Life at the Turn of the 20th Century
CHAPTER 8

Life at the Turn of the 20th Century

The World's Columbian Exposition, commemorating the 400th anniversary of Columbus sailing to the Americas.

USA
1880
- 1878 Bicycle touring club is founded in Europe.

WORLD
1885
- 1884 Fifteen-nation conference on the division of Africa convenes in Berlin.

1890
- 1888 Electric trolleys are first introduced.
- 1892 Ida B. Wells crusades against lynching.

1895
- 1886 Supreme Court establishes “separate-but-equal” doctrine in Plessy v. Ferguson.
- 1889 Barnum & Bailey Circus opens in London.
INTERACT WITH HISTORY

It is the summer of 1893. In Chicago, the World's Columbian Exposition is in full swing. Besides Thomas Edison's kinetograph—a camera that records motion, attractions include a towering “Ferris wheel” that lifts trolley cars into the sky and the first hamburgers in America. More than 21 million people will attend the exposition. You will be one of them.

How will the latest technology change your life?

Examine the Issues

- How can technology contribute to new forms of recreation?
- What types of inventions transform communications?
- Why would mass media emerge at this time?

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Science and Urban Life

The Brooklyn Bridge, connecting Brooklyn to the island of Manhattan in New York City, opened in 1883. It took 14 years to build. Each day, laborers descended to work in a caisson, or water tight chamber, that took them deep beneath the East River. E. F. Farrington, a mechanic who worked on the bridge, described the working conditions.

**A Personal Voice**  
E. F. FARRINGTON

“Inside the caisson everything wore an unreal, weird appearance. There was a confused sensation in the head . . . What with the flaming lights, the deep shadows, the confusing noise of hammers, drills, and chains, the half-naked forms flitting about . . . one might, if of a poetic temperament, get a realizing sense of Dante’s Inferno.”

—quoted in *The Great Bridge*

Four years later, trains ran across the bridge 24 hours a day and carried more than 30 million travelers each year.

**Technology and City Life**

Engineering innovations, such as the Brooklyn Bridge, laid the groundwork for modern American life. Cities in every industrial area of the country expanded both outward and upward. In 1870, only 25 American cities had populations of 50,000 or more; by 1890, 58 cities could make that claim. By the turn of the 20th century, due to the increasing number of industrial jobs, four out of ten Americans made their homes in cities.

In response to these changes, technological advances began to meet the nation’s needs for communication, transportation, and space. One remedy for more urban space was to build toward the sky.

In 1883, New Yorkers celebrated the opening of the world’s longest suspension bridge, the 1,595-foot-long Brooklyn Bridge.
SKYSCRAPERS Architects were able to design taller buildings because of two factors: the invention of elevators and the development of internal steel skeletons to bear the weight of buildings. In 1890–1891, architect Louis Sullivan designed the ten-story Wainwright Building in St. Louis. He called the new breed of skyscraper a “proud and soaring thing.” The tall building’s appearance was graceful because its steel framework supported both floors and walls.

The skyscraper became America’s greatest contribution to architecture, “a new thing under the sun,” according to the architect Frank Lloyd Wright, who studied under Sullivan. Skyscrapers solved the practical problem of how to make the best use of limited and expensive space. The unusual form of another skyscraper, the Flatiron Building, seemed perfect for its location at one of New York’s busiest intersections. Daniel Burnham designed this slender 285-foot tower in 1902. The Flatiron Building and other new buildings served as symbols of a rich and optimistic society.

ELECTRIC TRANSIT As skyscrapers expanded upward, changes in transportation allowed cities to spread outward. Before the Civil War, horses had drawn the earliest streetcars over iron rails embedded in city streets. In some cities during the 1870s and 1880s, underground moving cables powered streetcar lines. Electricity, however, transformed urban transportation.

In 1888 Richmond, Virginia, became the first American city to electrify its urban transit. Other cities followed. By the turn of the twentieth century, intricate networks of electric streetcars—also called trolley cars—ran from outlying neighborhoods to downtown offices and department stores.

New railroad lines also fed the growth of suburbs, allowing residents to commute to downtown jobs. New York’s northern suburbs alone supplied 100,000 commuters each day to the central business district.

A few large cities moved their streetcars far above street level, creating elevated or “el” trains. Other cities, like New York, built subways by moving their rail lines underground. These streetcars, elevated trains, and subways enabled cities to annex suburban developments that mushroomed along the advancing transportation routes.

ENGINEERING AND URBAN PLANNING Steel-cable suspension bridges, like the Brooklyn Bridge, also brought cities’ sections closer together. Sometimes these bridges provided recreational opportunities. In his design for the Brooklyn Bridge, for example, John Augustus Roebling provided an elevated promenade whose “principal use will be to allow people of leisure, and old and young invalids, to promenade over the bridge on fine days.” This need for open spaces in the midst of crowded commercial cities inspired the emerging science of urban planning.

City planners sought to restore a measure of serenity to the environment by designing recreational areas. Landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted spearheaded the movement for planned urban parks.

