suggest they are on the side of ordinary people and not special interests.

READING CHECK

Sequencing How did the Farmers' Alliance give rise to the Populist Party?

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

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Online Quiz

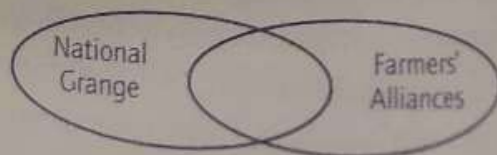
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Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

1. **a. Describe** What was the relationship between William Marcy Tweed and Thomas Nast?
- b. Summarize** How did political machines gain power?
- c. Evaluate** Do you think political machines did more harm than good? Explain.
2. **a. Recall** How did the *Crédit Mobilier* scandal tarnish the Grant administration?
- b. Elaborate** In what way did the Pendleton Civil Service Act affect federal corruption?
3. **a. Identify** Who were William McKinley and William Jennings Bryan?
- b. Analyze** How did farmers raise their issues from the local level to national politics?
- c. Evaluate** What was the impact of the Farmers' Alliance?

Critical Thinking

4. **Comparing and Contrasting** What were the main similarities and differences between the National Grange and the Farmers' Alliances?



FOCUS ON SPEAKING

SECTION 4

Segregation and Discrimination

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

The United States in the late 1800s was a place of great change—and a place in need of even greater change.

READING FOCUS

1. What kinds of legalized discrimination did African Americans endure after Reconstruction?
2. What informal discrimination did African Americans experience?
3. Who were the most prominent black leaders of the period, and how did their views differ?
4. In what ways did others suffer discrimination in the late 1800s?

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

poll tax
grandfather clause
Jim Crow law
Plessy v. Ferguson
racial etiquette
lynching
Booker T. Washington
W. E. B. Du Bois
NAACP
debt peonage

TAKING NOTES

As you read, take notes on laws, policies, and legal decisions that discriminated against African Americans. Record your notes in a graphic organizer like the one shown below. You may need to add more circles.

Discrimination against African Americans

THE INSIDE STORY

Why did a dinner invitation cause controversy?