In 1857 Olmsted, along with English-born architect Calvert Vaux, helped draw up a plan for “Greensward,” which was selected to become Central Park, in New York City. Olmsted envisioned the park as a haven in the center of the busy city. The finished park featured boating and...
tennis facilities, a zoo, and bicycle paths. Olmsted hoped that the park’s beauty would soothe the city’s inhabitants and let them enjoy a “natural” setting.

**A Personal Voice**  
**Frederick Law Olmsted**

“The main object and justification [of the park] is simply to produce a certain influence in the minds of people and through this to make life in the city healthier and happier. The character of this influence . . . is to be produced by means of scenes, through observation of which the mind may be more or less lifted out of moods and habits.”

—in*Frederick Law Olmsted’s New York*

In the 1870s, Olmsted planned landscaping for Washington, D.C., and St. Louis. He also drew the initial designs for “the Emerald Necklace,” Boston’s parks system. Boston’s Back Bay area, originally a 450-acre swamp, was drained and developed by urban planners into an area of elegant streets and cultural attractions, including Olmstead’s parks.

**CITY PLANNING**  
By contrast, Chicago, with its explosive growth from 30,000 people in 1850 to 300,000 in 1870, represented a nightmare of unregulated expansion. Fortunately for the city, a local architect, Daniel Burnham, was intrigued...
by the prospect of remaking the city. His motto was “Make no little plans. They have no magic to stir men’s blood.” He oversaw the transformation of a swampy area near Lake Michigan into a glistening White City for Chicago’s 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition. Majestic exhibition halls, statues, the first Ferris wheel, and a lagoon greeted more than 21 million visitors who came to the city.

Many urban planners saw in Burnham’s White City glorious visions of future cities. Burnham, however, left Chicago an even more important legacy: an overall plan for the city, crowned by elegant parks strung along Lake Michigan. As a result, Chicago’s lakefront today features curving banks of grass and sandy beaches instead of a jumbled mass of piers and warehouses.

**New Technologies**

New developments in communication brought the nation closer together. In addition to a railroad network that now spanned the nation, advances in printing, aviation, and photography helped to speed the transfer of information.

**A REVOLUTION IN PRINTING** By 1890, the literacy rate in the United States had risen to nearly 90 percent. Publishers turned out ever-increasing numbers of books, magazines, and newspapers to meet the growing demand of the reading public. A series of technological advances in printing aided their efforts.

American mills began to produce huge quantities of cheap paper from wood pulp. The new paper proved durable enough to withstand high-speed presses. The electrically powered web-perfecting press, for example, printed on both sides of a continuous paper roll, rather than on just one side. It then cut, folded, and counted the pages as they came down the line. Faster production and lower costs made newspapers and magazines more affordable. People could now buy newspapers for a penny a copy.

**AIRPLANES** In the early 20th century, brothers Orville and Wilbur Wright, bicycle manufacturers from Dayton, Ohio, experimented with new engines powerful enough to keep “heavier-than-air” craft aloft. First the Wright brothers built a glider. Then they commissioned a four-cylinder internal combustion engine, chose a propeller, and designed a biplane with a 40’4” wingspan. Their first successful flight—on December 17, 1903, at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina—covered 120 feet and lasted 12 seconds. Orville later described the take-off.

**A PERSONAL VOICE** **ORVILLE WRIGHT**

“After running the motor a few minutes to heat it up, I released the wire that held the machine to the track, and the machine started forward into the wind. Wilbur ran at the side of the machine . . . to balance it . . . . Unlike the start on the 14th, made in a calm, the machine, facing a 27-mile wind, started very slowly . . . . One of the life-saving men snapped the camera for us, taking a picture just as the machine had reached the end of the track and had risen to a height of about two feet.”

—quoted in *Smithsonian Frontiers of Flight*
AVIATION PIONEERS

In 1892, Orville and Wilbur Wright opened a bicycle shop in Dayton, Ohio. They used the profits to fund experiments in aeronautics, the construction of aircraft. In 1903, the Wright brothers took a gasoline-powered airplane that they had designed to a sandy hill outside Kitty Hawk, North Carolina.

The airplane was powered by a 4-cylinder 12-horse-power piston engine, designed and constructed by the bicycle shop’s mechanic, Charles Taylor. The piston—a solid cylinder fit snugly into a hollow cylinder that moves back and forth under pressure—was standard until jet-propelled aircraft came into service in the 1940s.

The engine is the heaviest component in airplane construction. The design of lighter engines was the most important development in early aviation history.

### Early Airplane Engines and Their Weights

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name of Engine</th>
<th>Approximate Weight per Unit of Horsepower</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880s</td>
<td>Otto</td>
<td>440 lbs (200 kg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Wright</td>
<td>13 lbs (6 kg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Gnome</td>
<td>3.3 lbs (1.5 kg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>V-12 Liberty</td>
<td>2 lbs (1 kg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>Wright Cyclone</td>
<td>1.1 lbs (0.5 kg)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The History of Invention, Trevor L. Williams

On December 17, Orville Wright made the first successful flight of a powered aircraft in history. The public paid little attention. But within two years, the brothers were making 30-minute flights. By 1908, the pioneer aviators had signed a contract for production of the Wright airplane with the U.S. Army.

By 1918, the Postal Service began airmail service, as shown in this preliminary sketch of a DH4-Mail. Convinced of the great potential of flight, the government established the first transcontinental airmail service in 1920.
Within two years, the Wright brothers had increased their flights to 24 miles. By 1920, convinced of the great potential of flight, the U.S. government had established the first transcontinental airmail service.

PHOTOGRAPHY EXPLOSION  

Before the 1880s, photography was a professional activity. Because of the time required to take a picture and the weight of the equipment, a photographer could not shoot a moving object. In addition, photographers had to develop their shots immediately.

New techniques eliminated the need to develop pictures right away. George Eastman developed a series of more convenient alternatives to the heavy glass plates previously used. Now, instead of carrying their darkrooms around with them, photographers could use flexible film, coated with gelatin emulsions, and could send their film to a studio for processing. When professional photographers were slow to begin using the new film, Eastman decided to aim his product at the masses.

In 1888, Eastman introduced his Kodak camera. The purchase price of $25 included a 100-picture roll of film. After taking the pictures, the photographer would send the camera back to Eastman’s Rochester, New York, factory. For $10, the pictures were developed and returned with the camera reloaded. Easily held and operated, the Kodak prompted millions of Americans to become amateur photographers. The camera also helped to create the field of photojournalism. Reporters could now photograph events as they occurred. When the Wright brothers first flew their simple airplane at Kitty Hawk, an amateur photographer captured the first successful flight on film.

1. TERMS & NAMES  
   - Louis Sullivan
   - Daniel Burnham
   - Frederick Law Olmsted
   - Orville and Wilbur Wright
   - George Eastman

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES  
   Using a three-column chart, such as the one below, list three important changes in city design, communication, and transportation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City Design</th>
<th>Communication</th>
<th>Transportation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Which change had the greatest impact on urban life? Why?

CRITICAL THINKING

3. HYPOTHESIZING  
   If you had been an urban planner at the turn of the century, what new ideas would you have included in your plan for the ideal city?  
   Think About:  
   - Olmsted’s plans for Central Park  
   - Burnham’s ideas for Chicago  
   - the concept of the garden city

4. EVALUATING  
   Which scientific or technological development described in this section had the greatest impact on American culture? Use details from the text to justify your choice.

5. SUMMARIZING  
   How did bridge building contribute to the growth of cities?

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William Torrey Harris was an educational reformer who saw the public schools as a great instrument “to lift all classes of people into . . . civilized life.” As U.S. commissioner of education from 1889 to 1906, Harris promoted the ideas of great educators like Horace Mann and John Dewey—particularly the belief that schools exist for the children and not the teachers. Schools, according to Harris, should properly prepare students for full participation in community life.

"Every [educational] method must . . . be looked at from two points of view: first, its capacity to secure the development of rationality or of the true adjustment of the individual to the social whole; and, second, its capacity to strengthen the individuality of the pupil and avoid the danger of obliterating the personality of the child by securing blind obedience in place of intelligent cooperation, and by mechanical memorizing in place of rational insight."

—quouted in Public Schools and Moral Education

Many other middle-class reformers agreed with Harris and viewed the public schools as training grounds for employment and citizenship. People believed that economic development depended on scientific and technological knowledge. As a result, they viewed education as a key to greater security and social status. Others saw the public schools as the best opportunity to assimilate the millions of immigrants entering American society. Most people also believed that public education was necessary for a stable and prosperous democratic nation.

Expanding Public Education

Although most states had established public schools by the Civil War, many school-age children still received no formal schooling. The majority of students who went to school left within four years, and few went to high school.
SCHOOLS FOR CHILDREN  Between 1865 and 1895, states passed laws requiring 12 to 16 weeks annually of school attendance by students between the ages of 8 and 14. The curriculum emphasized reading, writing, and arithmetic. However, the emphasis on rote memorization and the uneven quality of teachers drew criticism. Strict rules and physical punishment made many students miserable.

One 13-year-old boy explained to a Chicago school inspector why he hid in a warehouse basement instead of going to school.

A PERSONAL VOICE

“They hits ye if yer don’t learn, and they hits ye if ye whisper, and they hits ye if ye have string in yer pocket, and they hits ye if yer seat squeaks, and they hits ye if ye don’t stan’ up in time, and they hits ye if yer late, and they hits ye if ye forget the page.”

—anonymous schoolboy quoted in *The One Best System*

In spite of such problems, children began attending school at a younger age. Kindergartens, which had been created outside the public school system to offer childcare for employed mothers, became increasingly popular. The number of kindergartens surged from 200 in 1880 to 3,000 in 1900, and, under the guidance of William Torrey Harris, public school systems began to add kindergartens to their programs.