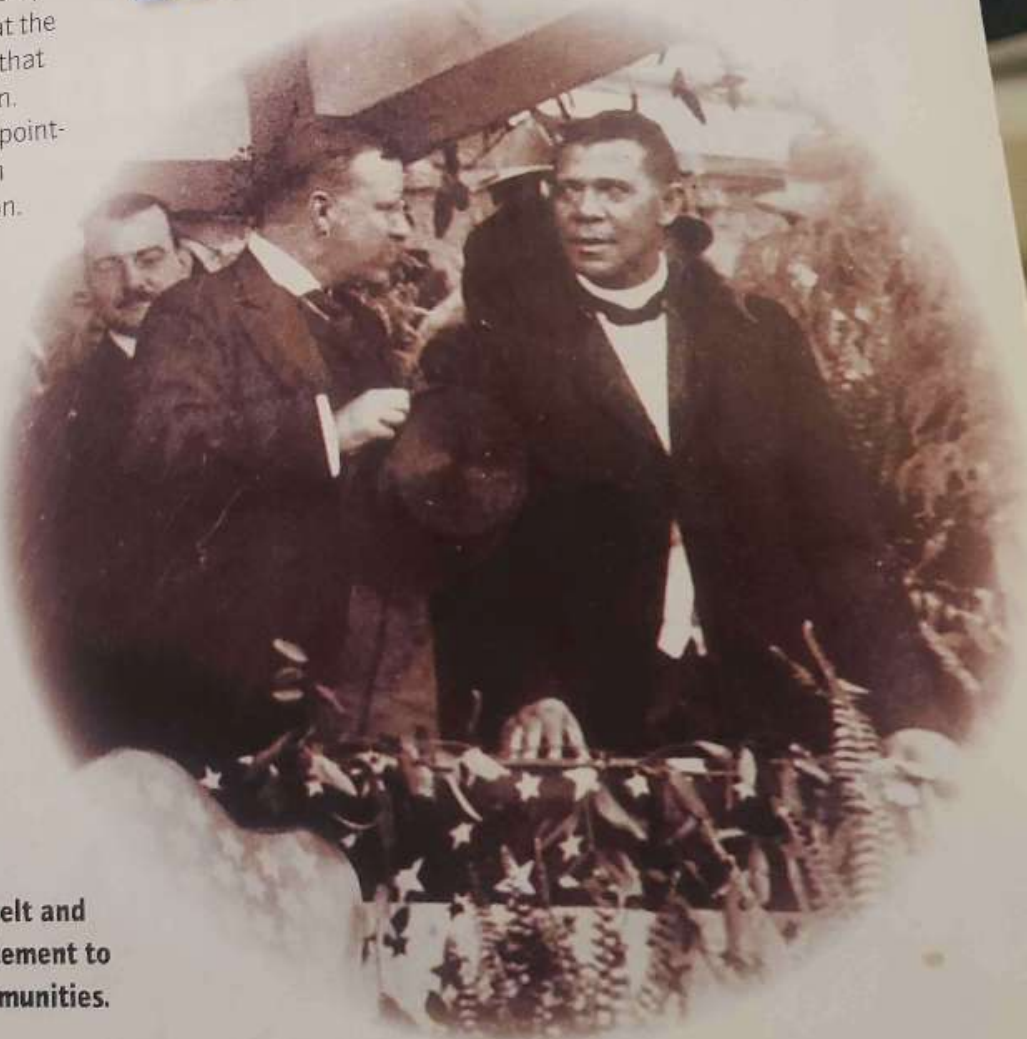
In October 1901, soon after he became president, Theodore Roosevelt invited a national leader to dine at the White House. The invitation made headlines because that leader was an African American: Booker T. Washington. Roosevelt often consulted with him about political appointments in the South because he knew that Washington understood the complicated relationships in the region. The dinner was a small occasion with the president, his family, and a few guests. To some people, that racial closeness was even more upsetting. At the time, many restaurants would not serve black people.

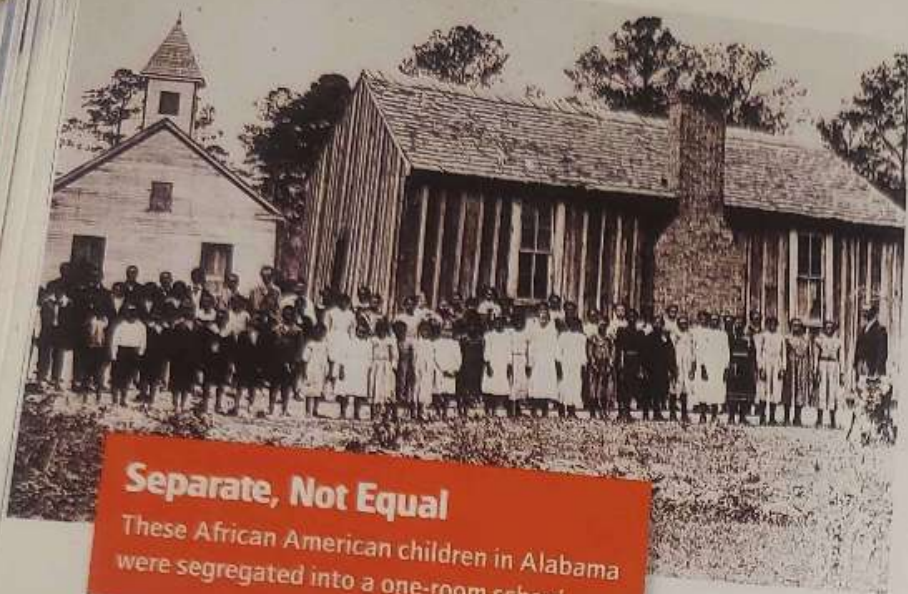
Washington was not the first African American to visit the White House. President Lincoln welcomed Sojourner Truth and Frederick Douglass to discuss abolition. Black entertainers performed there in the late 1800s. But a social invitation to dinner was another matter.

When Washington died in 1915, the *New York Times* obituary noted, "Most of the criticism [was] upon Colonel Roosevelt, but the incident [the White House dinner] served also to injure Dr. Washington's work in some parts of the South."

► **Appearing side by side, Roosevelt and Washington made a powerful statement to both the black and the white communities.**

ROOSEVELT AND BOOKER T. WASHINGTON





Separate, Not Equal

These African American children in Alabama were segregated into a one-room school.

Legalized Discrimination

As you know, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were meant to guarantee the rights of African Americans. Yet that did not happen. In the late 1800s, prejudice persisted throughout the country, and in the South, new laws made discrimination legal.

Restricting the right to vote By the time Reconstruction ended, white Democrats had regained control over the southern state legislatures. They went to great lengths to make sure that African Americans could not exercise their right to vote. One tactic was to require voters to pay a **poll tax** and pass a literacy test. These measures kept most African Americans from voting. Most were too poor to afford the poll tax, and many had been denied the education needed to pass the literacy test.

The laws prevented some poor or illiterate white men from voting. However, many southern state legislatures had written **grandfather clauses** into their constitutions. The clauses stated that a man could vote if he, his father, or his grandfather had been eligible to vote before January 1, 1867. That date is significant. Before that time, only white men had the right to vote. Freed slaves had not yet achieved that right. The grandfather clause, therefore, made sure that African Americans could not vote.

Legalized segregation Southern state legislatures also passed a series of laws designed to create and enforce segregation. These provisions were called **Jim Crow laws**. The name Jim Crow came from a stereotypical character in a minstrel song of the 1820s. By the 1890s the term was used for the laws discriminating against African Americans.

The first of these laws, passed in Tennessee in 1881, required separate railway cars for African Americans and whites. By the 1890s southern states had segregated many public places and services, including schools.

African Americans filed lawsuits against railroads, hotels, and theaters that refused to serve them. They wanted equal treatment under the Civil Rights Act of 1875.

HISTORY'S VOICES

“All persons . . . shall be entitled to full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land or water, theaters, and other places of public amusement.”

—Civil Rights Act of 1875

In 1883, however, the Supreme Court declared that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was unconstitutional. The Court ruled that the Fourteenth Amendment—which guarantees equal protection of the law—applied only to state governments. Congress could prevent the states from denying African Americans their rights, but Congress could not outlaw discrimination by private individuals or businesses.

Thirteen years later, another key case came before the Supreme Court. This time the matter involved a Louisiana state law requiring railroads to provide “equal but separate accommodations for the white and colored races.” Homer Plessy, an African American man, sat in a whites-only train compartment to test the law. He was arrested, but he appealed based on the Fourteenth Amendment.

In **Plessy v. Ferguson** (1896) the Court upheld the practice of segregation. The Court ruled that “separate but equal” facilities did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment. Only one justice, John Marshall Harlan, disagreed with the majority. The *Plessy* decision allowed legalized segregation for nearly 60 years.

READING CHECK

Summarizing How did southern states limit the rights of African Americans?

Informal Discrimination

Laws were not the only source of racial barriers. Strict rules of behavior, called **racial etiquette**, governed social and business interactions. African Americans were supposed to “know their place” and defer to whites in every encounter. If they failed to speak respectfully or acted with too much pride or defiance, the consequences could be serious.

The worst consequence was **lynching**—the murder of an individual, usually by hanging, without a legal trial. Between 1882 and 1892, nearly 900 African Americans lost their lives to lynch mobs. Lynchings declined after 1892, but they continued into the early 1900s.

Lynchings could be sparked by the most minor offenses, or perceived offenses. Many, if not most, victims were innocent of any crime, and few of the killers were ever punished.

READING CHECK

Drawing Conclusions

Why did African Americans usually go along with the system of racial etiquette?

Prominent Black Leaders

Near the turn of the century, two different approaches emerged for improving the lives of African Americans. **Booker T. Washington**, born into slavery, believed that African Americans should accept segregation for the moment. He thought they could best prosper by acquiring farming and vocational skills. He founded the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama to teach African Americans practical skills for self-sufficiency.