Although the pattern in public education in this era was one of growth, opportunities differed sharply for white and black students. In 1880, about 62 percent of white children attended elementary school, compared to about 34 percent of African-American children. Not until the 1940s would public school education become available to the majority of black children living in the South.

THE GROWTH OF HIGH SCHOOLS  In the new industrial age, the economy demanded advanced technical and managerial skills. Moreover, business leaders like Andrew Carnegie pointed out that keeping workers loyal to capitalism required society to “provide ladders upon which the aspiring can rise.”

By early 1900, more than half a million students attended high school. The curriculum expanded to include courses in science, civics, and social studies. And new vocational courses prepared male graduates for industrial jobs in drafting, carpentry, and mechanics, and female graduates for office work.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Students Enrolled</th>
<th>Literacy in English (% of Population age 10 and over)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>7.6 million</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>9.9 million</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>12.7 million</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>15.5 million</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>17.8 million</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>21.6 million</td>
<td>94%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

=1,000,000 students

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION African Americans were mostly excluded from public secondary education. In 1890, fewer than 1 percent of black teenagers attended high school. More than two-thirds of these students went to private schools, which received no government financial support. By 1910, about 3 percent of African Americans between the ages of 15 and 19 attended high school, but a majority of these students still attended private schools.

EDUCATION FOR IMMIGRANTS Unlike African Americans, immigrants were encouraged to go to school. Of the nearly 10 million European immigrants settled in the United States between 1860 and 1890, many were Jewish people fleeing poverty and systematic oppression in eastern Europe. Most immigrants sent their children to America’s free public schools, where they quickly became “Americanized.” Years after she became a citizen, the Russian Jewish immigrant Mary Antin recalled the large numbers of non-English-speaking immigrant children. By the end of the school year, they could recite “patriotic verses in honor of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln . . . with plenty of enthusiasm.”

Some people resented the suppression of their native languages in favor of English. Catholics were especially concerned because many public school systems had mandatory readings from the (Protestant) King James Version of the Bible. Catholic communities often set up parochial schools to give their children a Catholic education.

Thousands of adult immigrants attended night school to learn English and to qualify for American citizenship. Employers often offered daytime programs to Americanize their workers. At his Model T plant in Highland Park, Michigan, Henry Ford established a “Sociology Department,” because “men of many nations must be taught American ways, the English language, and the right way to live.” Ford’s ideas were not universally accepted. Labor activists often protested that Ford’s educational goals were aimed at weakening the trade union movement by teaching workers not to confront management.

Expanding Higher Education

Although the number of students attending high school had increased by the turn of the century, only a minority of Americans had high school diplomas. At the same time, an even smaller minority—only 2.3 percent—of America’s young people attended colleges and universities.

CHANGES IN UNIVERSITIES Between 1880 and 1920, college enrollments more than quadrupled. And colleges instituted major changes in curricula and admission policies. Industrial development changed the nation’s educational needs. The research university emerged—offering courses in modern languages, the physical sciences, and the new disciplines of psychology and sociology. Professional schools in law and medicine were established. Private colleges and universities required entrance exams, but some state universities began to admit students by using the high school diploma as the entrance requirement.

HIGHER EDUCATION FOR AFRICAN AMERICANS After the Civil War, thousands of freed African Americans pursued higher education, despite their exclusion from white institutions. With the help of the Freedmen’s Bureau and other groups, blacks founded Howard, Atlanta, and Fisk Universities, all of which opened
between 1865 and 1868. Private donors could not, however, financially support or educate a sufficient number of black college graduates to meet the needs of the segregated communities. By 1900, out of about 9 million African Americans, only 3,880 were in attendance at colleges or professional schools.

The prominent African American educator, Booker T. Washington, believed that racism would end once blacks acquired useful labor skills and proved their economic value to society. Washington, who was born enslaved, graduated from Virginia’s Hampton Institute. By 1881, he headed the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, now called Tuskegee University, in Alabama. Tuskegee aimed to equip African Americans with teaching diplomas and useful skills in agricultural, domestic, or mechanical work. “No race,” Washington said, “can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem.”

By contrast, W. E. B. Du Bois, the first African American to receive a doctorate from Harvard (in 1895), strongly disagreed with Washington’s gradual approach. In 1905, Dubois founded the Niagara Movement, which insisted that blacks should seek a liberal arts education so that the African-American community would have well-educated leaders.

Du Bois proposed that a group of educated blacks, the most “talented tenth” of the community, attempt to achieve immediate inclusion into mainstream American life. “We are Americans, not only by birth and by citizenship,” Du Bois argued, “but by our political ideals. . . . And the greatest of those ideals is that ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL.”

By the turn of the 20th century, millions of people received the education they needed to cope with a rapidly changing world. At the same time, however, racial discrimination remained a thorn in the flesh of American society.
Segregation and Discrimination

MAIN IDEA
African Americans led the fight against voting restrictions and Jim Crow laws.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW
Today, African Americans have the legacy of a century-long battle for civil rights.