W. E. B. Du Bois, a Harvard-trained professor, believed in speaking out against prejudice and striving for full rights immediately. African Americans, he said, should be uplifted by the “talented tenth,” their best-educated leaders. Du Bois launched the Niagara Movement in 1905 to protest discrimination. Four years later, he helped found an even more influential organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (**NAACP**).

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

consequence
something that logically follows an action

READING CHECK

Contrasting

How did the views of Washington and Du Bois differ?

COUNTERPOINTS

Overcoming Discrimination

Booker T. Washington walked a fine line between helping African Americans to advance and trying to avoid angering white Americans.

“No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem . . . The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in

To W. E. B. Du Bois, equality meant opportunities to achieve at the highest levels.

“Industrial and trade teaching is needed . . . [but] it is not needed as much as thorough common school training and the careful education of the gifted in higher institutions.”

W. E. B. Du Bois,
1904

Skills FOCUS

READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Identifying Points of View For those who favored gradual social change, whose approach would be more appealing? Explain your reasoning.

Handbook, pp. H28–H29

Mexican American workers, like these railway workers in Texas, were routinely the lowest paid of any ethnic group.

Others Suffer Discrimination

African Americans were not the only people to face racial prejudice. Mexican Americans, Asian Americans, and Native Americans all experienced legal and social discrimination in the late 1800s.

Mexican Americans Many Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants encountered hostility from white Americans. They often did not speak English well and had to take the most menial jobs for little pay. Some worked in the mines or on railroads. Most, however, worked on farms.

Many Mexican immigrants became trapped in their jobs because of a system brought from Mexico called **debt peonage**. In this system, workers were tied to their jobs until they could pay off debts they owed their employer. Debt peonage was finally made illegal in 1911.

Asian Americans Earlier in this chapter, you read about laws that limited immigrants from Asia and denied Chinese Americans citizenship. But discrimination went further. Chinese and Japanese Americans had to live in segregated neighborhoods and attend separate schools. Esther Wong, a Chinese immigrant, noted that "only a very few Chinese could find houses in American districts, for most house owners do not want Chinese tenants." Several states also forbade marriage with whites.

Native Americans Native Americans, too, endured injustices, including continuous government efforts to stamp out their traditional ways of life. Children were sometimes sent away from their parents to be "Americanized." People living on reservations had few opportunities for economic advancement. Many Native Americans were also excluded from political activity. In a number of states, they were not considered citizens until the passage of the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924.

READING CHECK

Comparing How were the experiences of minority groups similar?

SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

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Online Quiz

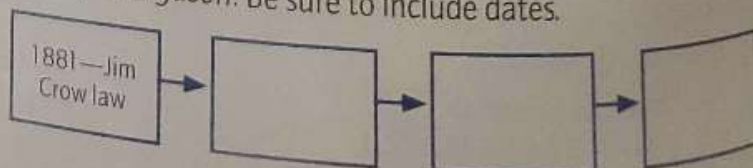
Keyword: SD7 HP15

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- Define What was a grandfather clause?
 - Draw Conclusions What was the real purpose of poll taxes, literacy tests, and the grandfather clause?
- Describe What was racial etiquette?
 - Explain What could happen to African Americans who defied the rules of racial etiquette?
- Identify Who was Booker T. Washington?
 - Analyze What did W. E. B. Du Bois expect of the group he called "the talented tenth"?
 - Predict For the time period of this chapter, do you think Washington's or Du Bois's approach would have been most beneficial for African Americans? Explain.
- Recall What was debt peonage?
 - Make Inferences How do you think segregation affected the people who were subjected to it?

Critical Thinking

- Sequencing** Copy the chart below and record the sequence of legal milestones from the passage of the first Jim Crow law in Tennessee to the Supreme Court's decision 15 years later in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Be sure to include dates.



FOCUS ON WRITING

- Expository** Imagine that you are a newspaper editor in 1896. Write...