Terms & Names
• Ida B. Wells
• poll tax
• grandfather clause
• segregation
• Jim Crow laws
• Plessy v. Ferguson
• debt peonage

One American’s Story

Born into slavery shortly before emancipation, Ida B. Wells moved to Memphis in the early 1880s to work as a teacher. She later became an editor of a local paper. Racial justice was a persistent theme in Wells’s reporting. The events of March 9, 1892 turned that theme into a crusade. Three African-American businessmen, friends of Wells, were lynched—illegally executed without trial. Wells saw lynching for what it was.

A PERSONAL VOICE  IDA B. WELLS
“Thomas Moss, Calvin McDowell, and Lee Stewart had been lynched in Memphis . . . [where] no lynching had taken place before. . . . This is what opened my eyes to what lynching really was. An excuse to get rid of Negroes who were acquiring wealth and property and thus keep the race terrorized . . .”

—quoted in Crusade for Justice

African Americans were not the only group to experience violence and racial discrimination. Native Americans, Mexican residents, and Chinese immigrants also encountered bitter forms of oppression, particularly in the American West.

African Americans Fight Legal Discrimination

As African Americans exercised their newly won political and social rights during Reconstruction, they faced hostile and often violent opposition from whites. African Americans eventually fell victim to laws restricting their civil rights but never stopped fighting for equality. For at least ten years after the end of Reconstruction in 1877, African Americans in the South continued to vote and occasionally to hold political office. By the turn of the 20th century, however, Southern states had adopted a broad system of legal policies of racial discrimination and devised methods to weaken African-American political power.
**VOTING RESTRICTIONS** All Southern states imposed new voting restrictions and denied legal equality to African Americans. Some states, for example, limited the vote to people who could read, and required registration officials to administer a literacy test to test reading. Blacks trying to vote were often asked more difficult questions than whites, or given a test in a foreign language. Officials could pass or fail applicants as they wished.

Another requirement was the **poll tax**, an annual tax that had to be paid before qualifying to vote. Black as well as white sharecroppers were often too poor to pay the poll tax. To reinstate white voters who may have failed the literacy test or could not pay the poll tax, several Southern states added the **grandfather clause** to their constitutions. The clause stated that even if a man failed the literacy test or could not afford the poll tax, he was still entitled to vote if he, his father, or his grandfather had been eligible to vote before January 1, 1867. The date is important because before that time, freed slaves did not have the right to vote. The grandfather clause therefore did not allow them to vote.

**JIM CROW LAWS** During the 1870s and 1880s, the Supreme Court failed to overturn the poll tax or the grandfather clause, even though the laws undermined all federal protections for African Americans' civil rights. At the same time that blacks lost voting rights, Southern states passed racial segregation laws to separate white and black people in public and private facilities. These laws came to be known as **Jim Crow laws** after a popular old minstrel song that ended in the words “Jump, Jim Crow.” Racial segregation was put into effect in schools, hospitals, parks, and transportation systems throughout the South.

**PLESSY v. FERGUSON** Eventually a legal case reached the U.S. Supreme Court to test the constitutionality of segregation. In 1896, in **Plessy v. Ferguson**, the Supreme Court ruled that the separation of races in public accommodations was legal and did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment. The decision established the doctrine of “separate but equal,” which allowed states to maintain segregated facilities for blacks and whites as long as they provided equal service. The decision permitted legalized racial segregation for almost 60 years. (See **Plessy v. Ferguson**, page 290.)

**Turn-of-the-Century Race Relations**

African Americans faced not only formal discrimination but also informal rules and customs, called racial etiquette, that regulated relationships between whites and blacks. Usually, these customs belittled and humiliated African Americans, enforcing their second-class status. For example, blacks and whites never shook hands, since shaking hands would have implied equality. Blacks also had to yield the sidewalk to white pedestrians, and black men always had to remove their hats for whites.
Some moderate reformers, like Booker T. Washington, earned support from whites. Washington suggested that whites and blacks work together for social progress.

**A Personal Voice**  **BOOKER T. WASHINGTON**

“To those of the white race... I would repeat what I say to my own race... Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labour wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, builded your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth... 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.”

—Atlanta Exposition address, 1895

Washington hoped that improving the economic skills of African Americans would pave the way for long-term gains. People like Ida B. Wells and W. E. B. Du Bois, however, thought that the problems of inequality were too urgent to postpone.

**Violence**  African Americans and others who did not follow the racial etiquette could face severe punishment or death. All too often, blacks who were accused of violating the etiquette were lynched. Between 1882 and 1892, more than 1,400 African-American men and women were shot, burned, or hanged without trial in the South. Lynching peaked in the 1880s and 1890s but continued well into the 20th century.

**Discrimination in the North**  Most African Americans lived in the segregated South, but by 1900, a number of blacks had moved to Northern cities. Many blacks migrated to Northern cities in search of better-paying jobs and social equality. But after their arrival, African Americans found that there was racial discrimination in the North as well. African Americans found themselves forced into segregated neighborhoods. They also faced discrimination in the workplace. Labor unions often discouraged black membership, and employers hired African-American labor only as a last resort and fired blacks before white employees.

Sometimes the competition between African Americans and working-class whites became violent, as in the New York City race riot of 1900. Violence erupted after a young black man, believing that his wife was being mistreated by a white policeman, killed the policeman. Word of the killing spread, and whites retaliated by attacking blacks. Northern blacks, however, were not alone in facing discrimination. Non-whites in the West also faced oppression.

**Discrimination in the West**

Western communities were home to people of many backgrounds working and living side by side. Native Americans still lived in the Western territories claimed by the United States. Asian immigrants went to America’s Pacific Coast in search of wealth and work. Mexicans continued to inhabit the American Southwest. African Americans were also present, especially in former slave-holding areas, such as Texas. Still, racial tensions often made life difficult.

**Mexican Workers**  In the late 1800s, the railroads hired more Mexicans than members of any other ethnic group to construct rail lines in the Southwest.
Mexicans were accustomed to the region’s hot, dry climate. But the work was grueling, and the railroads made them work for less money than other ethnic groups.

Mexicans were also vital to the development of mining and agriculture in the Southwest. When the 1902 National Reclamation Act gave government assistance for irrigation projects, many southwest desert areas bloomed. Mexican workers became the major labor force in the agricultural industries of the region.

Some Mexicans, however, as well as African Americans in the Southwest, were forced into **debt peonage**, a system that bound laborers into slavery in order to work off a debt to the employer. Not until 1911 did the Supreme Court declare involuntary peonage a violation of the Thirteenth Amendment.

**EXCLUDING THE CHINESE** By 1880, more than 100,000 Chinese immigrants lived in the United States. White people’s fear of job competition with the Chinese immigrants often pushed the Chinese into segregated schools and neighborhoods. Strong opposition to Chinese immigration developed, and not only in the West. (See Chinese Exclusion Act, page 259.)

Racial discrimination posed terrible legal and economic problems for non-whites throughout the United States at the turn of the century. More people, however, whites in particular, had leisure time for new recreational activities, as well as money to spend on a growing array of consumer products.
The Dawn of Mass Culture

**MAIN IDEA**
As Americans had more time for leisure activities, a modern mass culture emerged.

**WHY IT MATTERS NOW**
Today, the United States has a worldwide impact on mass culture.

**Terms & Names**
- Joseph Pulitzer
- William Randolph Hearst
- Ashcan school
- Mark Twain
- Rural free delivery (RFD)

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**One American’s Story**

Along the Brooklyn seashore, on a narrow sandbar just nine miles from busy Manhattan, rose the most famous urban amusement center, Coney Island. In 1886, its main developer, George Tilyou, bragged, “If Paris is France, then Coney Island...is the world.” Indeed, tens of thousands of visitors mobbed Coney Island after work each evening and on Sundays and holidays. When Luna Park, a spectacular amusement park on Coney Island, opened in May 1903, a reporter described the scene.

*A Personal Voice  BRUCE BLEN*

“[Inside the park was] an enchanted, storybook land of trellises, columns, domes, minarets, lagoons, and lofty aerial flights. And everywhere was life—a pageant of happy people; and everywhere was color—a wide harmony of orange and white and gold...It was a world removed—shut away from the sordid clatter and turmoil of the streets.”

—quoted in *Amusing the Million*

Coney Island offered Americans a few hours of escape from the hard work week. A schoolteacher who walked fully dressed into the ocean explained her unusual behavior by saying, “It has been a hard year at school, and when I saw the big crowd here, everyone with the brakes off, the spirit of the place got the better of me.” The end of the 19th century saw the rise of a “mass culture” in the United States.

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**American Leisure**

Middle-class Americans from all over the country shared experiences as new leisure activities, nationwide advertising campaigns, and the rise of a consumer culture began to level regional differences. As the 19th century drew to a close, many Americans fought off city congestion and dull industrial work by enjoying amusement parks, bicycling, new forms of theater, and spectator sports.
AMUSEMENT PARKS To meet the recreational needs of city dwellers, Chicago, New York City, and other cities began setting aside precious green space for outdoor enjoyment. Many cities built small playgrounds and playing fields throughout their neighborhoods for their citizens’ enjoyment.

Some amusement parks were constructed on the outskirts of cities. Often built by trolley-car companies that sought more passengers, these parks boasted picnic grounds and a variety of rides. The roller coaster drew daredevil customers to Coney Island in 1884, and the first Ferris wheel drew enthusiastic crowds to the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. Clearly, many Americans were ready for new and innovative forms of entertainment—and a whole panorama of recreational activities soon became available.

BICYCLING AND TENNIS With their huge front wheels and solid rubber tires, the first American bicycles challenged their riders. Because a bump might toss the cyclist over the handlebars, bicycling began as a male-only sport. However, the 1885 manufacture of the first commercially successful “safety bicycle,” with its smaller wheels and air-filled tires, made the activity more popular. And the Victor safety bicycle, with a dropped frame and no crossbar, held special appeal to women.

Abandoning their tight corsets, women bicyclists donned shirtwaists (tailored blouses) and “split” skirts in order to cycle more comfortably. This attire soon became popular for daily wear. The bicycle also freed women from the scrutiny of the ever-present chaperone. The suffragist Susan B. Anthony declared, “I think [bicycling] has done more to emancipate women than anything else in the world. . . . It gives women a feeling of freedom and self-reliance.” Fifty thousand men and women had taken to cycles by 1888. Two years later 312 American firms turned out 10 million bikes in one year.

Americans took up the sport of tennis as enthusiastically as they had taken up cycling. The modern version of this sport originated in North Wales in 1873. A year later, the United States saw its first tennis match. The socialite Florence Harriman recalled that in the 1880s her father returned from England with one of New York’s first tennis sets. At first, neighbors thought the elder Harriman had installed the nets to catch birds.

Hungry or thirsty after tennis or cycling? Turn-of-the-century enthusiasts turned to new snacks with recognizable brand names. They could munch on a Hershey chocolate bar, first sold in 1900, and wash down the chocolate with a Coca-Cola®. An Atlanta pharmacist originally formulated the drink as a cure for headaches in 1886. The ingredients included extracts from Peruvian coca leaves as well as African cola nuts.
SPECTATOR SPORTS  Americans not only participated in new sports, but became avid fans of spectator sports, especially boxing and baseball. Though these two sports had begun as popular informal activities, by the turn of the 20th century they had become profitable businesses. Fans who couldn’t attend an important boxing match jammed barbershops and hotel lobbies to listen to telegraphed transmissions of the contest’s highlights.

BASEBALL  New rules transformed baseball into a professional sport. In 1845, Alexander J. Cartwright, an amateur player, organized a club in New York City and set down regulations that used aspects of an English sport called rounders. Five years later, 50 baseball clubs had sprung up in the United States, and New York alone boasted 12 clubs in the mid-1860s.

In 1869, a professional team named the Cincinnati Red Stockings toured the country. Other clubs soon took to the road, which led to the formation of the National League in 1876 and the American League in 1900. In the first World Series, held in 1903, the Boston Pilgrims beat the Pittsburgh Pirates. African-American baseball players, who were excluded from both leagues because of racial discrimination, formed their own clubs and two leagues—the Negro National League and the Negro American League.

The novelist Mark Twain called baseball “the very symbol . . . and visible expression of the drive and push and rush and struggle of the raging, tearing, booming nineteenth century.” By the 1890s, baseball had a published game schedule, official rules, and a standard-sized diamond.

The Spread of Mass Culture

As increasing numbers of Americans attended school and learned to read, the cultural vistas of ordinary Americans expanded. Art galleries, libraries, books, and museums brought new cultural opportunities to more people. Other advances fostered mass entertainment. New media technology led to the release of hundreds of motion pictures. Mass-production printing techniques gave birth to thousands of books, magazines, and newspapers.

MASS CIRCULATION NEWSPAPERS  Looking for ways to captivate readers’ attention, American newspapers began using sensational headlines. For example, to introduce its story about the horrors of the Johnstown, Pennsylvania flood of 1889, in which more than 2,000 people died, one newspaper used the headline “THE VALLEY OF DEATH.”

Joseph Pulitzer, a Hungarian immigrant who had bought the New York World in 1883, pioneered popular innovations, such as a large Sunday edition,
comics, sports coverage, and women’s news. Pulitzer’s paper emphasized “sin, sex, and sensation” in an attempt to surpass his main competitor, the wealthy William Randolph Hearst, who had purchased the New York Morning Journal in 1895. Hearst, who already owned the San Francisco Examiner, sought to outdo Pulitzer by filling the Journal with exaggerated tales of personal scandals, cruelty, hypnotism, and even an imaginary conquest of Mars.

The escalation of their circulation war drove both papers to even more sensational news coverage. By 1898, the circulation of each paper had reached more than one million copies a day.

PROMOTING FINE ARTS  By 1900, at least one art gallery graced every large city. Some American artists, including Philadelphian Thomas Eakins, began to embrace realism, an artistic school that attempted to portray life as it is really lived. Eakins had studied anatomy with medical students and used painstaking geometric perspective in his work. By the 1880s, Eakins was also using photography to make realistic studies of people and animals.

In the early 20th century, the Ashcan school of American art, led by Eakins’s student Robert Henri, painted urban life and working people with gritty realism and no frills. Both Eakins and the Ashcan school, however, soon were challenged by the European development known as abstract art, a direction that most people found difficult to understand.

In many cities, inhabitants could walk from a new art gallery to a new public library, sometimes called “the poor man’s university.” By 1900, free circulating libraries in America numbered in the thousands.

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POPULAR FICTION As literacy rates rose, scholars debated the role of literature in society. Some felt that literature should uplift America’s literary tastes, which tended toward crime tales and Western adventures.

Most people preferred to read light fiction. Such books sold for a mere ten cents, hence their name, “dime novels.” Dime novels typically told glorified adventure tales of the West and featured heroes like Edward Wheeler’s Deadwood Dick. Wheeler published his first Deadwood Dick novel in 1877 and in less than a decade produced over 30 more.

Some readers wanted a more realistic portrayal of American life. Successful writers of the era included Sarah Orne Jewett, Theodore Dreiser, Stephen Crane, Jack London, and Willa Cather. Most portrayed characters less polished than the upper-class men and women of Henry James’s and Edith Wharton’s novels. Samuel Langhorne Clemens, the novelist and humorist better known as Mark Twain, inspired a host of other young authors when he declared his independence of “literature and all that bosh.” Yet, some of his books have become classics of American literature. The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, for example, remains famed for its rendering of life along the Mississippi River.

Although art galleries and libraries attempted to raise cultural standards, many Americans had scant interest in high culture—and others did not have access to it. African Americans, for example, were excluded from visiting many museums and other white-controlled cultural institutions.

New Ways to Sell Goods

Along with enjoying new leisure activities, Americans also changed the way they shopped. Americans at the turn of the 20th century witnessed the beginnings of the shopping center, the development of department and chain stores, and the birth of modern advertising.

URBAN SHOPPING Growing city populations made promising targets for enterprising merchants. The nation’s earliest form of a shopping center opened in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1890. The glass-topped arcade contained four levels of jewelry, leather goods, and stationery shops. The arcade also provided band music on Sundays so that Cleveland residents could spend their Sunday afternoons strolling through the elegant environment and gazing at the window displays.

Retail shopping districts formed where public transportation could easily bring shoppers from outlying areas. To anchor these retail shopping districts, ambitious merchants started something quite new, the modern department store.

THE DEPARTMENT STORE Marshall Field of Chicago first brought the department store concept to America. While working as a store clerk, Field found that paying close attention to women customers could increase sales considerably. In 1865, Field opened his own store, featuring several floors of specialized departments. Field’s motto was “Give the lady what she wants.” Field also pioneered the bargain basement, selling bargain goods that were “less expensive but reliable.”

THE CHAIN STORE Department stores prided themselves on offering a variety of personal services. New chain stores—retail stores offering the same merchandise under the same ownership—sold goods for less by buying in quantity and limiting personal service. In the 1870s, F. W. Woolworth found that if he offered an item at a very low price, “the consumer would purchase it on the spur of the moment.”

Vocabulary

consumer: a person who purchases goods or services for direct use or ownership
moment” because “it was only a nickel.” By 1911, the Woolworth chain boasted 596 stores and sold more than a million dollars in goods a week.

**ADVERTISING** An explosion in advertising also heralded modern consumerism. Expenditures for advertising were under $10 million a year in 1865 but increased tenfold, to $95 million, by 1900. Patent medicines grabbed the largest number of advertising lines, followed by soaps and baking powders. In addition to newspapers and magazines, advertisers used ingenious methods to push products. Passengers riding the train between New York and Philadelphia in the 1870s might see signs for Dr. Drake’s Plantation Bitters on barns, houses, billboards, and even rocks.

**CATALOGS AND RFD** Montgomery Ward and Sears Roebuck brought retail merchandise to small towns. Ward’s catalog, launched in 1872, grew from a single sheet the first year to a booklet with ordering instructions in ten languages. Richard Sears started his company in 1886. Early Sears catalogs stated that the company received “hundreds of orders every day from young and old who never [before] sent away for goods.” By 1910, about 10 million Americans shopped by mail. The United States Post Office boosted mail-order businesses. In 1896 the Post Office introduced a **rural free delivery (RFD)** system that brought packages directly to every home.

The turn of the 20th century saw prosperity that caused big changes in Americans’ daily lives. At the same time, the nation’s growing industrial sector faced problems that called for reform.

**NOW & THEN**

**CATALOG SHOPPING**

Catalogs were a novelty when Sears and Montgomery Ward arrived on the scene. However, by the mid-1990s, more than 13 billion catalogs filled the mailboxes of Americans. Today, the world of mail-order business is changing. After over 100 years of operation, Montgomery Ward filed for bankruptcy on December 28, 2000. Online shopping threatens to dominate mail-order commerce today. Online retail sales have grown from $500 million in 1995 to $7.8 billion in 1998. What do catalog shoppers order? Clothing ranks first, electronics second. Online book sales also lead—in 1998, book sales had risen over 300% to total $650 million.

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**1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Joseph Pulitzer
- William Randolph Hearst
- Ashcan school
- Mark Twain
- rural free delivery (RFD)

**MAIN IDEA**

**2. TAKING NOTES** Re-create the spider diagram below. Add examples to each category.

- Leisure
- Modern Mass Culture Emerges
- Culture

Why is mass culture often described as a democratic phenomenon?

**CRITICAL THINKING**

**3. SUMMARIZING**

How did American methods of selling goods change at the turn of the 20th century?

Think About:

- how city people did their shopping
- how rural residents bought goods
- how merchants advertised their products

**4. ANALYZING VISUAL SOURCES**

This cartoon shows the masters of the “new journalism.” According to the cartoonist, where were Pulitzer and Hearst leading American journalism?